The happiness of Japanese academics as revealed through job satisfaction surveys in 1992 and 2007.

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According to Timothy Judge and Ryan Kinger (2007:393) 'no research on subjective well-being can be complete without considering subjective well-being at work', a view which is reinforced by the *World Happiness Report* of 2013 (Helliwell, Layard and Sachs, 2013: 61-4). In this paper, we look at the 'subjective well-being at work' of Japanese academics through the examination of three major surveys of job satisfaction which were undertaken in 1992 and in 2007. These surveys are unusual in that they allows us, to an extent, to compare both how job satisfaction among Japanese academics has changed over time and also how it compares with the job satisfaction of academics in other countries.

The first of these surveys was commissioned by the U.S.-based Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching and is thus usually referred to as the Carnegie Survey of the Academic Profession or simply, as in the rest of this paper, the 'Carnegie Survey'. While the project as a whole was carried out between 1990 and 1996, the raw data was collected in 1992 from fifteen countries, one of which was Japan, where there were 1889 respondents.

The second survey which this paper draws on was carried out between 2004 and 2014, with the raw data being collected in 2007 (Teichler 2015:226). It was called 'The Changing Academic Profession', which has in much of the literature been shortened to simply the 'CAP'. Eight of the seventeen participating countries had also participated in the Carnegie survey. One of those was Japan which in the CAP had 1391 respondents.

The CAP set out to investigate what it identified as three key challenges which faced the global academic profession in 2007 and which had not been deemed so significant in 1992: the relevance of the academy in the knowledge society; internationalization as a major factor in defining and shaping academic practice; and new forms of higher education management. As a result of these three objectives, the questionnaire used in the 2007 CAP differed considerably from the one used in the 1992 Carnegie Survey which made comparing the results over time complicated.

In order to deal with this question of comparability over time, a decision was undertaken in Japan to undertake two surveys in 2007: one the CAP and a second survey which reused exactly the Carnegie questionnaire of 1992. This second survey - which was somewhat misleadingly, because it was only administered in Japan, called the 'International Survey of Academic Profession' or the 'AP survey' for short (Hasegawa 2015:136) - not only used the same questionnaire as in 1992, but was also sent to the same universities as the earlier survey

and therefore, it was hoped, offered a high degree of comparability (Hasegawa and Ogata 2009: 276-7). It had 1100 respondents. As we shall see, the running of the two surveys simultaneously in Japan led to some very interestingly different outcomes.

The results of the 1992 Carnegie Survey were widely disseminated (see for example, Altbach, 1996). The best known results of the Carnegie Survey in relation to Japan published in English can be found in the work of Ehara (1998) which described Japanese academics as falling clearly into the so-called 'German model' of valuing research over teaching.

The results of the CAP are still being published but already no less than fourteen edited volumes have appeared in *The Changing Academy Series*, two of which will be drawn on in particular in this paper: the seventh volume entitled *Job satisfaction around the academic world* (Bentley et al. 2013) and the eleventh (Arimoto et al. 2015) entitled *The Changing Academic Profession in Japan*.

The Changing Academic Profession in Japan does draw to some extent on the AP as well as the CAP survey data and other analyses of the AP data can be seen in publications from the Hiroshima Research Institute for Higher Education RIHE) which undertook the original survey work. It is important to point out, however, that none of the raw data from the Carnegie Survey, CAP Survey or the AP survey is currently publicly available and hence we are reliant on the interpretations and statistical selections of these publications in order to make sense of it. As we shall see, some of these interpretations appear to be contradictory and the analysis incomplete and leave plenty of questions which still need to be explored. Nevertheless, in terms of gauging the level of happiness in one sector of Japanese society and how this has changed over time, they do together offer some interesting ideas for testing Mathews and Izquierdo's (2009a) model and we will review the data in context of their four dimensions of well-being.

Changes in the Japanese higher education system between 1992-2007

In order to be fully understand the comparison between the data survey from 1992 and 2007 in the case of Japan, it is important to examine some of the major changes which had taken place in the higher education system over that period. According to Yano writing in 2015 (2015: 40), 'The change in professorship that has taken place in the past two decades reflects the "educational revolution" that has occurred at universities in Japan'. While Yano sees the US as the model for this 'revolution', many of the new pressures on the Japanese professoriate came from the forces of globalization more generally. It was hard for the Japanese higher education - despite its size and despite that the fact that in terms of expenditure it remains the second largest higher education system in the world - to remain as separated from the global higher education system as it had been in the past. Globalization brought pressure for marketisation, corporatization, life-long learning, the emergence of the knowledge-based economy and mass higher education.

There also were pressures, however, which were specific to Japan, most notably the bursting of the economic bubble in 1989 and the realization that higher education needed to contribute more to the economic development of the country and then rapidly changing demography in Japan which saw the number of eighteen and nineteen-year-olds in the population (who constitute almost all of new university entrants) decline by almost 40% between 1992 and 2007 (see Goodman, 2005). This led to an over-supply of university places and a more demanding student population who wanted to be properly prepared for the labour force.

While research funding in Japan increased over this period, the main focus of the reforms was the improvement of university education and the student experience. Faculty development became mandatory, as did the evaluation of teaching and reform of teaching qualifications. Put simply, Japanese professors – with the exception of a minority who remained protected in government research institutions or research-intensive universities such as Tokyo or Kyoto - were forced to re-evaluate their role from what the Carnegie survey of 1992 characterised as the German model (where research was paramount) to the Anglo-Saxon model (where teaching and research were of equal status) or in the case of many to the Latin American model (where teaching held primacy).

There were other features of the Japanese higher education sector which remained distinctive. While the proportion of women teaching in higher education has almost doubled since structural reforms - in particular the abolition of the faculties of Liberal Arts and Sciences in almost all universities and the relaxation of the University Accreditation Standard - were introduced into universities in Japan in 1991, Japan still had the lowest female participation rates in the OECD. When the CAP and AP surveys were undertaken in 2007, the figure of 18% of academic staff in Japan being female was half of the OECD average (Arimoto and Daizen, 2013: 147). This figure also disguised major disparities within the sector: the proportion of women who are teaching in the elite former imperial universities remained less than half of the average in Japan.

A number of policy changes and social trends also combined to make permanent academic appointments increasingly hard to secure. These included government pressure on national universities to reduce the number of permanent appointments; the apparent desire of national universities themselves to ensure job security for senior staff by reducing the number of new junior recruitments; the huge increase of graduates from PhD programmes from 4000 in 1985 to 8000 in 1995 to over 16000 in 2013; the similar increase in postdoctoral positions from 6000 in 1996 to over 15000 in 2011. The result of these trends were, firstly, a huge growth in junior academics in non-secure fixed-term posts providing much of the teaching and research in universities (a group described by Minazuki [2007] as the 'highly qualified working poor [*kogakureki* Working Poor]) and secondly a continuation of the practice of academic inbreeding despite the attempts by government to try to make the academic recruitment process more transparent and competitive (see Horta, Sato and Yonezawa, 2009). The type of terms and conditions that new academics were offered were very different from those of their predecessors. Particularly in medicine and the hard sciences, young academics were increasingly likely to be employed on short-term contracts, often linked to specific projects.

One way to characterize the reforms in the 1990s and 2000s was as an attempt to change the academic self-identity of academics as much as the structures in which they worked. In 2007, many universities and their professors faced a very precarious financial future. Academic self-governance, which was widely enjoyed in 1992, had become widely replaced by top-down management with a focus on productivity, efficiency and flexibility. Many people therefore were very interested to see what the CAP and AP surveys of 2007 would show about changing attitudes and the self-reported experiences of Japanese professors compared to those of their colleagues fifteen years earlier.

An application of Mathews and Izquierdo four dimensions model

In this paper, as discussed earlier, we take job satisfaction as a proxy for well-being at the workplace and adapt Mathews and Izquierdo' four dimensions to the specific context of the Japanese academic workplace. For the 'physical dimension', we include the experience of stress as well as academics' experience of the built environment in terms of the facilities and equipment which are part of their workplace. For the 'interpersonal dimension', we look at relationships with colleagues, superiors, subordinates and students including both perceptions of those others and emotions connected with exchanges with them, such as respect and appreciation. The 'existential dimension' we translate to include both the value and meaning people find in their own work and workplace (in terms of personal achievement, pride in one's work, status and more materialistic values such as security and salary) and also how they perceive the effect of their work on others through the advancement of knowledge. According to Mathews and Izquierdo (2009b:261), 'these three dimensions are structured by a fourth dimension, involving how national institutions and global forces shape how well-being is conceived, perceived, and experienced among individuals in different societies'. We introduce the 'structural dimension' in our analysis of the first three dimensions rather than as a separate dimension of its own.

The dimensions of academics' job satisfaction in Japan

According to the CAP survey, Japanese academics appear to have been comparatively satisfied with their work in 2007 when compared with colleagues elsewhere. As can be seen in Table 1, almost 69% chose the highest two categories on a five-point scale. The international average for the survey lay at roughly 65% and only Mexico (87%), South Korea (77%), Canada (74%) and Norway (69%) showed higher or equal overall satisfaction rates to Japan (Arimoto 2011a:294).

Table 1: Overall satisfaction with current job (%)

Very high				Very low
5	4	3	2	1

1992 (Carnegie)	7.5	46.0	32.2	11.5	2.8
2007(AP)	5.2	46.6	32.2	13.1	2.8
2007(CAP)	10.9	57.6	18.1	11.0	2.4

Adapted from Arimoto (2011a:294), Hasegawa and Ogata (2009:280).

The AP survey, however, showed a rather different picture with only 52% of respondents picking the top two categories. It is interesting that this discrepancy has not yet been addressed in the literature and, as far as we can see, only the CAP data has been used in talking about Japanese academic job satisfaction in a comparative perspective. Everything that follows therefore must be read in the light of not really knowing if Japanese academics report as more or less happy than their peers in other countries.

The physical dimension

Two key variables which need to be addressed when discussing the perception of one's physical well-being in the work place are age and gender. According to the CAP (Table 2), Japanese academics' job satisfaction increases with age (Arimoto and Daizen 2013:148), with the group aged 60-69 having the highest satisfaction scores (3.80), closely followed by the 50-59 year-olds (3.70). This is perhaps not surprising since age is closely connected to salary in the Japanese university system (see Nanbu and Amano 2015). Age also is linked closely with the large number of younger academics who hold fixed terms contracts and have precarious working conditions (Fukudome 2011: 138-9).

Table 2: Overall Satisfaction with current work by Age (%) 2007 (CAP)

		Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Average (***)
Age	30-39	61.3	21.3	3.46
	40-49	61.6	16.5	3.53
	50-59	72.5	10.2	3.70
	60-69	76.9	9.1	3.80
	Total	70.0	13.2	3.65

Adapted from Arimoto and Daizen (2013:149). On a five-point scale from 1="Very high" to 5= "Very Low" those who responded with 1 and 2 are deemed 'satisfied', those who responded with 4 and 5 'dissatisfied'.
****p<0.001*

Both degree level and rank (Table 3) also seem to be highly influential on job satisfaction: those with doctorates and holding higher ranks self-score significantly higher (Arimoto and Daizen, 2013: 149-50).

Table 3: Overall satisfaction with current job by rank 2007 (CAP) %

	satisfied	dissatisfied
Senior Position	69.9	12.5
Junior Position	59.2	18.9

Adapted from Arimoto and Daizen (2013:150). On a five-point scale from 1="Very high" to 5= "Very Low" those who responded with 1 and 2 are deemed 'satisfied', those who responded with 4 and 5 'dissatisfied'.

In the case of gender (Table 4), in the 1992 Carnegie Survey, female academics seem to have been slightly less satisfied with their overall job situation– although the small number of female respondents raises questions about the representativeness of the sample. The 2007 CAP survey, however, indicates the level of dissatisfaction among female academics lying 7.4 percentage points above male dissatisfaction (12.8%) which, according to Fukudome and Kimoto (2010:153) is 'about double the international average at 20.2% and the highest overall'.

Table 4: Overall satisfaction with current job by gender (%)

		men		women	
		satisfied	dissatisfied	satisfied	dissatisfied
Japan	1992 (Carnegie)	53.6	14.3	51.8	14.9
	2007 (AP)	52.4	15.2	46.2	21.5
	2007 (CAP)	69.0	12.8	62.2	20.2
International Average	2007 (CAP)	66.9	9.2	60.7	10.2

Adapted from Fukudome and Kimoto (2010:154), Kimoto (2015:99). On a five-point scale from 1='Very high' to 5= 'Very Low', the proportion of those who responded with 1 and 2 are shown.

Arimoto and Daizen (2013:148) suggest that the lower satisfaction rate among female academics can be explained by the fact that women in the Japanese academic profession are still often in lower status positions. Kimoto (2015:93), in his analysis of the AP survey data which also shows a higher rate of dissatisfaction among women than men, states that women still 'appear to be concentrated in lower-level positions' and also that in 2007 'more men than women held doctoral degrees'. Nevertheless, we should be careful about assuming that all of the difference in male and female job satisfaction can be explained by status within the academic community. Fukudome and Kimoto (2010:154) list further gender-based differences that may influence the satisfaction of female faculty, including the fact that women spend more time teaching when classes are in session, more women than men have the feeling that teaching and research are hardly compatible and more female academics feel the pressure to raise external funds.

The factor related to the physical dimension which has probably received the most attention in the Japanese data is stress, or 'personal strain'. In 1992, Japanese academics reported the highest rate of personal strain of all those surveyed, with 56% of the respondents choosing the top two categories in response to the statement 'my job is a source of considerable personal strain' and 22% choosing the highest category (Arimoto 1996:184). The CAP survey in 2007 actually showed a slight increase in personal strain from 56% to 57%. The AP study of the same year, however, which unlike the CAP used exactly the same questionnaire as the Carnegie survey, interestingly suggested that Japanese academics saw their work as less of a source of personal strain than fifteen years before (with only about 50% agreeing with the statement about their job causing them strain) (Hasegawa 2015:143). This suggests that the survey results are very sensitive to exactly what and how questions are asked. What is evident, though, in all the surveys is that women feel higher levels of stress at their workplace than men (Kimoto 2015:99, Hasegawa 2015:145).

In relation to the built environment aspect of the physical dimension, Arimoto states that in 1992 Japanese academics complained 'intensely' about facilities and equipment (1996:189) and only library and computer facilities were assessed as either 'good"' or 'excellent' by even a fifth of respondents (Nanbu and Amano 2015:121). In the AP study of 2007, however, academics' ratings of classrooms, libraries, faculty offices, research equipment and computer facilities had all improved substantially, in many cases by ten percentage points or more.

The interpersonal dimension

According to Lacy and Sheehan (1997:309) 'factors related to the environment in which academics work, including university atmosphere, morale, sense of community and relationships with colleagues are the greatest predictors of job satisfaction'. It is significant, therefore, that almost all of these factors were excluded from the 2007 CAP survey even though they were included in the 1992 Carnegie Survey. It may have been because of this that the 2007 AP was undertaken (Table 5) since it does allow some comparison of Japanese academics' experience of these variables between the two dates although, to our knowledge, no correlations of these items and job satisfaction have been published, which makes it difficult to draw any definitive conclusions.

Table 5: Interpersonal dimension
1992 – 2007 (%)

	1992 (Carnegie)			2007 (AP)		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Faculty morale	33.7	38.5	34.1	38.5	36.9	38.4
Intellectual atmosphere	31.3	35.4	31.8	37.3	31.5	36.6
Sense of community	27.0	29.9	27.3	23.5	20.7	23.2
Relationship between faculty and administration	24.9	23.8	24.4	28.0	31.3	28.5

Adapted from Kimoto (2015:98). On a five-point scale from 1='Very high' to 5= 'Very Low'; the proportion of those who responded with 1 and 2 are shown.

The data on faculty morale and intellectual atmosphere are somewhat ambiguous. On the one hand, it looks as if satisfaction levels in both areas has increased since 1992, but it is clear on closer inspection that this is only in the case of men. In the case of female academics it has actually got worse.

Second, the perception of sense of community and relationships with the administration indicate significant changes since 1992. The sense of community felt by Japanese academics has diminished for both genders, with women showing a much greater reduction than men. However, appraisal of the relationship between faculty and administration has improved, with female faculty showing a stronger sense of this improvement. In truth, however, the numbers do not speak of very high levels of satisfaction with any aspects of the interpersonal dimension. Curiously, also, while women overall reported as being more satisfied with these items than men in 1992, the results were inverted in the data from 2007. It would be informative to look at this data controlling for age and rank, but unfortunately this is not available.

Both in 1992 and in 2007, respondents were also asked about their level of satisfaction with collegial relationships (Table 6).

Table 6: Overall satisfaction with current job and collegial relationships (%)

	1992 (Carnegie)				2007 (AP)			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Satisfied	Dissatisfied
Relationship with colleagues	51.3	10.2	51.4	13.4	57.1	10.3	61.0	10.7
Overall satisfaction with current job	53.6	14.3	51.8	14.9	52.4	15.2	46.2	21.5

Adapted from Kimoto (2015:99). On a five-point scale from 1="Very high" to 5= "Very Low" those who responded with 1 and 2 are deemed 'satisfied', those who responded with 4 and 5 'dissatisfied'.

It seems that the perception of collegial relationships has improved for both genders, with an increase in satisfied respondents of 5.8 percentage points for males and 9.6 percentage points for females. This is puzzling when looking at the declining sense of community in Table 5 and might be due the fact that a sense of community is a feeling that would involve most people in one's immediate work environment while, when answering the question on

relationships with colleagues, respondents might be considering more restricted groups at their workplace.

In any case, it is interesting that Nanbu and Amano (2015:123) interpret the data very positively, stating that 'as a whole, it can be said that *human relationships* in the university improved'. In this context, it is notable that there is no data on academics interactions with students, only respondents' evaluation of student quality, which is believed to be declining, with 33 % in 2007 rating the students in their departments 'poor' as opposed to 29% in 1992 and 57.4% of academics rating student quality higher five years ago, while in 1992 the proportion was 41.1% (Ogata 2015:82-83).

The existential dimension

The relationship between job satisfaction and the value and meaning of work has been demonstrated on many occasions (Wrzesniewski et al. 1997, Rosso, Dekas and Wrzesniewski 2010) and yet it is the most difficult of Mathews and Izquierdo's dimensions to capture. To try and do so, we draw on what is the most common way of categorizing 'work values' in behavioural psychology by dividing them into (i) intrinsic values, meaning personal values such as a sense of pride, interest and intellectual stimulation, and extrinsic values, defined as material values such as salary and sense of job security; as well as (ii) social and relational values, that transcend the meaningfulness of work for the individual self by pursuing societal values and the greater good (Borg 1990, Mottaz 1985, Ros, Schwartz & Surkiss 1999, Vansteenkiste et al. 2007). The Carnegie, CAP and AP surveys give us some data which we can draw on in this context.

From an intrinsic perspective, we can look at satisfaction with the extent to which work interests can be pursued. In this context, it is significant that more than half of the CAP survey respondents regard teaching and research as non-complementary or contradictory, which is the highest rate in international comparison (Fukudome 2011:137-8) (Table 7).

Table 7: Overall satisfaction with current job 2007 (CAP) (%)

	Very high				Very low	
Preferences for teaching/research	5	4	3	2	1	Av.
Primarily in teaching	12.0	50.7	13.3	21.3	2.7	3.48
In both, but leaning towards teaching	10.2	61.0	18.2	8.9	1.6	3.69
In both, but leaning towards research	10.1	58.7	18.3	10.4	2.5	3.63
Primarily in	15.4	49.7	18.5	13.3	3.1	3.61

research						
Total	11.0	57.5	18.0	11.1	2.4	3.64

Adapted from Arimoto and Daizen (2013: 154).

The CAP data show that research is preferred by 71.7% of Japanese academics. Arimoto and Daizen (2013: 153) suggest that because the satisfaction rates in the groups *primarily* interested in teaching are lower than those *primarily* interested in research this means 'that satisfaction is higher among those with a research orientation than among those with teaching orientation'. However, those who lean towards either of the two are generally more satisfied (5+4). These groups also show the lowest percentages regarding dissatisfaction (1+2). It could be argued, therefore that diverse work preferences, which is closer to the academic workplace reality in Japan, is associated with higher overall job-satisfaction. Looking at the AP survey data, Fukudome (2015: 175) suggests that this change might already be occurring in Japan with younger academics showing more interest in teaching.

A closely linked issue is the freedom to pursue one's own work interests. Academics in the 2007 AP survey said they felt less free than their counterparts had said they felt in the 1992 Carnegie Survey to pursue their own work interests. The CAP study also showed a significant relationship between 'academic freedom' and job satisfaction, which were both described as deteriorating (Arimoto and Daizen 2013:162). Similarly, the survey reported declining satisfaction rates when it came to university management policies. This was especially true for national universities that did not have a research focus (Nanbu and Amano 2015:125), as they are both affected by the policy changes regarding national universities, and also have to deal with increasing teaching demand, which reduce research opportunities.

Although materialistic aspects are generally not seen as a top priority for those pursuing a job in the academic sector, there is an indication that such extrinsic values are rather important for Japanese academics' perception of individual job satisfaction. As Table 8 shows, there is a significant relation between annual gross income and satisfaction (Arimoto and Daizen 2013: 156). Academics who regard their salary as 'high' have actually increased since 1992 which might suggest improving satisfaction levels (Kimoto 2015:100). However, the factors that determine annual income in Japan have not changed much in the recent years, despite the effects of globalization and increasing mobility and competition. Academic rank, years of service as well as type and level of university all still have the greatest influence on salaries, while the number of institution served, which could be a sign of competition in the market place, still has comparatively little influence (Nanbu and Amano 2015: 129-132). Satisfaction with career prospects – above all chances for promotions – is decreasing (Kimoto 2015:99-100). Seen from a life-course perspective this is again unfavorable for younger academics, since lower salary and poorer career prospects undoubtedly influence their satisfaction levels.

Table 8: Correlations with key variables and overall job satisfaction among Japanese academics (2007)

	Annual gross income	Hours spent on research activities in session	Percent of undergraduate instruction time	The total score of the research work
Overall satisfaction with current job 2007 (CAP)	0.141***	0.143***	-0.102***	0.101***

Adapted from Arimoto and Daizen (2013:156)

****p<0.001*

We have been unable to find any data regarding the link between societal values and academic job satisfaction, but interesting results on how Japanese academics perceive the meaning of academic work in a broader context have been shown by Yamasaki (2015: 215-217) drawing on the Carnegie and AP survey data. Responses to the surveys suggest that the single most important meaning of higher education is not the improvement of society, but rather the protection of research and scholarship. The second most important function is offering an 'education for leaders'. This perception of higher education is especially striking considering the fact that nowadays half of all high school students enter university (MEXT 2013: Gakkō kihon-chōsa) and may be linked with the current frustration caused by student's perceived lack of skills and quality (Ogata 2015: 82-85). Other educational aspects, such as vocational or life-long learning are rated rather low, creating the impression that Japanese academics regard the value of their work as still lying, as reported in the 1992 Carnegie Survey, in an orientation towards research and training the elite in society. Societal factors, like solving social problems or conserving cultural heritage, show equally low results, and have, according to the AP survey data, even decreased in importance since 1992 (Yamasaki 2015:216).

Some tentative conclusions

It is hard to know what overall conclusions to draw from the three surveys we have examined when there is such a big difference in the key overall finding in relation to Japanese academia: the 2007 CAP survey suggests that general levels of job satisfaction in Japan are relatively high, while the AP data, which for several reasons might be considered to be more comparable to the 1992 Carnegie Survey, but offers less comparability with other countries, draws a less positive picture.

Both surveys, however, show women being less satisfied with their overall work situation, which on a structural level appears to be connected to their status and position within their institutions. Moreover, different factors seem to contribute to men's and women's sense of job satisfaction. Whereas women struggle most with the feeling that teaching and research are not compatible and worry about the rising pressure to raise external funds, men are more dissatisfied with their salary and career prospects.

Age, which in Japan is very closely linked with rank and salary, is also a factor of great importance when it comes to Japanese academics' job satisfaction. Older academics are considerably more satisfied than younger academics, a fact that attests to the major changes in academics' employment conditions in the past two decades in the Japanese academy.

According to the CAP survey, Japanese academics rank third worldwide in terms of stress and, again, women appear to feel a greater sense of personal strain than their male colleagues. Likewise, while satisfaction with the intellectual environment and enthusiasm within the faculty has increased, this also demonstrates a major gender gap, with female academics being substantially less satisfied.

Looking at work values and meanings, we can see that work interests continue to lie in research, although academics with diverse interests are generally happier than their colleagues with either only research or only teaching ambitions. When it comes to the societal context of individual's work values, there remains a tendency in Japanese academia towards a self-perception as researches and trainers of elites that is increasingly likely to clash with the current developments of greater teaching loads and focus on vocational learning in universities.

In this essay, we have set out to adapt the data from three major surveys on academic satisfaction into Mathews and Izquierdo's framework on well-being. The physical dimension has been discussed largely in terms of built environment. While academics seem considerably more satisfied with this environment than in 1992, an international comparison suggests that there still remains room for improvement. The actual perception and experience of one's own body has hardly been covered in these surveys apart from questions about levels of personal stress. Information on the interpersonal dimension lacks anything on student-teacher relationships. The existential dimension has been covered in part, with a focus on research vs. teaching preferences as well as an evaluation of certain meanings academics assign to their work, but the connection to overall job satisfaction is not clear and has been given little attention.

What this all suggests is that while the quantitative data which we have examined in this paper provides some answers to the question of Japanese academics' sense of well-being and happiness, it is a long way from providing the full picture. This is perhaps not surprising. Mathews and Izquierdo (2009a:6) warn us against setting too much store in this field on quantitative research - what they call 'bald statistics placed side by side' - calling instead for a 'soft comparison' that looks at happiness and satisfaction related research 'in a careful, culturally sensitive way' which takes into account 'the nuances of sociocultural context'. It is a curious fact that despite the huge investments in both time and money which has been spent in trying to understand the levels of satisfaction of academics around the world and in Japan in the Carnegie, CAP and AP projects, there has been virtually no qualitative research which has sought to interrogate and test the data from those survey and its subject matters. We see this paper as a call for such research to begin.

One of the very few exceptions to the lack of qualitative research on faculty satisfaction is a paper by Ambrose, Huston and Norman (2005) which sets out an agenda for a qualitative approach to assessing faculty satisfaction as a means of helping institutions retain staff. By

'qualitative', they mean semi-structured interviews which can be coded and compared and then used as the basis of more quantitative analysis since, as they point out, 'Although survey research has the benefits of statistical power and structural modeling, the interview method allows faculty to identify, in their own words and chronology, the complex set of factors that shaped their experiences at an institution…If we had initially generated a survey based on the issues commonly cited in the literature, we would have missed some issues or over-emphasized others' (Ambrose, Huston and Norman, 205: 826). We suggest that there is a strong case for arguing that this is the major weakness of the Carnegie, CAP and AP surveys and we would go one step further in arguing not only that such survey work would be greatly enhanced by the use of semi-structured interviews but also by other qualitative methods such as ethnographic fieldwork and participation observation. We believe that other chapters in this volume demonstrate the strength of using such mixed methods in the study of happiness in Japan.

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