Educational Studies in Japan: International Yearbook
No. 8, March, 2014. pp. 19–31

The Academic Profession and University Governance Participation in Japan: Focusing on the Role of Kyoju-kai

Yonezawa, Akiyoshi*

The dominant role of Kyoju-kai (the professoriate) in university governance in Japan is now facing a critical examination as part of university reforms in response to global competition. What are the determinants of the characteristics of participation in university governance by individual faculty members? In what way does the organizational structure, such as the professoriates at Japanese universities, influence the participation patterns? This article first establishes an analytical framework for the examination of the role of the professoriate of Japanese universities, applying the arguments of McNay (1995) and Ehara (2010). Secondly, the structure of faculty participation in university governance in Japan is examined through analysis of recent survey data on the academic profession in Asia. Thirdly, through a comparative analysis this paper examines how dominance of decision making by the Kyoju-kai or the faculty committees and boards does not necessarily assure a sense of participation among faculty members. Based on the examination above, the author discusses how the legal protection of Kyoju-kai in Japanese universities does not necessarily assure collegium-type university governance, but may lead to a bureaucracy that satisfies neither institutional managers nor faculty members. Finally, the author discusses the significance of the above points in the broader context of the historical transformation of the characteristics of university governance in Japan, and argues for the necessity of further comparative studies based on a precise understanding of the historical and organizational contexts of universities and higher education systems.

Keywords: academic profession; higher education; university governance; professoriate; Japan

* Nagoya University
e-mail: yonezawa@gsid.nagoya-u.ac.jp

1. Introduction

University governance is becoming a core policy issue in Japan and many other countries (IDE, 2012). The increasing pressure of globalization requires a university to aim for world-class status with an efficient leadership team and a strategic vision (Salmi, 2009). However, strengthened leadership by higher education managers may reduce the degree of faculty participation in university governance. In the case of Japanese universities, faculty members have been said to enjoy participation in university governance through faculty and school level "*Kyoju-kai"* (professoriate) under a formal legal structure. Namely, Article 93 of the School Education Law provides that a university must have a *Kyoju-kai* to discuss important matters, and that the *Kyoju-kai* could include associate professors and other staff members, in addition to full professors, who are the official members. This implies a strong ownership by professors in university governance, and a limited influence of leadership by the presidents and other institutional-level managers. Especially in comprehensive universities with multiple schools and faculties, the decision-making power at the school or faculty level tends to conflict with interests at the institutional level.

As of the writing of this paper, the amendment of this system is under discussion by the Central Council for Education (CCE), an advisory committee of the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT). The aim of this amendment proposal is to strengthen the decision-making capacity of university presidents and other institutional-level managers.

However, there is a strong view among academics of Japanese universities that university governance authority should be located in a *Kyoju-kai* of a faculty or school, as a symbol of university autonomy (Terasaki, 1979). At the University of Tokyo, the first modern university, established in 1877, appointments of the president and deans began as political appointments by the government (Tachibana, 2005). Through the gradual development of a sense of academic autonomy, a system of mutual votes among professors was introduced at the former imperial universities in the 1910s (Terasaki, 1992). After World War II, the Law for Special Regulations Concerning Educational Public Service Personnel was enacted in 1947. Article 3 of this law provides that the senate (or the *Kyoju-kai* in case the senate does not exist) implements the selection of university president, and the university president selects deans based on decisions by the *Kyoju-kai* at national universities and local public universities that are directly operated by the national or local government.

Since 2004, all of the national universities and most of the local public universities have been operated by national or local public university corporations, the public legal entities for the operation of national and local public universities. The National University Corporation Law enacted in 2003 only provides that the Ministrer of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology appoints a university president based on the proposal of the national university corporation, and the law does not refer to the selection of deans at the school or faculty level. Therefore, the regulatory frameworks for the selection of deans are currently decided by the respective national, local public and private universities.

The discussion of university governance related to the authority of *Kyoju-kai* has had a long history based on highly diverse ideas about universities. The professoriate has comprised one of the core decision-making powers based on the historical origin of the university as academic union in medieval Europe. Clark (1983) developed a coordination model among the university,

state and government. Here, he used the term "academic oligarchy", symbolizing a very strong authority of the professoriate in Italy at that time. At the same time, the development of large comprehensive universities by 1960s had established a devolved governance structure to the various schools and other organizational sub units. Based on his experience as president of the University of California system, Kerr (1963) developed the concept "multiversity," which acts based on the multiple principles created for the diverse functions of a university.

However, the introduction of New Public Management in higher education policies, first in Europe at the end of 1980s, brought a new concept of "institutional autonomy," where the institutional managers (university presidents or vice-chancellors) have stronger leadership authority, and intervention by the state governments is rather limited. The changing environment of universities that were expected to be governed and managed within a more market-based environment also assisted in generating new concepts of university governance such as "entrepreneurial university" (Clark, 1998) and "enterprise university" (Marginson & Considine, 2000).

Under the new environment, the participation in university governance by faculty members became interpreted as a quite different manner beyond the traditional ways of the professoriate. Sporn (2006) set up several models of university governance, namely, (1) shared governance assuring the participation of academics, (2) corporate models of governance, and (3) flexible governance structure fit to rapid environmental change through learning and adaptation. By proposing the third model, Sporn stressed the maintenance of a collaborative atmosphere of governance at contemporary universities.

Current arguments on the reexamination of the professoriate system in Japanese universities are based on the view that the professoriate tends to resist necessary change. For example, in an article in a top Japanese business newspaper, *Nikkei,* on 2 May 2013, Kakutaro Kitashiro, chair of the governing board of the prestigious private liberal arts university, International Christian University, requests that decision-making power shift from the *Kyoju-kai* to the president to ensure more flexible and speedy management, based on Kitashiro's long business experience as a former Chief Executive Officer of IBM Japan.

There is a big gap between the policy-level discussion of university governance and the perceptions by historians and researchers of higher education. The latter inquire about the identity of Japanese universities within the global history of universities that started as guilds of professors and students in medieval Europe (Yonezawa, 2011). At the same time, the actual role and impact of *Kyoju-kai* in faculties' participation in university governance in Japan has not been well examined through empirical data. The structure of university governance is highly imbedded in the identical context of the history and organizational structure of universities and higher education systems. Except for very simplistic comparisons based on a limited number of indicators, there should be comprehensive national level analysis done to more fully understand the mechanism of university governance in Japan.

What are the determinants of the characteristics of participation in university governance by individual faculty members? In what way do organizational structures such as the professoriates at Japanese universities influence participation patterns? In this article, the author first set up an analytical framework for the examination of the role of the professoriate in Japanese universities, applying the arguments of McNay (1995) and Ehara (2010). Secondly, the author analyzes the structure of faculties' participation in university governance in Japan through analysis of recent survey data on the academic profession in Asia. Thirdly, the author argues through a comparative analysis that the dominance of decision making by the *Kyoju-kai* or faculty committees and

boards does not necessarily assure a sense of participation among faculty members. Based on the examination above, the author concludes that the legally protected *Kyoju-kai* of Japanese universities do not necessarily assure collegium-type university governance, but may lead to bureaucracy that satisfies neither institutional managers nor faculty members.

2. Framework and Data

Researchers in Japan have discussed university governance, in many cases, as an attempt to connect the reality seen in Japanese universities and the frameworks and models discussed in the international literature on the subject. For example, Kaneko (2004) reflected on the traditions and historical dynamics of the higher education system in Japan, and tried to explain the implications of incorporation of national universities implemented in 2004. Kitagawa and Oba (2010) argued that the increasing number of policy initiatives within universities were a reaction to government-led national university reforms.

Empirical studies based on quantitative surveys have also been implemented. International research groups have conducted studies of large-scale comparative surveys by the Carnegie Foundation Project in 1992 (Altbach, 1996) and Changing Academic Profession (CAP) Project from 2007 (Teichler et al., 2013). Both the Carnegie survey and CAP surveys asked similar questions of university academics, mainly in various advanced and emerging countries. Fujimura (2008, 2011) analyzed these data from a Japanese university perspective, focusing on university governance by faculty members in Japan and other countries. He argued that the governance structure had become more centralized at national universities in Japan beginning in the 1990s. In contrast, he also suggested that governance became more decentralized to some degree at private universities, while the absolute degree of professoriate participation is still weak. However, his discussion was basically limited to the examination of centralized (top down) and decentralized (bottom up) decision making, and he does not provide a detailed analysis of various aspects of the governance structure of Japanese universities.

In addition to these system-level analyses, Japanese researchers have done comparative analysis on international trends of university governance and management from their own perspectives (e.g. Ehara & Sugimoto, 2005; Oba, 2012). Among these, Ehara (2010), who compared changes in university governance, mainly between Japan and the United States (Ehara, 1998), referred to the discussion by McNay (1995) on the changing organizational culture of British universities, and examined the future direction of university governance in Japan.

McNay delineated four types of university governance based on the degree of control of university policy definition and practices, namely (1) collegium (loose policy definition and loose practices), (2) bureaucracy (loose policy definition and rigorous practices), (3) corporation (rigorous policy definition and rigorous practices) and (4) enterprise (rigorous policy definition and loose practices) are identified. Here, we could understand "policy definition" as "setting up the strategy," and "practices" as "operation or management". Ehara (2010) argued that recent university reforms have transformed the organizational culture of Japanese universities from collegium into enterprise. At the same time, he also revealed his cautious view against the simplistic discussion that top down management by university presidents improves "efficiency". Through a review of university governance and management in the US, he pays particular attention to Kaplan's (2004) evidence-based discussion of how participation by faculty members

in university governance is strong in academic disciplines related to academic affairs, and has increased in the United States over the last decades.

As Fujimura's research (2008, 2011) has indicated, large-scale surveys of academic professions and examinations of the Japanese case through a comparative framework are quite useful for examining the impact of the organizational structure of participation in university governance by individual faculty members. However, a direct application of discussions by McNay and Kaplan to an empirical analysis of Japanese university governance has not yet been conducted.

In this article, the author does an exploratory analysis of the characteristics of faculty participation in university governance within Japanese universities, by utilizing the Japanese country data of Academic Profession in Asia (APA) survey conducted by Arimoto et al. The data was collected from stratified quota sampling of 23 universities in Japan. The survey team sent 6,283 questionnaires to faculty members using name lists available on websites through postal mails, and received 1,045 responses (16.6%) in 2011. Additionally, a comparative data set from the CAP survey and APA survey were also utilized for a national-level comparison.

3. Analysis

3.1. Actors

In the APA survey, the main actors who influence various types of university decision-making were surveyed by utilizing the comparative questionnaire with the Carnegie and CAP surveys. **Table 1** shows the main actors who influence decision-making. We could find the strong influence of two actors here. The first actor is "faculty committee and boards", and the exact wording used in the Japanese questionnaire is the *Kyoju-kai* (professoriate). As mentioned above, the *Kyoju-kai* has been recognized as a symbol of academic autonomy in Japan. The method of discussion within the *Kyoju-kai* varies among schools and universities, and is closed to only the member faculties and administrative officers as observers in principle. As seen in Table 1, the professoriate is the main actor in decision-making about faculty status matters such as new faculty recruitment, making faculty promotions and tenure decisions, and academic planning and policy such as determination of the overall teaching loads of faculties and approving new academic programs. The *Kyoju-kai* is also considered to be the main actor in the process of selecting key administrators. At most universities, especially established ones, the deans of schools and faculties are elected by the votes of faculty members in Japan.

Nevertheless, the influence of the *Kyoju-kai* is rather limited in some ways, whereas the

Table 1 Influential actors in Japanese university governance

	Government or external stakeholders	Institutional managers	Academic Unit managers	Faculty committees/ boards	Individual faculty	Students	N
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Choosing new faculty	0.2	7.6	5.3	82.9	4.0	0.0	976
Making faculty promotion and tenure decisions	0.3	13.1	5.8	78.7	2.1	0.0	962
Setting admission standards for undergraduate students	0.2	19.0	11.4	67.2	2.2	0.0	922
Determining the overall teaching load of faculty	0.1	16.8	16.8	46.6	19.7	0.0	940
Approving new academic programs	2.0	20.9	14.5	59.2	3.4	0.0	909
Selecting key administrators	2.2	26.9	14.0	50.6	6.3	0.0	930
Setting internal research priorities	0.0	33.9	16.9	26.3	22.9	0.0	877
Evaluating research	3.2	27.2	27.3	27.8	14.5	0.0	898
Evaluating teaching	2.3	25.4	26.3	31.4	8.8	5.8	909
Determining budget priorities	0.3	40.3	19.8	38.3	1.3	0.0	944
Establishing international linkages	1.3	45.0	16.3	25.6	11.8	0.0	891

Source: Author

other main actor, "institutional managers", tend to have stronger influence. The institutional managers should be understood as university presidents in the case of universities in Japan. As seen in Table 1, they are perceived as the primary decision makers in setting an institutional-level policies, such as the establishment of international linkages, budget priorities and internal research priorities.

Academic unit managers are also recognized as influential actors, especially in teaching and research evaluation. Individual faculty members are recognized to be influential only in the determination of overall teaching loads and in setting internal research priorities, probably for the purpose of protecting their academic interests. Other stakeholders, namely, government and external stakeholders and students, have almost no influence.

These findings on current Japanese universities are basically consistent with those of the US case as analyzed by Kaplan (2004). Similarly, we may also examine the application of the framework based on McNay (1995), as follows.

Firstly, the "collegium" mode (loose policy definition and loose practices) could be represented in the decision making of individual faculty members. The individual faculty members participate in university governance through their own academic interest. As already mentioned, the direct participation by individual faculty members is limited to setting internal research priorities and research evaluation.

Secondly, the "bureaucracy" mode according to McNay's original categorization (loose policy definition and rigorous practices) could be represented as decision making by faculty committees and boards, and in the Japanese case, the *Kyoju-kai* or the professoriate. Some may consider the ideal image of the professoriate, faculty committees and boards as a symbol of the "collegium" mode. However, the actual procedures of these official meetings tend to be bound by extensive and onerous regulations and procedures. Usually, the professoriates and large committees and boards are observed by non-academic administrative staff, and they actually support setting up the agenda and discussion procedures based on highly complex regulations and procedures. The official discussion and a record of the proceedings of the *Kyoju-kai* and committees tend to lose substance. Here, the *Kyoju-kai,* the professoriate, boards and committees do not provide a strategic vision that requires a strong leadership, but tend to follow the prescribed rigorous process of decision making. Especially at large schools, the professoriate is too large and too formal for intensive discussion and actual decision making. Devolution of the actual decision-making process toward the department or even smaller unit level is frequently observed. At the same time, the organization of a smaller team consisting of deans, and the inclusion of a limited number of senior faculty such as vice deans, is also frequently seen.

Thirdly, the institutional managers, or in the Japanese case, the university presidents and the senior management team, could be understood as the dominant actors of the "corporation" (rigorous policy definition and rigorous practices) mode. After the incorporation of national universities in 2004, the decision-making power, at least at the regulatory level, increased significantly. This organizational change of national universities also influenced the transformation of local public and private universities, although the impact was not always so straightforward, as previously mentioned analysis by Fujimura (2008). The strong role of decision making by institutional managers shown in Table 1 indicates that the "corporation" mode is to some degree applicable to university governance in Japan, in conjunction with the "bureaucracy" mode mentioned above.

Lastly, as to the "enterprise" (rigorous policy definition and loose practices) mode, McNay's

original definition of the dominant actor is "sub-unit/project teams" that are given devolved leadership responsibilities. The APA questionnaire does not provide for this category in terms of multiple response questions. Instead, "academic unit managers" (deans and department heads) are included as an option for respondents. In the case of Japanese universities, most universities with a long history of academic autonomy select deans through voting among faculty members of the schools. The department heads are also usually selected based on a consensus among faculty members of the departments. Some private universities, and even public universities that underwent recent reforms, such as Akita International University, selects deans and departments through appointment by the president or board of directors. Therefore, we cannot completely define the role of deans and department heads as a main actor of the "enterprise" mode, nor as actors that represent the will of professoriates and other faculty members. Nonetheless, the influence of these academic unit managers is significant but rather limited in the case of Japanese universities as seen at Table 1. Generally speaking, we cannot identify the existence of the sub-unit or project teams that enable loose or flexible management practices under the leadership of the university president in Japan, at least from the results shown in Table 1.

In summary, the governance structure of universities in Japan exists under a power balance between academics and managers that corresponds to the general discussion by Kaplan based of the US case. At the same time, in the case of Japan, it is the *Kyoju-kai* that represents ownership of academics as the "bureaucracy" mode. University presidents also influence finance and management matters, partly representing the "corporate" mode. However, it is not clear from this questionnaire whether universities in Japan have the sub-units or project teams to realize "enterprise" university governance.

3.2. Participation in university governance

The characteristics of university governance are highly complex, and should be understood comprehensively through examining various factors. **Table 2** shows the result of a principal component analysis of the responses to the related question on university governance. The principal component analysis is a statistical method to identify factors by grouping values that have similar response patterns. Based on the analysis, we could identify eight principal components that explain the characteristics of university governance in Japan, namely (1) the stress of collegiality, (2) performance-based funding, (3) an emphasis on the university-industry relationship, (4) supportive attitude of administrative staff, (5) personnel decisions, (6) managerial attitudes, (7) top-down management style, and (8) an emphasis on students' satisfaction.

In the questionnaire, the degree of personal influence of respondents in helping to shape key academic policies is examined using a five-point Likert scale at three different levels, namely (1) institution level, (2) faculty/school level, and (3) department level. Here, again, the dominance of *Kyoju-kai* at faculty and school-level decision making is likely to be influential in determining the characteristics of participation in university governance by individual faculty members at Japanese universities.

Table 3 shows the results of a multiple regression analysis of the personal influence scores over three levels of governance as dependent variables, which have been converted from the Likert scales. The following characteristics of respondents are considered as independent variables: job status, gender, age, final degrees, years of appointment at current institution and position, the amount of research grants they have received. In addition, the academic discipline, the types of institution, and organizational characteristics of the institution that represent factor

Table 2 Organizational culture of universities in Japan (principal component analysis)

	Collegeality	Performance based funding	University industry relationship	Support of administrative staff	Personnel decision	Manegerial	Topdown	Students
Good communication between management and academics	.764	.117	.048	.183	.042	-.145	-.011	.043
	.657	-.001	-.003	.188	.152	.097	-.192	-.028
I am kept informed about what is going on at this institution	.621	.014	.130	.154	.146	-.013	.027	-.087
A strong emphasis on the institution's mission	.603	.043	.095	.016	.070	.123	.294	.136
Collegiality in decision-making processes	.510	-.060	.188	.047	.167	.168	-.035	.008
Lack of faculty involvement is a real problem	-.607	.052	.053	-.120	.059	.074	.289	.371
Professional development for administrative/management duties for individual faculty	.324	.296	.174	.169	.141	-.319	.063	.127
Evaluation based allocation of resources to academic units	.032	.903	.090	.008	.067	.190	-.008	.031
Performance based allocation of resources to academic units	.042	.900	.090	.024	.044	.184	-.010	.022
Funding of departments substantially based on numbers of graduates	-.040	.575	.117	.020	.120	-.317	.099	-.126
Encouraging academics to adopt service activities/entrepreneurial activities outside the institution	.048	.080	.848	.123	.066	.073	-.020	.021
Encouraging individuals, businesses, foundations etc. to contribute more to higher education	.150	.143	.795	.104	.027	.051	.004	.008
Recruiting faculty who have work experience outside of academia	.123	.062	.676	-.104	.219	-.184	.132	.004
A supportive attitude of administrative staff towards teaching activities	.225	-.056	.063	.870	.136	.038	.072	.010
A supportive attitude of administrative staff towards research activities	.249	.096	.084	.858	.088	.045	.012	.049
Considering the teaching quality when making personnel decisions	.244	.070	.141	.141	.774	.003	-.037	.051
Considering the practical relevance/applicability of the work of colleagues when making personnel decisions	.115	.197	.243	-.022	.671	-.289	.125	.090
Considering the research quality when making personnel decisions	.271	.096	-.044	.129	.543	.494	-.172	-.048
A strong performance orientation	.140	.261	.042	.099	-.089	.713	.125	.030
A cumbersome administrative process	-.139	-.069	-.004	-.414	.057	.439	.138	.102
A top-down management style	-.288	.013	.032	-.016	-.025	.118	.763	.067
Top-level administrators are providing competent leadership	.480	.084	.067	.075	.067	-.063	.630	-.027
Students should have a stronger voice in determining policy that affects them	-.018	-.049	.032	.077	.106	.086	.094	.811
Funding of departments substantially based on numbers of students	.046	-.058	.039	.156	.415	.211	.282	-.470
Contribution	20.037	10.161	7.088	6.365	5.446	4.833	4.796	4.216

Source: Author

scores based on principal components identified and shown in Table 2 are also included as independent valuables.

From the result of the regression, the following tendency could be identified. Firstly, job status significantly influences governance participation at all levels. In particular, being a full professor is practically a minimum requirement to exert personal influence into institutional-level decision making. Secondly, having a master's degree increases the influence on decisions at the department level and faculty or school level, while the effect of holding a doctoral degree is not significant. Thirdly, longer time spent in the current position increases personal influence on decisions at the department level and faculty or school level. These results basically suggest a dominant role of the *Kyoju-kai* in university decision making. In other words, full professors, the official members of the *Kyoju-kai,* have the most influential power in university governance, and those who have longer experience in their positions as academics tend to have stronger influence, probably because they have more knowledge about university regulations and customs.

The type of academic discipline also has an impact on the degree of personal influence of faculty members in university governance. For example, compared with faculty members in humanities and social sciences, those in hard sciences, natural sciences and engineering tend to have less personal influence on institutional level governance. Moreover, faculty members in agriculture, health and medical sciences have more personal influence in faculty or school level governance, and those in natural sciences, engineering and agriculture have more personal influence at the department level. Although the results are not very clear or consistent, there appears to be a general tendency that faculty members at larger schools or in more competitive fields may concentrate more on lower-level governance, and face difficulty to participate directly in institutional level governance. Here, the *Kyoju-kai* seems to work as an arena for power competition among faculty members from various departments, programs, and chairs. As such, participation in institutional level governance is manifested as representing the inter-

Table 3 Personal influence in decision making at universities in Japan (multiple regression)

		Department Level		Faculty/School Level		Institution Level	
		Beta		Beta		Beta	
	(Constant)		***		***		**
Individual	Professor (dummy)	.701	***	.642	***	.287	***
(base=assistant professor)	Associate Professor (dummy)	.353	***	.241	***	.025	
	Lecturer (dummy)	.130	***	.092	**	-.021	
	Male (dummy)	-.084	**	-.056		-.055	
	Age	-.067		-.079		-.003	
(base= first degres)	Master Degree (dummy)	.086	**	.087	**	.044	
	Doctoral Degree (dummy)	.013		.031		.052	
	Year of appointment at current institution	-.013		.031		-.019	
	Year of appointment at current position	-.118	**	-.159	***	-.083	
	Grant (USD)	.018		-.027		.005	
Faculty	Social Sciences (dummy)	-.016		.030		-.114	***
(base= Humanity and Fine Arts)	Natural Sciences (dummy)	.140	***	.066		-.116	***
	Engineering (dummy)	.158	***	.000		-.135	***
	Agriculture (dummy)	.163	***	.094	**	.021	
	Health Medical Sciences (dummy)	.072		.119	**	-.051	
	Teacher Training and Education Science (dummy)	.010		.045		.012	
Institution	Doctoral Granting University (all fields)	.191		.300		-.162	
(base= undergraduate)	Doctoral Granting University (more than 50%)	.220	*	.203		-.066	
	Master Granting University (all fields)	.285	*	.333	*	.005	
	Master Granting University (more 50%)	.168		.176		-.021	
(base=private)	National University	.003		-.052		-.051	
	Local Public University	.027		.051		.033	
Organizational culture	Collegeality	.213	***	.247	***	.227	***
	Performance based funding	-.045		-.064	*	.019	
	University-industry relationship	.040		.020		.052	
	Support of administrative staff	-.044		-.050		-.032	
	Personnel decision	.008		.086	**	.060	
	Manegerial	.042		-.018		-.054	
	Topdown	-.025		-.036		-.031	
	Students	-.043		-.044		-.045	
	F value	15.058	***	12.391	***	6.941	***
	Adjueted R2	.397		.350		.225	
	N	642		636		616	
	***<.01. **<.05, *<.10						

Source: Author

ests of respective schools rather than the appointed managing professionals who must report to university presidents. Therefore, faculty members belonging to larger schools and in competitive academic disciplines may have a lower possibility of participating in upper level governance as representatives of the professoriate in which they belong, due to internal competition with their schools or faculties.

On the other hand, differences found within types of institutions do not indicate a clear tendency in terms of the patterns of governance participation. For instance, there is no significant difference in institutional-level participation among various institutional types, and in the faculty, school and department levels of participation are not consistent. Differences in regards to university sector, namely, national, local public, or private, also do not provide any significant impact.

Furthermore,the organizational culture of universities has an corresponding impact on the

degree of participation. The clear finding here is the consistent positive impact of the collegiality factor. This indicates that collegiality such as good communication, administrative support, and clear institutional mission enhance the sense of governance participation among faculty members independently from the above mentioned bureaucratic function of *Kyoju-kai* system.

3.3. International comparison

As mentioned above, it is necessary to pay attention to the contexts of respective universities and higher education systems when making international comparisons of university governance. This article has so far been limited to an analyses of Japan's case data, especially focusing on the role of the *Kyoju-kai*. Through the analyses, there is evidence to claim that the *Kyoju-kai* as a core unit of university governance in Japan does not necessarily assure a collegial method of governance participation.

In order to confirm this argument, we can do a basic international comparison of the relationship between the decision-making role of faculty committees and boards (or *Kyoju-kai* in Japan's case) as well as an examination of the degree of governance participation by individual faculty members.

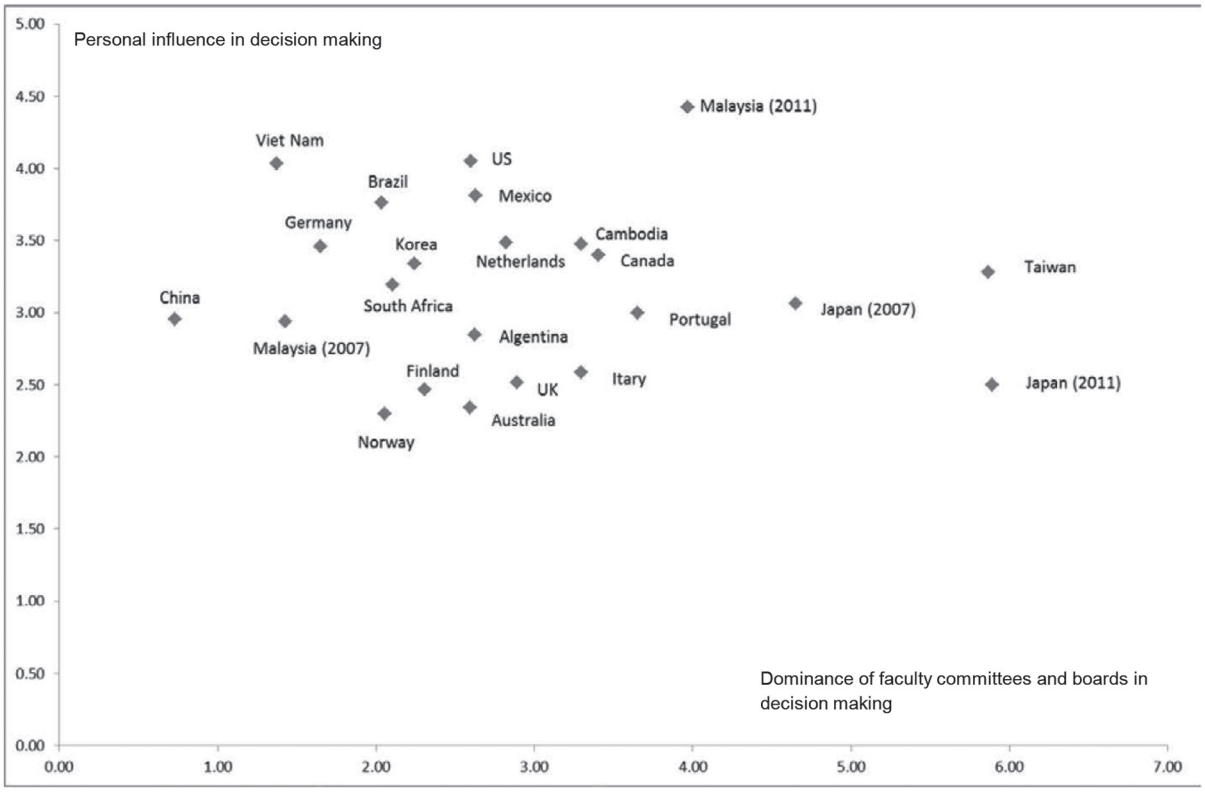
Figure 1 indicates the relationship between the degree of dominance by faculty committees and boards in decision making, and also the personal influences on decisions of university governance within the faculties. It is important to note that the majority of respondents are not in management positions. Therefore,"personal influence" here does not mean top-down decisions made by a limited number of "managers", but shared governance by a wide range of faculty members.

The horizontal axis of the figure shows the degree of dominance held by faculty committees and boards in various items of decision making shown in Table 1. Next, the vertical axis shows the aggregated score of the degree of personal influence by respondents and combines all levels (institutional, faculty/school and department) of university governance. Here, the data of both the APA and CAP surveys are utilized, and the national aggregated results are shown.

From Figure 1, it is clear that faculty committees and boards are distinctly dominant in university governance in Japan, although we should take into consideration that the Japanese questionnaires utilized the term *Kyoju-kai* (professoriate) instead of the exact term "faculty committees and boards". In contrast, the sense of personal influence held by individual faculty members in university governance is rather low in Japan. These findings indicate that the dominance of the *Kyoju-kai* in university governance as a distinctive character of Japanese universities does not assure a sense of high participation by individual faculty members in university governance. In particular, comparisons with data from Asian neighbors having shorter and possibly weaker histories of "academic autonomy" are rather surprising. Namely, the sense of participation in university governance is among the weakest in Asian cases selected for these surveys.

4. Conclusion

This article has tried to examine the defining characteristics of faculty participation in university governance at universities in Japan, focusing specifically on the role of *Kyoju-kai* (professoriate). The *Kyoju-kai*, a symbol of academic autonomy of Japanese universities, certainly



Source: Author
The data of Japan (2011), Taiwan, Malaysia (2011), Cambodia and Viet Nam were taken from the APA survey (2011), while others were taken from the CAP survey (2007).

Figure 1 Dominance of faculty committees and boards and sense of personal influence in decision making

possesses a distinguished dominating role in decision making mainly related to academic affairs. Similarly, the *Kyoju-kai* itself functions as a regulatory framework to determine the structure of faculty participation in university governance as representing the "bureaucracy" mode for the following reasons. First, full professors, who are the official members of the *Kyoju-kai,* have a dominant role in decision making, especially when they participate in institutional-level governance, and in many cases represent the interests of their respective schools. Second, the characteristics of the professoriate as an arena of discussion and voting based on regulations and customs gives an advantage to members with longer experience. Third, these characteristics of the *Kyoju-kai* also define differences of participation patterns in different disciplines to some degree. Finally, there exists an independent "collegiate" organizational culture, with a strong sense of academic autonomy in the *Kyoju-kai,* which has significant influence on governance participation.

The *Kyoju-kai in* the Japanese university system could be best understood as a regulatory framework that consists of a "bureaucracy" governance mode. Therefore, the dominance of the *Kyoju-kai* or the professoriate in the decision making of university governance in Japan does not necessarily assure the active participation of individual faculty members in university governance as suggested by simple international comparisons.

The conclusion above is based only on survey data collected in the beginning of the 21st Century, and does not deny the historical value of the role of *Kyoju-jai* in university governance in Japan. Referring to student movements in the 1960s, Ichikawa (2001) argued that university governance in Japan and other industrial countries transformed its characteristics from the "*Gelertenrepublik"* (the republic of academic aristocrats) or "horizontal-collegial structure" to a "vertical-bureaucratic structure". The "collegium" mode of university governance is based on a horizontal structure, but aristocratic discussion among a limited number of full-professors has been replaced by the "bureaucracy" mode, which is dominated by an administrative or bureaucratic-oriented operation consisting of an even more limited number of representatives (the deans, presidents, and their supporting team). That notwithstanding, by 1970s these actors became more open to junior faculty members who do not have full professorship, or non-academic staff members who may function as "professional supporters.".

Terasaki (1998) also criticized the debate and practices of "university autonomy" in Japan after World War II as a "miserable" history. He suggested that the recognition of the "autonomy of *Kyoju-kai*" as equivalent with "university autonomy" caused irreparable damage to the image of university autonomy in Japan (Yonezawa, 2011). The results identified in this article describe the already devalued role of the *Kyoju-kai* in contemporary university governance in Japan, which is now attracting negative attention in policy debates.

In order to clarify the role of the professoriate in university governance in the global arena, we need to conduct further international comparative studies based on a critical examination of respective historical contexts of university autonomy. Therefore, the implication of this article should not be understood as a short-sighted denial of university autonomy based on the *Kyoju-kai* system in Japan, but rather a proposal for a long-term perspective and comparative reflection on the method of active participation in university autonomy by individual faculty members and other stakeholders.

References

Altbach, Phillip G., ed. (1996). *The International Academic Profession: Portraits of Fourteen Countries*, Princeton, N.J.: Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching.

Clark, Burton R. (1983). *Higher education system: academic organisation in cross-national perspective*, Berkeley: California University Press.

Clark, Burton R. (1998). *Creating entrepreneurial universities : organizational pathways of transformation*, New York, Oxford: Pergamon.

Ehara, Takekazu (1998). Faculty Perceptions of University Governance in Japan and the United States, *Comparative Education Review,* 42(1), 61–72.

Ehara, Takekazu (2010). *Tenkanki Nihon no Daigaku Kaikaku (Japanese Higher Education Reforms at a Turning Point)*, Tokyo: Tamagawa University Press. [published in Japanese].

Ehara, Takekazu and Sugimoto, Hitoshi, eds. (2005). *Daigaku no Kanri Unei Kaikaku (University Governance in Transition)*, Tokyo: Toshindo. [published in Japanese].

Fujimura, Shoji (2008). Kanri Unei (Management). In *Henbo suru Nihon no Kyojushoku (The Changing Academic Profession in Japan),* edited by Arimoto, Tokyo: Tamagawa University Press [published in Japanese], 140–157.

Fujimura, Shoji (2011). Kanri Unei (Management). In *Henbo suru Sekai no Kyojushoku (The Changing Academic Profession in the World),* edited by Arimoto, Tokyo: Tamagawa University Press [published in Japanese], 144–165.

Ichikawa, Shogo (2001). *Mirai Kei no Daigaku (A Future University),* Tokyo: Tamagawa University Press [published in Japanese].

IDE (2012). Special issue: DaigakuGobananseSaiko (Reexamination of University Governance), *IDE*,

vol. 545.
Kaneko, Motohisa (2004). Japanese higher education: contemporary reform and the influence of tradition. In *Asian Universities: Historical Perspectives and Contemporary Challenges*, edited by Altbach, Umakoshi, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 115–143.
Kaplan, Gabriel E. (2004). How academic ships actually navigate. In *Governing Academia*, edited by Ehrenburg, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 165–208.
Kerr, Clark (1963). *The Uses of the University*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
Kitagawa, Fumi and Oba, Jun (2010). Managing differentiation of higher education system in Japan: connecting excellence and diversity, *Higher Education* 59(4), 507–524.
Marginson, Simon and Considine, Mark (2000). *The Enterprise University: Power, governance, and reinvention in Australia*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
McNay, Ian (1995). From the collegial academy to corporate enterprise. In *The Changing University?* edited by Schuller, Buckingham: Open University Press, 105–115.
Oba, Jun, ed. (2012). *Shogaikoku no Daigaku no Kyogaku Gabanansu ni Kansuru Chosa Kenkyu (Survey and Research on Academic Governance of Universities in US, UK and France)*. Higashi Hiroshima: Hiroshima University.
Salmi, Jamil (2009). *The Challenge of Establishing World-Class Universities,* Washington, D.C.: World Bank.
Sporn, Barbara (2006). Governance and Administration: Organizational and structural trends. In *International Handbook of Higher Education*, edited by Forest, Altbach, Dordrecht: Springer, 141–157.
Teichler, Ulrich, Arimoto, Akira and Cummings, William K. (2013). *The Changing Academic Profession*, Dordrecht: Springer.
Tachibana, Takashi (2005). *Tenno to Todai (The Emperor and the University of Tokyo)*, Tokyo: Bungeishunju [published in Japanese].
Tearasaki, Masao (1979). *Nihon niokeru Daigaku Jichi Seido no Seiritsu (The Establishment of University Autonomy System in Japan)*, Tokyo: Hyoronsha [published in Japanese].
Terasaki, Masao (1992). *Promunado Tokyo Daigaku Shi (Promenade: History of the University of Tokyo),* Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press [published in Japanese].
Terasaki, Masao (1998). Nihon niokeru "Daigaku no Jichi" ("University Autonomy" in Japan), *IDE,* vol. 394. 45–51.
Yonezawa, Akiyoshi, ed. (2011). *Daigaku no Manegiment (University Management)*, Tokyo: Tamagawa University Press [published in Japanese].