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THE ACADEMIC PROFESSION IN INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

FOR NEARLY THREE DECADES, The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching has been surveying the academic profession in the United States, analyzing the attitudes, values, and professional orientations of the professoriate, as well as chronicling its changing demographic profile. Since the first survey in 1969, the number of U.S. faculty has increased greatly and the faculty has become more diverse, a reflection of changing social conditions apparent in the academy not only in the United States but in other countries as well. Recognizing both the common challenges facing the academy worldwide and the increasing international connections of the professoriate, the Foundation coordinated the first international study of the academic profession.

The work of higher learning has always crossed national boundaries. In fact, since the establishment of the Western university model in the medieval period, there has been an international community of scholars, with professors frequently teaching abroad, usually in Latin, the international language of academe in the medieval period. (In this century, English has become the international language of research and scholarship, with ramifications that will be touched on later.) In the modern period, with the evolution of the international academic labor market and scientific community, along with more efficient travel and communications, the international community of scholars and scientists has become much stronger and more professionally connected.

With the advent of the research university in the late nineteenth century, the internationalism of scientific study in particular expanded through ever-increasing collaborative efforts around the globe. International intellectual exchanges have also occurred with increasing regularity

in the social sciences and humanities. Like the fine arts, scholarship travels well, and more academics than ever before now benefit from exchanges with colleagues in countries far from home. These relationships have undoubtedly contributed richly to the work of the academy and have expanded the world's reservoir of knowledge.

In the International Survey of the Academic Profession, 1991-1993, academics in fourteen countries were surveyed in order to gather information on the demographic facts of the profession, on attitudes toward teaching and learning, on the governance of academic institutions, on morale, and on the involvement of scholars and scientists at the national and international levels. In addition, information was gathered on how academics spend their time, and about their participation in research. As a result of this survey, we now for the first time have comparable data about the attitudes and activities of the academic profession in fourteen countries. This study can provide—and in fact already is providing—the basis for similar research in other countries as well.

The fourteen countries included are all middle-income or wealthy, and all have rather well-developed, well-supported higher education systems. The nations participating in the survey are Australia; the Asian countries of South Korea, Japan, and Hong Kong; the Latin American countries of Brazil, Chile, and Mexico; the United States; the European countries of England, Germany,¹ the Netherlands, Sweden, and Russia; and Israel in the Middle East.

The survey was carried out at a particularly important time for the academic profession. For a number of years, the professoriate has been undergoing change and has been under strain almost everywhere. Fiscal problems for higher education are now evident in all of these fourteen countries, with the crises especially severe in Russia, Israel, and England. In most of the nations, the somewhat unprecedented phenomenon of increasing enrollments has been allowed to supersede allocated resources. Reassessment by policymakers and opinion leaders of the role of the academic profession in teaching and research is also widespread. At the same time, professors in a number of countries are being asked to be

more entrepreneurial—for example, in bringing research grants and contracts to their institutions. The insulated world of academe is clearly undergoing significant change, and this presents unprecedented challenges for the academic profession. There is little doubt that insight concerning how academics in these fourteen countries are coping with the strain of fiscal difficulties and other factors has broad policy implications.

The relevance, then, of this survey is considerable. It is now possible to study in greater depth the similarities and contrasts among academics in different countries, to examine how the organization of academic systems, specific crises, or distinctive emphases may affect the attitudes and the roles of the academic profession. As indicated, colleges and universities throughout the world have common historical roots—academic institutions in Japan, Germany, the United States, Brazil, and, indeed, all other countries look to a common European heritage. Yet each university operates in a particular country as well, and the realities of the academic profession are very much affected by national policies and even by local situations.

It cannot be overemphasized that the greatest value of this study is that it enables us to examine both the national and the international aspects of the academic profession. The survey explores just how scholars see international links and what use they make of research from other countries. Looked at as a whole, these chapters reveal that, while the separate countries have sharply contrasting higher education histories and governance arrangements, a community of interest is emerging. The study indicates areas that academics around the world have in common.

This study is also unique in that it was designed and implemented by researchers in the participating countries. While the questionnaire is loosely based on The Carnegie Foundation's original format, it has been modified to be relevant to the international context and to focus on the topics that were identified as particularly salient by the members of the research group. The very process of designing the questionnaire was itself a revealing exercise, as differences in priorities of the professoriate, and even in the meaning of basic concepts, were discussed, debated, and ultimately resolved. The questionnaire was carefully translated into the

languages of the countries involved (Dutch, German, Hebrew, Japanese, Korean, Portuguese, Russian, and Spanish, with the English version used in Australia, England, Hong Kong, Sweden, and the United States).

A common methodology was used to select institutions and individuals to ensure a random sample from each country.² The number of respondents ranged from more than thirty-five hundred to somewhat fewer than one thousand. Response rates varied among the countries, but fell within what is considered appropriate for surveys of this kind.³ Altogether, the total sample was close to twenty thousand. The twelve-page questionnaire included more than two hundred questions, some of which had country-specific variations to reflect national circumstances.⁴ One can expect such variations in any large-scale international survey, especially when the survey explores a completely new subject. We are convinced, however, that the results are reliable and valid, and indeed various statistical tests conducted support this belief. This chapter is based on an analysis of the basic descriptive tables designed to reflect the international responses to the questionnaire. Our goal is to present a profile of the professoriate from an international perspective and, in the process, to define priorities that might focus the discourse of scholars.

THE IMPORTANCE OF CONTEXT

While the professoriate is part of an increasingly international profession, and universities worldwide stem from a common European heritage, there are important national variations. Moreover, as Burton Clark has pointed out, academics are also divided by discipline and field, and these identities are powerful in shaping attitudes and values.⁵ This chapter, by focusing on broad themes and comparisons, necessarily ignores many specific details pertaining to strictly national contexts, as well as other particular variations within the academic profession, such as department of teaching appointment. In the chapters that follow, contributing authors focus on those circumstances in each country affecting the nature of the overall findings of this survey.

In some of the countries, dramatic changes in the structure and function of the higher education system have affected the nature of

academic work. In others, economic problems have had a profound impact on the profession. While it is not possible to quantify how these challenges have shaped survey responses, it is clear that respondents have been affected by a decade largely unfavorable to the academic profession in virtually all of the countries included here. The following discussion focuses on some of the major circumstances that have affected higher education systems and the scholars and scientists working in them.

One nearly common denominator of circumstance internationally has been fiscal constraint, often as a corollary of greatly expanded enrollments. Of all the survey countries, only Hong Kong enjoyed generally favorable economic circumstances in higher education during the past decade. All of the rest have had problems ranging from modest to severe. The Asian countries have been least affected by economic crisis, although Japan's recession has had a modest impact on academe. Western Europe has also been spared significant cuts, despite economic recession in Germany, Sweden, and elsewhere. Even in these countries, however, governmental policy has increased enrollments without adding necessary resources. While the Latin American countries in the survey have not experienced major cuts in funding for public higher education—indeed, there has even been some growth—enrollments have increased significantly, thereby having an overall negative effect on academic systems.

In Russia, the impact of economic crisis and enormous political and social change on the academics who responded to our questionnaire must have been significant, but it was impossible to gauge the effects. The response rate for Russia is quite low, perhaps one reflection of the unstable situation. The greatest difficulties have additionally been experienced by the English-speaking nations and Israel, where economic downturns have been accompanied by growing enrollments and fiscal difficulties for higher education. The impact in the United States has varied by state and region, with the Northeast and California suffering most. Israel experienced severe cuts in higher education funding, so much so that the professors engaged in a lengthy strike, shutting down academic institutions, which happened to take place during the administration of our questionnaire. In the end the professoriate won only modest gains.

England and Australia are among the most interesting cases, since economic downturns were accompanied by significant reforms in higher education policy. These reforms were bitterly opposed by the academic profession and have led to major changes within academe. Both countries sought to improve productivity in postsecondary education by combining separate sectors of the system and downgrading the elite sector of higher education. The changes were especially contentious in England, where the Thatcher government dismantled the binary system, the division between the traditional universities and the more vocationally oriented polytechnics. All were combined into one system in which the polytechnics and other postsecondary colleges became universities. Controversial performance measures were implemented. At the same time, enrollments were increased to provide greater access, and an effort was made to rank the institutions so that research funds could be awarded to those at the top of the rankings.

Another common denominator is the issue of tenure. While academics worldwide share many similarities in their employment arrangements, and secure appointments remain the rule, we found significant variations from country to country. We found, also, an increasing contrast between academics who have tenure, or at least are in a career-grade position, and those who have appointments that are nonpermanent. Nonpermanent appointments are common in Germany and are increasing in Sweden and the Netherlands, although the guarantees of academic job security in all three countries remain significantly stronger than in the United States. In perhaps one of the most drastic changes ever implemented in an established academic system, England, at the time of our survey, actually abolished the tenure system for new entrants to the profession, replacing it with renewable contracts. Korea has just instituted a formal tenure system, although most academics have had virtually lifetime employment. Japan, too, with its tradition of lifetime employment throughout society, has less mobility among its academics than is the case elsewhere.

It is fair to say that in most of the countries included in our survey major change was occurring in higher education at the time of the administration of the survey—and continues to this day. In every case, change was opposed by academics, sometimes vociferously and sometimes

with resignation. Given the depth of the changes in some of these countries, we were somewhat surprised that our respondents were not less sanguine about their careers and about the future than we found them to be.

Other factors influencing the attitudes we report here, such as gender, age, rank, or full-time versus part-time status and departmental differences are noteworthy and extremely relevant as well. We found significant variations among these categories. The Latin American nations, for example, have significantly higher proportions of part-time faculty, as well as more women in their academic professions. An aging academic profession is evident in virtually all of the countries in the survey, and quite pronounced in a few. On some topics, the views of professors more oriented to research differ noticeably from those of professors who focus on teaching. Some demographic highlights are included in other chapters. Here we give a quick overview.

A DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF THE PROFESSION

Our demographic profile of each country includes the factors of gender, age, and income—the most important indicators of the status of the academic profession—as well as data on academic training, typical career patterns, disciplinary backgrounds, and the current employment situation (full-time or part-time). Our brief overview compares the first three aspects, career patterns, and current employment arrangement.

We learned that the majority of academics are men—in Japan and Korea, nine out of ten academics are male, while in Brazil, at the other end of the spectrum, the figure is six out of ten. Males are more likely than females to hold the highest degrees in their disciplines and generally can be found in the higher academic ranks.

The academic profession is middle-aged—in most of the countries the large majority of professors are between forty and fifty years of age. There is considerable variation among countries, with Mexico having the youngest faculty and Israel, Russia, and Japan having the oldest. Very few in our sample are older than sixty-five years of age.

In all countries, most academics are employed full-time, although the

Table 1.1

HOW WOULD YOU RATE YOUR OWN ACADEMIC SALARY?
(PERCENTAGES)

	EXCELLENT	GOOD	FAIR	POOR
Australia	3	31	44	22
Brazil	3	22	27	48
Chile	0	5	28	67
England	2	22	47	29
Germany	7	41	39	13
Hong Kong	25	46	23	5
Israel	1	6	30	64
Japan	1	10	45	44
Korea	1	12	36	51
Mexico	1	14	32	54
The Netherlands	9	50	31	10
Russia	1	7	16	76
Sweden	2	20	41	38
United States	9	37	35	20

SOURCE: Ernest L. Boyer, Philip G. Altbach, and Mary Jean Whitelaw, *The Academic Profession: An International Perspective* (Princeton, NJ: The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1994), 87.

proportion of part-time professors seems to be increasing worldwide, and some countries, especially in Latin America, have traditionally had a proportionately large part-time faculty.

While variations in such things as exchange rates, cost of living, and inflation make it difficult to draw definitive conclusions about the data concerning the income of the academic profession from country to country, it seems that most academics are clearly in the middle class in their respective countries. Nevertheless, few scholars and scientists report their salaries to be good or excellent—indeed, there is considerable dissatisfaction about earnings and quite a bit of pessimism about future prospects for improvement in this area (table 1.1). In only two places,

Hong Kong and the Netherlands, do more than half of the faculty rate their own salary as good or excellent. By contrast, in six countries, fewer than one-fifth of the faculty report this degree of satisfaction. In some countries, a number of faculty have turned to paid consulting projects and other extramural work to make ends meet. This is especially true in Russia, where more than 80 percent agree that an outside income is essential to augment their salary, no doubt reflecting the difficult economic situation in Russia today. In Japan, too, a number of faculty hold outside academic appointments, and there it is a common occurrence for professors in prestigious universities to also teach courses in less-renowned institutions.

Job mobility is not generally pronounced in academe—most academics have been employed at their institutions for fairly long periods of time. About half of the respondents have held an appointment at only one institution, and another quarter at two schools. Over one-fourth of the faculty in these countries (Australia, Brazil, and Israel), however, have worked at three or more institutions during the course of their careers. Those faculty who had had previous appointments spent from one to four years at institutions other than the one where they received our questionnaire (table 1.2). Older faculty, of course, have moved more times than have their younger colleagues. Mobility is lowest in Korea, Russia, and Japan. The principal explanations given by respondents for why they might leave their current institutions are related to income and resources for research. Less important are the school's academic reputation, their relationships with colleagues (which are generally good), and geographical location. There are a few instances of significant variation according to disciplinary field and among a few countries, but overall there is considerable similarity in the responses to these questions in the profession internationally.

Regardless of the level of satisfaction that academics feel vis-à-vis their salary, the majority receive the largest proportion of their incomes from their college or university, with consulting and teaching away from their home institutions comprising a relatively minor part of their earnings. There are some exceptions: in Brazil, for example, almost a third and in Mexico about 15 percent of full-time faculty hold paid, full-time

Table 1.2

AT HOW MANY DIFFERENT INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION
HAVE YOU EVER HELD A REGULAR ACADEMIC APPOINTMENT?
(PERCENTAGES)

	ONE OR TWO	THREE OR MORE
Australia	68	32
Brazil	70	30
Chile	80	20
England	78	22
Germany	80	20
Hong Kong	75	25
Israel	74	26
Japan	89	11
Korea	95	5
Mexico	88	12
The Netherlands	88	12
Russia	91	9
Sweden	79	21
United States	75	25

SOURCE: Ernest L. Boyer, Philip G. Altbach, and Mary Jean Whitelaw, *The Academic Profession: An International Perspective* (Princeton, NJ: The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1994), 74.

nonacademic positions. On the other hand, in Australia, Germany, Hong Kong, and England, fewer than 1 percent hold other paid, full-time nonacademic positions. The other extreme is evident in the small minority in the research cadre at the top of the profession that earns significant income from external sources and functions in the cosmopolitan atmosphere of international research.⁶

WORKING CONDITIONS

The conditions under which the professoriate works help to determine not only productivity but also morale. Not surprisingly, working conditions of the professoriate differ considerably from country to country, but we found that most academics have a positive sense about the most overarching and essential issue of intellectual atmosphere, including the courses they teach. The relationships professors have with administrators, with each other, and with students vary according to several factors, as do their attitudes about future prospects (table 1.3). Regarding a third level of working conditions—the physical facilities and such things as libraries and computers—we found a wide range of dissatisfaction. Overall, while being asked by academic administrators and policymakers to do more with fewer resources, faculty are being told that they should not expect to be rewarded—financially or otherwise—for meeting ever-increasing demands. Yet, while obviously frustrated by day-to-day working conditions and by poor prospects for increased rewards, when asked about their overall morale, most respond that it is relatively high. Many report finding intellectual pleasure in their work, and that this in large part sustains them.

Faculty express general dissatisfaction with their classrooms, laboratories, research equipment, libraries, and with the technologies available for teaching, although they are more satisfied with existing computer facilities. In almost all of these areas, the faculty of five countries—Hong Kong, the Netherlands, the United States, Sweden, and Germany—are generally less critical. Faculty most involved in research also have fewer complaints about facilities than do those most involved in teaching.

Regarding opinions about students, in five countries, over half of the faculty describe their students as excellent or good, although a look at language and math separately reveals some dissatisfaction. In nine of ten countries, less than one-third of the respondents report that their students are adequately prepared in writing and communication skills; in four countries, the figure is 20 percent or less. In most countries, faculty also feel that students lack adequate training in mathematics, with faculty in the United States being the least satisfied, and faculty in Hong Kong

Table 1.3

BASED ON YOUR EXPERIENCE AT THIS INSTITUTION, HOW WOULD YOU ASSESS RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN FACULTY AND ADMINISTRATION? (PERCENTAGES)

	EXCELLENT	GOOD	FAIR	POOR
Australia	3	28	39	30
Brazil	6	46	35	12
Chile	3	25	48	24
Hong Kong	3	28	47	22
Israel	9	40	31	20
Japan	3	22	58	18
Korea	1	15	47	38
Mexico	6	43	37	15
The Netherlands	3	29	47	22
Russia	3	47	42	8
Sweden	4	34	41	21
United States	7	36	36	21

SOURCE: Ernest L. Boyer, Philip G. Altbach, and Mary Jean Whitelaw, *The Academic Profession: An International Perspective* (Princeton, NJ: The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1994), 95.

being the most satisfied. In most of the countries, the largest proportion of faculty report that the quality of students is about the same as it was five years ago. In two countries, faculty feel that students were better prepared five years ago; in Korea, the largest proportion of faculty find that students are better now. Female faculty have more favorable attitudes about students than do males. There is widespread agreement that too many students, except students majoring in the respondents' own fields (an exception that probably deserves further scrutiny), are inadequately prepared to fully benefit from higher education.

Bridging issues of intellectual concerns and physical facilities are the courses professors teach and other aspects of their jobs, such as prospects

Table 1.4

TO WHAT EXTENT ARE YOU SATISFIED
WITH THE COURSES YOU TEACH? (PERCENTAGES)

	SATISFIED	NEUTRAL	DISSATISFIED
Australia	77	16	7
Brazil	64	31	5
Chile	78	18	4
England	76	17	7
Germany	59	27	14
Hong Kong	72	23	5
Israel	81	17	2
Japan	54	35	11
Korea	82	15	3
Mexico	79	16	6
Russia	60	36	4
Sweden	74	21	5
United States	86	11	4

SOURCE: Ernest L. Boyer, Philip G. Altbach, and Mary Jean Whitelaw, *The Academic Profession: An International Perspective* (Princeton, NJ: The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1994), 91.

for promotion and job security. Academics (especially in the humanities) seem relatively satisfied with what they teach (table 1.4), but have mixed feelings about the resources given to them to carry out their work. Females and junior faculty are less likely to be satisfied with their circumstances than are males and senior professors. Clearly, the latter enjoy greater benefits, encounter fewer hurdles, and can expect fewer surprises as their careers continue to unfold. Males and senior professors also teach fewer courses.

Generally, however, the demands for teaching are greater as enrollments continue to climb, and a large number of respondents report that this is occurring at a time when fewer resources are available. Many report

a general unease about this situation, along with considerable pressure to be more productive as scholars and scientists.

In light of all of the above, it is hardly surprising that in half of the countries, two-thirds of the respondents report that relationships between faculty and administration are only fair or poor; in no country did even 10 percent judge these to be excellent.

The professoriate, especially female faculty, is not entirely satisfied with the overall situation of higher education. Many are uneasy about their lack of control over the contemporary situation, and a number are unsure of what the future holds. In addition, many respondents, with Japanese, Korean, and British scholars and scientists scoring especially high, report their careers to be a source of considerable personal strain. On the other hand, slightly less than a fifth of the faculty in Israel report experiencing this sort of tension, a finding that seems surprising given recent difficulties faced by the Israeli academic system. Finally, a majority of respondents in every country except the Netherlands believe that a sense of community is lacking on campus. Still, despite widespread dissatisfaction about many aspects of their day-to-day life, most academics indicate that they would again choose the academic profession if they were starting their careers over.

In sum, one could not readily conclude that faculty morale is either good or bad. The picture that emerges is quite blurred. The professoriate around the world may express considerable discontent, but it has not lost sight of the positive aspects of academic life.

There is ample evidence that professorial working conditions are deteriorating in most of the countries included in this study. In the countries of East Asia and Latin America objective circumstances seem to be fairly stable in terms of workload, salary, and the overall situation on campus. Elsewhere we find that classes are getting larger, faculty are under pressure to teach more, research funds are declining, and salaries are not keeping abreast of inflation. In a few countries, the significant systemic reorganization has created stress for academics, while in others, including the United States, retrenchment threatens some faculty. Indeed, we were surprised that the academic profession is as optimistic as our data indicate (table 1.5).

Table 1.5

IF I HAD IT TO DO OVER AGAIN, I WOULD NOT
BECOME AN ACADEMIC (PERCENTAGES)

	AGREE	NEUTRAL	DISAGREE
Australia	16	18	66
Brazil	15	7	78
Chile	16	12	72
England	20	17	63
Germany	17	15	69
Hong Kong	17	15	69
Israel	9	6	85
Japan	16	30	54
Korea	10	14	76
The Netherlands	13	18	69
Russia	11	17	72
Sweden	8	8	84
United States	11	10	79

SOURCE: Ernest L. Boyer, Philip G. Altbach, and Mary Jean Whitelaw, *The Academic Profession: An International Perspective* (Princeton, NJ: The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1994), 94.

PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES: TEACHING, RESEARCH, AND SERVICE

There has been considerable concern about how the professoriate spends its time and about the level of productivity in higher education. How are teaching, research, and service organized in this broad range of countries? Are there significant variations? At the heart of such questions is the intensity of the commitment faculty feel to the students they teach, to the scholarship of their discipline, and to the institution in which they work.

While it is difficult to make broad generalizations not only among countries, but also among different academic ranks, disciplines, and institutional types, the data about professors' attitudes and investment of

Table 1.6

PLEASE INDICATE THE DEGREE TO WHICH YOUR
AFFILIATION WITH YOUR ACADEMIC DISCIPLINE IS
IMPORTANT TO YOU (PERCENTAGES)

	VERY IMPORTANT	FAIRLY IMPORTANT	NOT TOO IMPORTANT	NOT AT ALL IMPORTANT
Australia	67	27	5	2
Brazil	95	4	1	0
Chile	87	13	0	0
England	64	29	6	1
Germany	62	29	6	3
Hong Kong	68	27	3	2
Israel	75	23	2	0
Japan	69	28	3	0
Korea	80	19	1	0
Mexico	71	26	2	0
Russia	66	30	3	1
Sweden	55	34	9	2
United States	77	21	3	0

SOURCE: Ernest L. Boyer, Philip G. Altbach, and Mary Jean Whitelaw, *The Academic Profession: An International Perspective* (Princeton, NJ: The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1994), 80.

time with regard to teaching, research, and service furthers our understanding of academic work in contemporary higher education.

Before exploring academics' professional activities, it is of interest to note the importance of their affiliation to their disciplines, departments, and institutions (tables 1.6 and 1.7). (Perhaps the results reflect the professionalism of the academy, despite the fact that in some countries professors are civil servants or the role of unions makes some of them reject the idea of their belonging to a profession.) In every country, the largest proportion ranks in order of importance their disciplines first, their departments second, and their institutions third. Academics

Table 1.7

PLEASE INDICATE THE DEGREE TO WHICH YOUR AFFILIATION
WITH THIS INSTITUTION IS IMPORTANT TO YOU (PERCENTAGES)

	VERY IMPORTANT	FAIRLY IMPORTANT	NOT TOO IMPORTANT	NOT AT ALL IMPORTANT
Australia	22	52	21	6
Brazil	76	19	5	1
Chile	65	30	5	1
England	18	46	28	8
Germany	8	26	35	31
Hong Kong	28	50	18	4
Israel	42	46	10	2
Japan	31	48	19	2
Korea	37	51	11	1
Mexico	56	38	6	0
Russia	45	45	10	1
Sweden	19	47	29	5
United States	36	46	15	3

SOURCE: Ernest L. Boyer, Philip G. Altbach, and Mary Jean Whitelaw, *The Academic Profession: An International Perspective* (Princeton, NJ: The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1994), 80.

obviously value relationships with colleagues—whether on campus or far away. In only three countries, paradoxically all in Latin America (where, it will be recalled, high proportions of faculty have work commitments off-campus), do significant numbers of faculty believe their institutions are very important. In the other countries, the majority of the respondents rank the institution where they hold an appointment as only moderately important.⁷ This finding may be surprising given the modest level of mobility for faculty among institutions in most countries.

Teaching is a primary activity of the professoriate in most of the countries in the survey, but a significant proportion of academics in a large number of the countries express, both in word and deed, a real

Table 1.8

REGARDING YOUR OWN PREFERENCES, DO YOUR INTERESTS
LIE PRIMARILY IN TEACHING OR IN RESEARCH? (PERCENTAGES)

	PRIMARILY IN TEACHING	LEANING TO TEACHING	LEANING TO RESEARCH	PRIMARILY IN RESEARCH
Australia	13	35	43	9
Brazil	20	42	36	3
Chile	18	49	28	5
England	12	32	40	15
Germany	8	27	47	19
Hong Kong	11	35	46	8
Israel	11	27	48	14
Japan	4	24	55	17
Korea	5	40	50	6
Mexico	22	43	31	4
The Netherlands	7	18	46	30
Russia	18	50	29	3
Sweden	12	21	44	23
United States	27	36	30	7

SOURCE: Ernest L. Boyer, Philip G. Altbach, and Mary Jean Whitelaw, *The Academic Profession: An International Perspective* (Princeton, NJ: The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1994), 81.

commitment to research (tables 1.8 and 1.9). It is significant that in the United States, where there has been so much criticism recently of an overemphasis on research by American academics, the majority indicate that their primary interest and commitment is to teaching. The U.S. is joined by Brazil, Chile, and Russia in this preference. The majority of faculty in the other countries lean toward or have primary interest in research. In Japan, Sweden, the Netherlands, Germany, and Israel, a strong proportion of scholars and scientists express a primary commitment to research. The other countries hover closer to half and half, but

Table 1.9

MEAN HOURS PER WEEK OF PROFESSIONAL WORK,
BY TEACHING OR RESEARCH PREFERENCE

	TEACHING PREFERENCE	RESEARCH PREFERENCE
CLASSES IN SESSION		
Teaching	22.2	17.1
Research	10.3	20.3
Service	6.5	5.2
Administration	7.7	7.2
Other	3.1	3.4
Total	49.8	53.2
CLASSES NOT IN SESSION		
Teaching	9.0	6.4
Research	16.8	28.6
Service	6.7	5.2
Administration	7.1	6.0
Other	3.7	3.9
Total	43.3	50.1

SOURCE: The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching,
The International Survey of the Academic Profession, 1991-
1993, Princeton, NJ.

interest in research remains on top. More males have an orientation to research, while more females are primarily interested in or lean toward teaching.

On average, respondents spend close to twenty hours a week in teaching activities when classes are in session. This ranges from more than twenty-two hours a week in Australia and Korea to fewer than seventeen hours a week in Mexico or Sweden, and includes time for tutorials, lab sessions, and preparation. At the same time, in Australia and Chile, faculty spend considerably more time on teaching than on research. Senior faculty are more likely than junior faculty to favor research over

teaching, although the former are not necessarily more involved nor more productive as researchers. A sizable proportion of respondents in most countries report no hours at all spent on service, but a notable contrast is that in Brazil and Mexico, faculty spend on average more than ten hours in a typical week on service activities.

Service activity—defined as paid and unpaid work with a professional organization or with clients or patients, at the university or off-campus, and committee work at the institution—is also an academic responsibility. Many report that they are paid for a portion of their service and consulting work. As indicated in a few countries, they note that this income is necessary for economic survival.

Regardless of whether school is in session, those who prefer teaching over research spend somewhat more time on local or campus-related activities (teaching, service, and administration) than do those who prefer research over teaching. But faculty who prefer research spend a few more hours per week on their total professional work when classes are in session and several more per week during breaks. This is accounted for by the much larger portion of hours they spend on their research than those whose preference is for teaching. But regardless of preferences, their involvement in research increases when classes are not scheduled.

It is also the case that the academic profession is largely a *teaching* profession, in which people spend most of their time, when classes are in session, on teaching and university service activities. This is true for the majority of countries in the survey.

As far as types of classes are concerned, most respondents teach a combination of undergraduate and graduate/professional students. The majority also report that the traditional lecture is the primary means of communicating knowledge, although class discussions are prominent in all of the countries surveyed except Japan.

Despite their putative interest in it, scholars in most countries publish remarkably little research, at least as expressed by a simple count of number of publications, including books and articles.⁸ It is worth noting, however, that in many disciplines (e.g., in the sciences) books are not the conventional mode of reporting research. Just fewer than half of the sample responded to a question asking whether they had authored or

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edited scholarly books in the previous three years; half of the respondents had not published a book, and for the minority who had published, the mean number of books was 1.1. Fewer than one in five had edited a book—the mean number of edited books was 0.74. In sum, at the very most, a quarter of the respondents report publishing a book in the previous three years. The actual figure, of course, could be considerably smaller.

A significantly larger proportion of the sample responded to a question asking for the number of scholarly articles they had published in the previous three years. Of those who responded, the mean number is just under six, or about two articles a year. Ten percent report publishing no articles. The average number of papers presented at a scholarly conference over the previous three years is slightly below five. On the whole, male faculty are more involved in research and publication than are female faculty. Consistent with expressed interests, academics in the Netherlands, Israel, Germany, Japan, and Sweden generally publish more articles than those in other countries.

Rates of publication may relate to funds available for research, to the nature and emphasis of the system of evaluation for academic promotion, and to the academic culture in the country. For example, scholars and scientists who indicate that their primary commitment is to research publish more and obtain more research funds than do those who stress teaching. It is clear that research is easier to assess than teaching, and this may also contribute to the research culture that is emphasized by many of the academics in this study.⁹

Only a small minority of the academic profession in the fourteen countries does most of the publishing and obtains most of the research funds. There is a clearly identifiable "research cadre," usually located at the top universities, that accounts for a very significant proportion of research production. The four factors that characterize a clear research commitment (and subsequent productivity) are, first, whether individuals were more interested in research than in teaching; second, whether on average they spent more time on research and less time on teaching than others; third, whether they published scholarly books and articles; and fourth, whether they received funding for their research. The professoriate

in four countries (Brazil, Chile, Mexico, and Russia) stood out as having the lowest research commitment, while those in five countries (Germany, Israel, Japan, the Netherlands, and Sweden) could be characterized as having a relatively high commitment.

It is unclear why academics as a whole express a commitment to the idea of research while actual productivity is in fact limited to a minority of the profession.¹⁰ More than three-quarters of those faculty members who indicate that their academic positions require them to be involved in research report that they actually are (the figure is more than 90 percent in the United States, Australia, Israel, Hong Kong, and Sweden). Only a small number report significant publications, i.e., more than two articles and two presentations or papers in a year and more than one book in three years. Why more academics do not produce more publications from their research more often may have to do with time rather than with money, as about half of the respondents in most countries report that they had received some funding for their research (less than half in Russia, Brazil, and Mexico). In most cases, however, the amounts of money were relatively small. Members of the research cadre, numbering less than 5 percent of those who report receiving any funding, indicate that they received significant financial support. Many scholars feel—probably quite accurately—that research funding is more difficult to obtain now than five years ago. This perception was most acute in Israel, England, Germany, Russia, and the United States.

Faculty express some ambivalent attitudes concerning research. More than three-quarters in all countries, excepting Brazil, Russia, and Korea, note that a strong record of successful research activity is important in faculty evaluations, and in six countries a majority agree that it is difficult for a person to achieve tenure if he or she does not publish (table 1.10). Many feel that they are under pressure to do more research than they would like to—more than 30 percent in six of the countries (table 1.11).

At the same time, those who write more articles and books are, sometimes by great margins and sometimes by narrow margins, more satisfied with their work life and less likely to feel vulnerable to acute and chronic pressures they encounter on campus than those who write fewer

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Table 1.10

IN MY DEPARTMENT IT IS DIFFICULT FOR A PERSON
TO ACHIEVE TENURE IF HE OR SHE DOES NOT PUBLISH
(PERCENTAGES)

	AGREE	NEUTRAL	DISAGREE
Australia	64	15	21
Brazil	25	21	55
Chile	33	35	32
Germany	78	8	14
Hong Kong	60	16	24
Israel	81	4	15
Japan	48	23	29
Korea	38	15	48
Mexico	28	24	48
Russia	32	41	27
Sweden	58	18	24
United States	75	8	17

SOURCE: Ernest L. Boyer, Philip G. Altbach, and Mary Jean Whitelaw, *The Academic Profession: An International Perspective* (Princeton, NJ: The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1994), 84.

articles and books. There is a relationship between research productivity and a sense of empowerment and overall satisfaction.

Nonetheless, faculty worldwide do not endorse the view that teaching and research necessarily work at cross-purposes. Indeed, more faculty than not are convinced that their research has a positive influence on their teaching, and the majority of faculty in all countries except Hong Kong are of the opinion that the pressure to publish does not reduce the quality of teaching. However, such a conflict is noted by a significant minority in Chile, England, Israel, the Netherlands, Germany, the United States, and Australia. Administrative assignments are seen as having a more negative influence on research than on teaching.

Table 1.11

I FREQUENTLY FEEL UNDER PRESSURE TO DO MORE
RESEARCH THAN I ACTUALLY WOULD LIKE TO DO (PERCENTAGES)

	AGREE	NEUTRAL	DISAGREE
Australia	31	23	46
Brazil	13	17	71
Chile	38	27	36
England	34	24	42
Germany	28	17	55
Hong Kong	36	21	43
Israel	13	12	76
Japan	37	31	32
Korea	36	18	45
Mexico	20	25	55
The Netherlands	22	26	52
Russia	12	47	41
Sweden	25	21	54
United States	30	20	50

SOURCE: Ernest L. Boyer, Philip G. Altbach, and Mary Jean Whitelaw, *The Academic Profession: An International Perspective* (Princeton, NJ: The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1994), 84.

Regarding expectations of students, instructors in most countries establish a variety of requirements, including regular class attendance, written work, oral presentations, and examinations. Considerable disagreement was found on whether teaching effectiveness should be the primary criterion for promotion. Academics in every country feel that students should have a role in evaluating teaching, but in general, senior faculty were more likely than junior faculty to express reservations about the merits of a more active student role in academic affairs.

In common with respondents in Carnegie surveys of the U.S. academic profession, international respondents report that they devote many hours to teaching, research, service, and administrative activities.

There are some variations according to country and further differences according to institutional affiliation and to gender and rank. Most of those surveyed express a significant commitment to all of the standard faculty roles but are most impatient with their administrative responsibilities. At the same time, they are also critical of administrators who have taken over these tasks.

GOVERNANCE

It is well known that there are striking variations in governance arrangements from one country to another; in some countries colleges and universities are government controlled, while in others committees composed of a mix of academics and officials set policy, and in yet others there is a tradition of institutional independence. Funding sources for institutions range from total government support to only private support. In a small majority of the countries included in our survey, most academic institutions are government-sponsored, although in Japan, Korea, and the three Latin American countries, a majority of students study in private colleges and universities. Yet academics everywhere have a significant degree of autonomy, and the ideology of internal governance in colleges and universities is strong.

Our survey asked scholars and scientists to reflect on issues of governance, and some common concerns emerged. Respondents, when asked about institutional centralization and decentralization, generally report that there is a mixture when it comes to most of the major elements of decision making. Since World War II, as higher education rapidly expanded, the sense of academic community has been weakened. Many of our respondents are aware of this and are also concerned about the trend toward centralized power in higher education. They are unhappy and unsure about how to cope with the more hierarchical, more rigid governance structure. As a result, faculty dissatisfaction with current administrative and governance arrangements is high, and a cause for concern. Senior faculty were more sympathetic to administrators than were junior faculty, who had more questions about the competence and goodwill of those who manage institutions of higher learning. Not

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Table 1.12

HOW INFLUENTIAL ARE YOU, PERSONALLY, IN HELPING
TO SHAPE KEY ACADEMIC POLICIES AT THE INSTITUTIONAL LEVEL?
(PERCENTAGES)

	VERY INFLUENTIAL	SOMEWHAT INFLUENTIAL	A LITTLE INFLUENTIAL	NOT AT ALL INFLUENTIAL
Australia	2	6	14	78
Brazil	3	18	36	43
Chile	3	14	20	64
England	2	8	16	74
Germany	1	5	14	80
Hong Kong	1	6	13	81
Israel	5	7	31	57
Japan	5	24	40	31
Korea	3	8	33	57
Mexico	3	13	23	61
Russia	3	19	25	53
Sweden	5	13	18	64
United States	3	11	22	64

SOURCE: Ernest L. Boyer, Philip G. Altbach, and Mary Jean Whitelaw, *The Academic Profession: An International Perspective* (Princeton, NJ: The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1994), 94.

surprisingly, many believe that they have most influence on decision making in their academic department or similar unit, with majorities in almost all countries feeling that they were either very influential or somewhat influential at this level. Respondents in Germany and Mexico are least likely to express this view.

At the same time, fewer than 10 percent in almost all of the countries feel that they play a key role in governance at the institutional level (table 1.12). Obviously, scholars and scientists around the world feel considerable alienation from the higher echelons of administration at their institutions. An unusually large number express dissatisfaction with and

Table 1.13

TOP-LEVEL ADMINISTRATORS ARE PROVIDING
COMPETENT LEADERSHIP (PERCENTAGES)

	AGREE	NEUTRAL	DISAGREE
Australia	29	26	46
Brazil	46	27	27
Chile	28	31	42
England	26	25	49
Germany	24	27	49
Hong Kong	23	29	48
Israel	28	31	41
Japan	60	22	18
Korea	24	31	45
Mexico	33	23	44
The Netherlands	32	42	26
Russia	30	53	17
Sweden	30	38	32
United States	39	22	38

SOURCE: Ernest L. Boyer, Philip G. Altbach, and Mary Jean Whitelaw, *The Academic Profession: An International Perspective* (Princeton, NJ: The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1994), 97.

doubts about the quality of the leadership provided by top-level administrators at their colleges and universities—Japan is the only country in which a majority of the respondents agree that top administrators are providing competent leadership (table 1.13). The distrust is pervasive. Less than half feel that they are informed about what is going on, and close to half characterize communication between the faculty and the administration as poor.

In eight countries, the majority of faculty report that academic administrators are autocratic (table 1.14), and in six countries, a majority agree that a lack of faculty involvement in governance is a problem. Only in Brazil, Israel, the United States, and Japan do more than half of the

Table 1.14

THE ADMINISTRATION IS OFTEN AUTOCRATIC (PERCENTAGES)

	AGREE	NEUTRAL	DISAGREE
Australia	63	23	14
Brazil	44	20	36
Chile	58	23	19
England	64	21	16
Germany	67	21	13
Hong Kong	64	23	13
Israel	57	24	19
Japan	40	34	26
Korea	46	30	24
Mexico	54	20	27
The Netherlands	37	38	25
Russia	43	41	16
Sweden	43	36	21
United States	58	22	20

SOURCE: Ernest L. Boyer, Philip G. Altbach, and Mary Jean Whitelaw, *The Academic Profession: An International Perspective* (Princeton, NJ: The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1994), 96.

faculty feel that administrators even support academic freedom. Other questions elicit a general dissatisfaction on the part of faculty. Granted, the financial setbacks higher education has faced in recent years have contributed to faculty unrest. Yet, there is clearly a need to create new mechanisms to bring faculty and administrators together to resolve problems, reestablish communications, and renew collegiality so that in the end mutual trust and respect are fostered.

Academic freedom is one of the core values of higher education. Our respondents, in general, have reasonable confidence that they are protected by this principle (table 1.15). Large majorities in every country (except Russia and Brazil) note that they are free to determine the content

Table 1.15

IS ACADEMIC FREEDOM STRONGLY PROTECTED IN THIS COUNTRY?
(PERCENTAGES)

	YES	NO
Australia	77	23
Brazil	38	62
Chile	71	29
Hong Kong	71	30
Israel	92	8
Japan	79	21
Korea	74	26
Mexico	69	31
The Netherlands	74	26
Russia	16	84
Sweden	83	17
United States	81	19

SOURCE: Ernest L. Boyer, Philip G. Altbach, and Mary Jean Whitelaw, *The Academic Profession: An International Perspective* (Princeton, NJ: The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1994), 99.

of the courses they teach, and similarly large numbers feel free to do research on any topic of interest. Since intellectual freedom is indeed at the heart of academia, the widespread sense of security about its strength may be a key factor contributing to academics' overall satisfaction with their chosen careers despite problems with marginal conditions.

When it comes to perceptions of restrictions on what a scholar or scientist can teach or publish, additional variations were noted, some of which seem to conflict with the notion of academic freedom (tables 1.16 and 1.17). While a strong majority of the respondents feel free to determine course content, significant numbers do feel constraints: one-third in the United States, for example, and more than 40 percent in Korea. Current debate in the United States concerning "political

Table 1.16

AT THIS INSTITUTION, I AM FULLY FREE TO DETERMINE
THE CONTENT OF THE COURSES I TEACH (PERCENTAGES)

	AGREE	NEUTRAL	DISAGREE
Australia	67	9	24
Brazil	69	9	22
Chile	70	14	17
England	62	14	25
Germany	61	15	24
Hong Kong	61	9	29
Japan	80	13	7
Korea	90	7	3
Mexico	65	14	21
Russia	45	27	28
Sweden	64	13	24
United States	78	8	14

SOURCE: Ernest L. Boyer, Philip G. Altbach, and Mary Jean Whitelaw, *The Academic Profession: An International Perspective* (Princeton, NJ: The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1994), 100.

correctness" may cause some in the social sciences and humanities to feel that there are limits on expression. The responses of Korean academics can be explained by the fact that, although the campuses have been hotbeds of activism (and of repression) in previous regimes, democracy is a recent phenomenon in Korea and activism continues on a more sporadic basis.

The issue of the evaluation of academic work is currently of considerable interest to scholars around the world. A significant proportion of faculty in all countries except Korea and Russia report that a strong research record is important in faculty evaluation. Understandably, those who feel the least need to publish also feel little pressure about doing research (again, this is most true for Brazil, Mexico, Israel, and Russia). Israel presents an interesting case, though, since 81 percent of the

Table 1.17

I CAN FOCUS MY RESEARCH ON ANY
TOPIC OF SPECIAL INTEREST TO ME (PERCENTAGES)

	AGREE	NEUTRAL	DISAGREE
Australia	81	7	12
Brazil	72	12	16
Chile	76	14	11
England	79	10	11
Germany	63	14	23
Hong Kong	83	8	9
Japan	87	8	5
Korea	85	10	5
Mexico	66	14	20
Russia	65	19	16
Sweden	79	8	13
United States	89	5	6

SOURCE: Ernest L. Boyer, Philip G. Altbach, and Mary Jean Whitelaw, *The Academic Profession: An International Perspective* (Princeton, NJ: The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1994), 100.

faculty believe that they must publish, but only 13 percent feel that they are asked to do more than they would like.

Scholars and scientists in most of the countries said that their work is regularly evaluated (table 1.18). Only in Germany and Russia do up to a third report that this is not so. (Here, the United States, with more than 85 percent of the faculty reporting regular evaluation, ranked highest.) Respondents in all countries note that teaching is evaluated most often, with research coming second; service activities are seldom assessed. In Brazil, England, Hong Kong, Mexico, and the United States, more than 90 percent report regular evaluation of teaching. Only in the Netherlands is research evaluated more frequently than teaching. Students are most likely to evaluate teaching—96 percent and 91 percent of faculty in

Table 1.18

WHICH OF THESE ACTIVITIES ARE APPRAISED OR
EVALUATED REGULARLY? (PERCENTAGES)

	TEACHING	RESEARCH	SERVICE
Australia	89	78	42
Brazil	93	71	38
Chile	88	85	0
England	94	91	33
Germany	42	83	25
Hong Kong	92	73	38
Israel	87	54	8
Japan	45	95	17
Korea	65	97	11
Mexico	92	53	25
The Netherlands	69	87	17
Russia	86	57	8
Sweden	77	65	12
United States	97	77	68

SOURCE: Ernest L. Boyer, Philip G. Altbach, and Mary Jean Whitelaw, *The Academic Profession: An International Perspective* (Princeton, NJ: The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1994), 85.

Note: More than one response could be selected.

Sweden and the United States, respectively, report that students regularly evaluate their teaching (table 1.19). And only in Korea is the percentage less than half (12 percent). In Korea, however, senior administrators, rather than students, evaluate teaching. In most countries, in addition to evaluation by students, respondents report that heads of department regularly evaluate teaching. Despite the general commitment to evaluation, we found widespread dissatisfaction with the way teaching is assessed. Most faculty in all countries agree that better methods are necessary to make the process more meaningful.

Table 1.19

BY WHOM IS YOUR TEACHING REGULARLY EVALUATED? (PERCENTAGES)

	YOUR PEERS IN YOUR DEPARTMENT	THE HEAD OF YOUR DEPARTMENT	MEMBERS OF OTHER DEPARTMENTS AT THIS INSTITUTION	SENIOR ADMINISTRATIVE STAFF AT THIS INSTITUTION	YOUR STUDENTS	EXTERNAL REVIEWERS
Australia	28	64	6	11	74	6
Brazil	53	51	15	28	54	5
Chile	30	61	26	23	51	4
Germany	30	44	6	8	59	2
Hong Kong	23	70	7	23	76	24
Israel	24	45	7	7	85	7
Japan	42	43	10	41	37	5
Korea	18	29	9	70	12	8
Mexico	37	62	23	55	57	10
The Netherlands	49	29	7	7	79	17
Russia	32	76	14	21	62	6
Sweden	20	26	11	7	96	9
United Kingdom	16	67	7	13	67	21
United States	49	78	16	34	91	7

SOURCE: Ernest L. Boyer, Philip G. Altbach, and Mary Jean Whitelaw, *The Academic Profession: An International Perspective* (Princeton, NJ: The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1994), 85.

Note: More than one response could be selected.

Table 1.20

AT THIS INSTITUTION PUBLICATIONS USED
FOR PROMOTION DECISIONS ARE JUST "COUNTED,"
NOT QUALITATIVELY EVALUATED (PERCENTAGES)

	AGREE	NEUTRAL	DISAGREE
Australia	52	27	20
Brazil	45	22	34
Chile	54	24	22
Hong Kong	59	24	18
Israel	34	20	45
Japan	46	28	27
Korea	52	17	31
Mexico	55	21	24
The Netherlands	48	18	34
Russia	61	25	14
Sweden	27	28	45
United States	45	17	38

SOURCE: Ernest L. Boyer, Philip G. Altbach, and Mary Jean Whitelaw, *The Academic Profession: An International Perspective* (Princeton, NJ: The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1994), 87.

Research seems often to be less rigorously evaluated, at least formally. A surprising percentage of respondents say that at their institutions publications are just "counted," not qualitatively evaluated (table 1.20). For most countries, heads of department are the main evaluators of research, but on occasion external reviewers, departmental peers, and senior administrative staff also play a role.

INTERNATIONAL DIMENSIONS OF ACADEMIC LIFE

We are convinced that as the world has become increasingly interdependent and national academic boundaries have been blurred, science and scholarship are becoming increasingly international. Indeed, we found

Table 1.21

INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITIES OF FACULTY FOR THE LAST THREE YEARS,
BY TEACHING OR RESEARCH PREFERENCE

	TEACHING (MEAN NUMBER OF TIMES)	RESEARCH (MEAN NUMBER OF TIMES)
Published in another country	1.3	4.0
Article or book written in another language	1.2	4.2
Organized classes for foreign students	1.1	1.2
	TEACHING (MEAN NUMBER OF MONTHS)	RESEARCH (MEAN NUMBER OF MONTHS)
Worked on research with academics from abroad	1.8	5.2
Traveled abroad for study or research	1.5	2.6
Served as faculty in another country	0.5	1.1
Spent sabbatical abroad	0.4	0.8

SOURCE: The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, The International Survey of the Academic Profession, 1991-1993, Princeton, NJ.

Note: Only between 45 and 60 percent of respondents answered these questions.

that while international consciousness in all of the countries in the survey, except the United States, is quite high in certain ways, actual international involvement is somewhat limited. Among the relatively small minority who are heavily involved in research, five countries—Sweden, Germany, Hong Kong, the Netherlands, and Israel—had significantly more international publications than the rest, and four of the five (not Germany) plus Japan reported writing more frequently in a language other than their own.

On all but two of the fourteen measures of international activity (teaching classes for foreign students within the last three years and within the last ten years), those more committed to research than teaching had a greater likelihood of international involvement. That is, professors oriented to research are, not surprisingly, the professors who more often write for an international audience, travel and work abroad, and have relationships with academics in other countries (table 1.21). The ease of spreading ideas through improved technology and the synergistic aspects of academics' research has contributed to increased internationalism, particularly in the natural sciences.

A relatively high proportion of scholars and scientists report that foreign faculty have taught at their institutions or that foreign students have come to study there—with the United States, Australia, Japan, and Russia scoring especially high in these activities. In all countries except Korea, 50 percent or more of faculty report that foreign students have been enrolled at their institutions, at least occasionally; the number of faculty reporting that students from their institutions study overseas was also impressive.

Faculty worldwide are convinced that the curriculum should be more international in scope (table 1.22). (In Israel, where less than one-third of the respondents supported this idea, the curriculum is already international in scope.) Next lowest were the United States and Australia, where not quite half of the faculty were in favor of this idea.

Overall, the academic profession expresses a high degree of commitment to internationalism. There is considerable support for international exchange. In the past three years, over half of the professoriate in ten countries made at least one trip abroad for study or research (table 1.23).

Table 1.22

THE CURRICULUM AT THIS INSTITUTION
SHOULD BE MORE INTERNATIONAL IN FOCUS (PERCENTAGES)

	AGREE	NEUTRAL	DISAGREE
Australia	47	40	13
Brazil	61	22	17
Chile	79	12	9
Germany	57	31	12
Hong Kong	66	27	7
Israel	29	32	39
Japan	67	31	2
Korea	76	20	4
Mexico	75	17	8
Russia	59	39	3
Sweden	59	34	7
United States	45	37	18

SOURCE: Ernest L. Boyer, Philip G. Altbach, and Mary Jean Whitelaw, *The Academic Profession: An International Perspective* (Princeton, NJ: The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1994), 104.

The range is quite wide. Israel leads the way, with more than 90 percent of the respondents studying abroad. At the other extreme, Brazil, Russia, and the United States trail well behind, with only about one-third reporting such activity. Fewer faculty spend time teaching in other countries. Again, Israeli faculty are the most active—more than 65 percent say that they had taught abroad in the past three years—followed by faculty from the Netherlands and Hong Kong. On the other hand, fewer than 10 percent of the professoriate from Brazil, Korea, Japan, Russia, and the United States—countries with larger systems of higher education—have recently taught overseas.

More than three-quarters of respondents in most countries indicate that contacts with scholars in other countries are important for their

Table 1.23

FOR HOW MANY MONTHS DURING THE PAST THREE YEARS
HAVE YOU TRAVELED ABROAD TO STUDY OR DO RESEARCH?
(PERCENTAGES)

	NONE	ONE OR MORE
Australia	38	62
Brazil	63	37
Chile	39	61
England	47	53
Germany	35	65
Hong Kong	28	72
Israel	7	93
Japan	45	55
Korea	38	62
Mexico	57	43
The Netherlands	30	70
Russia	64	36
Sweden	25	75
United States	65	35

SOURCE: Ernest L. Boyer, Philip G. Altbach, and Mary Jean Whitelaw, *The Academic Profession: An International Perspective* (Princeton, NJ: The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1994), 104.

professional work (table 1.24). Notably, only the United States and England scored lower. In all countries except the United States, more than 90 percent of faculty indicate that a scholar or scientist must read books and journals published abroad to keep up with his or her discipline (table 1.25). Similarly, faculty overall agree that colleges and universities should do more to promote student and faculty mobility from one country to another, with the United States scoring well below the average on this item, too.

English is increasingly the language of research, perhaps contributing to the feeling by American and British scholars that they need not be so

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Table 1.24

CONNECTIONS WITH SCHOLARS IN OTHER COUNTRIES
ARE VERY IMPORTANT TO MY PROFESSIONAL WORK (PERCENTAGES)

	AGREE	NEUTRAL	DISAGREE
Australia	81	15	4
Brazil	85	11	4
Chile	95	3	2
England	63	26	11
Germany	78	14	8
Hong Kong	85	12	4
Israel	86	8	6
Japan	88	11	2
Korea	91	8	1
Mexico	79	15	6
The Netherlands	81	11	8
Russia	89	11	1
Sweden	87	11	2
United States	55	26	19

SOURCE: Ernest L. Boyer, Philip G. Altbach, and Mary Jean Whitelaw, *The Academic Profession: An International Perspective* (Princeton, NJ: The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1994), 106.

concerned about academic contacts with the rest of the world. Faculty and students are increasingly peripatetic, with more than one million students studying outside their home countries. The United States and Britain are major host nations and account for approximately half of the world's total. They also host a highly disproportionate percentage of visiting scholars and scientists. Events have fostered a more professionally connected, international community of scholars and scientists, and there is a deep conviction both that higher education is an international enterprise and that the academic profession is becoming a more global community. Internationalism in all aspects of academic life will inevitably increase in the coming years.

Table 1.25

IN ORDER TO KEEP UP WITH DEVELOPMENTS IN MY DISCIPLINE, A SCHOLAR MUST READ BOOKS AND JOURNALS PUBLISHED ABROAD (PERCENTAGES)			
	AGREE	NEUTRAL	DISAGREE
Australia	98	2	1
Brazil	92	3	4
Chile	98	1	1
Germany	91	5	4
Hong Kong	98	1	1
Israel	98	2	0
Japan	93	5	2
Korea	96	4	1
Mexico	91	6	3
The Netherlands	95	3	3
Russia	99	1	0
Sweden	96	3	1
United States	62	17	22

SOURCE: Ernest L. Boyer, Philip G. Altbach, and Mary Jean Whitelaw, *The Academic Profession: An International Perspective* (Princeton, NJ: The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1994), 105.

ATTITUDES REGARDING HIGHER EDUCATION AND SOCIETY

As the academy moves toward the twenty-first century, some important questions must be addressed—issues relating to access, equity, and expansion. Following World War II, student enrollment policies began to shift in many countries, so that today even the most elitist systems have increased the access to higher education. All of the academic systems included in this survey have dramatically increased enrollments in recent years and, with the exception of the United States, enrollment growth continues. Yet, little effort has been made to determine what faculty think

about this fundamental change, one that affects the climate of the campus and the work of the professoriate so profoundly.

Overall, faculty in most countries believe that a majority of young people can complete secondary education. Moreover, two-thirds of the scholars and scientists sampled support the idea that any student who can meet minimum entrance requirements for postsecondary education should be permitted to pursue at least a bachelor's degree, which leaves a third holding reservations about expanded educational opportunity. On the other hand, faculty in Germany, where admittance to one institution means a student can attend or transfer to any of the others, overwhelmingly support open access.

In the United States, more than half of the relevant age group currently pursues postsecondary education; this is the greatest number among the fourteen countries, yet academics elsewhere seem to be supportive of the continuing expansion of higher education in their countries. At the same time, with the exception of Australia, where half of the respondents were in favor, few respondents believe that admission standards should be lowered to permit disadvantaged students to enroll. In the other countries, the proportion ranged from 7 percent in Japan to 38 percent in Chile, with the United States in the middle at somewhat under 20 percent. Clearly, while the academic profession favors continuing expansion of higher education, they are not at this point in time broadly committed to such programs as special admission criteria or affirmative action for disadvantaged students.

Additional responses further indicate that the academic profession supports the ideas that higher education should prepare students for work, that research and scholarship should continue to be a key part of the mission of the university, that intellectual inquiry should be protected, and that higher education should help to solve basic social problems. The response to this final question was overwhelmingly affirmative—except in Russia and Sweden (table 1.26). We believe that these figures reflect the faculty's confidence in the practical value of their knowledge.

Despite their optimism about what they might accomplish, academics do not generally believe that they wield much influence in their

Table 1.26

FACULTY IN MY DISCIPLINE HAVE
A PROFESSIONAL OBLIGATION TO APPLY THEIR KNOWLEDGE TO
PROBLEMS IN SOCIETY (PERCENTAGES)

	YES	NO
Australia	86	14
Brazil	78	22
Chile	74	26
England	79	21
Germany	93	7
Hong Kong	84	16
Israel	76	24
Japan	81	19
Korea	86	14
Mexico	86	14
The Netherlands	87	13
Russia	61	39
Sweden	68	32
United States	82	18

SOURCE: Ernest L. Boyer, Philip G. Altbach, and Mary Jean Whitelaw, *The Academic Profession: An International Perspective* (Princeton, NJ: The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1994), 102.

countries. The most optimistic professors were in Korea, where they feel that they have relatively high levels of influence; those in England and Israel do not. With regard to England, one wonders what the responses would have been a decade or two ago, before the Conservative government's restructuring of the higher education system. In any case, despite the importance of colleges and universities in modern society, academics do not feel that they are among the most influential opinion leaders (table 1.27). Another measure of public support for higher education is the respect academics feel they receive in their own country

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Table 1.27

ACADEMICS ARE AMONG THE MOST INFLUENTIAL
OPINION LEADERS IN MY COUNTRY (PERCENTAGES)

	AGREE	NEUTRAL	DISAGREE
Australia	19	27	54
Brazil	39	17	44
Chile	16	30	54
England	11	25	63
Germany	15	29	56
Hong Kong	26	36	38
Israel	12	26	62
Japan	40	46	15
Korea	63	29	8
Mexico	30	28	42
Russia	24	33	43
Sweden	30	29	41
United States	21	27	52

SOURCE: Ernest L. Boyer, Philip G. Altbach, and Mary Jean Whitelaw, *The Academic Profession: An International Perspective* (Princeton, NJ: The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1994), 102.

(table 1.28). While responses vary, the general pattern is, again, not encouraging: about 60 percent of faculty feel that overall respect for academics is declining in their country—ranging from a high of nearly 80 percent in Brazil to a low of 40 percent in the Netherlands and Sweden. Scholars and scientists in a number of countries feel that institutions of higher learning are increasingly subject to interference from special interest groups. This is particularly true for respondents from the United States, England, Mexico, Brazil, and Australia.

When asked whether government should define the overall purposes and policies for higher education, faculty responses ranged from a high of 90 percent in Russia to a low of 10 percent in the United States, with other countries clustering between 20 percent and 50 percent. When

Table 1.28

RESPECT FOR ACADEMICS IS DECLINING (PERCENTAGES)

	AGREE	NEUTRAL	DISAGREE
Australia	57	32	11
Brazil	78	10	12
Chile	51	28	21
England	73	20	7
Germany	50	29	20
Hong Kong	49	33	18
Israel	60	23	18
Japan	65	30	6
Korea	69	22	9
Mexico	56	20	24
The Netherlands	44	41	15
Russia	64	26	10
Sweden	43	36	21
United States	64	23	13

SOURCE: Ernest L. Boyer, Philip G. Altbach, and Mary Jean Whitelaw, *The Academic Profession: An International Perspective* (Princeton, NJ: The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1994), 101.

asked if government interferes too much in important academic policies, responses varied from 90 percent in Korea to less than 20 percent in Chile (table 1.29). In Russia and the United States, about one-third of the faculty feel that there is too much government interference. It is striking that Russian faculty favor governmental policymaking but believe there is too much interference.

Generally, scholars and scientists are supportive of a significant societal mission for higher education and support expansion so that qualified young people can obtain access to postsecondary education. Yet they would, for the most part, like to distance themselves and their institutions from government edicts and officials.

Table 1.29

IN THIS COUNTRY, THERE IS FAR TOO MUCH
GOVERNMENTAL INTERFERENCE
IN IMPORTANT ACADEMIC POLICIES (PERCENTAGES)

	AGREE	NEUTRAL	DISAGREE
Australia	57	26	17
Brazil	42	23	35
Chile	17	32	51
Hong Kong	43	32	25
Israel	31	22	48
Japan	48	41	11
Korea	89	8	3
Mexico	55	22	23
The Netherlands	46	32	22
Russia	33	39	27
Sweden	25	36	39
United States	34	33	33

SOURCE: Ernest L. Boyer, Philip G. Altbach, and Mary Jean Whitelaw, *The Academic Profession: An International Perspective* (Princeton, NJ: The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1994), 99.

CONCLUSION

This portrait of the academic profession in fourteen countries shows a complex web of attitudes and values. One cannot but be struck by the many similarities among the scholars and scientists in these diverse countries. It is with regard to those working conditions most affected by local political and cultural customs and policies that international differences are most apparent.

The professoriate worldwide is committed to teaching and research, and in varying degrees to service. While there is a feeling that higher education faces many difficulties and that conditions have deteriorated in

recent years, most academics are committed to the profession and to its traditional values of autonomy, academic freedom, and the importance of scholarship, both for its own sake and for societal advancement. Academics are not especially supportive of senior administrators, yet they express remarkable loyalty to the profession and to other academics. They seem prepared to respond to the call that higher education contribute more tangibly to economic development and social well-being. They believe that they have an obligation to apply their knowledge to society's problems.

Specific national circumstances have no doubt shaped the responses to the questionnaire. Dramatic societal transformation and stresses in Russia, the structural changes in higher education of the past decade in the United Kingdom, and continuing tension between academics and the government over salary issues in Israel, to name just a few examples, are factors that have obviously influenced the responses reported here. Continuing expansion and diminishing resources have characterized the academic landscape in virtually all countries. To be sure, if there were more money and resources available and if academic administrators did not have to say no so often, there would be fewer criticisms of how institutions of higher education were managed.

Resiliency, determination, and a focus on the core functions of higher education characterize the academic profession in these fourteen countries. While the vicissitudes experienced by the profession in recent years have been considerable, the professoriate is by no means demoralized. In all but three countries, 60 percent or more agree that this is an especially creative and productive time in their fields. Professors are generally satisfied with the courses they teach, and with few exceptions are pleased with the opportunities they have to pursue their own ideas. The intellectual atmosphere is good; faculty do not regret their career choices and are generally happy with their relationships with colleagues.

This portrait of the professoriate depicts a strong, but somewhat unsettled profession. Academics around the world are inspired by the intellectual ferment of the times. The intrinsic pleasures of academic life obviously endure. Academe is facing the future with concern but with surprising optimism.