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第 41 号

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Sophia University Junior College Division
Faculty Journal

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Active Learning in Large-scale Classes:
Lessons From the Field

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Abstract

This article examines problems related to the use of active learning methods in classes with large enrollments. Defined in contrast to "traditional" forms of classroom instruction, especially lecture-based classes, active learning emphasizes classroom practices in which students play a more overtly active role in the production of learning. Given that active learning lends itself especially well to small classes, this article focuses on three problem areas that arise when attempting to bring active learning to large-scale classes: the monitoring of student involvement, rapport among students, and student attitudes toward active learning itself. Drawing upon English-language literature on active learning that includes both teacher-oriented, practical works on active learning as well as social-scientific research articles on active learning in large classes, the present article finds that the literature provides no clear-cut solutions to those three problem areas but does suggest directions in which teachers might apply their efforts.

Introduction

Active learning is defined in contrast, whether explicitly or implicitly, to traditional forms of classroom instruction, particularly those centered around lectures delivered by the teacher as a figure of authoritative knowledge. As the University of Minnesota's Center for Educational Innovation puts it, for instance: "Active learning is any approach to instruction in which all students are asked to engage in the learning process. Active learning stands in contrast to 'traditional' modes of instruction in which students are passive recipients of knowledge from an expert" (Center for Educational Innovation, University of Minnesota, 2019; cf. Blaz, 2018, p. 9). Thus, in active learning, students are envisioned less as passive receptacles of knowledge than as active participants producing the learning that takes place in the classroom. While the term active learning is somewhat of a misnomer in that it refers not to learning per se but instead to an approach to teaching, it nonetheless emphasizes classroom practices in which students play a more overtly active role in the classroom through any of a wide range of activities that may include reflective writing, paired discussions, small-group projects, and role

plays (O'Neal & Pinder-Grover, n.d.). These activities may be used alongside—if not as an outright replacement for—more traditional lectures.

Active learning lends itself especially well to classes that are relatively small in size. A simple example of this, from my own experience in required English courses with enrollment normally between 24 and 30 students, is a "recap" activity based on written work completed outside of class. Following two class sessions of study devoted to one textbook chapter, each student completes outside of class a one-page, template-like recap sheet concerning that unit, the contents of which include summarizing material studied for the unit, analyzing and explaining the problem covered in the unit and its significance, and—for students working with English-language material when that is not their native language—applying vocabulary and grammar that they may have learned when studying the unit. Students then bring their completed recap sheet to the following class session, orally share the contents with others in pairs or small groups, and discuss with one another the content of what they have mutually shared. Because the textbook units afford various interpretations of problems covered therein, students' understandings and explanations of the problem are informed by their own perspectives rather than there being a single "correct" definition of the problem. Thus drawing on students' own subjectivity, the recap activity typically runs for approximately 20 minutes, with students interactively reviewing, synthesizing, and analyzing course material.

At the same time, it is abundantly clear that active learning activities often do not scale up easily to classes with significantly greater enrollment. This I have experienced in courses I have regularly taught for more than a decade: Cultural Anthropology and Intercultural Communication. Both are elective, content courses taught in English, not English courses per se, with readings and written work in English[i]. While there can be varying definitions of what constitutes large-scale—e.g., in Barkley & Major (2018), a large lecture means a course with more than 100 students—here I will take it to denote courses with a sufficiently large number of enrolled students whereby the instructor and students subjectively feel that the classroom learning environment is too full of people to be intimate, and where it is difficult for teacher and students alike to know every person in the class by name. This applies to both of the above-named courses. Over the years, the Cultural Anthropology course I have taught has had roughly 50-70 enrolled students, and Intercultural Communication has typically had 80-110. In the latter, the class has normally been taught in a large classroom with approximately 20 rows of desks from the front of the room to the rear, creating a situation where there

is a certain interactional intimacy between the instructor and those students seated closest to the front of the classroom, but which progressively diminishes with the greater physical distance between instructor and students toward the back of the classroom. To date, these courses have been taught largely as lecture courses, with active learning components used alongside the lectures.

Drawing on my experience over the years with these courses, in this article I first reflect on and elucidate some of the key factors that help make active learning work well in small classes and not work as well in large classes. In particular, I focus on the following three factors: the ability of the teacher to monitor what is transpiring among students during active learning activities; rapport among students as they interact with one another in class; and the extent to which students are attitudinally "on board" with participating in active learning. I then turn to the academic and teacher-oriented professional literature dealing with active learning in higher education to ascertain what solutions, if any, it suggests for the three above-mentioned problem areas. While an exhaustive review of the literature on active learning is beyond the scope of this article, I nonetheless draw on a number of books and articles published in English ranging from nuts-and-bolts handbooks for college teachers to social-scientific research articles on active learning in large-scale college classes. The literature on active learning does, as it turns out, offer suggestions that involve considerations of logistics, pedagogy, and even ethics.

Key factors that make active learning (not) go well

There are numerous factors influencing how well a given active learning activity might unfold in class, including how well prepared the instructor is, how clearly the activity's objectives are defined, the physical arrangement of the classroom space, the degree to which the instructor exhibits an authoritarian demeanor, and so on. Here, however, I focus on three factors that, in my own teaching experience over the years, play a particularly important role in helping active learning work well in small-scale classes and preventing it from working similarly well in large-scale classes.

Ability to monitor

In small-scale classes, one key factor that helps make active learning easy to carry out is purely logistical: because there are relatively few people in the room, the instructor can effectively monitor what is transpiring in the class among all pairs or groups of students. In a class of, say, 30 students who are engaged in small-group work,

the instructor can easily meander among the groups, listen in on their discussions, and offer group-specific guidance as needed.

Not surprisingly, it becomes increasingly difficult for the instructor to monitor active learning activities the greater the number of students enrolled. In a class with 100 students, for example, a single teacher without any teaching assistants cannot effectively keep tabs on what the entire room of students is up to, know whether they are all on task, or provide timely guidance to each pair or group of students that may need it. In this way, the active learning task can be carefully explained and assigned by the instructor, but without the instructor able to monitor the entire class, it is largely up to the students themselves to stay on task.

Rapport among students

A second factor is that a small class size enables students to become familiar with virtually everyone in the class, to become comfortable with another, and develop good rapport among themselves. While students may be total strangers to one another at the start of the term, especially if they are first-year students new to campus, this can quickly be overcome in a small-scale class, especially if the instructor provides activities structured so that students mix and become acquainted with one another. The rapport that develops helps facilitate active learning activities where students need to interact with others.

The greater the number of students in the class, however, the greater the likelihood that most students will remain strangers to one another. An active learning activity that calls for students to be put into random pairs or groups may suffer as a result.

On-board attitude

Third, for interactive active learning activities to go well, students overall need to be attitudinally "on board" with the doing of active learning, willing to actively participate in and commit to the activity presented to them. In my experience, the overwhelming majority of students in small-scale classes are indeed on board in this regard. There are occasionally a very few students who may be only reluctantly on board but who, for the sake of conviviality and maintaining rapport with their classmates, elect to participate rather than behaviorally withdraw themselves from the class activity. Occasionally, there may be students who have social anxiety or other mental health issues that make it difficult for them to interact comfortably with others in class. While such cases can present challenges to the doing of active learning activities, in small-scale classes that

I have experienced over the years, because students do get to know one another as individuals, they are very often attentive to and make efforts to include those students who may be finding it psychologically difficult to engage with others. Small classes also make it easier for teachers to identify such students and to make efforts to accommodate their needs.

Here as well, size matters. From my experience, the larger the class, the greater the likelihood that there will be significant pockets of students who are not sufficiently on board with engaging in active learning tasks, especially when those tasks involve working with other students with whom one is not already well acquainted. In some cases, there may be students with psychological or other issues that make it difficult for them to engage spontaneously with other students as well as students who would simply rather not have to interact with others in class. In a large class, it may be very difficult for the instructor to know who these students are, let alone find ways of accommodating them during activity time.

Examples of active learning activities in large-scale classes

For the sake of illustration, this section describes three examples of active learning that I have attempted to incorporate into my Cultural Anthropology and Intercultural Communication courses in recent years. Problem points in each are highlighted.

Example 1: ICC experience sheet

In the Intercultural Communication (ICC) course, one activity I have used is similar to the recap sheet described earlier that is used in the small-scale required English course: i.e., each student is to complete in advance a one-page sheet, and then use it in class as the basis for information-sharing and discussion. Rather than writing about the textbook unit just covered, however, as in required English, each student is instead to write about one recent communication experience of her own. Done a number of times over the semester, it is meant to serve as a kind of reflexive communication journal that includes factual description, interpretation, and application of concepts covered in class. While the activity works reasonably well with some students, particularly those who sit nearer to the front of the classroom, on the whole it does not. With over 100 students in the course in spring semester of 2019, for instance, it was impossible to monitor the many dozens of pairs of students around the classroom as they shared and discussed their ICC experience sheets with one another. Moreover, a handful of students would each solely occupy a three-person desk, each an island unto herself, either by choice

or because of not having any friends or close acquaintances in class with whom to sit. Such "loners" generally would not engage in discussion with others—even if the desk immediately behind or in front of them was occupied—unless individually urged to do so by me. An even greater number of students would not have even completed the writing in advance and would instead use the discussion time to do so, thus circumventing the intended purpose of this simple active learning exercise.

Example 2: Impromptu mini-discussions

In both my Cultural Anthropology and Intercultural Communication courses, I regularly include at various points in my lectures brief, seemingly spontaneous discussions among pairs or small groups of students (whomever is sitting adjacent to each other), a method referred to as "bookending" (Allen & Tanner, 2005) that can be one component of interactive lecturing (Barkley & Major, 2018). For instance, the Cultural Anthropology course includes a lesson focused on the *kula* exchange that occurs among residents of the Trobriand Islands and that revolves around two specific types of objects—armshells and necklaces—that are generally not used outside of the *kula* and thus have no value in terms of everyday practical use. Early in the lecture, I pause to have students consider how we assign value to objects in our lives. For instance, I ask them to think of one specific object of theirs that has value to them although not monetary value and perhaps not even practical use value; then, to explain to one or two other students what that object is and what value it has to them. This short active learning exercise, which takes only a few minutes, is intended to have students actively think about value in a way that they perhaps do not normally do, and to use this moment of reflection to lead into a fuller examination of value in the lecture. While most students in the class respond well to this type of mini-discussion, it is also apparent that some students quickly go off task in their talking (and the larger the class, the greater the incidence of this), and that "loners" as described in Example 1 generally do not engage with anyone. For students who are actively engaged and on-task, this kind of impromptu mini-discussion can be effective, but the effectiveness is unevenly distributed among the students in the class.

Example 3: Intercultural simulation

Toward the end of the semester in the Intercultural Communication course, one full class session is devoted to carrying out a kind of role-play called an intercultural simulation. The students in the class are randomly divided into groups of approximately

six people, each of which in turn is divided into two sub-groups (A and B). All the students in the A sub-groups then move to another classroom, and while they are away all the B sub-groups receive a sheet of paper informing them of the imaginary country they are "from," some of the culturally ingrained values and communicative tendencies they have, and that they will soon be hosting a small group of visitors from a foreign country. In the other classroom, the B sub-groups receive a similar paper, and in the privacy of their respective classrooms each A and B sub-group prepares for their upcoming encounter with the people from the other country. Following the prep time, the A and B sub-groups meet, invariably run into difficulties, take another preparatory break, and then meet a second time. Logistically complex, the simulation is intended to give everyone in the class a shared communication experience that can be used to consider a number of topics and concepts covered earlier in the semester; it is also meant to provide a shared basis for introducing issues to be covered in the remainder of the term.

While the activity usually goes quite well overall, there is always significant unevenness from one group to another in terms of how effectively the simulation plays out. In the majority of the groups, the simulation seems to proceed as desired, with most students participating actively and staying on-task. In some groups, however, it does not go smoothly, with poor dynamics within or between the sub-groups. This could be due to a lack of basic rapport stemming from the fact the groups were thrown together randomly, or to a clash of personalities, or perhaps to pre-existing animosity between some of the group members. With a large-scale class, there are too many students to be able to foresee possible problems in groupings, too many to allow close monitoring to see what might have gone wrong in a given group. In some groups, the A and B sub-groups essentially stop interacting with one another mid-way through the role-play, either because they think they have "finished" or perhaps because too few of them are truly on board with doing the simulation, which does in fact demand a significant amount of effort. Moreover, a very small handful of students occasionally even depart from the classroom at some point between dividing the class up into random groups of six and the end of simulation. Among them may be students with psychological issues for whom it would be a struggle to interact intensively with random classmates for most of an entire class session.

Directions suggested by the active learning literature

Given that active learning is especially well-suited to small-scale classroom

environments, it is not surprising that the professional, teacher-oriented literature on active learning has tended to give rather short shrift to large-scale classes. Blaz (2018), for instance, provides a good summary of research on the effectiveness of active learning as well as detailed descriptions of numerous specific active learning activities that can be used in foreign-language classrooms. However, it has virtually nothing to say about active learning in large classes. Fortunately there exists a growing body of research on active learning in large-enrollment classes, some of which touches upon the three topics of concern outlined earlier: the ability of the teacher to monitor student participation, the quality of rapport among students, and the extent to which students themselves are on board with active learning.

Ability to monitor

The primary challenge to monitoring what is transpiring among students in a large-scale class during active learning activities is that the instructor cannot physically be everywhere at once in the classroom, and as a result is able to monitor only some of the many students in the class. A commonly used solution to this problem is to increase the number of people in the class who play teaching roles, such as by employing graduate teaching assistants. Godlewska et al. (2019), for instance, describe the manner in which they converted a large introductory geography class with approximately 400 students from a lecture format to a blended, active learning format. They did so by breaking the class into smaller groups that stayed together throughout the term; key to this was the team of nine teaching assistants who helped provide feedback and coaching to the students in the course. Yet, the use of such additional teaching-side personnel is not a viable option for those of us faced with budget constraints that do not allow for teaching assistants or who lack a ready supply of qualified assistants.

Another common solution is to employ student-manipulated technology such as electronic clickers that allows many streams of feedback to be simultaneously sent from students to teacher. Some have experimented with using smartphones in place of clickers (Remón, Sebastián, Romero, & Arauzo, 2017; Álvarez, Baloian, Zurita, & Guarini, 2017; see also Marbach-Ad & Sokolove, 2002). Generally speaking, such use of technology in class, whereby feedback from a multitude of sources is sent instantaneously to the teacher, serves best to enable the teacher to ascertain how well students are keeping up with the progress of the lesson and how well they are understanding the lesson material, rather than allowing the instructor to actually monitor whether each pair or group of students in class is staying on task, running into problems in interpersonal

dynamics, and so on. In this sense it is a partial solution to the problem of monitoring in a large-scale class. Nonetheless, the prevalence of smartphones today as well as the easy availability of online surveys and other data-collecting services offers one option for those of us in classrooms without school-provided clickers or other similar technology.

Yet another approach to the problem of monitoring is to disavow the problem in the first place. As noted by Barkley (2009), there are differing visions of the role to be played by the teacher in an active learning classroom. While some view their role as that of a hands-on coach who closely monitors what students are doing in class, offering corrections when needed, and working closely with students to help them perform better, others suggest that the teacher's ideal role is more of a facilitator whose most important task is to carefully prepare the learning activities and environment in which students will engage in self-directed learning. This does not mean the teacher should be off "wandering the halls while their students are working in groups" (Bean, 2011, p. 199), but the instructor-as-facilitator plays a less hands-on role in the learning activities once under way, purposefully standing aside to encourage students to take responsibility for and manage their own learning.

Rapport among students

As noted earlier, one factor that helps make active learning activities successful, particularly those that involve students working in pairs or small groups, is good rapport among students. In large-scale classes, this can present an obstacle given that such classes are often characterized by anonymity (Benjamin, 1991; Tniby, Weiss, & Rousseau, 2014), whereby many if not most students are essentially strangers to one another. If directed to work in pairs or small groups as part of active learning, students may struggle to do so comfortably. Speaking presumably of American contexts, Barkley (2009) points out that class civility can sometimes be a problem, with students exhibiting disrespectful or even hostile behavior, and suggests preemptive measures such as establishing a class civility policy at the start of the term. This and other steps taken by the teacher can help create a sense of the class as a learning community in which students "feel that they are welcomed, valuable, contributing members (Barkley, 2009, "Chapter 9," para. 1).

As Robinson et al. (2015) make clear, one key challenge concerning active learning where students are expected to share and discuss ideas in groups is that they may become overly concerned with group harmony at the expense of productive discussion. Such group work, particularly when students are not very knowledgeable about the

topic at hand, creates what the authors refer to as "face-threatening interactions" where students are often very sensitive to how they will be seen by others based on what they say in class. One student interviewed thus described in-class brainstorming in the following way: "brainstorming is not as interesting as it could be because we're almost like too afraid to say things because of what the other person might think" (Robinson et al., 2015, p. 17). As this student's comment shows, students may well be aware that other students in their own group are all in the same predicament and tend to behave similarly. Students may become so concerned with maintaining social harmony within their small group that they end up avoiding voicing differences of opinion. This can indicate a significant measure of friendliness, mutual concern, and rapport among students, but this kind of restricted rapport—reminiscent of Basil Bernstein's (1964, 1966) well-known notion of restricted code[ii]—can actually impede the quality of learning that takes place among the members of the group.

The authors rightly point out that overcoming this may require "more advanced communicative skills than those upon which individuals usually rely on in everyday conversations" (Robinson et al., 2015, p. 14). Put another way, while convivial rapport among students is without doubt important for active learning to work well, another dimension of rapport—one more academic and amenable to the expression of ideas and examination of arguments—may also need to be deliberately cultivated among students. Such intellectual rapport will likely not emerge spontaneously from ice-breakers and other exercises used to promote conviviality; teachers may need to teach students how to engage in discussion as a prerequisite to undertaking extensive, discussion-oriented active-learning activities.

On-board attitude

A recurring theme in the literature on active learning is resistance or "pushback" from students about the prospect of having to participate in a course organized around active learning or that incorporates elements of active learning, particularly in large classes (e.g., Lambach, Kärger, & Goerres, 2017; Messineo, Gaither, Bott, & Ritchey, 2007; Nguyen, Yu, Japutra, & Chen, 2015; Tniby et al., 2014). Messineo et al. (2007, p. 125), for instance, report that their efforts to apply active learning methods that worked successfully in small classes to larger classes did not go over well: "Attempts to divide students into discussion groups were met with apathy, group projects were greeted with resistance and frustration, and individual research projects were met with anger and disbelief." In subsequent research, they found that experienced students (non-freshmen)

tended to be less committed to large classes and to see group work in such classes as a waste of time (Messineo et al., 2007). Similarly, another study found that while students assigned a high value to both lectures and being active in class, this did not extend to group-based, cooperative learning activities (Machemer & Crawford, 2007).

One plausible reason for this is the anonymity afforded by classes with large enrollments (Benjamin, 1991; Machemer & Crawford, 2007). As noted by Benjamin (Benjamin, 1991, p. 70), "some students enjoy the anonymity of the large lecture class that leaves them with little responsibility other than taking notes. Students report feeling less pressure in lecture classes, and the larger the class the less pressure they feel." Machemer & Crawford (2007, p. 24) offer a similar view: Students may in fact choose to enroll in a certain class precisely because it is large, "because they seek a teacher-centered learning environment, where they can be passive observers and preserve their anonymity."

The attitudinal opposite of student pushback to active learning in large classes is what Cavanaugh et al. refer to as "buy-in," a term that relates to "individuals' feelings in relation to a new way of thinking or behaving" (Cavanagh et al., 2016, p. 2). In the context of active learning activities in a classroom, buy-in can reflect how students believe in the validity or usefulness of the active learning activity and how committed they are to participating in it. Some maintain that a key way to promote buy-in, as such, is to explicitly "sell" students on the value of the active learning methods to be used in class. Tniby et al., for instance, note that despite the educational merits of using team-based learning (TBL) in large classes in international relations and comparative politics, "some students may not appreciate either the requirement of working in teams or the extent to which they are asked to take responsibility for their own learning. …The best strategies for minimizing student pushback are to be extremely clear in laying out the course structure and requirements, to avoid being defensive or apologetic about the approach, and to explain or demonstrate the benefits of TBL" (Tniby et al., 2014, p. 191; see also Baepler et al., 2016).

One means for cultivating student buy-in to active learning is by adopting the EPIC model, comprised of exposure, persuasion, identification, and commitment. As described by Cavanagh et al. (2016) and applied to an anatomy and physiology class involving more than 200 students, the process of operationalizing EPIC buy-in proceeds through four steps: "from 1) exposure to active learning, to 2) persuasion that these activities are good, to 3) identification that the activities are good for them personally, to 4) commitment to this way of learning" (Cavanagh et al., 2016, pp. 2–3). Whether one

adopts this particular model for increasing student buy-in to active learning, the more general implication is that the act of explicitly making students cognizant of the active learning methods being used and the rationale for their use—particularly if these are not common in the large-scale classes students ordinarily experience—may serve to help get students more fully on board with the active learning activities that the teacher is incorporating into the class.

Nevertheless, a somewhat thorny issue that remains is how to deal with those students who I described earlier as "loners," who in a large class sit by themselves with no one immediately next to them and who make little or no effort to engage others in class. Even though they may understand, at an intellectual level, the arguments in favor of active learning, at an emotional and behavioral level they may not be truly on board with or may even feel incapable of doing active learning, especially if it involves intense interaction with other students. There may be any number of reasons for this— introversion, extreme shyness, social anxiety, depression, etc.—which in a large class are not necessarily evident to the instructor. Cooper and Brownell (2016), for instance, examine the experiences of students with lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, intersex, and asexual (LGBTQIA) identities in active learning classrooms. In classes involving significant active learning, the social dynamics between students become more significant, making certain identities more salient; the authors report that LGBTQIA students "do not always experience the undergraduate biology classroom to be a welcoming or accepting place for their identities" (Cooper & Brownell, 2016, p. 1). In a similar vein, students suffering from depression, social anxiety or other mental health issue may be at their limit in merely coming to class, let alone being expected to actively communicate and discuss their ideas with others.

The literature on active learning in large-scale classes seems to have little to say about how to accommodate the various possible types of students who normally sit alone[iii]. Weimer (2012), for instance, suggests question-discussion among students as one method that can work well in large classes. The assumption here is that students are in fact seated next to someone with whom they can discuss the questions: "Students may write ideas about answers, they may talk about answers *with those sitting next to them*, and they may explain answers to each other" (Weimer, 2012, emphasis added). One possible takeaway from this is that even in a lecture course that will occasionally include short periods of discussion among students, the teacher can either require that all students be seated next to someone, or that as a rule all students be seated next to someone although certain students may be exempted from this policy. This could be

enforced, for example, through a seating chart or through assigned groups of students who will be expected to work together in class. Many of the case studies and studies of active learning in large classes involve class models where the large class is divided into groups and all students, presumably, belong to a group so that it is impossible for anyone to be sitting alone. Connell et al. (2016), for example, report positive outcomes in changing a large-enrollment biology course so that active learning was used extensively, a process whereby students were placed in assigned groups and remained in those groups for the duration of the academic term (see also Godlewska et al., 2019).

Teachers can certainly pair up students or assign them to groups, as a matter of course, or arrange the classroom layout so that it is physically impossible for any students to be sitting with no one next to them. In some cases this may be appreciated; in others it may simply make the students uncomfortable and not qualify as respectful treatment of students as individuals. Given that college teachers today are sometimes asked to make reasonable accommodations for students with disabilities or health issues that could impair their ability to take part in classes, one cannot help but wonder if it is right to address student pushback by trying to sell students on the merits of active learning without equally investing ourselves in listening carefully to what they have to say. A pedagogical and ethical dilemma that presents itself here is what to do if we come to realize that there may be students who in fact have valid reasons for not being fully on board with participating in active learning activities, particularly those that demand them to interact intensively with other students. How do we respectfully accommodate them without undermining the sense of on-boardness among other students in the class?

Conclusion

As discussed above, the professional and research-based literature on active learning, while not offering clear-cut solutions to the three problem areas of monitoring, rapport among students, and attitudinal on-boardness, does suggest directions in which teachers might apply their efforts. Concerning the monitoring of student engagement in active learning tasks, one possible direction is for the instructor to embrace a shift in perspective and relinquish the perceived need for thoroughgoing, real-time monitoring of student involvement in class and to instead place more emphasis on helping students understand how to better contribute to the production of learning in active learning tasks carried out in class. The problem of rapport may require recognizing that convivial rapport among students does not necessarily engender the kind of intellectual rapport expected of them in active learning activities. Finally, the commonplace stance in the

literature that active learning will in all likelihood involve students actively engaging with and, in a sense, revealing themselves to one another begs us to consider how best to respectfully deal with those students who resist or find it difficult to commit themselves intellectually, emotionally, and behaviorally to active learning activities.

One issue not addressed in the present article is the role played by cultural factors in efforts to implement active learning. This is hinted at, in passing, by Lambach et al. (2017, p. 562), who briefly comment about the students in their study: "the students' extensive experience with the traditional lecture format has socialized them into a learning culture that is characterized by memorization and that is highly focused on succeeding in written exams." Though the authors do not develop the point, readers can infer that "traditional" modes of teaching and learning are culturally variable and tied to students' understandings of the value of learning, their regard for teacherly authority, their ingrained beliefs about what constitutes effective study, and their sense of proper comportment in the classroom. The active learning literature taken up in this article, while predominantly coming out of the U.S., also draws upon research and case studies from Canada, the U.K., Germany, Spain, and Chile, but the significance of differences in educational environments is left largely undiscussed therein. Just as active learning does not easily scale *up* from small-scale to large-scale classes, the question remains as to what issues emerge when active learning is transferred *across* from one national-cultural context to another.

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Notes

[i] While the primary language of instruction is thus English, in-class discussions among students are typically carried out in Japanese, at the students' discretion.

[ii] In Bernstein's formulation, restricted code is characterized by the assumption of a reduced need for speakers to explicitly articulate themselves to others due to a closely shared set of interests, expectations, and identifications. The more the intents of others are taken for granted, "the more likely that the structure of the speech will be simplified and the vocabulary drawn from a narrow range" (Bernstein, 1964, pp. 60–61).

[iii] Practical tips on how to accommodate "introverts" (e.g., Magna Publications, 2017; cf. Bain, 2004, p. 131 on "shy" students), while useful in cases where the instructor can with certitude identify certain students as introverts, applies only to a limited segment of those students I am referring to here.

Research Note on SUJCD and Foreign Residents in Hadano, 1987-2007: Preliminary Contextualization[1]

Maria Lupas and Sachie Miyazaki

ABSTRACT

   Sophia University Junior College Division (SUJCD) is located in Hadano City, Kanagawa Prefecture, Japan, and has a relatively long-standing relationship with its host community. This research note looks at the junior college's relationship with one part of the Hadano community, namely, the foreign residents. It focuses on two groups of foreign residents: those who came to Hadano as refugees through the Yamato Resettlement Center from what is known as Indochina (Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam) and those who came from South America, particularly Peru. It considers some of the individuals involved in the Japanese language classes and other support for foreign residents including the junior college's In-Home Volunteer Tutoring Program.

Introduction

   We started this research in 2017 as part of a Sophia University intramural team research project on the role of churches and civic institutions in welcoming refugees to Japan. In that year, the worldwide refugee crisis was reaching new limits, and anti-refugee sentiment was fueling the election of populist governments in different places around the globe. On a local level, our interest in this topic was also motivated by the long-standing involvement of many members of the Hadano campus community with refugees in the Hadano area. We desired to use this research project as an opportunity to take stock of what had been done, what was being done, and where potential needs might be. Several members of the research team at the Yotsuya campus had considerable experience collecting data from interviews in video format and creating video archives. This kind of video ethnography was new to many of us at the Hadano campus but seemed an exciting method to collect data which we believed needed to be collected.

   We used a "pick the low-lying fruit" method and started by interviewing people we could easily get a hold of, and from these people understood little by little the names of people who were connected to their stories and whom we also tried to contact with their assistance. We did not assume that people had immutable roles and that some

people were always "helpers" and other people were always "being helped." This kind of pigeon-holing did not naturally appeal to us, and we did not use it, with the result that we looked into the stories of both people who were at one point on the receiving end of support as well as people who were on the giving end. In fact, many people on the giving end of the support for the years we were studying were foreign missionaries and thus could be considered foreign residents themselves. And those who received help in the beginning years of the study period later helped those who arrived after them. This study therefore includes data we gathered concerning both those supporting foreign residents and those being supported as foreign residents. Both sides are represented, and in the case of Hadano, the boundaries sometimes are quite porous.

Two particular groups of foreign residents we are studying, those from Indochina and from Peru, were not always numerically the most represented in Hadano from 1987 to 2007, but they came into contact more often with the institutions we studied. They received more language support from the institutions we examined than the more numerous groups from Korea, China, and the United States.

This research note presents some preliminary background studies we conducted for the interviews as well as some early findings and intuitions. This note consists mainly of contextualization of some main institutions and people. Contextualization is important because partnerships between people and also institutions are often shaped by the history, culture, and mission of each of the parties.[2] Knowing the history and culture of the institutions and people is therefore valuable for understanding their relationships.

1. Some demographics of the foreign population in Hadano for the years 1987-2007

Hadano City in Kanagawa Prefecture enjoys a green, relatively low-lying location between the Tanzawa Mountain range to the north and Sagami Bay to the south. It is about one hour by train to either Tokyo's Shinjuku Station or to the center of Yokohama. On a clear day, Hadano's view of Mount Fuji well deserves notice. It is here that several groups of foreign residents have been able to resettle since the 1980s.

Political, economic, and social upheavals in southeast Asia in the 1970s contributed to the displacement of peoples. People trying to escape from Vietnam by boat became known as "boat people," while those escaping by land from Cambodia and Laos became known as "land people." Collectively, displaced persons from Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam were also called the "Indochina refugees," and, following the first landing of boat people in Japan in 1975, the Japanese Cabinet eventually finalized

a plan to officially resettle 500 such refugees from Indochina.[3] The plan included the establishment of centers which would train the refugees in the Japanese language and in the basics of living in Japan, as well as facilitate their insertion into Japanese society through vocational and housing assistance. The first resettlement center was opened in Himeji in Hyogo Prefecture in 1979, and a second center opened in 1980 in Yamato in Kanagawa Prefecture. The opening and operation of the centers was entrusted to the Foundation for the Welfare and Education of Asian People (FWEAP).[4]

The Yamato Resettlement Center in Kanagawa Prefecture operated for eighteen years from 1980 to 1998 and helped a total of 2,641 people to resettle to Japan.[5] By 1994, the original quota of 500 refugees had been expanded to include 10,000 people and the framework set up by the Japanese Cabinet to welcome them was then terminated.[6] Following the decision to phase out the framework, the Yamato center continued to operate until its final closing in 1998.

Hadano City was a destination for some of the Indochinese refugees from the Yamato Resettlement Center. While not all the Indochinese residents of Hadano came through the Yamato Resettlement Center, the presence of some residents attracted other compatriots who later came to settle there, too. Table 1. shows the number of registered foreign residents from Indochina:

Year		Cambodia	Laos	Vietnam	Total Foreign Residents	Total Population
S61	1986	35	13	2	478	145,086
S62	1987	43	21	2	566	148,469
S63	1988	40	44	8	600	151,184
H1	1989	33	45	17	672	152,801
H2	1990	37	49	22	1,050	155,620
H3	1991	38	47	27	1,516	158,212
H4	1992	39	58	41	1,663	160,146
H5	1993	48	79	34	1,778	161,692
H6	1994	55	77	53	1,745	163,244
H7	1995	52	103	73	1,937	164,722
H8	1996	58	115	92	2,046	165,395
H9	1997	65	130	112	2,238	166,512

Table 1. Foreign residents in Hadano City, 1986-1997 (Source: *Tōkei Hadano* [Hadano Statistics], 1991-1997)

In 1987, for example, there were a total of 566 foreign residents registered in Hadano City, of whom 43 were from Cambodia, 21 from Laos, and 2 from Vietnam. Before 1986, the largest foreign resident populations were from Korea and China and those from Indochina were not numerally significant enough to appear in the detailed statistics. By the year 2001, after the Yamato Resettlement Center closed, the number of foreign residents from Indochina living in Hadano had remained about the same with 57 people from Cambodia, 132 people from Laos, and 189 people from Vietnam registered in Hadano.[7]

Kanagawa prefecture's economy had performed well in the early 1980s, and the prefectural governor could proudly claim that "Kanagawa has become Japan's industrial nerve center" (Kanagawa ken Kenmin Sōmushitsu, 1985). Moreover, Hadano City's open spaces and location close to Tokyo and Yokohama made it a convenient site for factories belonging to several manufacturers. The factories and services catering to them were able to employ a considerable number of workers. The registered businesses in Hadano ran the gamut from food corporations to makers of electronics with the highest group represented being makers of electronics. Table 2 shows the businesses in Hadano and the number of people they employed.

Year		Businesses in Hadano	People employed by Hadano Businesses
S61	1986	339	17,885
S62	1987	340	18,183
S63	1988	367	19,245
H1	1989	363	19,716
H2	1990	510	21,360
H3	1991	381	19,755
H4	1992	378	19,694
H5	1993	367	18,991
H6	1994	344	19,910
H7	1995	342	19,615
H8	1996	350	19,695

Table 2. Number of businesses in Hadano City and the people employed by those businesses (Source: *Tōkei Hadano* [Hadano Statistics], 1991-1997)

A spotlight was shone on the Indochinese refugees by a tragic incident in February

1987. The incident involved a Cambodian refugee living in Hadano. On February 8, he killed his wife who had been in the hospital since the previous day and scheduled for surgery. She died on her hospital bed right after the neighboring patients heard a scream (Asahi Shimbun, February 9, 1987, 23). When the refugee's house was investigated, the couple's three young children were also found dead. Newspapers reporting the incident at that time gave different katakana versions of the man's name including: *Boi Mūn* ボイ・ムーン , *Bui Mūn* ブイ・ムーン , and *Bui Muan* ブイ・ムアン . At the time of the incident, he was 34 years old, his wife was 26, the eldest girl was 8 years old, followed by a boy 6 years old, and a young girl who was 4 years old. The couple had arrived in Japan less than 2 years before the incident and had stayed at the Yamato Resettlement Center before moving to Hadano (*Asahi Shimbun*, February 9, 1987, 23).

Newspapers at the time connected the killings to the man's inability to learn the Japanese language. They reported that the man originally held a job with a company in Isehara, but that he had quit that job since January and was staying at home (*Asahi Shimbun*, February 9, 1987, 23). The 6-year-old son was also reported to have talked with the Yamato center around noon on February 7 and told them that the father was sitting in front of the television and drinking alcohol (*Asahi Shinbun*, February 10, 1987, 23). Newspapers and others interpreted the killings as the result of the man's inability to keep a job due to his not being able to speak Japanese.

Several newspapers including *Asahi Shimbun* and *Mainichi Shimbun* covered the incident with *Asahi Shimbun* publishing several articles on it. Nevertheless, the news was not on the front page of either of these two major-circulation newspapers. In Hadano, the news made a larger stir, and it mobilized several people in the Hadano community and at the junior college to want to start Japanese language classes to support foreign residents.

In the 1990s other groups of foreign residents grew in number, particularly those from Latin America. Table 3 shows the number of residents in Hadano from Peru and Brazil. No data is available for Peru for the years 1989 to 1992 since the numbers were not significant enough to be counted as a distinct group.

	Year	Peru	Brazil	Total Foreign Residents	Total Population
H1	1989		65	672	152,801
H2	1990		286	1,050	155,620
H3	1991		563	1,516	158,212
H4	1992		539	1,663	160,146
H5	1993	72	568	1,778	161,692
H6	1994	68	556	1,745	163,244
H7	1995	92	640	1,937	164,722
H8	1996	119	661	2,046	165,395
H9	1997	168	799	2,238	166,512

Table 3. Hadano foreign residents from Peru and Brazil
(Source: *Tōkei Hadano* [Hadano Statistics], 1991-1997)

By the year 2000, the number of residents from Peru and Brazil increased dramatically. Table 4 shows the data for the years 2000-2007.

	Year	Peru	Brazil	Total Foreign Residents	Total Population
H12	2000	257	762	2,551	168,142
H13	2001	298	877	2,952	168,323
H14	2002	325	899	3,069	168,431
H15	2003	344	944	3,265	168,505
H16	2004	393	965	3,402	168,540
H17	2005	420	1,006	3,578	168,317
H18	2006	433	964	3,556	168,587
H19	2007	443	920	3,576	169,067

Table 4. Hadano foreign residents from Peru and Brazil (Source: Kanagawa kennai gaikokujin tōkei [Kanagawa prefectural statistics on foreign residents][8])

2. Some institutions working with foreign residents in Hadano including SUJCD

Several institutions were involved in supporting foreign residents. Here we will focus on three of them: the NGO Ayumukai, the In-Home Volunteer Tutoring Program

of Sophia Junior College, and Hadano Catholic Church.

A. Ayumukai

The Hadano NGO "Tōnan Ajia no Hitobito to tomoni Ayumukai [Walking together with the People of Southeast Asia Association]," henceforth, Ayumukai, was begun as a direct response to the February 1987 incident. In 2018, to commemorate their 31 years of operation, the NGO issued a 30th anniversary issue of their publication *Ayumi*. In it, they clearly link the NGO's founding to the February 1987 incident (Tōnan Ajia no Hitobito to tomoni Ayumukai 1).

Ayumukai was closely connected to people in the Hadano City Hall. One of the personnel of the Hadano City Hall, Shinji Harada, recalls in a 2007 article on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the NGO that he was shocked upon learning what had happened and asked the mayor of Hadano to begin a volunteer support structure to help the refugees. In the same article Harada is credited with being a founder of the NGO (Kikuchi 2007).

The main way in which the Ayumukai NGO tried to support refugees was to hold Japanese language classes. These classes taught Japanese and also provided consulting for daily life in Japan. Classes were set up as early as March of 1987, one month after the killings, and the NGO was officially launched one year later in 1988 (Tōnan Ajia no Hitobito to tomoni Ayumukai 10).

B. Sophia Junior College In-Home Volunteer Tutoring Program

The junior college was involved early on with members of what would become the NGO Ayumukai. Junior College students began volunteering to teach Japanese classes on Sundays. One of the pillars of the Ayumukai NGO, Seiji Imafuku, was himself graduate of Sophia University and this facilitated the collaboration with the junior college. According to a 2005 internal publication about the junior college volunteer program, it was after this first experience of the students at the Sunday Japanese classes that the need was felt to do in-home volunteer tutoring. It was then that the junior college partnered with the Ayumukai NGO and launched the In-Home Volunteer Tutoring Program (kateikyōshi borantia) on weekdays. The in-home volunteering began in May of 1988 and ten junior college students participated that year.

The In-Home Volunteer Tutoring Program begun in 1988 expanded year by year and in 2004 received a "Good Practice" award from the Japanese Ministry of Education. The number of junior college volunteers grew from 10 students in 1988, to more than 70

volunteers per year for the years 1998 to 2003. For the years 2003 to 2005 the number of student volunteers was over 100. As the program grew, the geographic area to which the tutors were sent also expanded and households as far as Hiratsuka, Isehara, and Hon-Atsugi were receiving tutors. In general, the tutoring was in the evening for one hour with a start time sometime between 5 and 7 p.m. depending on the learner's scheduling needs.

The program, which originally focused on providing service to families from countries in Indochina residing in Hadano City, also began to help other groups of foreign residents. It began working with another NGO called "Chūnanbei no Hitobito o Kangaerukai [Thinking about People from Central and South America Association]." By the end of 2005, according to an internally published 2006 guidebook, the largest group receiving the student tutors was from Peru. Significantly, the 2006 guidebook intended for prospective families seeking in-house tutoring was published in eight languages: Japanese, English, Spanish, Portuguese, Vietnamese, Lao, Khmer, and Chinese. The guidebook notes that there were no fees for the families either for the tutoring or for the materials. The families were given the possibility to share their cooking at a booth during the yearly school festival as a way of giving back to the school.

Part of the success of the In-Home Volunteer Tutoring Program in terms of its durability and the number of students and community members involved might be attributed to the good fit between the junior college's goals as an education institution and the Hadano community's needs and assets. On the junior college's side, its educational goals were based on three founding principles: a training in Christian humanism, an international training, and language training. On the side of the Hadano community, there was a need for further Japanese language and daily life support for the foreign residents and this was also an asset because it meant that the foreign residents brought their own international experience to the Hadano community and to those who would be doing service for them. By volunteering in the tutoring program, the junior college students who helped the foreign residents of Hadano were also meeting their school's goal by getting a training in the Christian value of helping their neighbors, by getting an international experience by going into the homes of the foreign residents, and by improving their own language skills through teaching language.

C. Hadano Catholic Church

Hadano Catholic Church was entrusted to several foreign missionary priests over the course of the years. The church opened its doors and allowed the use of its facilities

for the Japanese language classes. Some of the tutoring done by the In-Home Volunteer Tutoring Program also took place in the Hadano Catholic Church facilities which are located a few minutes' walk away from the Hadano train station. When in 2000 and also again in 2006, Masahiro Raphael Umemura, bishop of the diocese of Yokohama to which Hadano Catholic Church belongs, began issuing plans and guidelines for Yokohama diocese with regards to the foreign resident faithful, the members of Hadano Catholic Church found the support to start their own Japanese language classes on the church premises on Sunday mornings after the morning Mass. These classes, begun in 2006, originally targeted several Vietnamese residents who were also Catholic.

3. Role of individuals in working with foreign residents as well as the kind of support they gave

As Barbara Jacoby insightfully noted about developing and sustaining partnerships between campuses and the community, "partnerships between institutions start as relationships between individuals" (61). This is especially the case with beginning of the junior college's In-Home Volunteer Tutoring Program and other activities in the Hadano community.

One individual involved with the Hadano Community was Sister Maria Maldonado (1931-2009) of the Company of Mary Our Lady, in Latin *Ordine societatis Mariae Dominae Nostrae*, a Roman Catholic religious order founded in the early seventeenth century by Saint Jeanne de Lestonnac. Sister Maria Maldonado came to Japan from Spain in 1961. The Company of Mary had been working in Japan since 1959[9] and operated the dormitory for women adjacent to the junior college where several of the sisters also taught.

Sister Maria Maldonado did not formally teach at the junior college. She had a training in social work and performed various services. She personally knew many Hadano residents and took an interest in those living in Hadano. One informant for this study, a resident of Hadano from Peru, explained how Maldonado, better known as Sister Maria, actively helped her settle in Hadano in the early 1990s.

According to this informant, Sister Maria played a key role in helping her break out of a vicious cycle. The situation was that the informant and her husband had recently come from Peru. A son was born to the couple in Japan, and when the child grew older, the couple wanted to put the child into daycare so that both parents could work. Yet without daycare for the child, it was difficult for the mother to look for a job, but it was also not possible to get the daycare without both parents already working. Once the

mother was finally able to get a tentative job offer from a company, another obstacle was the long waiting list for child daycare. The informant insisted that it was Sister Maria's speaking to the city hall on her behalf that speeded up the process.

Sister Maria had also helped the informant when she was pregnant, and her baby was born in the hospital. On that occasion, Sister Maria, who was from Spain and spoke Spanish, served as the interpreter between the informant and the doctor. After that, Sister Maria helped other foreign residents in hospitals with her interpretation skills: "After this first experience she started helping other people in the hospitals, mainly for translations."[10]

The informant was also aware of Sister Maria's activities to help foreigners in prison in Japan. This is because Sister Maria would ask people to contribute magazines and other reading materials they no longer needed for the prisoners: "if you have newspapers or the latest thingummy to take to the people in prison," she would ask. "She wouldn't talk much about this kind of situations with us but, she let us know that she was committed to these people, too."[11]

Sister Maria Maldonado became relatively well known in Hadano and several publications highlighted her multiple activities in Kanagawa. Among other publications, she was featured in the Hadano City edition of the free paper *Town News* (number 364) for her volunteer work in the national hospital in Kanagawa and her organizing student volunteers from the junior college dormitory to come help as well. The Kanagawa Prefecture based Tomoshibi Undō o Susumeru Kenmin Kaigi [Prefectural Conference Commending Bright Activities] also included her in an album of inspiring personalities.

Another individual connected to the junior college's involvement with foreign residents was Sister Rosa María Cortés Gómez, ODN (1940-2015). She came to Japan from Spain in 1962 with the same Roman Catholic religious order, the Company of Mary Our Lady. She was on faculty at the junior college and appears in the yearbook with the first graduating class of 1975. Immediately after the 1987 incident in Hadano, she was instrumental in organizing the student volunteers for Japanese language classes which later became the In-Home Volunteer Tutoring Program.

One informant for our study who came from Laos to Hadano through the Yamato Resettlement Center in the early 1990s described the kind of hands-on help that Sister Cortés provided. Sister Cortés would bring the informant to the school grounds and provide driving lessons to help the informant pass the driving test and get a driver's license. To do this, they would drive on the extensive convent and school grounds when the grounds were not being used.[12]

Sister Cortés also formally studied the problem of foreign residents in Japan and in 2005 completed a doctoral dissertation entitled, "Minority Groups in Japan: A Historical and Cultural Approach" (Cortés 2006). Some of the findings in her dissertation appear summarized in the junior college faculty bulletin from 2006.

Conclusion

This preliminary research contains some of the context to the interactions between SUJCD and the foreign population in Hadano City. We found that individuals had a big impact in putting programs together. We also noticed that many of the individuals were foreigners themselves. Areas of further research include interviewing more informants about their experiences as supporters or receiving support. A look at the experiences of the second generation of foreign residents might also yield interesting data.

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Notes

[1] The authors would like to thank the energetic staff of the SUJCD Service Learning Center especially Ms. Suzuki and Ms. Tsuchiya for their support of our project in a myriad of small and large ways. Lupas would like to express a special thank you to the dedicated staff of the SUJCD library and to the staff of the special Hadano collections of the Hadano City Library.

[2] See Ramalay, 2000, 240.

[3] See Foundation for the Welfare and Education of the Asian People (FWEAP) site. http://www.fweap.or.jp/history%20of%20RHQ.htm

[4] See the FWEAP site. http://www.fweap.or.jp/history%20of%20RHQ.htm

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] https://www.pref.kanagawa.jp/docs/k2w/cnt/f4695/index.html

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] See https://asiaodn.org.

[10] Interview, September 2018.

[11] *Ibid.*

[12] Interview, March 2019.

編 集 後 記

　2019 年度も 2018 年度に策定した査読基準に従い、(1) 形式と体裁に関すること (文体、書式、引用・参照、文献目録)、および (2) 内容に関すること (研究課題、先行研究、論理性、表現、研究倫理) について、それぞれの投稿論文につき 2 名の専任教員が査読者として審査を行った。紀要 41 号には 7 件の掲載希望があったが、実際に提出に至ったのは 2 件であった。査読の結果、論文 1 編と研究ノート 1 編の計 2 編の掲載となった。

　Chris Oliver 氏は、大人数の授業におけるアクティブ・ラーニング活動における問題点について議論している。教員による個々の学生の活動のきめ細かな観察、学生同士の良好な関係の構築、学生による活動への積極的参加、などはアクティブ・ラーニングの成功に不可欠な要素であるが、それが大人数の授業では必ずしも機能しないことを述べた上で、Oliver 氏が担当する大人数クラスである異文化間コミュニケーションと文化人類学の授業でどのような実践が行われているかを紹介している。主体的学びと協働力を養うアクティブ・ラーニングは、本学が推進すべき課題として FD シンポジウムでも取り上げてきた問題であり、当論文は従来は講義形式であった授業にもいかにアクティブ・ラーニングを取り入れるのかについて示唆を与えてくれるものである。

　Maria Lupas 氏および Sachie Miyazaki 氏は、秦野市における外国籍市民の歴史を、特に 1987 年から 2007 年にかけて秦野に移住したインドシナ難民および南アメリカのペルー人たちに焦点を当てて紹介している。その上で、これらの外国籍市民を支援してきた「NGO 東南アジアの人々と共に歩む会」、「上智短期大学家庭教師ボランティア」、「秦野カトリック教会」という 3 つの組織の成り立ち、支援の内容、支援実施者について、支援を受けた人および支援者へのインタビューなどに基づき詳細に論じている。当研究ノートは予備調査の段階での報告であるが、より多くのインタビューを今後行っていく予定であることが記されており、支援の歴史と実態について更に明らかにされていくことが期待できる。

　執筆者の 2019 年度担当科目は以下の通りである。

Chris Oliver………………	英語I、TOEIC対策講座I, II、準上級英語アカデミックスキルズ（社会学）、異文化間コミュニケーション、文化人類学、ゼミナールI, II
Maria Lupas　…………	英語I, II, IV、基礎英語スキルズ（ライティング）、上級英語スキルズ（多読速読）、プレ・ゼミナール
宮崎　幸江…………………	留学準備（オーストラリア）、バイリンガル教育、サービスラーニング入門講座、サービスラーニング（小中学校日本語支援B）、プレ・ゼミナール

　最後に査読を担当した 4 名の教員にお礼を申し上げる。各論文を改善するための建設的提案は、本紀要の質的向上につながったと考える。

　また、編集作業を潤滑に進めてくださった、事務センターの五十嵐梢氏と株式会社プリントボーイの松村元玄氏にお礼を申し上げる。

<div style="text-align: right">上智大学短期大学部紀要第 41 号編集代表者　近藤佐智子</div>