

The Changing Conditions of Faculty Associations in Canada

Keiichiro YOSHINAGA

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I. Introduction

For social and financial reasons, pressure is mounting to reform universities in Japan. For this purpose, many believe it is necessary to replace the collegial governance of the university with a structure that is more corporate and bureaucratic. Burton R. Clark calls for the establishment of a “strengthened steering core” among faculty members who consist of top administrators such as deans, vice-presidents, provosts, and presidents (Clark, 1998, pp.5-6).

It should be remembered, however, that Clark also emphasizes the importance of “the stimulated academic heartland” among faculty members to protect their academic freedom and authority for the development of knowledge for its own sake. Although the resistance of schools and colleges, or departments, toward the university administration is often criticized in Japan, it is these units that function as the academic heartland. The issue is that they sometimes insist on too much autonomy and even immobilize university management. To prevent this, American universities set the principle of “separate jurisdiction” by limiting scholars’ autonomy to matters within their departments and by limiting their participation in university management to faculty senates.

The autonomy of the department and faculty participation in the senate, however, do not suffice to protect the rights of individual faculty members. In American universities, senates simply approve the proposals of the administration exclusively regarding academic issues; they do not usually deal with individual cases, and faculty unions are not prevalent. Most faculty members have no venues to express their personal grievances to the administration except through litigation.

Against this background, it is worth discussing faculty associations in Canada, because they claim to fight for faculty causes. They actively protect the rights of faculty members, influence university management, and even influence the policy of the provincial governments.

In spite of geographic proximity, the political climate in Canada is considerably different from that of the United States in that it emphasizes collective values and social democracy. Canada is more lenient toward unions and more sensitive to the rights of faculty members as workers. Therefore, the Canadian case holds more implications for Japan and Europe, which also have a more social democratic orientation than the United States. This study discusses faculty associations in Canada as a means of providing potential insights into

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Japanese university reforms.

II. Literature Review

The traditional view recognizes three types of system-level governance in the West: the combination of a strong state control of higher education and the autonomy of faculties, as in Continental Europe (Fig. 1); and the tradition of institutional autonomy and self-government in the Anglo-Saxon countries, which is further divided into a strong institutional administration in the United States and a strong academic oligarchy in the British Commonwealth (Amaral, Jones, & Karseth, 2002, p. 281). Canada uses a mixture of the U.S. and U.K. systems, whereas Japan employs the Continental European type.

The bicameral governance in Canadian universities also differs from the U.S. system. In the U.S., a senate is placed under the authority of a governing board (Fig. 2); in contrast, in Canada, the governing board and senate are ruled by different acts and are entirely independent of each other (Jones, 2002, p. 217). Therefore, the senate is the ultimate authority on issues of academic policies in Canada.

Regarding the job conditions of Canadian professors, the results of the Changing Academic Profession (CAP) data from 2007 and 2008 revealed that Canadian professors have the third highest level of job satisfaction among participating countries. To explain this, Glen A. Jones argues that they are financially remunerated well and protected as workers, and that the higher education market in Canada is still expanding, which means that young scholars have good opportunities to become full-time faculty members (Jones, 2011, pp. 7-12). Regarding the protection of faculty members as workers, he points out the presence of faculty unions. The coverage of collective agreements between these unions and the university administration is extensive, which is very different from the American situation. The Canadian faculty associations that are not unionized also play a role similar to the unions.

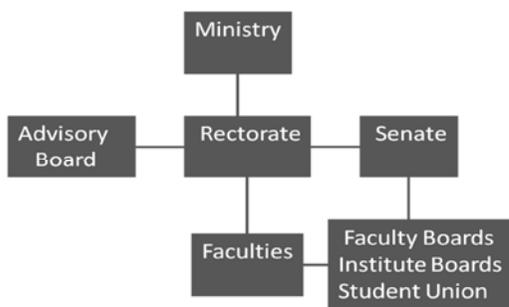


Fig. 1 Governance Structure
(Universität Bonn)

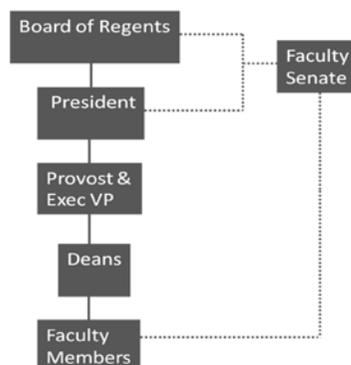


Fig. 2 Governance Structure
(University of Washington)

The history of faculty associations in Canada can be traced back to the 1920s, but it was not until the early 1970s, when cutbacks in governmental funding led to cuts in faculty salaries, that faculty members began to express their opinions to the university governance. Then followed collective bargaining in the 1980s and the unionization of faculty associations in the 1990s (Robinson, 2006, p. 30). In 2006, the unionization rate among faculty members reached 79 percent, whereas the rate among other occupations remained at 30 percent.

The collective agreements between faculty associations and the administration are related to faculty salaries, academic freedom, faculty appointments, faculty tenure and promotion, workload, and professional development support. Canadian chairs and deans cannot make radical changes regarding human resource allocations, and their decisions abide within the context of the agreements (Boyko & Jones, 2010, p. 99). As a result, faculty associations increased their influence and even decreased senate authority (Jones, 2002, pp. 223-225). Thus, the roles and responsibilities of chairs and deans are limited in Canadian universities. Whereas deans belong to senior management and are usually excluded from the association, chairs are also members of faculty associations (Boyko & Jones, 2010, p. 89).

Reflecting the political climate in Canada, provincial governments support faculty unions. According to the 1999 North American Academic Study Survey, both Canadian faculty members and administrators support faculty unions more than their American counterparts (Katchanovski, Rothman, & Nevitte, 2011, p. 367). The presence of faculty associations and the support of administrators are considered to influence the faculty attitude toward unions.

According to a 1994 survey of 78 faculty associations, their three main activities were (1) negotiation of salaries and benefits, (2) assisting members with grievances, and (3) influencing university policies (Anderson & Jones, 1998, p. 444). More than 10 associations provided their members with services for retirement and tenure/promotion. Their three major issues were (1) funding/budget restraints, (2) wages/salary freezes, and (3) employment equity and harassment policies. Eighty-six percent of the faculty associations belonged to provincial associations and monitored the policies of the provincial governments. Some associations provided professional development services and materials, and socialization activities. These types of activities are often institutionalized in the United States in provost and human resource offices.

The majority of respondents reported that they were consulted regularly by the university administration and could exercise a strong influence on issues covered by their collective agreement. These privileges and even membership in faculty associations, however, are exclusive to full-time tenure track faculty; contingent (sessional) faculty members have their own organizations (Jones, 2011, p. 12).

The changing conditions of Canadian universities are also affecting faculty associations. External pressures for accountability, excellence, streamlining, and generating revenues are necessitating top-down management and leading to the emergence of management professionals who control budgeting, strategic planning, and standards setting (Metcalf et al., 2011, pp. 169-170). Accordingly, the sphere of influence of Canadian professors is being increasingly limited inside their departments (Metcalf, 2008, p. 70), which is exactly the case in the United States.

III. Purpose of the Study

Following Jones' (2002, 2011) argument and Metcalfe's (2008, 2011) discussion, the purpose of this study is to determine the realities of faculty associations and the changing conditions of Canadian universities by analyzing the narratives of administrators and faculty association leaders. The paper will also discuss the future of faculty associations in university management.

IV. Methodology

Following a literature review, the author visited six Canadian universities in 2013 to interview top administrators, faculty association leaders, and staff members of the senate office. Table 1 shows the number of interviewees in each position category. Table 2 provides the list of institutions and a summary of their characteristics. The institutions selected for the study are elite ones that are members of U15, with the exception of Simon Fraser. The reason for this choice is their commonalities of research excellence and international standings. The interviews were semi-structured and lasted about 60 to 90 minutes each. They were based on the questions listed in the Appendix.

Table 1 Number of Interviewees

Profile	Provosts	Faculty Association Members	Senate Staff	Governing Council Staff
Number	4	6	2	1

Table 2 Institution Profiles

	McGill	Toronto	Waterloo	Alberta	Simon Fraser	British Columbia
Province	Quebec	Ontario	Ontario	Alberta	BC	BC
Established	1821	1827	1957	1908	1965	1908
Student Population	31,000	69,000	32,000	37,000	35,000	50,000
Macleans' Rankings	1	3	2 (comp)	5	1(comp)	2
Unionized						✓
Unicameral		✓				
Staff & Adm Membership				✓		
Dean Membership		✓		✓		

V. Profiles of the Universities Surveyed

Maclean's Rankings divide Canadian universities into three categories: medical doctoral, comprehensive, and primarily undergraduate. The universities surveyed in this study are elite institutions, ranked at the top in the first two categories.

Among the institutions visited, some have unique characteristics: only the University of British Columbia (UBC) faculty association is unionized; only the University of Toronto adopts the unicameral system of governance; and only the Association of Academic Staff in University of Alberta includes all the university employees.

The unicameral Governing Council is particular to the University of Toronto. Although the other universities have a separate board of governors and senate (Fig. 3), the University of Toronto combines them under the governing council (Fig. 4). The Council was formed in 1971 and consists of 25 external members, including the chancellor and alumni, and 25 internal members, including faculty members and students. This system is closer to the American system of governance, where organizational structure is hierarchical.

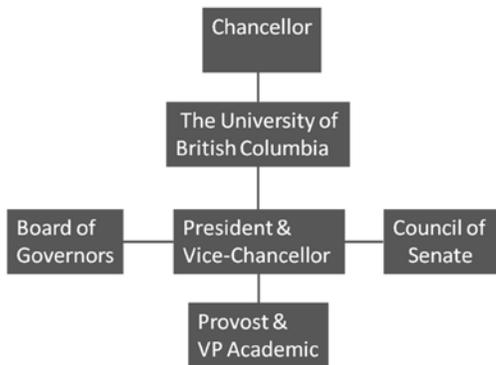


Fig. 3 Bicameral Governance (UBC)

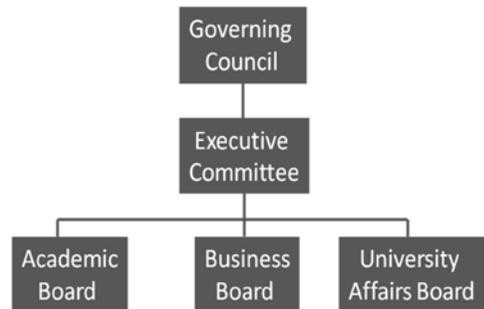


Fig. 4 Unicameral Governance (Toronto)

The Canadian Association of University Teachers (CAUT) is a national organization of faculty associations, established in 1951 and based in Ottawa. It currently represents 120 institutions and 68,000 academic professionals. According to CAUT By-law 2.2, the functions of the Association are “the defense of academic freedom, tenure, equality, and human rights, the provision of collective bargaining services, the conduct of federal lobbying and public relations, the collection and analysis of data, and international relations.” Among these functions, the CAUT focuses on external support for collective bargaining and encourages the unionization of faculty associations. Currently, 21 CAUT members are unionized.

All the institutions visited in this study are CAUT members; however, none are unionized except UBC. Old institutions with high status tend to respect more collegial decision-making processes than other institutions and dispense with unionization (Horn, 1994, p. 46).

VI. Results

The following are the summaries of the interviews.

Associate Provost

This institution treasures collegiality and a bottom-up decision-making process. The faculty association here does not involve itself in collective bargaining. This institution is financially centralized, and the deans allocate resources based on faculty compacts. Our strategic plan runs on a five-year cycle. Although our funding from the provincial government is shrinking, the number of faculty members is increasing because of the expansion of graduate programs.

President of the Faculty Association

Sixty percent of faculty members at this institution join the faculty association. The association is a self-governing organization independent of the university, but the president of the association receives a teaching reduction. We make appeals to regulations and take care of individuals who take tenure decisions to the court. The senate is limited to academic issues and a part of the board of governors. The association works toward both the administration and the senate and recommends committee members to the administration. It also emphasizes socialization among members and faculty development regarding tenure, promotion, and pension. Sessional faculty members belong to a different association. The association is concerned with the current tuition hike.

A Staff Member in the Office of the Governing Council

The unicameral system of governance is designed to make top-down decisions possible. The faculty association at this university is too militant and sometimes threatens the position of the academic board. If the association is unionized, the university will not be able to bring in star players. The academic board is a mechanism to achieve shared governance. Chairs and deans are considered to be faculty members. Administrators are unionized differently from faculty members.

President of the Faculty Association

When association members have appeals regarding tenure, the association provides legal support and reviews the university policies and processes. If it is unionized, it will only demand the minimum compensation and will not argue over salary differentials. It will not go on strikes, either. Although the university is a state institution, faculty members are not public servants. The senate should be essentially antagonistic to the board of governors. Deans and the Provost can make many decisions regarding study leaves, annual evaluations, workloads, misconduct handlings, even program closures. They have the duty to explain and consult with the association.

Associate Provost

The faculty association at this university is stronger than the senate. Recently, it rejected the administration's proposal for professors to keep longer office hours. Since there should be a mechanism of check and balance regarding tenure decisions, the association plays an important role. Generally speaking, staff members report higher job satisfaction than faculty members.

A Member of the Faculty Association

Unionization raises the operating costs of the association. The association provides the senate with many members. The senate maintains the faculty majority policy. These days, students are financially pressed because of the loans they accumulate during their enrollment. The association reached an agreement to increase the salary of sessional faculty members. The association brings collective grievances such as those related to medical insurance to deans councils. It also deals with individual grievances such as issues surrounding tenure and academic freedom to committees. Of the recent five cases of tenure decision disputes, the association won two. The university is controlled by provincial regulations. Recently, the association fought against the Provost on the requirement for faculty members to submit a holiday schedule. The association is supported by a small portion of dedicated faculty members who are about 80 in number. Currently, it is working for equity among faculty members and support for female faculty.

President of the Faculty Association

The association is divided into seven groups that sometimes fight against each other. The university will have a salary raise for the first time in several years. The mission of the association is to protect all university employees. The association includes administrators, and it recently supported a dean who was caught in a scandal. No merit raise for two consecutive years leads to dismissal at this university. Funding for higher education in this province is low despite its wealth. The president of the association receives 40% of his/her salary from the association and is exempted from teaching. The executive director of the association is a lawyer.

A Staff Member of the Senate

The senate reports to the president and consists of 11 standing committees, taking care of academic issues and policies including admissions, dismissals, and disciplinary codes. The composition of the senate members is as follows: 10 administrators, 18 deans, 54 faculty members, and 57 students. The senate sets up appeal committees to deal with academic issues and student discipline. Seven members of the senate also belong to the board of governors. The university respects collegiality. The senate works closely with the faculty association. The university receives 80 percent of its budget from the provincial government.

Director of the Faculty Association

I am the full-time director of this association. The association accepts grievances regarding tenure and promotion and tries to reach agreements through arbitration. The association provides legal consultation for its members and sends a member to the Senior Appointment Committee, which deals with personnel disputes. The Committee membership includes faculty members, chairs, librarians, and program directors. Sessional instructors and deans are not included in the association. The association also monitors faculty workload and merit raises. The declining interest in the association among faculty members is related to the prevalence of managerialism. The university receives 52 percent of its budgets from the province. The association is committed to the development of equity and diversity and has succeeded in establishing the Equity Office.

A Staff Member of the Senate

At this university, the curriculum service takes care of the senate. After the second campus was established, the senate became too big and was divided into two groups. Administrators are part of the senate, but they are not members of the faculty association. The position of deans is ambiguous. They are classified either as faculty members or administrators depending on the situation. As a result of abolishing compulsory retirement at age 65, the university is suffering from a financial burden. The majority of members of the board of governors come from the provincial government. The senate is responsible for the quality control, procedures, regulations, and directions of the university. The biggest issues at this moment are teaching evaluation and departmental closures.

Vice Provost

This university is decentralized and respects the autonomy of faculties; however, it exercises leadership regarding internationalization, minority empowerment, and sustainability through articulate strategic planning. Each faculty is responsible for budgeting and hiring, and the administration approves the decisions. Top administrators meet deans for an annual academic review. Chief Financial Officer and Chief Information Officer report both to the deans and the provost. For the selection of deans, search committees are organized to include faculty members and interest groups.

At this university, deans are very cooperative with the Provost. Faculty resistance usually comes from department chairs. To promote teaching and learning, the administration introduced teaching assessment and peer review but met opposition from the faculty association. It took two years to implement the evaluation. Collective bargaining is usually concerned with salaries and ends in arbitration. Sometimes, the language of the association is too harsh. I personally do not think that the faculty association truly represents faculty members.

Provost

Although the provincial funding is shrinking, this institution emphasizes teaching and provides teaching grants. I have never vetoed a faculty appointment made by the deans. I needed to negotiate with the faculty association to introduce a teaching evaluation. I was the president of the association 20 years ago, and I meet with the association members every month to discuss teaching quality, salary and benefits, and tenure and promotion. For the next five years, the university will strengthen its support for students, service learning, and research by inviting excellent scholars. Governmental control of higher education is tight in this province. The approval of new programs and the alteration of the number of entering students require an extensive negotiation with the provincial government.

A Member of the Faculty Association

Although undergraduate education is funded by provinces, graduate education is funded by the federal government because of its nexus to research. Not only the provincial governments but also professional societies have a strong influence on higher education in Canada. Association leaders meet with the university's leadership team once a month. British Columbia and Alberta take the toughest attitude toward unions.

The association provides support for individual cases regarding tenure and promotion. Although it sends representatives to participate in the selection of top administrators, it has no influence over the appointment of chairs and deans. Chairs can join the association, but not deans. The university abolished mandatory retirement by age six years ago. The senate consists equally of one third faculty members, students, and administrators, respectively. Because faculty members in the senate are not so active, the senate is often controlled by the will of deans. Only 41 of the 1,000 members attend association meetings. Librarians, lectures, and sessionals belong to different associations. The Rand Formula, which requires dues from all faculty members, does not apply here. This university plans to introduce salary differentials based on merits.

VII. Discussion & Conclusions

The interviews reveal the faculty associations' role of protecting the rights of individual faculty members who have grievances regarding tenure or promotion, which are handled in neither senates nor departments. Because personnel and academic issues are closely related to financial and management decisions, it is reasonable that faculty associations are expanding their scope of influence and beginning to take the place of senates whose functions are limited to the approval of academic decisions.

The interviews also reveal the collegiality and dialogue between top administrators (provosts) and faculty association leaders. They meet regularly to exchange views on university management and policies. Although these meetings are informal, faculty associations seem to represent the spirit of shared governance better than senates. Some faculty associations, however, are very contentious and oppose long office hours, holiday notification, and teaching evaluation. They also consider the senate a part of the administration. It seems that

faculty associations are more confrontational in the provinces and institutions, where management structure is hierarchical and the sentiment toward unions is adversary.

Although faculty associations play important roles, they are affected by the changing conditions of higher education in Canada. The conditions are (1) the declining interest in faculty associations among faculty members, (2) the increase of sessional faculty members who belong to their own associations, (3) the increasing division between top administrators and faculty members, and (4) the erosion of institutional autonomy.

(1) The rise of managerialism and pressure to raise research productivity are lowering faculty members' concerns for university management and collective issues. Accordingly, their activities are increasingly confined to their departments.

(2) The members of faculty associations are tenured or tenure-track full-time faculty members. Therefore, they are protected by vested interests and do not share the concerns of sessional faculty members who are in more vulnerable positions. Nevertheless, the stratification of full-time faculty members seems to be inevitable in the future with the introduction of salary differentials based on research performance. Even full-time faculty members are no longer monolithic.

(3) University administrators used to be amateurs, with the positions rotating among faculty members. The complexity of university management, however, is requiring top administrators to make difficult decisions. Some of the top administrators are very critical of faculty associations and lean toward more bureaucratic or corporate styles of management. In this sense, "the strengthened steering core" is not necessarily compatible with "the stimulated academic heartland," contrary to Burton Clark's thesis.

(4) Inheriting British traditions, Canadian universities are supposed to be autonomous and self-governing. Both provosts and faculty association leaders, however, mentioned the increasing interference of provincial governments and fiscal constraints. This indicates the fact that not only the faculty autonomy but also the institutional autonomy is endangered. Therefore, it is reasonable that the CAUT tackles with university affairs from a national perspective.

Table 3 Tasks of Organizations

	Provosts	Senates	Faculty Associations	CAUT
Management Decisions	✓		✓	
Academic Decisions		✓	✓	
Faculty Support			✓	
Labor Movement			✓	✓

In sum, faculty associations in Canada are great examples of a mechanism to protect individual faculty members as workers and to express faculty opinions to the administration collectively. This study confirms the collegial tradition of university management and the activism of faculty associations in Canada. However, the changing conditions of higher education are limiting the faculty participation in university management.

Although they are more active than senates, the faculty interest in them is declining. This is mainly due to the rise of departmentalism and the segmentation of faculty members. In this regard, faculty associations have a great potential to train future top administrators to maintain the tradition of collegial governance.

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Appendix

- (1) What is the relationship between the senate and the administration?
- (2) What is the relationship between the faculty association and the senate?
- (3) What are the difficulties of the university's decision-making process?
- (4) What is the process of collective bargaining?
- (5) How does the faculty association influence university decisions on individual cases?
- (6) Is faculty interest in the faculty association rising or declining?
- (7) What kinds of grievances does the faculty association receive from faculty members?

カナダにおける教員団体の現状と課題

吉 永 契一郎*

大学における管理運営部門の強化に伴い、教員自治の確保・教員の権利擁護は大きな課題である。日本の大学においては、これまで、同僚性の原則に基づく学部自治が同時に、教員の権利を守ってきた側面が強い。しかしながら、現在、日本の大学が参考にしようとしているアメリカの大学は、教育研究集団としての学部自治が尊重され、教員が大学運営に参画するための評議会も整備されている一方、教員個人の権利を擁護するための制度は十分ではない。

そのため、本稿では、大学における教員の権利を擁護するための仕組みを、カナダの大学を事例に検討する。カナダの大学は、ヨーロッパの大学とアメリカの大学の間位置するものであり、社会民主主義の伝統、労働者組合に寛容な風土を色濃く反映している。カナダの大学における教員団体（Faculty Associations）は、1920年代に教員懇談会として発足していたが、活動を活発化したのは1970年代であり、90年代に多くが組合化を果たした。現在では、正規雇用の教員を対象にして、教員個人の採用や昇進に対する不満への法的支援の他、大学運営や規定改正に対する助言、州政府に対するロビー活動などその活動範囲は広い。

本稿においては、インタビュー調査に基づき、カナダの教員団体が、大学運営集団と友好的な関係を築いて、同僚性に基づいた大学運営の伝統を継承している一方、他方で、労働者としての教員の権利保護の観点から、積極的に人事に介入し、時には、大学運営集団と対決的な姿勢によって、評議会の影響力を上回っていることを議論する。ただし、近年、教員の教員団体に対する関心が低下していること、業績給によって教員が階層化されようとしていること、大学運営の高度化により教員の大学運営への参画の余地が少なくなっていること、教員団体に非正規雇用の教員が含まれていないこと、州政府による大学運営への干渉の度合いが高まっていることなどは、大学における管理運営の強化・教員間の連帯感の希薄化・教員集団と大学運営集団の分化・正規教員の既得権益保持・州政府と大学との関係に関連し、今後の教員団体の様相を変えて行く可能性がある。

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