W.K.Cummings教授による高等教育に関する二つの講演記録: 日本の大学教育への示唆

Records of Two Speeches on Recent Trends of Higher Education Given by Dr. W.K.Cummings in 2012 : Some Implications to Educational Reform of Colleges in Japan

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I. 解説:William K. Cummings 教授のレクチャーについて

はじめに

William K. Cummings 先生は、米国ワシントン DC にある The George Washington University、Graduate School of Education and Human Development 及び Elliott School of International Affairs の Professor of International Education である。この度、先生を お招きして、2012年10月26日、27日の両日、武庫川女子大学教育研究所にて研究会(「国 際セミナー」及び「大学教育研究会」)を開催した。本稿はそのスピーチ記録である。高 等教育のあり方が大きな変革を迫られる中、先生のスピーチとそれに続く議論は示唆に富 むものであり、多くの方に目を通していただければ幸いである。

1. W. K. Cummings 教授について

まず、W. K. Cummings 先生について簡潔に紹介をしておく。先生は比較教育学、高等 教育社会学の分野における高名な研究者であり、同時に日本研究者、知日家としても知ら れる。日本で出版された著書(単著のみ)としては、『日本の大学教授』(岩内亮一・友田 泰正訳、1972、至文堂)、『ニッポンの学校』(友田泰正訳、1980、サイマル出版会)があ る。いずれも日本に滞在し、書籍や資料を渉猟するとともに、直接現場に出向いて得られ た観察や知見をもとに書かれた労作で、前者はハーバード大学に提出された博士論文、後 者は Princeton University Press から出版された著作の日本語訳である。特に、後者の 『ニッポンの学校』は、日本の義務教育段階における教育の優秀性と平等性を世界に広 め、日本人がそのよさについて気づかされた著作である。多くの研究者、教育関係者に影 響を与えたものであり、日本の教育研究者もよく引用した。

先生の日本での滞在は合計6年を超える。その間、収録されたスピーチの中にも出てく るが、永井道雄氏(元文部大臣、教育社会学者)をはじめ、数多くの研究者・知識人と交 流をもたれた。現在も様々なチャンネルを通じて、日本との関係は維持されている。日本 における国際高等教育関連会議への出席(特に、国際プロジェクト CAP - Changing Academic Profession - への参加など)、あるいは IDE 大学協会が発行する『IDE 現代の 高等教育』に、「アメリカの大学は変わったか」(天野郁夫訳)と題する記事が、521号 (2010年6月号)より連載されており、540号(2012年5月号)には「『アメリカの春』は 来るか?」とのタイトルで特別寄稿をされるなど、日本との絆は深い。

Cummings 先生は高等教育、特に比較高等教育の第一人者であると同時に、もう一つ

の重要な研究テーマをもっている。発展途上国における教育開発政策へのかかわりであ る。氏は日本を離れた後、エチオピアやインドネシア、スリランカなどこれまで30以上の 国々に長期・短期の滞在を重ねながら、国家の教育政策アドバイザーなどとして、その国 の「教育開発」のために働き、研究をされてきた。ジョージ・ワシントン大学の大学院で もこれに関連した授業を担当されている。これに関連する著作も多く、次に挙げるものは その一例である。Williams, J. H., & Cummings, W. K. 2005. <u>Policy Making for Education</u> <u>Reform in Developing Countries</u>: Vol. I. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield. Cummings, W. K., & Williams, J. H. 2008. <u>Policy Making for Educational Reform in Developing</u> Countries: Vol.II. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

2. 講演テーマの設定

今回の教育研究所主催の研究会での講演の実現については、先に挙げたように研究所長の友田泰正教授が Cummings 先生の著書を翻訳するなど旧知であったこと、また安東が2010年4月から2011年3月までジョージ・ワシントン大学にて Cummings 先生指導の下、研究を行ったという経緯もあり、教育研究所の小さな研究会にも関わらず、多忙の中、快くおいでいただいた。

この機会に研究所として先生に依頼したテーマは次の二つであった。一つは、先生の専 門である比較高等教育の立場から、今日における高等教育進学率の伸びとその国際比較、 またそのことが内包する問題や課題に関する講演である。日本でも大学進学率が60%に達 しようとしており、トロウ(M. Trow)が規定するところの「ユニバーサル段階」に入っ ている。他の国々でも近年における大学進学率の伸びは著しく、OECD 加盟国の中でオー ストラリアや韓国、スウェーデン、イギリスなど日本を上回る国も少なくない。急速に大 学進学率が伸び大衆化が進む中、各国ともに高等教育機関ではこれまでにはなかったよう な様々な問題や課題が立ち現れている。これまで大学に進学してこなかったような学生を 迎えることにより、高等教育機関はどのような変化を強いられ(学生の学力レベルや学習 意欲の低下、それに対応する授業のあり方、評価のあり方、大学教員の負担など)、どの ような共通した課題を課されているのかを認識し、理解を深めようと考えたからである。

もう一つのテーマは、大学が大衆化して様々なレベルの学生が入ってくるようになった 今日、大学はそうした学生の学習意欲をどう高め、学習を保障していくために何がなされ ているかというものである。日本でも、近年さかんに大学生の授業以外での学習時間の短 さが指摘され、単位認定の甘さ、授業の質の問題や授業の工夫が大きな課題として取り上 げられてくるようになった。今後もこのテーマは高等教育において注目されていくだろ う。こうした課題について、高等教育の大衆化がいち早く進行し、そうした研究も蓄積さ れているアメリカの状況を知り、日本でも役立てようと考えた。このテーマを打診する 際、Cummings 先生の専門とは異なるので、断られることも覚悟して伝えたのであるが、 「確かに自分の専門とは異なるとはしながら、近年非常に注目され、研究の蓄積も進んで いる分野であり、チャレンジする価値がある」として、あえて関連研究を調べ、講義準備 をしていただいた。

後者のテーマは「Fostering Student Engagement and Learning」との題目となり、 2012年10月26日(金曜)に、教育研究所「国際セミナー」としてスピーチと議論が行われ た。前者のテーマは「What Happened to Universal Education?」と題して、翌27日(土 曜)に「大学教育研究会」として実施された。

3. 講義内容について

いずれの研究会も、2時間を設定し、Cummings先生による PPT を使ったプレゼン テーションを90分前後とし、その後、質疑応答や議論を行った。その際、出席者には若干 のデータ資料と友田と安東が発表内容を事前に日本語でまとめたレジュメを配布した。

以下、二つの発表内容を簡略に、意訳を含めてまとめてみた。なおこの要約には、後に 掲載する講演のみならず、その後の質疑応答での内容も一部分含まれていることを断って おく。

(1) 「Fostering Student Engagement and Learning」(国際セミナー) Oct./26/2012

まず、文化人類学者のRuth Benedictの有名な仮説を取り上げた。具体的には、社会からの勉学への圧力がかかる時期が日本とアメリカで異なっている点に言及した。日本では 高校在学中という比較的早期の発達段階で、そしてアメリカでは大学の時期にかかってく るといった問題である。物事の比較をするとき、数字などだけで一様に論じてはならず、 こうした文化の差の問題を抜きに比較は考えられないという指摘があった。

日米の大学では様々な点で差異がある。1)大学に入学した者が卒業する割合にして も、日本ではほとんどの者が卒業するのに対して、アメリカでは50%あるかないかであ り、大きく異なっている。2)アメリカに比べ、日本の大学進学者の方が知的な側面で大 学進学の準備がよりよくなされている(PISAの結果など)。

今日のアメリカで大きな焦点となっていることは、大学での学びの評価である。しか し、専攻などが異なるので学習の成果を比較することは不可能に近い。そこでアメリカで は"Engagement"(学習を含む諸活動への取り組みの程度)を測るようになってきた。 その代表は NSSE(National Survey of Student Engagement)であり、大きな広がりを見 せている。あるいは他方で、CLA(Collegiate Learning Assessment)は、NSSE とは異 なった、より抽象的次元での評価、例えば"Critical Thinking (分析力)"に焦点を当て、 その測定結果の比較を試みている。そうして、性やエスニシティ、親の教育歴など様々な 変数を使い分析が行われている。この調査結果を用いて Arum と Roska (2011)が行っ たアメリカの大学1年生と3年生の比較研究では、両者の成績が余り変わらないという結 果が示され、大きな話題を巻き起こしている。

ここでは、さらに具体的に大学におけるいくつかの変数を取り上げ、それらと学習成果 の関連についての先行研究をレビューする。取り上げられたもののいくつかを示すと、以 下のようなものである。

- ・宿題量・経済的援助・2年制プログラムか4年制プログラムか
- ・ 寮生活か自宅通学 ・ 学生の多様性 ・ 規模が大きな大学か小さな大学か
- ・大学の雰囲気(climate) ・カリキュラム ・Mentoring
- ・教授スタイル(教員と学生の相互作用)・Writing Center など。

こうした変数の影響について、先行研究結果を主としつつも、自身の学生として、ある いは教員としての体験を交えながら説明がなされた。

しかしながら、これらアメリカの状況が日本に当てはまるかどうかは分からない。日本 の学生は大学に入ったら厳しい受験準備教育への反動として息抜きをしようとするし、ア ルバイトもする。宿題も余り出されないし、寮生活は少ない。他方、学生本人の借入金は アメリカと比べて少ないなど、状況が大きく異なるのであるから、簡単に比較して優劣を つけたり、すぐに一方が他方を真似すべきだという具合にはならない。それぞれの社会に は、培われてきた伝統やシステムなどがあるのだから。

学生がキャンパスで何も学ぶものがないのであれば、それは確かに大きな問題であり、 大学の危機である。何を、どう学ぶのか、学ばせようとするのかについて、それぞれに真 剣に考えるべき問題である。

- ※なお、この内容については、『IDE:現代の高等教育』No. 548(2013年2・3月号)に カミングス先生の特別寄稿「学生を学習させるために:日本への教訓」(pp.65-72)が 掲載されているので、参考としていただきたい。
- (2) 「What Happened to Universal Education?」(大学教育研究会) Oct./27/2012

高等教育はエリートの特権とされていたが、ある局面から、それは近年急速に変わって きた。1970年代後半までにアメリカでおこった変化では、高等学校コホートの80%ほどが 大学に入学し、40%が学位を取得しようとした。日本でも高等学校卒業者の40%が大学に 入学した。当時、高等教育への入学者がこのような段階に達している国は他になかった。 しかし現在、世界の状況は大きく変化した。高等教育に何が生じたのか、それはなぜか、 そして大学や若者にどのような変化をもたらしたのか。

1970年代、マーチン・トロウ(M. Trow)は高等教育の大衆化を予測し、それによって どのような変化がもたらされるのか示唆した(学習準備不足の学生、実学教育を求める学 生、家庭に十分なお金がない学生が増加し、大学はただ教える機関へ変化するなど)。そ してアメリカと日本ではさらに進学率が拡大し、ユニバーサル段階に至ることを示唆した (エリート:15%未満、マス:15%以上50%未満、ユニバーサル段階:50%以上)。

実際には、アメリカではあまり数字が伸びず、同年齢層の40-43%ほどの者が高等教育 を受けるにとどまっている。日本は高等教育を修了する者の割合増加してきたが、学生の 実数から言うと伸びてはいない。その一方、他のいくつかの国々では急速な進学率の伸び が生じた。25-34歳コホートで高等教育を受けた者の比率は、韓国が65%となり、日本 57%、アメリカ42%を凌駕した。他にも、カナダの56%およびロシアの55%をはじめとし て、イスラエル、ニュージーランド、ノルウェー、英国、フィンランドでも比率が高く なった。具体的な点ではトロウの予期とかなり異なる点もあるが、彼の論点は刺激的で、 核心をつくものであった。

では、こうした進学率の伸びはどのように説明できるのか、あるいはそうした進学率の 伸びは大学教員にいかなる変化をもたらしたのか?これまで明らかにされた国際比較研究 から、国ごとに基準が異なるなどのデータ上の問題点を考慮しつつ、説明がなされた。詳 細は本文で確認していただくとして、以下、いくつかの論点を簡潔にまとめる。

大衆化の進行とその国の社会状況との関係については、いくつかの指標から国際比較が なされている。社会の経済レベルが上がるほど、中等教育への入学比率や卒業率が上がる ほど、若者が高等教育機関に入学する割合は高い。一方、人口増加率が高くなるほど、高 等教育機関への進学率は低い。興味深いことに、経済的なグローバル化の規模と人材流入 の規模は、それぞれ高等教育機関への進学率と相関がない。また日米二カ国における労働 市場の特性の違いと大学進学率の関係についても考察がなされた。

大衆化は不可避だとされ、そのプラスの側面は様々に述べられるが、マイナスの側面も 評論家によって予測されている。例えば、大学に配分される人的・物的資源が分散して細 り、クラス規模が大きくなり、準備が十分でない学生が増える。そして教育が機械的にな るなど。果たしてこれらは本当か?実際には、クラス規模が大きくなるというが、学生数 増加率より教員増加率が大きい国もある。

大衆化は準備不足の若者の進学増加と結びついていると主張されるが、いくつかの国々 であてはまるものの、平均学力(PISA)の高い国々は、大衆化のレベルでも最も高くなっ ている。予想と反対の関係が見られるのである。

大衆化は教員の仕事上の負担を増やすとの主張もある。これに関し19カ国(日米含)を

対象とする CAP (Changing Academic Profession)調査では、次のような結果が得られた。 ・教員の仕事負荷:週当たり労働時間は、エリート段階の国々(大学進学20%未満)で39 時間、移行期段階(20-40%)で44時間、進んだ大衆化段階(40%以上)で45.7時間と、 顕著な差異がある。大衆化段階の教員では、エリート段階と同様に教えることに多くの時 間を費やしているものの、彼らが費やす時間で最も多いのは管理や研究の時間である。

・教育内容:三段階すべてで、教員は自分が望むよりも基本的スキルの教育に時間を費やしていると答えた。また、三つとも実用的知識を重視し、自分の授業に多くの新しい内容を導入したと述べており、三者間で際立った差異は少ない。大衆化した国々の教員は長く働き、仕事からくる過剰な緊張を経験する傾向が最も強い。しかし概して言えば、いずれの段階でも自分たちの仕事に対する反応は類似している。

紙面の都合上割愛するが、この他、様々な具体的データを示しながら、検証がなされた。

以上、検討して分かったのは、急速な大衆化は、高等教育全体に対して、そこで教育を 行っている教員に対して、緊張(strain)をもたらしているということだ。この点は注目 すべきであるが、全体的にみると、概してそれは度を越したものとはなっていない。大衆 化した高等教育とエリート高等教育はかなりの部分で類似しているようだ。では、高等教 育はどのようにして、大衆化に伴って生じるプラス面を最大化し、そのマイナス面を最小 化することができるのかを考えねばならない。どの教育システムが最も優れており、それ を真似ればよいというものでない。ある意味、どの教育システムも特殊なのである。下に 挙げたことが参考となるだろう。

- 1) 教員と管理者間の協同的関係を育むこと
- 2) 急いで改革を進展させすぎないこと
- 3) 教員と学生の比率をほどよいレベルに保つこと
- あまり多くのカリキュラム改革を導入しようとしない(そうした衝動を抑える)こと。慎重に、そして教員と十分に話し合いながら進めていくこと
- 5) 成果評価(成績・業績評価)への強調しすぎないこと

4. 講演内容に関する文献・資料等

プレゼンテーションおよび資料に出てきた文献や組織の HP を以下にまとめて示している。全ては示し切れていないが、理解を深めるために、参考にしていただければ幸いである。

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・Engagement に関わるアメリカの組織の HP

"National Survey of Student Engagement (NSSE)" HP (http://nsse.iub.edu/) "Collegiate Learning Assessment (CLA)" HP

(http://www.collegiatelearningassessment.org)

おわりに:編集について

以下に掲載する内容は、Cummings 先生のプレゼンテーションの部分のみを英文に起 こしたものである。研究会では質疑応答も行われたが、その部分を入れると焦点が少しぼ やけるおそれがあることと、紙面の都合上割愛した。

この原稿をまとめるに当たっては、次のような手続きを取った。1)まず業者に録音し たデータを送付し、英語を文章に起こしてもらった。2)安東が録音を再生しながら原稿 をチェックし、日本語の書き起こしや不明部分を確認した。さらに、原稿の中に発表で使 用した PPT のシートやデータを入れ込むなどして、分かり易くするために最低限の編集 を行った。3)ある程度編集した原稿を Cummings 先生に送付し、付加や削除など最終 的な点検を行ってもらった。

Cummings 先生には多大な時間と労力をお掛けしたことと思うが、いつもながら迅速 かつ的確に原稿を修正していただいた。この場を借りてお礼を申し述べる。

Ⅱ. レクチャー1

October 26(Fri.), 2012 At Institute for Education of Mukogawa Women's University (Nishinomiya, Japan)

Fostering Student Engagement and Learning

Dr. William K. Cummings (Professor of the George Washington University, U.S.A.)

Thank you very much for this precious opportunity to visit your school and actually to take on this interesting topic. It's a hot topic in the United States right now and probably it's going to be a hot topic in Japan very soon. So it's interesting to explore it. I will talk slowly of course and refer mainly to the slides. Pretty much everything I say will be there and I hope that would be adequate. If you have any questions, feel free to answer along the way. In a sense, this is like a "Kenkyu-kai" (workshop) and we are all bringing our own perspectives.

Introduction

The starting point, I will do a little bit of a "Nichi-bei hikaku" (comparison between Japan and U.S.A.) in the sense that my first book was called "*Nihon no daigaku kyoju*" (*The Chaniging Academic Marketplace and University in Japan*) and my second book was called "*Nippon no gakko*", (*Education and Equality in Japan*), both of these in Japanese, I mean my Japanese books. Actually, both of the books, "*Nihon no daigaku kyoju*" was my "Hakushi ronbun" (doctoral dissertation) and the "*Nippon no gakko*" was my first big book that was published by Princeton University Press in the United States. The point is that I was very fortunate to have some very good Japanese scholars as friends including Tomoda sensei (Professor Tomoda, Yasumasa) but also, all of us got together once a month under the guidance of a man named Michio Nagai (Former Minister of Education 1974–76).

At that time, Nagai sensei had been a professor at Tokyo Kogyo Daigaku (Tokyo Institute of Technology). Since he had lost his job so he was kind of a "Ronin" (person hunting for a permanent job) and all of us were "Ronin" so we had a good time talking.

I didn't have a job. Actually I did have a job. I taught at "X" College in Tokyo, but it was a "Keiyaku-sei" (contracted position), it wasn't the real academic job but it was good.

I wrote first "*Nihon no daigaku kyoju*" and I came back with "*Nippon no gakko*". Then Nagai sensei and I agreed the Japanese university is terrible and the Japanese primary school is wonderful. At that time, people didn't recognize how special the Japanese primary school was. But later on, in the 1980s and so on, the Japanese primary school got to have a very good reputation. We were waiting for the Japanese university to have a good reputation because we thought that other university systems did a much better job in education.

Japanese professors take a lot of pride in their research, but what about their teaching in the classroom? All I am saying is an image or a belief that Japanese teachers in the classroom were not so serious. On the other hand, that American professors are very serious and skillful in teaching. This is a kind of a background belief. But as we look more carefully at the American experience, which is what I'm going to mainly do, we begin to question whether this image is correct or not. It could well be that American education is also very weak, higher education is very weak. It could be that both are very weak, or it could be that Japanese education is better than American education. And we don't appreciate the strengths of Japanese higher education.

One reason it's hot is in the United States because politicians are saying, "What's going on in American education?" "Are children learning anything?" The presidents of American universities and colleges say, "Yes! Yes! Yes!" Politicians say, "Prove it." American colleges are very expensive. If we're spending that kind of money, you should be able to prove us that we are getting something." This is kind of an American mentality of accountability; accountability to the "Riji-kai" (board of trustees), accountability to "Ippan no kokumin" (ordinary people) and so on. It's the way Americans think about their organizations. If the American colleges and universities are not doing very well in terms of education, why should we spend tax money on colleges and universities?

For example, when I was a young man, the State of California was paying 80% of the budget of UCLA (University of California at Los Angeles), and we talked about UCLA as a state university. Now, the State of California is only paying 10% of the budget of UCLA, so it's no longer a state university, it's a state-located university. It happens to be in California that's all.

National Culture and Context

Before we get into the actual discussion of learning, let's take a look at the evidence that's available. There is not much evidence, but there is some. It's helpful to at least discuss some of the background factors. One is a very famous hypothesis by a lady named Ruth Benedict (Cultural Anthropologist) who said that cultures were different. In some cultures, there is a sort of peak in terms of pressure or "shakai-ka" (socialization) in early development. She says that in the United States it's at the university level. There's a lot of learning going on in America at the university level because that's part of the American culture. In other words, American young people are lazy academically at least through high school, then when they get to college, they work very hard. In contrast, in Japan, she says Japanese young people are working very hard until high school and then they are very tired, so when they go to college, they take it easy. How can you have learning in a Japanese college or university when the students want to sleep or want to play? There is this kind of an assumption that culturally you are not supposed to learn in college in Japan, whereas in the United States you are. It's kind of the way people are supposed to grow up.

This may be an old idea but the times I've visited Japan in the past, people sort of believed in this. You go to a classroom in Japan, a large classroom, nobody is there, maybe not even the professor is there, but still the students get to graduate. That would supposedly never happen in the United States. Actually, it happens a lot but that's another one. Even if you learned nothing in the Japanese school, you graduate, but in the United States, it's a serious evaluation of your learning. If you don't study hard in a

Learning and Culture

 According to Ruth Benedict, when in the live cycle we open up to learning, it is embedded in culture:

In Japan, high school is the critical period
In the US, it is college

 Also a norm in Japan that universities should graduate all of their entrants; many US universities think they should fail a certain % course, maybe you get a C or a D or an F, and you don't pass the course. Anyhow it's a fact that roughly from 40% to 50% of American college students do not finish their college ever, or certainly within the 4-year period or the 6-year period because they they decide to drop out.

In the Japanese case, if you start something, you are going to graduate, you are going to finish it. I have an example which in my notes Mr. Tomoda asked me, "What is the envelope?" In the handout I think there is some mention of an envelope. When I was at X College, I had an experience one day where the father of a student came into my office and he said I had given his daughter an "F". She was a senior in college and she was hoping to graduate with her friends but I gave her an F. Why? She never came to my class. She had done nothing at my class. How can I give her anything other than an "F"? It was perfectly obvious to me. The father came in and said, "Nice to meet you. I heard so many nice things about you," "My daughter admires you." And "Did you know that my daughter had an accident this winter, in November? She was skiing and she broke her leg. She had to stay in the hospital for a long time, but she is a very smart girl and has worked very hard at this college, and so she was hoping to be a good student here." He didn't say, "Give her a better grade." But as he left he put an envelope on my desk.

Later on that day, the "Gakubu-cho" (academic dean) came into my office and said what a wonderful girl she was and that it was very important that she graduated for the reputation of X College and also very important because she was going to get married soon. But if she didn't have a university degree, she couldn't get married. Why do you need a university degree to get married? Anyway he said, "It would be nice if you could make a little adjustment in the grade," and then he showed me what a good student she was in each grade. I was left with a moral decision. Should I change her grade or not? Also, should I use the money in the envelope? Actually, it wasn't money in the envelope; it was just a gift card to Isetan. It wasn't really money. I thought about this and I said, "Should I be a stubborn American or should I be a good Japanese?"

For that day, I decided to be a good Japanese and the girl graduated and maybe she got married and so on, I don't know. But what I'm saying is there are many reasons why nearly 100% of Japanese young people in college graduate. Among those might be that they learn, but in the case of this girl, she learnt nothing but she still graduated. Whereas in the United States, we think that only those who have learned graduate. It's a contrast. What I'm trying to say is that the cultural context for university learning in Japan and the United States is different.

Massification and Student

Now there are a couple of other points I'd like to make. The different issue is that the two systems; the United States system is much larger than the Japanese system. It was called mass higher education at least at that time. At that time, the Japanese system was on the edge of sort of mass higher education system. In the United States about 80% of young people were going to the university; in Japan about 45%. The preparation of American students on average is probably not as good as the preparation of Japanese students. This is another big difference between the systems.

Massification and Student

: Preparation as Additional Aspects of Context

- US system is more expanded, has a more diverse student body
- Japanese high school education is arguably superior (in terms of academics as reported by OECD)
- Hence, US practices are not easily adopted in Japan and vice versa?

Can you really compare the Japanese learning experience with the American learning experience? I don't know, but at that time, even though only 45% were going to higher education-we're talking about the late 1970s-Japan was no.2 in terms of the participation rate. At least many people have argued if you get to be as high as 45% of the young people going to higher education, you are including in that group of many young people who are not really prepared to learn, so is it very different or is it about the same?

The implication is this third point. The systems maybe are very different so maybe we shouldn't compare them. I'm not really going to compare them today. But it's a big problem in the United States today whether students have learned anything in college. It's becoming an interesting focus for research by OECD. In other words, they are planning to do an international survey of learning. Japan will be included in that survey. The Japanese politicians are going to be very interested in the findings of that survey. This is one reason why I think what I'm talking about is important.

Engagement/Learning

How you measure what students learn is a big puzzle because in college students are studying different subjects, different disciplines, even students who are in the same faculty may be taking different courses. How do you go about assessing how much people have learned? One effort in the United States doesn't measure learning, but it measures what's called "Engagement." This study is called NSSE, (National Survey of Student Engagement. It's been used at over 1,300 universities and colleges in the United States and it looks at these different topics. It gives the score for the colleges on level of academic challenge, whether students have enriching educational experiences, whether they have active and collaborative learning, whether the campus environment is supportive, and whether they interact with faculty. It focuses on these five areas (Chart 1) and it says, "If an individual is high on all of these, the individual is likely to learn." If a university or a college is high on these, the students in that university or college are likely to be learning a lot and so the research of NSSE is around this paradigm.



CHART I. NSSE BENCHMARKS

One of the interesting findings is that the number of hours-this is what NSSE might measure-one of many questions. How many hours do you spend in class and studying for class? In a week, there are 7 days (times) 24 hours. I don't know how many hours that is, but it's a lot, its nearly 100 hours. According to the NSSE survey today, the average student in United States is spending about 11 hours per week in class or studying for class; 11 hours a week means about 6 hours going to class and 5 hours studying for all the classes. Is that enough? It's not very much. What's interesting is if we go back about 10 years ago, there was a study before NSSE where they found that young people were spending on an average 15 hours a week in class or studying for class, so from 15 hours down to 11 hours.

Over the last 10 years there has actually been a decline in engagement of American students by this one measure. A politician found out about this and said, "What's going on?" Surely, if students are spending less time in class, they are probably learning less. How else do you learn if you don't study? Take a pill? I don't have a pill like that yet, so the only substitute is to study. This is a big controversy. Is the American college failing its students?

Learning/Assessment Measurement

There are many other particular questions in this NSSE survey that lead to that type of question. We're not going to talk about NSSE today but it's worth mentioning because the instrument itself and the literature around it is useful. However there are some people who have actually tried to learn, to study learning and to assess how much students learn.

The College Learning Assessment (CLA) is the most widely used instrument for that purpose and a research group that's focusing on that (Finley, 2012). The CLA focused on what they called *critical thinking, reasoning, and writing skills*, all three of these. I'm not sure I can define for you what we mean by *critical thinking*. It doesn't mean that you are critical in the sense of "this politician is a fool." I'm not saying anything about a particular Japanese politician like Mr.*****, but it's more critical in the sense of you getting some information. Can you come up with an original understanding for this information? Can you write a paper that's insightful that shows a new way of looking at a problem, or can you in mathematics perhaps develop not just a standard way to prove a problem but a new way to prove the problem? In other words, critical thinking is kind of a demonstration of original thinking that other students may not be able to duplicate. *Writing skills* are emphasized heavily in this learning assessment, they made an effort to

focus on these three. Concerning what I'm going to talk about shortly, I'm just going to focus on critical thinking.

There is a very interesting book which is a bestseller right now. It's called "*Academically Adrift*" (written by Arum & Roksa 2011). This is a somewhat sensational report. Through first 2 grades 45% have no gains. Through 4 years 36% have no gains in learning.

For their definition of learning, they used only *critical thinking* even though the CLA used these three different components. This right here is an effort to try to summarize one illustration. Essentially, the critical thinking that they get you into is some kind of problem that they choose. They give you some data to read, they give you 90 minutes, and they also give you several questions that they want you to answer, related to this problem in this data. And the quality of your answers is the basis for determining whether you have developed critical thinking or not.

Learning/Assessment Measurement

- Seeks to measure critical thinking
- Students have 90 minutes to read several documents and respond to a set of open end questions
- Evaluators judge the thoughtfulness and creativity of the responses
- Example: Students asked to develop a strategy for the final stage of sell of an order of airplanes
- But special issue is that one of the airplanes recently has crashed—so need to stress the reliability of the model and the seller

In this book they have mentioned several examples. One is you are trying to sell an airplane to another company. I knew that that's why I chose this, but the problem with your sales talk is that just a day before you're going to the client, one of your airplanes crashed. How are you going to convince the client that your airplanes are reliable when just yesterday one of them has crashed? This is a problem for you and you got to come

up with an answer in 90 minutes.

The questions are open-ended. They get away from this multiple choice simplicity test of your thinking. They really want you to come out. Now whether this is a good test of critical thinking or not, we could argue. I had the feeling that it's kind of biased in favor of students who are in the "Bungaku-bu" (School of Literature) ; they are quicker writers. On the other hand, you could argue that it's also biased to students who are in engineering because they are used to talking about mechanical things. The researches that are behind this book would say the test is fair. Of course, we always say that.

What Contributes to Learning Gains?

Learning/Assessment Model;

We have what's called a dependent variable, learning, as measured by the CLA, the "critical thinking." Then, the researchers examined a number of different features of college life or life before college that are related to this dependent variable. Most people say that the quality of their work is pretty high, but like Professor Ando says we could criticize it. It's very easy. That's what we do as professors, we're always criticizing. Let's assume, let's at least follow their guidance. I didn't draw a diagram here but this is their model.

Learning/Assessment Model

- Prior to College Entry
- Academic Preparation
- 2005 CLA score
- Factors after College Entry: Faculty expectations, reading/writing required, hours studying alone, hours studying with peers, hours spent at frat house, financial aid
- Institution Attended
- 2007 CLA score

*Prior to College Entry;

There are a number of variables such as gender, ethnicity, your parents'education, demographic variables.

*Academic Preparation - Grades/SAT Scores;

There's also academic preparation which is what were your grades in high school and your SAT scores. These then lead to your score on the CLA in the year 2005. What we have for our sample is about 2300 freshmen in 2005, so that's another variable. Then, we have things that occur while you're in college.

*Faculty Expectations;

In this diagram, they are only including the variables in the college experience that had a significant relationship to learning. They examined quite a few additional variables. I'll talk about some of these additional variables in a minute but the ones when you used the multiple regression that made a difference is on this list. It's a measure of faculty expectations.

Do the faculty convey the fact that they want you to do a good job and do they have mechanisms in their teaching to stimulate you to do a good job? For example, when I was a freshman, I had to take a course in composition. The professor was very interested in our use of language. He was a professor in English literature – American literature, and he also wrote books himself, but he also felt that we should have very good control of grammar and punctuation. If we made three mistakes, three in our composition, we had to write a new essay each week. If we made three mistakes, he gave us an F each week. I worked very hard not to get an F. In other words, he set a very high standard. This is an example of faculty expectations and everybody in that class worked very hard. He was very inspiring, in a sense.

*Reading/Writing;

Concerning reading and writing, there's a measure here of how much you read in a week and how much you write in a week or over a semester. Do you read 20 pages a week, 30 pages a week, 50 pages a week, 100 pages a week? Actually, it turns out that a great majority of American college students, according to this study, did not read 20 pages a week. Can you imagine that? How about your students? Do they read 20 pages a week? Do they read 50 pages a week?

(Participant : Much less.)

Much less? You're in trouble. In terms of writing, were you expected to write a paper that's at least 15 pages long in a semester for at least one of your professors? I don't know what percentage said "No", but actually quite a large percentage didn't have to write anything. On the other hand, to the extent that you write, to the extent that you read, that is the higher your score on the assessment in terms of the statistical analysis.

*Fraternity/Sorority House (social learning);

Hours spent at the frat (fraternity) house. In the argument in this book (Arum & Roksa "Academically Adrift" 2011), they are comparing what they call academic learning with what they call social learning. A frat house is short for what's called a fraternity house. It's sort of a social club, and many American students go to campus and they join a fraternity or sorority. If you join a fraternity, you have lots of obligations at the fraternity. You've got to clean the house but you got to go to the party, you got to help your junior students study, you got to go buy beer for the party on Saturday night, you got lots of serious obligations. The more time you spend in social learning, the less time you have to spend in academic learning, this is the issue.

*Financial Aid (socio-economic status, obligation, e.g.);

I'll add just one more thing, financial aid. In a Japanese college, maybe your parents pay for everything so you don't worry about money, but I'm sure that many Japanese young people that are going to college do worry about money like they do "Arbeit" (part-time job). In the American college, you take out a loan and maybe you also work, but obviously the more time you spend in this work, the less time you have to spend on study. On the one hand, time to study, to get involved in the academic aspect and on the other hand, many things pulling you away from the academic aspect, mainly your fraternity or other social activities and then also your work activities related to keeping your financial debt low. If you have to spend a lot of your time and money or rather a lot of your time trying to get money to help pay off your financial obligations to the school, you have less time available to study.

*Institution Attended;

Let me just make one point first. In the model what was being measured is what was your score when you were a freshman and then what is your score 2 years later at the end of your sophomore year. This is one finding. Through the first 2 years, 45% of the students in the study had no gain in the score of critical thinking. Roughly, half of the students had not improved their critical thinking after going through their freshman and sophomore year in college that's pretty disturbing. After 4 years, still 36% have no

gains. In other words, one out of three students has got nothing out of college but they' ve had to spend \$100,000 to \$150,000. I don't know if that's a bargain. They had a good time maybe. They've gone to lots of football games. They've consumed lots of beer, maybe had a car accident, maybe fallen in love two or three times but is that what college is about? I'm not sure.

Secondly, kind of related to the point you've made, one argument is "Yes". The students in college are getting good grades, but not much is happening in those classes where they're getting good grades. The authors cite another study where there's a compact between the students and the faculty. A compact which says I'm going to give you an 'okay grade' regardless of what you do, if you give me a good evaluation, kind of a secret promise. It may not be stated too openly but people understand what that's about. Just as we were coming up, Professor Tomoda was telling about a Japanese professor who has 1800 students. If I were that professor I would very quickly tell the students, "I'll give you an A-minus if you don't do any work, no papers, don't come to class, A-minus," and that way is much easier. Some of the stuff does go on, the shortcuts.

Now the model, let's don't worry about these cheap things, this corruption. Let's worry about being serious about fostering learning. What contributes to learning? In the speech, I've got a whole bunch of things that I identified. Some of them come out of this study that you have there. Others just come from the literature, and let's see how we're doing. Let me go through some of these. It's a list of things and reflect on it.

*Residential Student Status versus Day Student Status;

The literature says if you live in a residential hall on campus, a dormitory, versus if you come to school in the day and go home at night, you're going to learn more. Japanese universities tend not to have dormitories. I'm told here at Mukogawa you got dormitories for about over 400 students, so what about the other 9600 students? In the school where my son went to college in the state of Maine, the school had a bed for every student. In other words, it was that the school had control of the life of the students and so probably they learned something. I mean this is at least one finding.

*Diversity of Student Body (Bowman & Brandenberger);

Do you have international students? Do you have students of different ethnic backgrounds? You think maybe that is kind of a challenge because they have a very different life experience. This is found to have some impact on learning. I can't give you a good example but if you're sitting down in a room with somebody of color and then there is some big racial incident on the TV, you talk to this person and they have an entirely different perspective. It sort of forces you to learn. If everybody is the same, it's not going to be a very good educational experience.

Searched the US Literature and Came up with the Following Themes: *Small Schools versus Large Schools;

It might be thought that a smaller school is better, the administrators, the teachers at the smaller school can control the environment. The argument goes that way but it turns out that some large schools do very a good job too, and some small schools don't do a very good job in terms of learning. The small versus large is not a very successful variable. I went to the University of Michigan, if you know the school, it's bigger than UCLA if that's possible. What the University of Michigan has in a way is a lot of small schools inside the large school. In other words, a dormitory might become a small school. That dormitory might be a special dormitory for Arts. They would construct the tables where the young people would eat, so they could have a table at lunchtime for those people who are interested in German language, and another table over there for those people interested in French, and another one for those people interested in Chinese. You break down the large into many small experiences that are academically oriented. You even have debates in the evening in the dining room around topics of world importance. There is a way to make use of largeness to get some educational outcomes.

*2-year Program versus 4-year Program;

Though I've forgotten what the real argument is about, we would think that 4-year programs would have more impact than 2-year programs. But this particular study (Arum & Roksa) says, "No." That the 2-year programs actually do better than the 4-year programs. The one thing that can be said is it seems like the learning in terms of critical thinking that develops in an American college, there is more development in the first 2 years than in the second 2 years. In a sense, the first 2 years it's a bigger shock and people get more challenged in terms of their beliefs and what not, so they are more of interest. When they get into the second 2 years, they're sort of sliding into a professional slot. They are learning but they are not learning sort of the basic shift towards critical thinking. They are now learning very specific knowledge. This is an

interesting issue, if a junior college can be as effective in promoting critical thinking.

*School Climate;

School climate is very big. I used my example of my English composition class, but what is important in the school? Are we saying that academics are important or are we saying that football is important? Saturday, the whole day is focused on the big game. At University of Michigan, football was very important. The fact is I still watch football on the TV and I always tune into the University of Michigan to see how they're doing. They always lose. I don't know why I do this. I should have learned not to turn on the TV but still the University of Michigan was a school that has academic learning and the social learning in good balance. But in some schools, it's just too much one way, towards a school climate that does not stress academics. How you create a school climate is a real challenge.

*Curriculum (Pascarella et al) ;

Skip to first part though there is literature on it. There is literature on the liberal arts curriculum too. In a sense this is very relevant to you at Mukogawa. I've cited a book by Pascarella et al. One would think that a liberal arts curriculum is going to be more promoting of critical thinking and there's a slight bias that way but it's not consistent. There are good liberal arts colleges and there are weak liberal arts colleges. It depends very much upon the academic expectations that are part of that liberal arts college. I hope I'm making sense? It depends.

*Faculty-Student Interaction out of Class (Cox & Orehovec);

This next point, faculty-student interaction out of class. To me, the simple example is, when I went to graduate school at Harvard University, the real smart people at Harvard are the undergraduates, not the poor graduate students. But, concerning the way the undergraduate experience is organized, first the students have advisors. It is more important than that students live in dormitories. They're not in dormitories, just a place to sleep, they are houses. In the house, faculty live, maybe with their spouse and maybe with children, but the faculty live in the house, they teach courses in the house, they eat with the students in the house, they joke with students, they may even play football and so on with the students. In other words, they sort of become like a big brother or a big sister to the students. In this way, they break down the walls between student and

faculty.

My guess is that this is also something that's very characteristic of a Japanese school, I don't know. At X college in Tokyo, we would go to what we used to call "Konpa (originated in 'company')" (party). And we would sometimes go out and get a little beer for the sake of learning. The literature shows that to the extent that faculty can get a relationship between students, it's not just in the classroom but it's more holistic. This is very good for learning.

*Learning Communities (Jessip-Anger);

In a sense that's what I'm talking about when I speak about these houses or groups for study within houses. You don't necessarily need a dormitory to create a learning community but to create a situation where there is reinforcement of learning beyond what takes place in the specific classroom.

*Mentoring/Tutors (Crisp);

Do you have a system of mentoring in school where older students work with the younger students, sort of help younger students adapt to the campus? Not many colleges have this but where they do have it, it's said to be very good in promoting learning as well as social learning, as well as retention.

Some of these are very obvious. Time studying, we've already talked about it, the more time you put into study, the more you're going to learn.

*Writing Centers;

I know you're in charge of international exchange here in Mukogawa. In my program at the George Washington University, we have lots of international students. Usually, my international students hand in their papers a few days late. The reason is because they have taken their paper to the writing center, and so the writing center is very busy. They can't get it out in time but the writing centers works with the students to improve their composition. It's a useful learning experience. It's a service that's provided by my university that helps the students learn.

*Pedagogy Centers;

On the other hand, pedagogy centers help faculty to teach and we also have a pedagogy center. Actually, I would say these days that a great majority of American

colleges and universities have it. You're not required to go, but when you get hired, you're told of the opportunity and it's frequently advertised, and particularly for those faculty who get low grades on student evaluations. The chairman of their department is likely to say maybe you should go to the pedagogy center to learn how to teach. My chairperson often says this to me so I know it. I haven't been there yet. Maybe when I become young, I'll go. These are some other learning experiences, which then feed back on critical thinking.

*Service Learning;

You get out of campus to do some kind of public service, working in the community, working with people in prisons or whatever. It brings a new perspective on life. Study abroad is another example, which students go, they can have a very meaningful experience, it changes their way of thinking about life. Not all study abroad has that sort of result. Then, finally taking up the position in student organizations, student government is shown to have some impact on your learning.

What Detracts from Learning?

What detracts from Learning?

- Student-faculty compact:
 - I'll leave you alone if you leave me alone. That is, I won't make you work too hard (read a lot, write a lot)so that I won't have to grade as many papers or explain why you are not performing well.
- Stress on social learning
 - 70% of undergrads at a mid-West U reported that social learning was more important than academics
 - Students spend much more time on social learning

I mentioned that student-faculty compact as something that we agree we're not going to learn as long as you don't make me work. This is going to lower the likelihood that we're going to learn in college. We are also going to learn less if we spend a lot of our time with our social learning. I think I have a nice graph here (**Graph 1**). This is the amount of time spent in the different activities in a mid-western college where a survey was done of time; 51% of time was spent socializing, 9% was spent in class, 7% was spent in the library or studying, and about 7% was spent working, and about 24% spent sleeping. I don't know do college students like to sleep? Only when class is held, they like to sleep, right? Anyway that's a lot of time socializing at this college, a large mid-western college. College is supposed to be fun, right? You're supposed to have a good time. You're supposed to learn how to meet new people. That's what college is about? Or is college about developing your critical thinking skills?

Graph 1 Time Spent in Various Activities



Conclusion

I'm finishing up here. It's an interesting topic I think. I've been able to show you some of the correlates of it. Fundamentally, it comes down to the "school climate" that you nurture. The school climate"", it may start with the president of the university, there have to be faculty that are close to the president who reinforce his concerns, and therefore faculty realize that it's part of their job to focus on learning and to challenge students. In various ways, those issues show up in faculty meetings and in collaborations, and so on.

Is what I'm talking about relevant for Japan? I don't know. What happens in a Japanese university? It's just my impression, but at least the predominant thinking is young people deserve a break when they go to college in Japan. They should get into social learning because they've been studying too hard in high school. This means it makes it a little bit more difficult to achieve academic learning. It's kind of a minus factor.

Conclusion

- Much interest in learning, its measurement, its correlates
- Research still in early stages
- Have presented a list of correlates, partly from CLA(Collegiate Learning Assessment) lit, partly from elsewhere
- A long list
- Mainly focuses on school climate
- The role of professors is possibly underemphasized

Seven Principles of Good Practice (Gamson & Chickering)

- Good practice encourages contacts between students and faculty
- Good practice develops reciprocity and cooperation among students
- Good practice uses active learning techniques
- Good practice gives prompt feedback
- Good practice emphasizes time on task
- Good practice communicates high expectations
- Good practice respects diverse talents and ways of learning

Do Japanese students get many requirements for written work? When I was in X college, one of the classes I taught was "Eisakubun" (English composition). Yes, students wrote every week but not every school has "Eisakubun", I guess. How do professors conduct themselves in classrooms? We've been having a discussion about active learning or the process learning or problem based learning. I think this is something you are talking about here in this university. Whatever we call it, is that the predominant model for learning or is it more the lecture style?

I mentioned my example of the envelope. I don't know how many envelopes there are in Japan. I hope there are not too many. But if everybody knows that they are going to get out of college without work that's not very promising in terms of promoting learning in college. It's not a strong incentive.

Relevant for Japan?

- Social learning is encouraged—after a hard high school
- · Few written assignments for classes
- Lectures are more common
- · All students are "guaranteed" passing grades
- Many students have part-time jobs
- Few students live on campus
- But just as in US, a current concern for more academic learning, more critical thinking

My impression is that a large number of Japanese college students have part-time jobs. Does this interfere with their studying or not? I'm not sure. The one disadvantage in the United States is that students in the United States develop very heavy debt. And I think in Japan that's less common. Parents may develop debt but not children.

We've talked about living on campus as opposed to living off campus in "Geshuku" (single-person lodging) or living at home. The Japanese pattern is not to live on campus but to live off campus and arguably that's a strike against you. These are some comparative comments, which do imply there might be less learning on a Japanese campus than on American campus, but that's troubling because there is not much learning on American campus. If that's true, we have a crisis in higher education, if anybody finds out that there is no learning on campus. I think that's all I've got to say. Thank you.

Ⅲ. レクチャー2

October 27 (Sat.), 2012 At Institute for Education of Mukogawa Women's University (Nishinomiya, Japan)

What Happened to Universal Education?

Dr. William K. Cummings (Professor of the George Washington University)

Thank you for having me at your university and it's a nice chance to see this area, which I never stopped here. I always go from Osaka, I guess I stopped at Okayama, but I've never really spent time in this area, so this is a lovely place.

Introduction

What I'm talking about today is a topic that I am just starting, and there are many things I don't know about this topic. But I think it's a fascinating topic. There are two reasons it's fascinating; one reason is that there is a lot of confusion about what we mean in terms of participation in higher education and how do we measure it. The first

Introduction

- Higher education was once viewed as an elite privilege, but in certain contexts this gradually changed.
- Most notably in the US where by the late 70s about 80% of the high school cohort were entering college, 40% were "attaining" degrees (and the GER was circa 60%).
- And in Japan of 1970s where 60% of the high school cohort were entering college.
- What has happened since?

part of my discussion is going to be around that, but the kind of working hypothesis about mass higher education or massification of higher education is that somehow things are getting worse. It's kind of an assumption that people have, and so what I'll be doing today, not comprehensively but with just a few pieces of information is to test that hypothesis. Is it true, as higher education expands that things get less attractive or is that a false assumption?

In primarily dealing with that second question, I'll use some secondary data but I'll also use data from a survey that I'm coordinating, which is a survey of the academic profession in 20 countries that's my part of it and it's called CAP (short for Changing Academic Profession). I will introduce a little bit about the survey later on and I'll give you a few examples of data from that survey. The survey can be used to answer questions about massification. I have used it to answer questions about the productivity of scholars. I have also used it to look at the position of women in the academic profession across many countries, and I have used it to look at issues of governance and management, particularly the latter area, governance and management is what I'll be talking about at the very end of the day because I'll tell you what I'm going to say.

I'm going to say higher education inevitably expands but it need not be a bad thing. It can be a good thing but I think what makes the difference is how the managers arrange the expansion of higher education that's the invariable. In any case, let's start. "Zutto Mukashi" (long time ago), higher education was an elite experience. Only a small percentage of the population would go to higher education, and so we have this phrase 'elite higher education.' Really until the 1950s or 60s, almost every country had elite higher education.

There were two exceptions. One exception is talked about a lot and that's my country – the United States. Because in a situation where most of the countries in Europe, Asia, Africa had less than 10% of the population going to higher education. In my country by the late 1970s, 80% of the high school students were going to colleges or to junior colleges. It doesn't mean that this is very important. It doesn't mean they were completing junior college or a 4-year program, but it means they were going. That's a very high percent; nearly everyone was going to higher education. That's America. It's not elite higher education, what do you call it?

Japan also was a country that stood out with, according to my Japanese colleague here, 40% to 45%, I'll say that's okay, going to higher education. But Korea in the late 70s, 15% of high school students were going to colleges, Taiwan 15%, Malaysia 5%, Hong Kong 5%, Germany 15%; so nearly every place had much lower numbers, but what stood out in the late 70s was the United States and Japan. What has happened since?

Trow's Theory Envisioned Mass Higher Education

There is a very famous paper written by a sociologist at University of California, Berkley, around what he called mass higher education. He is Martin Trow, he tried to describe the process of moving from the elite to mass higher education and then from mass higher education even to universal higher education. He said, "The United States was on the edge of universal higher education." Japan was not very far away. He predicted that both Japan and the United States would realize universal higher education in a decade or so. This was a prediction. And, he said other countries would move from being elite to being mass then maybe someday in the future move into universal higher education.

He said as this would happen there were these aspects. Higher education will receive a new type of student who comes from an ordinary family where maybe the parents are not well educated. The student also will come from an ordinary high school where they have not been challenged, so the students are less well prepared. This is a prediction. The students will have an orientation towards a practical education. They want higher education but they want higher education to give them a job. They don't want higher education that will give them critical thinking. They don't want liberal arts higher education. They are very practical. They are spending money to get skills that will help them in the job market. That was the second one.

Martin Trow (1973) predicted a Global Massification Shift

- New students less prepared
- New students in search of practical education
- Not willing to pay full fare
- Shift from universities to teach only institutions
- So growth of junior colleges, distance ed, etc
- And for the US and Japan he predicted continuing expansion towards Universal Higher education

Since the new students come from ordinary homes, they don't want to pay a big price for higher education, so they will be looking in a sense for a market. It may be that they will go to schools that are not traditional schools, but rather are teaching-only schools. What you will begin to discover in higher education is a differentiation of different types of schools. Maybe the elites will go to the famous universities but the masses will go to mass higher education institutions, which are practical, which are teaching-only institutions. In other words, a professor in these institutions doesn't need to do research. The professors maybe will be teaching long hours, not 12 hours or 15 hours a week, but 20 hours or 30 hours a week – teaching machines. He even hinted that there may be such a thing as distance education.

I don't know if you know about Martin Trow. But he wrote a very famous book about junior colleges before he started talking about mass higher education. He already was looking at junior colleges. He was saying students would go to junior colleges, and the junior colleges would cool them out so that they would maybe finish their junior college but they would not necessarily go on to a 4-year university. This was another part of the picture. Finally, as I said he had predicted the United States and Japan would expand towards universal higher education.

But What Happened?

He gave a very extreme paper. What's striking about the paper was in terms of the general picture, he was right. But in terms of the specifics, he was wrong and that's why I say "What happened to universal higher education?" Because as soon as he wrote his article, the expansion of US higher education in a way stopped. Not in terms of the numbers of students in US higher education that continued to grow, but the population also has grown so the percentage of young people in America going to college after the 1970s has not increased.

What about Japan? It's more complicated but it has not increased today to the level of universal higher education. I think roughly 65% of young people in Japan have the age group are in higher education or are completing higher education. It's a high level of mass higher education but not universal higher education. Trow did not predict that, but other countries have raced past Japan. They have raced past the United States, and they are now toying with universal higher education.

Most interesting is Korea. I don't know that much about Korea. I know that they play very good golf; they do good skating in the Olympics. I know they are very, very determined people. They have a very determined higher education system. Here are some of the numbers but we can look at it in the table. There are two different measures that are used in terms of judging whether a system is mass higher education or not. The statistics Trow used in that was called the gross enrollment ratio, which is the number of young people in college divided by the size of the cohort. The problem with that is, you may be in college but you may not be graduating from the college. A different statistics by OECD is to take the number who were completing, who have completed a degree program, whether it be a junior college degree program, whether it be "Senmon Gakko" or a technical program, whether it be a 4-year program that's the numerator. Denominator is the number of young people in a cohort.

Actual Trends differ

- US has experienced little further expansion if measured by % of age cohort "attaining" tertiary education—steady 40 to 43% across age cohorts (OECD Table A1.3a as Table 1 of this study)
- Japan has experienced increase in percent of cohort but flat (actually a decrease) in terms of actual numbers
- Korea surpasses Japan and then the US in % of 25-34 age cohort with tertiary educational attainment (65% versus 57% and 42%); Korea also experiences numerical growth.
- And several others exceed or approach US level of tertiary attainment, —e.g. Canada (56% for age 25-34 and 51% for age 25-64), Russia (55% and 54%), Israel (44% and 46%), New Zealand, Ireland, Norway, Taiwan, UK, Finland

For measuring universality, the cohort is those young people aged 25 to 34. As you can see, the United States is very interesting; 20 years ago and today the percentage in the age cohort has not changed very much. It peaked roughly 20 years ago in 1990 and has been steady since, 41%, 40%, 43%, 42%. No growth, if we talk about a percent of the age cohort. We talk about absolute numbers there has been some growth (**Table 1**).

Japan has grown, so it's about number 3 or number 4 in the world but still it's only 57%. It's not universal higher education. Here is Korea that has raced past Japan up to be 65%. We have Canada. Even Russia is higher than the United States, though Russian

	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64
US	42	43	40	41
Japan	57	50	46	29
Korea	65	47	27	13
Canada	56	57	47	42
Russia	55	58	54	44
New Zealand	46	42	39	34
France	43	34	22	18
Finland	39	46	39	30

Table 1. % of Population that has attained tertiary education (2010) by age groups (OECD 2012)

higher education has lots of problems. The reason it's higher is because there are not many babies in Russia. As soon as we had the Russian glasnost, children forgot how to make love and so there is shortage of young people in Russia that's one of the reasons it's so high; the numerator is high. We have these other countries. A country that many people look at with great interest is Finland. Overall, it's almost the same level as the United States, and I could add other countries. I have the full data right here.

How to Account for the Changes

What was expected that the United Stated would be no.1, Japan no.2, hasn't happened. Why is that? I don't know but I did try to find out what is related to expansion, or Massification? I got together some data; this is about 30 countries, did some very simple correlations. I'll do a better job with this later getting more countries, but I'm mainly using the countries that OECD talks about because there are a lot of other variables that could be there. Those are very simple type of correlations (**Table 2**). The one thing that we pointed out is whether we use gross enrollment ratio or whether we use tertiary educational attainment as a percentage, whether we use the OECD measure, the results are about the same. GNP per capita is highly related to expansion. Population growth rate, if you have a higher population growth rate it's going to slow down expansion. If you have a large number of young people in secondary education, there was a high percentage in secondary education, tertiary education is more likely to expand.

Table 2. Pearson Correlations of Socioeconomic Indicators with Two Indicators of Tertiary Level Participation

	Tertiary Ed Attainment of Those Age 25-34	Tertiary GER 2005
GDP per capita	.432	.474
Population growth rate	279	597
Secondary GER	.501	.609
Secondary Graduation Rate (2005)	.661	.760
% Tertiary Enrollment in Private Sector	.283	.142

If you have a high graduation rate in your system, Japan has a high graduation rate; the United States has a low graduation rate, so this variable is very important. Whether you have a private sector or not is a little bit important. One would think that the private sector would be more responsive to the demand for higher education but actually systems that are largely public are just as likely to expand as systems with the private sector. It's not a very important variable. I also should have put in the chart the percentage of your population that is sort of immigrants. A very large percentage, it is a relatively high percentage in the United States, Canada, some European countries, not so prominent obviously in Japan. It has a negative relationship to expansion but it's kind of a small factor. This is a partial effort to get at what accounts for massification.

I don't have a full explanation why America hasn't expanded, why Japan hasn't expanded, and other countries have, but I have a few ideas. One reason is that the higher education in the United Stated has become very expensive. It's twice as expensive in terms of just simple cost, forget who pays for it, as higher education in Europe. I don't know what the cost is, compared to Japan. But it's probably about twice

as expensive to run American universities as Japanese universities. Somebody has got to pay for it. In the United States, it used to be the governments. Not the national government, but state governments would pay for higher education but over time, there has been an assessment. Should the state pay for higher education? The state has other things it has to pay for. When I say the state, I mean government. The state has to pay for old people and their health. The state has to pay for roads. The state has to pay maybe for national defense. Compared to those expenses, should the state be continuing to pay a lot of money for higher education? The political answer in the United States has been, "No." The people who go to higher education are the main beneficiaries so they should pay.

Accounting for the Changes

- In general, more countries recognizing the importance of human resources for national development and backing this understanding with funds.
- In the US there has been recognition but also competition for resources. So an increased tendency to say higher education is a private good. But public finds costs high, so where market driven the demand for higher education has been somewhat dampened.
- Major differences in college preparation of high schoolers—US youth have weaker preparation. PISA data as one illustration.

Is this for a private good or public good? Higher education is increasingly viewed as a private good. If that's the case, you pay from tuition. Tuition gets more and more expensive, and it creates a situation where it becomes impossible for many people to go to higher education. That's one argument. The second argument is that American secondary education is weak. I don't know how much you talk about this in Japan. But when we use PISA scores from this OECD test on high school performance or the performance in academic achievement of young people aged 15, the United States is in

the middle, a little bit lower than middle always. Japan used to be at the top, Japan has sunk, Japan went back up. Korea is at the top; Singapore is at the top; Shanghai is at the top; some of the Scandinavian countries do relatively well; Finland is nearly at the top; but the Unites States is not. So what?

How to Account for Differences

The "so what" is that maybe these American young people will go to college, but they are not prepared for college. They go to college immediately after high school where they were getting is A's, A minus'. They go to college, they put out the same effort and they get what we call a B or a C, or an F. In American system, I'm sure you know that we use A-B-C-D-F, you use 1-2-3-4-5, I think. They get low grades, it's a big shock, maybe many American students drop out. That's another reason because they are not prepared. They may drop back in. In other words, they go to college they drop out and in the US case, they drop back in. So what? If they drop back in that means they drop back in when they are older. This adds to the percentages that I showed you earlier for the older cohorts. That's why it's so flat in the United States; 42, 41, 43, 42%, because some of these people are kind of "Modotte Kuru" (coming back), whereas in Japan you don't come back. Adult education is very weak, so I'm told.

Accounting for Differences 1

- So percent of US youth who attend and graduate from high school is high. US percent of high schoolers who enter some kind of tertiary institution also high. But a very large proportion of these entrants drop out in a few months to one year after entering.
- And possibly later drop back in—thus adding numbers to older cohorts
- Major differences in Institutional Retention norm— US is stricter; typical 4-year institution only expects 50% of entrants to graduate
- Flip side is institutional openness to transfers—US institutions welcome quality transfers

In Western Europe, there is a little bit of adult education but it's not on the level of the United States, so not so many come back. This right here is not so important but I do make the point, which is kind of fascinating. I think in Japan, once you join a university you're supposed to stick with the university, and it's a bad thing to move from one university to another university. In a sense, society will view you as an unstable person, a little bit crazy. I'm trying to exaggerate. I don't mean really crazy but it's a little bit of a social stigma attached, whereas in my country, arguably, if you move from one school to another school that's a good thing. It shows that you are ambitious; you are looking for the best education. Employers and society may admire you.

Near my home in Washington D.C., we have a school called George Mason University. It's a good school, but what happens is that a lot of foreign students come to George Mason University to get started with American higher education. When they become juniors, then they transfer to a more prestigious school. This type of mobility takes place. They graduate from a high-prestige school even though they started with a medium- to low-prestige school. They've done something that's very smart and works for them occupationally. This is all talking about the differences in United States, the cultural context of participation in higher education. I am struggling with why we have this pattern of student behavior, and that's one set of issues. Why some systems are more massified than others.

Accounting for Differences 2

- Differences in student loyalty—weak in US; students readily consider transferring if it will benefit their image or marketability (an illustration is sports transfers, but equally applies to academic transfers)
- Differences in corporate acceptance of training by others—US employers actually place a positive value on student transfer to acquire new experience, but Japanese employers are skeptical of such behavior. Hence Japanese participation in tertiary is largely limited to college days, whereas US is more diversified in time and place

Impact of Massification on the Faculty

Now I want to turn to the second question. What is the implication for students of higher education massifying and what is the implication for faculty of higher education massifying? Here, I'm repeating some of the same ideas. Maybe the students are not well prepared so teachers in the classroom have a harder job teaching in mass higher education systems compared to elite higher education systems. Maybe in mass higher education systems, the size of the classes increases. You're no longer teaching 10 or 20 students but you're teaching 100 students. Maybe you have jobs which are just strictly teaching machine jobs. More faculty are involved just strictly in teaching and not doing research. Some faculty are not like they used to be. Are these predictions, which come from Trow, true, false, or somewhere in between? Some of them are accurate, some are not accurate.

Impact on the Faculty

- Massification is now seen as inevitable. On the positive side it expands opportunities for eager youth. But the literature suggests it may have several negative correlates;
- Students not as well prepared
- Instruction becomes mechanized
- Class sizes increase
- Faculty (Some but not all) become teaching machines, with research being neglected
- True or false? Or somewhere in between, why?

Let's take a look first, here's one interesting graph (**Table 3**). It's only for 10 countries, and I think maybe you have it in your hand out but what's to look at is 1992 and 2007. I chose these 2 years because these are the 2 years of my academic profession survey. In the next to last column, I've taken a number of students in 2007 and divided them by the number of students in 1992. In Australia there is 94% increase for students. In Hong Kong, there is 128%, in Brazil it's 231%, in the Netherlands only 20%. This is for students. Now these systems have been expanding at different rates. What is the situation with respect to their faculty? In Australia, students have been expanded by

94% but faculty only by 21%. This is a case where the student-teacher ratio has become bigger that's what Trow would have predicted. That would make life harder for an individual faculty member, but what about Japan?

Year	1	992		2007			% Incre ase in Total Terti ary	% Increas e in Teachin g Staff
	Total Tertiary	GE R	Teachin g Staff	Total Tertiary	GER	Teach in g staff		
Australia	559,365	0.40	28/417	1,083,715	0.75	34,413.	94%	21%
							128	
Hong Kong, China	85,214	0.19	5,978	194,236	0.42	10,500	%	76%
Japan	2,899,143	0.30	286,166	4,032,625	0.59	515,732	39%	80%
Republic of Korea	1,761,775	0.40	77,458	3,208,591	0.96	201,851	82% 231	161%
Brazil	1,591,176	0.10	134,403	5,272,877	n.a.	367,638	96	174%
Mexico	1,302,590	0.13	134,424	2,528,664	0.28	274,618	94%	104%
Germany	2,033,702	0.35	279,806	2,278,897	n.a.	295,447	12%	6%
Netherlands	493,563	0.42	41,217	590,121	0.62	44,632	20%	8%
United Kingdom United States of	1,385,072	0.33	89,500	2,362,815	0.58	129,930	7196	45%
America	14,360,965	0.78	826,000	17,758,870	0.86	1,310,453	24%	59%

Table 3. Enrollment in Total Tertiary Education, Gross Enrollment Ratios, and Teaching Staff, 1992-2007

Source: UNESCO. For Australia, : Department of Education, Employment & Workplace Relations (and its antecedents). ST AG1992' and 'STAG2007' Staff aggregated data sets. Notes: Mexico 1993 data, Mexico Teaching Stafffor 1991, Cermany 2007 Total Tertia ry excludes ISCED Level 6 and hence GER 2007 (Levels 5&6) is not available, Germany Teaching Staff is for 1993. UNESCO does not provide statistics for Hong Kong, so we re port estimate supplied by the Hong Kong research team. Australian figures include academic staff who only do research.

Japan's students have increased by 39%, faculty has increased by 80%. In Japan if that's true, the conditions in a sense of the burden for professors has become a little bit easier. I think that's true in the sense that I know 15 years ago, "Monbu-sho" (Ministry of Education) said there were too many "Hijokin Koushi" (part-time lecturer) in Japanese universities, particularly in private universities, so you have got to decrease them if you want to get money from the government. There has been a pressure of making in a sense a better student-teacher ratio in Japan.

What about my country, the United States? In the United States, according to this also, the faculty have increased a little bit faster than the students. In 4 of these 10 countries, the faculty had increased faster than the students. In 6, the students have increased faster than faculty. What does this mean in terms of the massification theory? It means a little bit of this, a little bit of that; it's not black and white.

Changing Academic Profession

Now I'm going to turn to my survey of the academic profession for some additional hints as to what's actually happened. This is a survey that I'm very proud of. What happened was we got together a group of social scientists from different countries and we said, "Would you like to join? If you're going to join, you'll have to find the money to do the survey in your country, because I don't have any money." We approached about 23 or 24 countries, 19 of the countries were able to find money, and they did a survey where they ended up with samples of roughly 1500 per country. A country like Hong Kong, only about 700, because there are not that many professors in Hong Kong, but in general, we shot for about 1500 for each country.

Changing Academic Profession— CAP Survey

- A partial answer (limited to the perceptions of academics) comes from the CAP survey of 19 countries including Japan and the US—which I have been working on for the last 5 years—in conjunction with a similar survey carried out in 1992
- The Surveys give an indication of what professors think about some of these issues—both today....and how much their perceptions have changed over the past 15 years. Can look at individual countries...or groups of countries (e.g. elite, mass, and those in-between)

In China that was our target, we got 2,800 professors. The reason we got 2800 professors in China because there was a letter from the Ministry of Education which said "please answer this survey." I think people were a little bit afraid not to answer because they may experience some kind of pressure, but China was extreme. Mexico about 2000, and so on, but more typically 1500. What that survey got at was what professors think about their work and also some hard measures at what their work was like. A special feature of the survey was that many of the questions had also been asked in 1992, so we could make comparisons of the 2 years.

I would say and you can ask questions to Professor Tomoda or Ando here. There are many books coming out from this study now. I left two books here at your university, one on kind of a study of the United States, which includes several chapters on governance, it's the United States compared to other countries. The second one is a book strictly on what's called governance and management. It's got case studies for 15 countries comparing using this statement. There will be additional books sort of social background, "Kokusaika" (globalization), and so on.

What about number of students? I'm not going to give you the data but I broke the data up into three groups.

- One group is higher education systems which are still elite systems where 20% or less of the age cohort are students,
- 2)~ the transitional group is 21% to 40%,
- 3) the mass group is 41% and above.

The mass group would include the United States, Japan, Korea, Australia, I think maybe Finland, I could tell you exactly. The transitional group includes most of the European countries and the elite group includes like Mexico, Chile, Argentina, Brazil, Malaysia, and South Africa.

So then, what about number of students; elite, transitional, mass? According to Trow, as you move more towards the mass higher education, the number of students in a class that professor should increase. Actually as it turns out, the numbers in the classes are about the same across the three groups. A little bit much larger classes in the elite groups instead of the mass groups, there is "Gyakuno" (opposite) one of the finding.

Hours of work per week; Professors in the elite group say they work 42 hours a week on average. Professors in the mass groups say they work 46 hours a week. The workweek is a little bit longer in the mass system, but a little bit longer. What I'm trying to get at is, if you look at some of the elite systems like Argentina, many of the professors had their main job downtown and then they come to the university to give a lecture before they go home to have dinner. It's kind of like the private universities used to be in Japan with very few full-time professors. Those that were full-time professors interestingly often tended to be women. The women held the universities together and the men were sort of casual workers in the universities. Anyway, the number of hours that people put in is not very different, so in terms of these particular features, there's not a lot of difference between elite, transitional, and mass higher educational systems at least according to my data. I'll repeat that point. Much of the data I'm going to show you, the differences are not as great as one would expect it from you might say the massification theory.

Second example, what about teaching? We are arguing or Trow would have argued that as we go towards mass, we get a new type of student that's interested in practical education. If we look at this finding, the students in the elite universities in these Latin American universities and African universities are looking for practical knowledge.

Relatively speaking, those in the mass systems are not looking for practical knowledge. It's almost the reverse of what we expect. But actually if you look at these elite universities, they tend to follow the old European model where the "Gakubu" (departments) are all professional. In other words, you have a faculty of law, a faculty of medicine, a faculty of engineering but you don't have a faculty of arts and sciences. This helps explain why in the so-called elite institutions, there is a more practical orientation. You would think that teaching would be more difficult in the mass systems but we have a question, "Spend more time than I like teaching basic skills," 60% of the professors in the elite system said, yes, 59% in the mass system say yes. Mass systems have not much difference (Table 4).

	Elite	Transition	Mass	Mean for 19 Systems
Practically Oriented Knowledge & Skills	78	65	68	70
Spend More Time than I like teaching basic skills	60	54	59	57
Encouraged to Improve Instructional Skills	49	42	58	50

Table 4. Views on Teaching

Expansion; More students that are not well prepared, but the professors don't find that their teaching task could be that much more arduous. Professors are encouraged to improve instructional skills. However, I think this is a very interesting finding. In the mass systems, you try to get the university to be attractive for more and more students. This is not an issue in the elite system because you've got a very small market that you need to run the university, but as you expand you become more dependent on the recruitment of students, you become more dependent on trying to give the students a good experience, so you get pressure to improve your instructional skills.

	Elite	Transition	Mass	Mean for 19 Systems
Individualized	65	71	77	70
Projects	45	48	46	47
ICT-based	33	24	27	29
Distance Ed	16	12	16	16
Develop new material	57	70	69	69
Curriculum Development	50	51	59	56

Table 5. Innovations in Teaching

Does this show up in innovations you use in your teachings to reach out more effectively to students? But at least in terms of individualization of instruction, personal attention to students, it's more common in the mass systems than it is in the elite systems. In most of these other findings, in the next two or three findings, do you use projects as a technique for instruction? No difference. Do you use ICT? This is computers, the PowerPoints, learning systems, movies; not used very much at all and no more likely to be used in the mass systems than in the elite systems. On the other hand, do you develop new material? Are you involved in curricular development? In other words trying to improve the content of what professors do in the classroom. There seems to be an indication of a little bit more effort in the mass schools than in the elite schools (Table 5).

Well, if you are a lazy professor, you use the same material year after year after year. The same articles, the same lecture notes, and if you develop a new material, you are constantly changing the materials. Where I teach, students are always complaining that the professor is using data or using articles that are old. This is a very practical answer, a realistic answer. They complain that I do that but when you get to some issues, the best things were written 15 or 20 years ago, why do you have to use material that was written yesterday? Why? Because the students today are trained to get information from the computer. What they get out of computer is only the latest stuff, so they believe only the latest stuff is good stuff. I'm talking about a kind of psychological gap between what professors think is good for instruction and what students think they should receive in instruction. It's a very real thing in my experience.

Turning to research, and then I'll turn just briefly to management.

Research Goals; Is there an expectation that research should be useful, expectation coming from the managers of the universities towards the faculty, a rather clear trend towards yes? It's not a gigantic difference but in the mass universities systems, more professors say they encounter expectation of useful research. Is there an expectation that you'll be research productive? Partly because universities these days are being very much evaluated in terms of their research productivity. Are you a world-class university or not? In fact, this comes down to professors. They should be writing lots of articles in peer review journals, a fairly big difference between the elite systems, which in a sense were teaching systems, and the mass systems, which include research-based universities or research universities (**Table 6**).

	Elite	Transition	Mass	Mean
Expectation of Useful Research	45	54	55	50
High Expectation of Research Productivity	53	63	66	61

Table 6. Expectations from Research

Raising External Funds; are professors expected to raise external funds to bring in, in another words, research money? I understand that Professor Kawai has a very large project where he is bringing in big money. He is a very good man for the mass higher educational system. Right now, I'm bringing in almost no money to my university, so I have to go and bow my head when I walk into the campus (Table 7).

Commercially Oriented; I would have thought here the difference would have been greater but there is a slight difference towards pressure to make relationships with private companies to get your research and then to contract the products of your research so that a pharmacy company can have the latest drug.

	Elite	Transition	Mass	Mean for 19 Systems
Academics Expected to Raise External Funds	53	74	78	65
Institution Encourages Commercially Oriented Research	37	38	41	39

Table 7. Other Research Items

Management Patterns; This is something you don't have in your handout but I'd like to talk more about these results and about the overall experience of the project. What makes it different and how could faculty feel comfortable with their work is if the management process is a collegial process as contrasted with a top-down process. In general, in the survey, professors were tending to argue that managers did not talk to them very much. Managers were not very collegial, that managers were making a lot of decisions. Here are some examples. Performance orientation, not so common in the elite systems and transition systems, but as we get to the mass system, we have students filling out evaluations of your teaching in your course. We maybe have department chairman coming into your class to watch you teaching. We maybe have in the third line here the department active in the research evaluation and so on, but performance orientation is much stronger in the mass systems. Communication is not very good in any of these systems between managers and professors. All the 33% say that the communication is good in the elite systems, down to 25% in the mass systems, but communication is worst in the mass systems between the managers and the professors (Table 8).

	Elite	Transition	Mass
Performance Orientation	42	40	57
Good Communication	33	25	25
Dept. Head Active in Research Evaluation	41	50	49
Work Source of Considerable Strain	32	46	47

Table 8. Management Patterns

I put this last question in because when the survey was done in 1992, Japanese professors were very proud to say that their work caused them a lot strain. In other words, of all the countries, Japanese professors in 1992 said that their work was a source of considerable strain. We asked the same question in 2007. Again, Japanese professors said that their work was a source of considerable strain but it didn't get any worse. It was about 67% in 1992 and 67% in 2007. What that means is you are always finished in the day, you are very tired and you have to get a massage and I don't know what else to make you to feel comfortable. But now, Korea also has a very strong source of considerable strain, it's about 65%. Overall, you can say that work as a considerable source of strain is more likely to be the case in the mass systems than in the elite systems. Japan is a little bit extreme, Korea is a little bit extreme, but there does seem to be some indication that professors just are more tense in the mass systems than in the previous systems.

Are professors any more tense or tired than people who work in a private company or who work in government? I'm not sure. The reason I say I'm not sure is even though professors say that their work is a source of considerable strain, I don't include the slide here, but we asked a question, "if you had a chance, or if you were born again, would you become a professor?" What's interesting is almost 70% of professors who were in all different situations said, "Yes, I would." Even though they feel the strain, their level of satisfaction with being a professor is pretty high. What I think happens is there are many things they don't like about being a professor. They probably don't like the president, they don't like the dean, maybe like the department head, they don't like their colleagues but they enjoy going to "Gakkai" (Academic Society). They enjoy the fact that they can get up not at 6 in the morning but at 8 in the morning. They enjoy the fact that they can, "today I'm not going to the university. I am going to do my work at home." In other words, it's a pretty good job for somebody who likes freedom.

Some aspects are upsetting, the managerial aspects are upsetting and they get more upsetting as you move towards the mass stage, but you can just forget about it. This is kind of the interpretation that we get out of the project. I could give you another example. We asked in 1992, three questions; Do you have a strong sense of affiliation with your discipline? Do you have a strong sense of affiliation with your department? Do you have a strong sense of affiliation with your institution, in other words, with the university where you work? In 1992, in all of the countries, roughly 90% said, yes including Japan. The only exception was Germany because of the kind of "Gakusei Funsou" (campus riot) there, so it's a special situation.

In 2007, we asked the same question. In the elite countries, again 90% said, "Yes, have a strong sense of affiliation with my institution". There was a reason for this. In the elite countries, things were getting better. In Mexico, the salaries were getting better, the buildings were better, the chances for increases in income were clearer. You could see the academic freedom had been strengthened. In the advanced countries, from 90% down to 60%. In other words, the kind of attachment to the place where you work has gone down. Attachment to the place where you work has gone down but attachment to academic work has stayed high, so it's an interesting fact.

Conclusion

Anyhow, I'm about finished. The basic point is that rapid massification or massification, it hasn't made things overall much worse which is contrary to the prediction of Trow. In many respects academic life in the mass higher education systems in general is about the same as it is in the elite systems. That's the point we made in the beginning, but there are areas where it's not as attractive as it could be. These are just some suggestions about areas that we'll need to work on in mass higher education, also in elite higher education to achieve a more satisfying work life experience, collaboration between the administration.

Conclusion 1

 In the field of higher education, perhaps no topic gets as much attention as massification.

 Keeping our focus on the US and Japan, we have considered the general trends and then the reaction of professors to these trends.

 Massification, especially rapid massification, creates significant strains for the higher education enterprise—and for those teaching in this enterprise. But overall these are not excessive. Mass higher education looks much the same as elite higher education.

In my country at least, I get the feeling that some of the managers think that the faculty are a lot of trouble and they don't like faculty. You know faculty are "Wagamama" (selfish) and the managers can't deal with that. We should change those managers or we should make them go to special schools to teach them how to like professors. Also, professors could behave better too sometimes so that's the first one. The second suggestion is, if you're going to massify a system, I'm not sure if you go very fast that is inevitably going to be strange so have a plan and proceed in an orderly pace. One would have to think that Korea is expanding too rapidly, too quickly but that involves we should be investigating Korea.

Maintain good ratios, in other words, don't let the student ratio get out of hand. I cannot think of examples where it has gotten out of hand in terms of my sample but clearly that could happen. Be careful about innovations. I can't give you good examples, but for example at my university, the former president said, "Let's change this university into a 3-year university." In the United States, you go to school from

September to May if you are at a university and then you take a vacation from June to August. My president said, "That's terrible to take a vacation. We have these nice buildings, we should use them, so let's teach also in the summer, and if we do that, in 3 years the students can finish their program." Isn't that a good idea? But for professors, first of the idea came from the president, not from the professors, and the professors were very unwilling to listen to the president. They thought he was a good president in some respects but they thought he was a bad president in some respects. In a sense, he is a funny man but very arrogant man. The professors protested and that reform never took place, but he is always coming up with new ideas, new ideas, new ideas – let's do this, let's do that. There were too many ideas coming from the president. Somehow you have to get a balance, not too much.

Performance evaluations, this is my own personal preference. We are now expected for any program we have to develop some kind of learning assessment process for the courses, for the degrees, and so on. Do you have to do it too? But it's silly because how do we measure? We are supposed to get an indicator and somehow measure it and then do something with this.

Conclusion 2

So how can we maximize the benefits associated with massification and minimize the pain?

- Foster collaborative relation between faculty and administration
- Don't go too fast
- · Maintain good ratios between faculty and students
- Restrain impulse to introduce too many curricular innovations—go about this deliberately and with adequate consultation with faculty
- Limit emphasis on performance evaluations

Anyhow, this is a personal opinion but as you can see one of the areas that professors are very sensitive to is performance evaluations. In particular, that's one area in the mass system where professors are less happy. I think that a more careful approach to performance evaluations would make some sense. The way it has worked in my university is simply something that's come from the top. It hasn't been discussed, and we are told "just do itl" If somebody tells me to do it, that's the best opportunity that I won't do it. I can even retire if I am forced to do it or I will do it badly that's what I'll do. I hope I haven't done a bad job in this lecture. Thank you very much.