This article presents a summary of a peer tutoring program survey and a report on the broadly based campus senate. The summary of peer tutoring programs reviews survey methodologies and peer tutoring programs. The program review indicates goals, finances, selection of tutors, tutor training, tutors' wages, the number of tutees, matching for ethnicity, tutees' requirements, tutoring patterns, and a preliminary evaluation. The report on broadly based campus senates indicates the number of campus senates and why some institutions have given them up. (MJM)
WHEN STUDENTS TEACH:
Tutoring by Peers

The increased enrollment of students from economically and educationally disadvantaged backgrounds in two- and four-year colleges and universities has given rise to a variety of institutional programs designed to facilitate the academic success of these newcomers to higher education. One form of such assistance is tutoring programs which use advanced students who are proficient in selected academic subjects and relate well to other students. This arrangement evidently offers benefits to both tutor and tutee: Tutors tend to reinforce their own knowledge when they prepare material to teach someone else; their self-confidence and self-esteem are enhanced; they can develop teaching skills and techniques; and they are given financial assistance. Tutees get individualized instruction; they are presented with opportunities to interact with students who may have overcome similar problems and to discover and reinforce their own unique strengths; and they are given an important boost toward self-confidence in addition to consistent exposure to a role model.

In general, tutorial services are not new in postsecondary institutions; informal campuswide tutoring has long existed for all students. Formal peer tutoring programs for academically disadvantaged students, however, are relatively new. Consequently, the Center for Research and Development in Higher Education, Berkeley, has undertaken a study of the characteristics and operations of peer tutoring programs in postsecondary institutions. This report is a summary of a detailed descriptive survey of peer tutoring programs (Reed, in preparation).

THE STUDY

Questionnaires were mailed during the 1971-72 academic year to 110 two- and four-year colleges identified as having peer tutoring programs. Of the 78 institutions that responded, 59 reported the existence of a peer tutoring program on their campus. Follow-up visits were then made to 20 institutions selected from the questionnaire responses on the basis of: the number of tutees served in the peer tutoring program, the size of the budget for the program, the length of time the program had been in existence, the geographical location of the institution, and the institutional type (public or private, two- or four-year).

Interviews at each institution were conducted with college administrators, peer tutoring program administrators, faculty members, tutors, and tutees. Since the data collected were both qualitative and quantitative, the following analysis reflects a synthesis of interview data, staff observations, and questionnaire responses.

PEER TUTORING PROGRAMS

Most programs (58 percent of our responses) were established in 1970 or 1971; only one program was started as early as 1964. The impetus for the establishment of most programs came from college administrators, although a small percentage of respondents indicated that faculty members, counselors, and/or students were instrumental in setting up these programs on their campuses. Only one
program had been organized through the efforts of an ethnic group student organization, and only one by community advisors.

Significantly, most peer tutoring programs surveyed were initiated as regular, self-sustaining programs (64 percent). Other programs grew out of existing programs, such as EOP, Upward Bound, campuswide tutorial services, or general special services programs for disadvantaged students. Not surprisingly, of these latter programs, the largest number (22 percent) emanated from EOP.

As reported in interviews, the greatest obstacle to the implementation of peer tutoring programs has been financial. Evidently, obtaining funds from existing institutional resources or from outside funding agencies is a demanding and frequently frustrating task. Lesser but critical barriers to implementation, in order of importance, are the gaining of faculty support, academic committee approval, and adequate space.

The Goals

College administrators, program directors, faculty members, tutors, and tutees within institutions are generally in agreement about the goals of their peer tutoring programs: To provide individualized academic help; to assist students who lack the educational background for college work; to help students become academically successful; to assist students to maximize their effectiveness; to improve basic skills in reading and the use of language; to reduce dropouts or to improve retention; to provide sociological and psychological help and reinforcement for students; to help students develop self-awareness and confidence; and to improve human relations and the sense of campus community among students.

One program director, however, responded to the interview question regarding program goals by stating, "Well, that's nuts and bolts, and I really don't know." Atypical as this was, it does indicate that some colleges implemented programs simply to quiet student demands and give the impression of responding to academic needs of disadvantaged students, but acted without formulating goals or having faith in the effectiveness of the program.

Overall, tutoring is being offered in any academic subject requested to the extent that tutors are available. On the basis of the number of tutees served, the two top subjects in which tutoring is provided are English (including reading and grammar), closely followed by mathematics. In descending order after these are life sciences, languages, social sciences, and psychology.

The Matter of Money

The budgets for tutoring programs range from about $2,000 to $200,000, most of them falling between $10,000 and $12,000. These operating funds were procured primarily through federal sources, although some programs also received supplemental money from state or local governments, and a few were financed entirely by the institution.

Regardless of the source of funds, 60 percent of the program directors interviewed felt that existing operating budgets were inadequate. That they needed additional equipment, books, materials, and tutors, and that additional funds were not forthcoming. Indeed, in several instances allocations were being decreased because, with the withdrawal of external funds, the institutions were unwilling or unable to continue support of the program at the existing level of funding.

In seeking knowledge, the first step is silence, the second listening, the third remembering, the fourth practicing, and the fifth teaching others.

- Ibn Gabirol

Selecting Tutors

Most programs select tutors on the basis of grade point average (usually an A or B in the course in which tutoring is to be done and an overall GPA of 3.0 or B). Other criteria are faculty recommendations; interest in, and enthusiasm for, helping others; and financial need. One institution, however, gives highest priority to former tutees because of the empathy and understanding they can bring to the problems of peers in need of academic help. To the extent that tutors selected on criteria other than GPA are successful, the practice of selecting mainly high-achieving students is brought into question. Evaluation of peer tutors selected by differing criteria is therefore a subject for future investigation.

Peer tutors for most programs are chosen by program directors, with varying amounts of evaluation and information given by other tutors, and/or advisory committees of students, staff, and faculty members. Every institution reported that the supply of potential peer tutors exceeded the demand, except in a few instances, where securing tutors for night classes at commuter colleges presented logistical problems. This evidently resulted from a lack of personnel to coordinate requests for peer tutoring and the selection of peer tutors for late evening students.
Training Tutors

Fifty-five percent of the programs surveyed reported some type of arrangement for training peer tutors. Generally conducted by the program director and/or the professional staff, these took the form of from one to six hours of initial training, a special program during the summer, or a special course during the school year.

Most training programs are initial training sessions which emphasize teaching techniques or approaches, the use of teaching aids, and diagnostic techniques. Following these, periodic follow-up meetings are held which generally consist of discussions of problems encountered. Some programs conduct weekly sessions for tutors. Some bi-weekly, others quarterly, and still others only when necessary. No clear pattern of follow-up or ongoing training sessions for peer tutors could be discerned.

Many programs have no formal training program. In these programs, new peer tutors are informally assisted by experienced ones, but for the most part they are forced to rely on their own resources. Although much time may be wasted in trying to discover effective teaching strategies without the benefit of a formal training program, program directors and tutees expressed great satisfaction with the performance of peer tutors whether they had undergone formal training or not. It is important to note, however, that this satisfaction might be related to the fact that no comparative judgments could be made within institutions, since the institutions surveyed had either trained or untrained peer tutors, never a combination of both.

Tutors’ Wages—In Money, In Credits

By far the most widely used form of compensation is financial, with hourly pay scales varying from $1.60 to $5.00 per hour. Most programs (53 percent) compensate peer tutors at the rate of $2.00 to $3.00 per hour, although several programs that operate under federal guidelines are restricted to $1.65 per hour. One program has a pay scale determined by academic classification; sophomores receive $2.10 per hour, juniors and seniors $3.00 per hour, and graduate students $4.00 per hour. Several other programs pay undergraduate tutors $3.05 per hour and graduate tutors $4.05 per hour.

Another form of compensation used by several programs is academic credit. Generally, tutors can earn two units of academic credit per quarter or semester, and in such instances normal classroom record-keeping procedures and monitoring are provided by appropriate academic staff in association with the director of the tutorial program. While this option has merit, particularly for institutions with limited funds, most tutors indicated that they prefer financial compensation.

More Students Aren’t Tutored Because...

The number of tutees in tutorial programs ranged from 9 to 1100, with 32 percent of the sample reporting 100 or less tutees and 22 percent reporting a range of 101 to 200 tutees. Only 8 percent of the programs surveyed served 201-300 and few served more than 300. Eight percent of the sample did not know how many tutees were served.

The unanimous opinion of all interview and questionnaire respondents was that the existing tutorial programs failed to serve as many students as they should. Several reasons were advanced: many students fail to avail themselves of the program because they feel it is exclusively for students designated as special services students; many students are not aware of the existence of the program; many students are unrealistic about their need for help; inadequate space restricts the use of the tutoring service by more students; and some students feel there is a stigma associated with being identified as a tutee.

Matching for Ethnicity

Since most programs surveyed served Black, Chicano, native American, and other ethnic minority groups, an attempt was made to ascertain whether ethnic congruency of tutors and tutees is an important factor. While the absence of evaluations made a definitive answer impossible, most program directors, tutors, and tutees interviewed expressed the conviction that the tutor’s knowledge of the subject matter and the ability to relate to the tutee are most important. However, some tutors and tutees did feel that in certain situations, particularly in the case of Spanish-speaking students, language differences were a barrier to a successful learning relationship.

Some program directors felt that relationships between ethnic minority group members and Anglos were improved because of the tutoring program; others felt that if a student wanted to be tutored, then any tutor available should be used, at least initially. All program directors expressed a willingness to change tutors when tutor-tutee personalities prove to be incompatible or when the tutor cannot relate well to the tutee.

Generally, most tutorial programs with large percentages of ethnic minority students have tutors from the same ethnic groups. It is probable that any apparent indifference to ethnic group congruence springs from the fact that significant numbers of tutors already are from ethnic minority groups.

Getting In and Getting Out of the Programs

The majority of peer tutoring programs surveyed (76 percent) had no entry requirements for tutees; these programs were available to students at their request. Other programs were mandatory for
students on academic probation, with low placement test scores, or with an overall GPA below C.

In some instances, instructors merely encouraged students to seek tutorial help, but since strong encouragement by an instructor is rarely ignored by students, this encouragement may also be viewed as a mandate.

In the main, seeking help is evidently self-initiated. Although the psychological implications of that fact were not made explicit in the interview data, they are clearly of critical importance: Students who seek help are likely to have a strong desire to succeed, and their efforts to translate that desire into success may be as important as the help received from tutors.

Tutees in voluntary programs can exit from the program at any time; mandatory tutorial programs have a variety of exit criteria. In some, tutees are required to pass a test in developmental reading or in the academic subject in which they are being tutored. At one institution tutees are required to pass a 12th grade reading test; still other institutions require the successful completion of the regular freshman English course; at another institution tutees remain in the tutoring program for one semester; and in yet another program, the tutee has to satisfy a learning contract made with the tutor. Exit criteria for mandatory tutorial programs are as varied as the number of institutions that have programs; no clear pattern was evident from this survey.

Tutoring Patterns

Whether tutoring is conducted in small groups of three to eight students or on an individual basis makes little difference to most tutors, tutees, or program directors.

Several programs use audio-visual aids, i.e., reading pacers, tape recordings, programmed instruction, and electronic calculators, all reported to be of great value in encouraging independence in the learner. Some programs for group tutoring use an English or mathematics skills laboratory, and in one instance a business service skill laboratory. These laboratories are new, attractive, well-equipped and well-staffed; they are open continuously during the school day and often at night and on weekends; they have high visibility; and students may drop in as desired. Skill laboratories represent one arrangement for group tutoring in which students feel comfortable and in which they are not viewed in a negative manner by other students.

Generally, tutoring takes place in dormitories, libraries, counseling centers, empty classrooms, study centers, office lobbies, special services buildings, tutorial centers, and students' homes. (One program reimbursed tutors 10 cents per mile for travel to the tutees' homes.) Since campus facilities are, of course, also used for other activities, several peer tutoring programs have had to compete with other activities in the same physical surroundings. And in many instances the facilities used for peer tutoring are old, depressing, inadequately housed for space, and over-utilized. Only a few campus facilities for peer tutoring programs are new, attractive, well-kept, and large enough.

A Preliminary Evaluation

Few tutorial programs have as yet conducted rigorous evaluations of their effectiveness. This may be attributable, in part, to the difficulty of measuring the impact of a single program when there are several intervening variables, and in part to a lack of the money or personnel necessary to conduct a complete and meaningful evaluation.

The majority of peer tutorial programs surveyed appeared to provide a greatly needed service, and most of those interviewed expressed satisfaction with their program. They hastened to add, however, that given better facilities, more staff, and greater operating budgets, their programs could be improved.

In the course of interviews conducted at the several institutions that used more than one type of tutor, program directors and tutees reported that peer tutors (advanced students) were more effective than either paraprofessionals (community aides or qualified non-faculty personnel) or professional tutors (faculty members). Specifically, program directors said that peer tutors were able to identify with the tutee better, knew the teaching style of the instructor in whose class tutees were enrolled and thus were in an excellent position to assist the tutee, and were more economical to employ. Tutees said they felt less threatened by peer tutors, that they could discuss their academic problems more openly with them, and that the material was presented at a slower pace and often in a more interesting fashion by peer tutors than by others.

The benefits to the peer tutor seem to be equal to or greater than the benefits to the tutee, according to the observations and feelings of the majority of program directors, faculty members, and tutors interviewed. Peer tutors are thought to improve in self-esteem, self-confidence, communication skills, and understanding of the subject matter being tutored. Concommitantly, tutees are believed to show improvement in the same areas, but frequently to a lesser degree. These subjective observations, however, have not yet been supported by empirical evidence.

The future of tutorial arrangements rests with committed program directors and concerned faculty and administrators who are able to parlay their belief in peer tutoring into a viable political position which will ensure the expansion and continuance of the programs.
BROADLY-BASED SENATES: A First Report

During the fall of 1972, the Center, long interested in structures and processes of campus governance, issued a brief questionnaire to the national population (3,126) of institutions of higher education in order to determine the degree of acceptance of a new form of campus organization. The broadly-based campus senate, with which our research is concerned, is a legislative unit on campus representing several constituencies. Ordinarily, representatives from the faculty, students, and administration make up the campus senate, and sometimes other groups, such as alumni and trustees, are also represented. Later on in this academic year, we will be able to report on the purposes, functions and dynamics of campus senates, but for the present we can indicate how many there are and why some institutions that have had campus senates have given them up.

The notion of participatory democracy still glows brightly in American perceptions of how things should be governed. One thinks easily of the traditions of the New England town meeting, public schools run by locally elected school boards, and other traditions from rural, small town America. These models were useful for higher education before World War II, since many institutions were small, personal, and rural. Today's university, however, is much more like a city than a small town—its sprawling, enormous size inhibiting interpersonal communication and feelings of belonging.

There is a literature in social science which deals with organizational effectiveness and personal involvement, particularly in the work of Warren Bennis, Chris Argyris, and Rensis Likert. Most writers who advocate broad participation in decision making do so on the basis of participation of the worker at his own level—deciding with others how the work on the assembly lines should be done, for example. Few people have dealt with the question of the involvement of the worker in the decisions made by corporate boards of directors. Industry, due to its hierarchical nature and clear-cut functions, may not be the best model for the organization of higher education.

From this literature and from the stereotypes of participatory democracy, we developed some hypotheses for our study of campuswide senates. First, we predicted that they would be found overwhelmingly in small, private colleges that are residential in character. Large, public, commuter institutions, we thought, would be places in which the desire to participate in campuswide decisions would be low and persons would feel anonymous. This kind of innovation, we speculated, would appeal to institutions that were doing other innovative things; for example, institutions that were using a 4-1-4 calendar. On all of our assumptions, the two-year public community colleges should have almost none of the campus senates.

As the various tables in this article indicate, we will need some new hypotheses. We found that of the 1,863 (62 percent) institutions that returned our questionnaire, 688 reported having a campus senate with broadly-based representation. We also discovered that 545 institutions had never considered the idea, 181 had considered it but rejected it, 40 had tried such a campus senate but discontinued it, 303 were currently considering the idea, and 52 will institute the concept at some time in the immediate future.

The broadly-based campus senate is widely employed in a range of institutions in a variety of patterns. We were surprised, however, at the large number (226) at the Associate of Arts degree level. Many of these are public community colleges that apparently find the idea attractive, even though they primarily serve a commuting student body. The most unexpected dimension of the campus senate structure was quite clearly its wide dispersion through the various categories of institutional size. Percentages of institutions with campus senates at each size level were almost identical with the percentage of all institutions at that size level. Over 150 institutions with more than 5,000 students reported that they had some sort of broadly-based campus senate. We will soon know more about the dynamics of these institutions, but at the moment it is interesting that in each category of institution some have tried the idea of a campus senate with broadly-based constituencies.

We did ask those institutions that had tried the campus senate and given it up to write us a letter indicating why this happened. The responses...
to this request was gratifying, with some respondents writing us 5 and 6 page letters. We were able to code the answers fairly well, and the richness of detail makes up for the lack of standardized answers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HIGHEST DEGREE HAVING SENATE</th>
<th>N = 688</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Certificate</td>
<td>1(1.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AA</td>
<td>226 (32.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BA/BS</td>
<td>166 (23.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MA/MS</td>
<td>142 (20.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>46 (6.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ph.D.</td>
<td>120 (17.4%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Out of the 40 institutions that had tried the broadly-based senate and discontinued it, we received letters from over 20 giving the reasons why. In a large number of cases, the advent of a faculty union was the principle factor in the demise of the broadly-based campus senate. The following comment was typical of a number of institutions which found unionization difficult in a participatory structure:

The unionization of our faculty was instrumental in the cessation of active work by the senate. Our faculty contract, covers such matters as tenure, teaching load, salary, fringe benefits, released time, etc. It also includes an article concerning institutional participation. Since many of these matters would have been within the province of the senate, it is my opinion that collective negotiation has been responsible during this past year for the lack of participation in the senate.

Another institutional representative points out that things may get better after the initial phase of dealing with collective bargaining is over:

I firmly believe that once collective bargaining pains are overcome and roles are clearly defined, a campus-wide council can again be effective. It is a shame that we are not to be able to pool all of the human resources of the institution to seek solutions to the problems of governance. While the formalizing of roles is a painful process that poses threats for all involved, it also clarifies expectations and, when done, removes many of the uncertainties.

Only time will tell whether or not unionization will clarify roles to an extent that will result in the kind of collaboration necessary to operate a broadly-based campus senate successfully. Many of our respondents felt that it was antithetical to the union's agenda to work cooperatively with other campus groups.

Faculty members are, in many ways, key to a successful campuswide senate, and it is too early to tell if a unionized faculty can return to a communitarian decisionmaking model, even if the unions bring about a clarification of roles. Most union negotiations are two-way affairs between labor and management, whereas most campus matters are of concern to at least three groups—faculty, administrators, and students. In addition, certain institutions have "gone through the phase" of developing a very strong faculty senate, while other institutions, previously dominated by very strong administrators, are just now moving to a position in which the faculty are seeking power for the first time. The virtues of a broadly-based representative campus senate will be seen very differently depending on the state of institutional evolution. To a lesser degree, some institutions have strong student governments for which the appeal of a campus senate will be negligible.

Although there was no "critical mass" in terms of an ideal institutional size for a successful campus senate, we did find that apparently some institutions can be too small for a senate, which is, after all, a representative body. Some campuses had been working with structures of direct participation in which everyone gets involved in decision-making, and conceived the campus senate as too complex or too bureaucratic for their style:

It would appear that there was not really the rejection of the idea of a broadly based representative government structure, but rather the desire of a small institution to return to the New England township type of governance.

At the other end of the size spectrum, we found some institutions in which the bureaucracy was so large that no one had a sense of the whole institution. If, in such institutions, some accommodations have been made in terms of student interests, then the discontent needed to envision of alternatives to the present structure may never come about:

A school of the size of hardly needs such an organization since students have been invited to participate in faculty meetings, since students have faculty class advisers, and since students elect their own faculty representatives to the student life committee. The administration, the staff, and the faculty have never thwarted any efforts to form such an organization. A few feeble attempts in the past have merely died a natural death through an apathy generated by an overabundance of committees at a school our size.
In addition to those institutions that had tried the senate and found it wanting, campuses that had considered the idea but rejected it without giving it a try were asked to explain what had happened. It was in these cases that the self-interest of various groups was the primary reason for not joining in a campuswide senate. This comment is typical:

I think I am right in saying that beneath a facade of procedural and numerical objections was the feeling of the blacks that they could do better for themselves and for the college by refusing to be co-opted into an all-campus council in which their special concerns and points of view might be blurred.

A variety of groups were mentioned as having turned down the idea of a campus senate on grounds of self-interest: faculty, students, and administrators. Particularly striking was the number of cases in which students, having just attained direct and powerful channels to the faculty and administration, turned down the notion of a campuswide senate. Thus, on any campus in which domains were established, any one group could reject the idea, even if the other two were in favor, as the ratification procedure usually required the agreement of the three major campus constituencies. In some cases, classified personnel, from secretaries to janitors, also elected representatives. Some campus senates now operating with this broad representation are doing well.

An interesting variation of the campus senate was what might be called the “placebo senate,” in which an informal group of people, representatives of many campus groups, met regularly with the president of the institution, not as a legislative group but rather as an advisory body. These groups, usually called the president's council, may serve a useful purpose by providing direct communication with the president. The importance of influence (advice-giving) should not be overlooked. Some students who are in advisory roles to administrators and trustees have come to see the vote as only one tool for getting things done. There are many advantages in situations where decisions come out the right way even if there is no voting. Unfortunately, many students still feel that voting is everything, and unless there are absolutely equal numbers of student, faculty, and administrative representatives with the vote, any plan for a campus senate is a sell-out. We will know more about this shortly, but it now appears that bloc voting is not a regular activity in campus senates—students do not vote the same way on issues any more than do faculty and administrators.

Many institutions reported that one of the major reasons the campus senate idea was rejected was that no one carried through on the development of a finished proposal. It is a fact of life in higher education that many good, or at least interesting, ideas never reach the decisionmaking stage because they are not in “proper form.” It may be a necessity that some discontent with present structures is evident before the structures can be changed. Unfortunately, there are several examples of campus senates in which new structures are quickly inhabited by the same people who made sure that the previous structure didn’t work.

Several institutions felt that they were accomplishing exactly the same thing in terms of communication and decisionmaking without resorting to a broadly-based campus senate as such:

It was determined that by putting students, faculty, and administrators on all internal committees and inviting students and faculty as consultants to the board of trustees, that it was possible to have an adequate part in the policy-developing and decisionmaking process on the part of all elements of the college community.

Given all these reasons for adopting or not adopting a model of a broadly-based senate, there are several observations that might be interesting to institutions considering implementing such a body:

It seems to be easier to effect an institutional change if there is a fairly pronounced dissatisfaction with the existing structure on the part of large numbers.

Faculty senates and student governments that are just beginning to feel their own power will not be likely to move voluntarily in the direction of sharing that power.

Faculty unionization is a persistent cause of both the demise of campuswide senates and the rejection of proposals for such a senate.
Although we will know more later, at the moment there seems to be no reason to assume that a campus senate will be particularly successful on campuses of any particular size range, pattern of control, highest degree awarded, or calendar. Perhaps far more important to its success is the generally shared feeling of the need for such a body, plus the energy and dedication of those who function as representatives in the campus senate. Personal leadership based on a style of collaboration and sharing seems to be an important ingredient.

Later this year, using studies, participant observer reports, and some additional questionnaire information from a number of campuses that have broadly-based senates, we hope to be able to report on the dynamics of successful campus senates in terms of what functions they are serving and how they carry out these functions.

ATTENTION GRADUATE STUDENTS . . .

The Center has a limited number of copies of New Students and New Needs in Higher Education by K. Patricia Cross, which can be ordered by sending $3.00 to the Center for Research and Development in Higher Education, 2150 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, 94704. This paperback is an earlier version of Beyond the Open Door, published by Jossey-Bass (1971), and does not include the chapters on women and minorities.