

Incorporation of National Universities in Japan

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In April 2004, Japanese national universities were incorporated and became much more autonomous from the government in their operations. Their managerial structure was realigned—placing the president at the centre of the decision-making process, and with the participation of external persons—to be more responsive to the changing needs of society. This article explores the impact of the reform on the national universities, focusing on how they handle increased autonomy in terms of financial and human resource management, evaluation, and so on. Then it analyses challenges for the future of national universities and argues for necessary conditions and policies to enable them to better serve society.

Introduction

In recent years, numerous governments have proceeded with reforms to increase the efficiency and effectiveness of university systems. These reforms are generally aimed at according greater freedom to institutions and, at the same time, rationalising their governance by clarifying the responsibilities of the president, with a shift in power away from departments in the institutional decision-making process (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD], 2003). This article examines the impact and challenges of the reform of Japanese national universities, focusing on their governance.

Incorporation of National Universities and its Impact

Japanese national universities were, until March 2004, a part of the national government under the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) and were directly operated by it. On April 1, by acquiring the status of *national university corporations* (NUCs), they were given a legal personality

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and became more autonomous. The reform was carried out swiftly and without incident, although preparations for the incorporation had not been an easy task for each national university. More than three years have now passed since the incorporation, and remarkable changes can be observed in certain aspects of the universities' governance.¹

The Central Administration

Selection of the President

Traditionally, university presidents have been elected by the academic staff members by vote and endorsed by the council before formal nomination by the Minister of Education, which was practically a formality. After incorporation, although the president must still be nominated formally by the Minister, the selection is made by the president selection committee, which includes as many external experts as internal representatives.

In many universities, committees have made it a rule to take into consideration the vote by staff members. However, the selection is not always dependent upon the ballot outcome. In some universities, the second-ranked candidates have been deliberately favoured. Elsewhere, universities have either not employed or have abandoned the voting system entirely.

The new selection system has been designed to allow university presidents to exhibit effective leadership. However, in universities where the voting system is maintained, several presidents (known as *reformers* for their audacious managerial innovations) have been defeated at the polls (Sakimoto, 2005).

Presidents and Boards of Directors

The decision-making system has been fundamentally altered, from a collegial system to a regime centred on the university president. This change notably extended the authority of the president and the board of directors (BoD).

In order to effectively centralise decision-making by concentrating administrative powers in the presidents and BoD, national universities have reduced the number and frequency of meetings by the different committees. Before incorporation, a considerable number of committees were set up to build consensus among faculty members, which was a time-consuming process. In Aichi University of Education, for example, they reduced the number of committees from 36 to 24, as well as the number of committee members from over 400 to around 100.

Participation of external experts

Every NUC has to include external experts as members of the BoD and of the administrative council (AC). The majority of these members are from the business community (34% for BoD and 35% for AC).

Boards of directors. External experts on the BoD are expected to provide diverse expertise difficult to find in the university and to contribute to ensuring efficient management. Out of 403 executives in all NUCs, 80 are from the business community, but most of them (over 80%) are in part-time positions (Honma, 2005). Two NUCs have appointed foreigners as board members.

Although the effectiveness of their presence in the management is still to be examined, some notable examples have been reported. Miyagi University of Education, for example, invited the ex-superintendent of the prefectural board of education to join its BoD for his expertise in school education.

Administrative councils. The extent of involvement of external experts in university management through the AC is varied. Some universities have expressed their intention to consult their AC in detail as to their management, including their budget allocation. Others intend to consult them only in relation to general directions. The president of Kyoto University, for example, was reported to have said that the council should discuss matters only from a broad perspective (Yokoyama, 2004).

According to a survey (Yokoyama, 2005), in fiscal year (FY) 2004, the majority of the external experts (60.1%) felt that their opinions had been sufficiently reflected in the decisions of the AC; but nearly a quarter of them (24.3%) thought that their opinions had little impact, and 9.4% of them found only a small number of important matters in the discussion.

In comparison with the same survey carried out the previous year, fewer experts found the council performing a core role in university management (62% against 66%), and orienting reform of the university (53% against 60%). Further, more experts feared that the council might become merely a formality before decisions are taken by the BoD (40% against 35%). From the surveys, a measure of disappointment could be observed among the external experts.

Finance and Human Resource Management

Financial Management

Given greater autonomy over financial management, national universities have taken various measures to use their resources effectively. All the universities have adopted annual budgeting policies and have set aside a budget at the disposal of the president.

Changing resource allocation policies. In 2004, the Tokyo Institute of Technology dedicated about 650 million yen of their budget to the discretion of the president, and spent it selectively on activities such as development of education research infrastructure, improvement of student services, research funding for young faculty members, and other activities. Tohoku University deducted 5% of the total faculty staff salary and channelled it to a centrally managed personnel budget, and founded a "University Professor System" designed to attract Nobel Prize-class scholars with a special salary.

Many universities have focused their reforms on managerial efficiency in allocation and utilisation of existing resources. Shiga University of Medical Science, for example, carried out a detailed cost analysis and applied cost improvement measures to certain areas to enhance the financial situation of the university.

Efforts to acquire competitive funds. Faculty members are increasingly encouraged to acquire external research grants and other types of competitive funds. Niigata University, for example, defined numerical targets concerning acquisition of Grants-in-Aid for Scientific Research in its action plan. Ryukyu University deducted 1% from the research infrastructure fund of the faculties, for which the collective application ratio was under 70% as an incentive fund for applicants, to encourage grant applications.

On the other hand, almost all universities reduced the amount of research funds that were distributed uniformly among all faculty members, in favour of funds at the disposal of the president or competitive funds. These funds are utilised for projects proposed by faculty members or selected by the university authority, distributed to research-intensive units, and so on. Okayama University, for example, developed an Okayama University Priority Projects programme with a view to setting up new scientific research projects that are not limited to one faculty, and to developing creative international research centres (e.g., On-campus COE).

Promotion of income-generating activities. External sources of revenue have been vigorously sought by national universities. Income-generating activities include industry-government-academy cooperation and various entrepreneurial activities. Most universities have set up or enhanced offices for technology licensing and other collaborative activities. The University of Tokyo was reported to very effectively manage its intellectual property from creation to licensing, conjointly with TOUDAI TLO, Ltd (CASTI) and the University of Tokyo Edge Capital Co., Ltd,² within the office of intellectual property.

Human Resource Management

Flexible staffing arrangements. NUCs have much more discretion over their human resource management. Before incorporation, the number of staff for each unit was meticulously fixed by the government by positions, and each university could not modify its staff quota nor establish new units or restructure existing units without authorisation. The staff quota of each unit tended to be considered a vested right, which impeded efficient manpower policy at the campus level.

NUCs have realigned their human resource management systems so that they may centralise staff management and strategically make use of given human resources. Gifu University, for example, passed from a staff quota management system to a "points system", allowing deans and other unit directors flexible staffing within the limit of points allocated to each component. Many NUCs have made it a rule that the posts of retiring professors should be centrally managed, not automatically filled by researchers from the same area.

Recruitment of experts and administrative staff development. Under the previous system, permanent administrative staff could be recruited only from among successful

candidates of the national public service examination. High-level secretarial officers were regularly relocated from one university to another by the MEXT. The system came to an end at the time of the incorporation, when the appointing power was transferred from the Minister of Education to the president of each university. NUCs have recruited experts in various managerial areas. In 2004, the University of Tokyo, for example, recruited 10 experts from the business community as associate managing directors or specially appointed experts. Among these experts is a patent attorney in the office of intellectual property.

On the other hand, increased autonomy emphasises the need for staff development (SD), particularly in managerial roles. Most universities have realigned their SD programmes in that direction. The University of Tokyo advertised some director-level positions internally and appointed seven successful candidates to the positions in FY 2004.

Academic Structures

In 2004, 43 corporations out of 93 were reported to periodically review their education research structures, by setting up units with an expiration date, among other things. Independently of the incorporation, fundamental academic structures faculties and graduate schools—are, regardless of the type of control, regulated by the School Education Law and subjected to government approval for any modifications (except slight ones). Although it still seems difficult for most universities to reallocate internal resources, assessing the needs of the components, from the areas of least need to those of greatest need, certain universities have expressed their intention to review their academic structures on the basis of evaluation results in the future.

In 2006, Kanazawa University announced that it would entirely reorganise its academic structure in 2008, by regrouping its 8 faculties and 25 departments into 3 academic domains and 16 sub-domains, to offer diverse programmes that cross disciplinary borders and to allow students greater choice of courses and of future careers.

In addition, national universities have been increasingly cultivating interdisciplinary research programmes to better meet the needs of society and to maintain and strengthen their scientific excellence. In many universities, no small part of the resources has been devoted to developing interdisciplinary approaches that cross the borders of existing faculties, gathering researchers from different units and outside. The University of Tokyo, for example, set up a Comprehensive Project Group in 2004 directly under the auspices of the president, aimed at combining several disciplines and opening up new horizons of knowledge.

Student Services and Student Participation

Student Services

In Japanese universities, particularly in national universities, student services have long remained underdeveloped. However, massification of higher education demands that administrators focus more on the issue. Among efforts undertaken are the establishment of positions in student services, improvement of counselling activities, appointment of advisers, and organisation of peer support groups. In Yamagata University, for example, one faculty adviser is appointed for every 20 students, and academic advisers are placed in an advising centre.

Student Participation

In contrast to the decrease in faculty involvement, participation of students in university governance is a newly observed phenomenon. Traditionally, students have not been regarded as full members in the campus community, and have rarely represented themselves in decision-making processes at any level; whereas in many European countries and the US, they often have a voice in the university government. After incorporation, in some universities, students have been involved as full members in evaluation committees and other decision-making organs.

In Okayama University, for example, students and staff members (both academic and non-academic) sit conjointly on a Student-Staff Committee on Educational Improvement, where 38 students are present among 56 members (as of January 2005). The committee has implemented faculty development activities largely inspired by students, including the establishment of new courses and improvement of student questionnaires on teaching.

According to a survey conducted in 2006 among the NUC presidents (Research Institute for Higher Education [RIHE], 2007), students are involved in evaluating instruction in almost all universities and participating in staff/faculty development activities in more than half of the universities (Figure 1). But in other activities studied in the same survey, student participation remains confined to a limited number of universities.

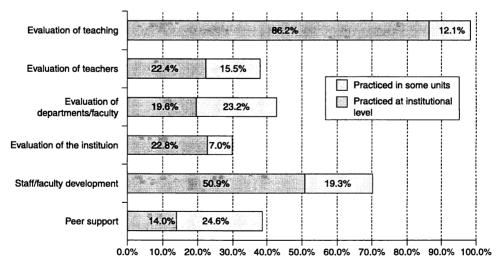


Figure 1. Participation of students in diverse campus activities in national universities in 2006 (Source: Research Institute for Higher Education, 2007)

Evaluations

Academic Staff Evaluation in Universities

After incorporation, an increasing number of NUCs have developed or begun studying their academic staff evaluation system. Traditionally, evaluation of faculty members has been carried out almost exclusively through peer review in Japanese universities. Although peer review remains the most effective and important evaluation means, universities have acknowledged the necessity for evidence-based evaluation.

Many universities have finished an early stage study of their evaluation system and proceeded to either a full-scale study or an implementation. For example, Okayama University put in place an evaluation system in 2004 to classify academic staff into four groups (excellent, good, fair and poor) based on multiple performance indicators. In 2004, among 1,280 participating academic staff members, 897 were classified in the overall performance evaluation as excellent but 20 as poor. To make matters more challenging, in 2005, eight NUCs were linking evaluation results with promotion, remuneration and/or distribution of research budget.

Institutional Evaluation by the MEXT

In 2010, after the period of the first mid-term goals/plan (MTG/MTP),⁶ the overall performance of the NUCs will be evaluated by the NUC-EC. In addition, the committee assesses their performance annually based on the self-evaluation of each NUC. Although the NUC-EC pointed to several problems in its first annual evaluation report, the committee highly appreciated, as a whole in the report, the efforts made by the NUCs to enhance administrative and managerial capacity under the leadership of the presidents. In the FY 2005 report, it still pointed out such problems as underdevelopment of the staff evaluation system and unfinished risk-management manual. As shown in Table 1, on the whole, amelioration in performance could be observed in FY 2005.

Major Challenges for National University Governance

The Issue of Financial Resources

The largest source of revenue for national universities comes from the MEXT as an operational grant, which represented 47.7% of the total revenue of all the national universities in FY 2004 (Figure 2). The operational grant has been reduced, however, by 1% every year except for the component corresponding to salaries of faculty members, which has been only partially compensated by the special grant allocated on a competitive basis.

In spite of such critical conditions, vis-à-vis the rise of standard tuition fees determined by the government in 2005, some universities have opted to freeze their tuition fees, even partially. In the process of budget preparation for FY 2007, the

Table 1. Results of the annual evaluation by the NUC-EC for FY 2005 (results of the FY 2004						
evaluation in parenthesis)						

	Excellent status	As planned	Largely as planned	Slightly behind the plan	Much improvement needed
Improvement and optimisation of the business	12% (8%)	57% (40%)	27% (42%)	8% (11%)	0% (0%)
Improvement of the composition of finances	0% (3%)	86% (54%)	12% (43%)	2% (0%)	0% (0%)
Self-monitoring and self-evaluation as well as provision of information	5% (4%)	83% (55%)	8% (38%)	3% (3%)	0% (0%)
Other business affairs	0% (1%)	88% (56%)	9% (40%)	2% (3%)	0% (0%)

Ministry of Finance had asked the MEXT to revise the standards again. This proposition was subsequently withdrawn because of protests from the NUCs, and it was agreed that the standards would be frozen during the current MTG/MTP period. However, the maximum surcharge rate will be increased from the current 10% to 20% for the next period.

Against such severe circumstances, NUCs have made great efforts to rationalise their administration and to multiply resources. However, additional resources are limited and unevenly distributed. In FY 2004, external resources, including income from commissioned research, donations and others, represented only 6.2% of the total revenue of national universities. In addition, major national universities, represented by seven former imperial universities and another three research universities, collected more than 60% of the external resources obtained by the NUCs.

The cost-sharing measures such as student payments to the university, recently implemented or currently studied in many countries where public universities are dominant, are not further applicable to Japanese national universities. The fees that

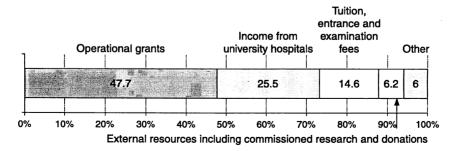


Figure 2. Breakdown of the total revenue of the NUCs in FY 2004 (Source: MEXT)

students must pay to public institutions are already exceedingly high and often dissuade enrolment from lower- and even middle-class society.

Developing Effective Leaders and Support Staff

The new decision-making framework was designed to permit rapid decisions, reflecting opinions from outside the university, among a small circle of high officers. However, until now the system has not had the outcomes as claimed by most universities (Isoda, 2005). It is clearly difficult to expect faculty executives to have competence and expertise in university administration, where presidents are selected mainly on the basis of their academic achievement and where most faculty members try to escape from managerial work. As a result, with the disappearance or diminution of the integrated secretariat, even miscellaneous issues requiring coordination frequently go to the presidents, thus reducing the efficacy of the university management.

In addition, NUCs have tried to construct perfect structures, particularly in larger research universities, that are too sophisticated to be operational (Ikoma, 2004). This observation should be considered in the light of a repeated statement that a specific arrangement in governance structure of a university versus another has little implication for its performance (Henkel, 2007; Kaplan, 2004; Kerr, 2001; Lombardi, Craig, Capaldi, & Gater, 2002). Kerr (2001) states that changes in formal governance have generally made little difference and, where they have, this has been mostly for the worse. A conclusion drawn from these assertions is that SD is important. In fact, an OECD report (2004) called for a need to develop professional strategic managers in the key non-academic functions of finance, personnel, estates, and so on, and much effort has been made in this area throughout the world.

However, in Japan, SD is still underdeveloped, and there have been very few programmes for development of effective presidents and other senior administrators, whereas such programmes are commonplace in the US and some other countries. In addition, the development of certain specialised clerical and technical staff, particularly in planning and evaluation sections, should be addressed immediately. In the short term, however, such staff may be recruited from outside as a temporary settlement.

Participation of the Campus Community

A genuine institutional policy cannot be developed without involving faculty members, but their involvement in the decision-making process has been significantly reduced by the incorporation arrangements. In many countries, the importance of faculty involvement in personnel decisions, selection of administrators, preparation of budget, and determination of educational policies has been emphasised. Birnbaum (2004) emphasises the fundamental need for shared governance in academic institutions, and regards it as the most effective process through which academic institutions may achieve their goals.

A French experience also shows that participation of the campus community in the decision-making process is a key factor for successfully implementing institutional

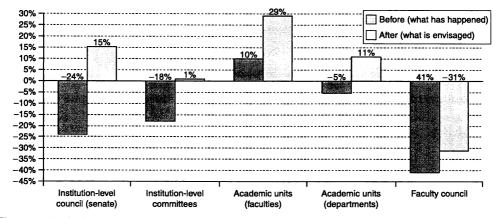


Figure 3. Evolution over the last 5 years and envisaged evolution in the future of the authority of collegial bodies in national universities, based on responses by presidents (Source: Research Institute for Higher Education, 2007). *Note.* Each column corresponds to the difference between percentages of affirmative and negative responses as to an enhancement of the authority of each collegial body. Vertical bars with a negative value indicate that a majority of respondents have recognised or wish an abridgement of the authority of each body.

strategies (Frémont, Daniel, Harfi, Bergeonneau, & Fort, 2004). Similarly, in the UK, the strength of a university is considered to depend significantly on the commitment of academic staff and their identification with their university (Henkel, 2007).

In Japan, presidents have begun acknowledging the need for academic staff participation. According to a survey (RIHE, 2007), although they have recognised a reduction in the authority of collegial bodies (except faculties) over the past years, they now wish to see an enhancement rather than a reduction of this authority (except that of faculty councils) (Figure 3).

Evaluations

Evaluation constitutes a key element of the NUC system. In Japanese higher education, evaluation procedures have still to be developed in many areas, such as ex-post evaluation of resource allocations, periodic accreditation of institutions, evidence-based academic staff evaluation, and student evaluation of teaching. For these, dissemination of best practices and development of performance indicators will be most useful, and some efforts have already been made.

However, although evidence-based evaluations may seem more objective than assessments by political process, they also have their limits. Especially for academic staff evaluation, evidence-based performance assessment is only a partial measure. For this type of evaluation, peer review is essential and constitutes a fundamental premise of academic freedom, where decisions concerning the quality of scholarship and teaching should be made by reference to the standards of the academic profession, as interpreted and applied by the community of scholars (American

Association of University Professors, 2003). In this context, a direct link between evidence-based staff evaluation and remuneration should be sufficiently loose.

An evaluation system centred on institutions should also be questioned. Universities, especially large and comprehensive ones, are very complicated organisations that cannot be evaluated as a whole. Sawa (2003) described the incorporation as a "Soviet-style" reform because of similarities between the NUC system and the Soviet system, which had failed because of difficulty in economic manipulation in terms of resource allocation and evaluation scheme. The authority of the NUC-EC should be limited to certain areas wherein the performance is evident. As for the rest, in principle, the evaluation should be implemented on an individual or project basis, exposing researchers to a strict but constructive review and criticism by their peers; and a mechanism that provides competitive funds to those who merit them should be assured.

Conclusion—The Future of National Universities

In an age of knowledge, the need for advanced education and knowledge is becoming increasingly pressing and calls for more a complicated decision-making process (Eckel & Kezar, 2006). Higher education institutions should meet such demands, adapting themselves to an ever-changing society, just as the university has done over time. Reforms undertaken in a vast majority of countries during the past few decades have encouraged institutions to be more responsive to such changing societal demands with fewer resources, by according greater autonomy to institutions, rationalising their governance and enhancing the evaluation. The incorporation of Japanese national universities adheres grosso modo to the same logic.

Now, implications of the incorporation have gradually come into view and become clearer. However, the incorporation is still in progress and, as seen in the previous section, there are a number of challenges. Furthermore, the future of national universities remains quite unclear in the light of ongoing government reforms. In fact, in May 2006, a Law for Promotion of Administrative Reforms was adopted, which stipulated that government personnel expenditures—including those of the NUCs—should be reduced by 5% by 2010. And a preliminary calculation of the operational grant distribution based on a competition model, presented by the Ministry of Finance in May 2007, would completely change (if it should be adopted) the financial scheme of the NUCs. In addition, under politically unstable circumstances, it is essential to develop a culture of dialogue between universities and the MEXT, and to build a community in which all the stakeholders collaborate for further development of higher education.

On the other hand, although the national universities have become largely autonomous, they were set up by law and are still significantly subsidised by the government. Hence, the ultimate responsibility for their operation continues to reside with the government. Without its commitment, which should be supportive rather than directive in nature, most of the national universities would not be able to fulfil the needs of society, which should not be solved by market forces or privatisation. In fact,

in many other East Asian countries where similar reforms have been made in their higher education systems, the state's capacity has not been weakened but enhanced to manage the public sector efficiently from a distance (Mok, 2007). Finally for Japan, a new governance model—more decentralised than before, in which both government and national universities share a joint responsibility in ensuring the quality of higher education offerings—should be established, particularly through refining diverse indirect policy tools and enhancing institutional management.

Notes

- Specific examples and other information cited in this chapter, unless otherwise noted, come from the annual reports (FY 2004 and FY 2005) of the NUC evaluation committee (NUC-EC) in the MEXT and performance reports of the NUCs (including four inter-university research institute corporations).
- 2. A venture capital recognised by the University of Tokyo, which provides support for entrepreneurial activities.
- 3. A professor accounts for 100 points, an associate professor 78 points, an assistant professor 73 points, and an assistant 60 points (one point corresponds to approximately 100,000 yen). Each component determines how to utilise its points.
- 4. According to a survey conducted in Autumn 2006 (Okawa & Okui, 2007), among 69 responding institutions (collection rate of 82%), 32 of them have already implemented an evaluation system, and 29 have a plan in place.
- 5. Report presented at the seminar on the academic staff evaluation system, organised by the Evaluation Committee of Hiroshima University on December 22, 2005.
- 6. Strategic goals and plan of action of each NUC, conjointly defined by the NUC and the MEXT for a period of 6 years, based on the budget (operational grant) allocated to the NUC.
- 7. NUCs are not required to spend that part of the budget entirely on faculty members' salary, but they can adjust the salary scale as necessary.
- 8. According to it, only 13 NUCs out of 87 would increase their grant.

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