We founded Tokyo Humanities two years ago with the aim of improving “connections” between academia in Japan and the rest of the world. Since that time, we have worked to promote the innovative and creative research being done in Tokyo, through our website and our café. The question of “connections”, however, also raises more fundamental structural questions about the recruitment and flow of academics, which we would like to explore in this, the first of an occasional series of special reports into the state of the humanities in Asia/Japan. Who comes to Japan to work, and why? Why, despite decades of talk of “internationalization”, does the country still often seem to be off the beaten track for foreign academics?

In February 2019, I was invited to speak to a career forum for international postgraduate students at the Tokyo International Exchange Centre. I saw it as an opportunity to share some of the things I have learned gradually over seven years in Tokyo: first as a JSPS postdoctoral fellow, then as a lecturer in an English literature department, and now as a tenured associate professor in an area studies department, teaching British culture and history. When preparing for
the talk, though, I realized how little information was readily available online about academic jobs in Japan. The few useful resources were targeted mainly at TESOL-qualified instructors already present in Japan, looking to pick up contract teaching work at Japanese universities. There was very little information about the Japanese system for humanities PhDs unfamiliar with the country. Not for the first time, I was reminded how narrow the pipeline still is that connects most Japanese humanities departments with the rest of the world.

This matters, because we have now reached a point at which this narrowness is, more and more, holding back the development of the Japanese university system, and its position in global rankings. Although numbers of international students have risen sharply over the last five years, recruitment of researchers is lagging behind. Out of over 21,000 international faculty members at Japanese universities in 2016, only 8,100 were full-time employees, an average of around ten per university. Two-thirds of these professors are nationals of just two countries, China and Korea. The majority of foreign instructors are temporary employees, forced to renew their contracts or move institutions every one to five years. Meanwhile Japanese universities continue to struggle in international league tables, which place emphasis on diversity: the University of Tokyo, the top-ranked university in Japan, is 42nd in the 2019 THE rankings, one of only two Japanese universities in the top 100.

Japan has a long way to go before it can truly become a magnet for humanities researchers. Despite strenuous efforts to attract top international students, Japanese universities have so far largely preferred to “internationalize from within” when it comes to faculty, by recruiting from a narrow pool of researchers already in the country. Overall, 56% of international professors with PhDs earned their terminal degree in Japan. Diversity is low among the foreign professoriate, particularly when measured in terms of gender: only one in five is female.

Applicants from abroad face a number of barriers, including language issues, a lack of information about the Japanese university system, and procedural hurdles, such as universities that do not pay travel expenses, or interviewers who disregard non-Japanese teaching experience. Futao Huang has found that, in contrast to the US, international staff in Japan have lower levels of research productivity than their local counterparts, reasons which he attributes to language and cultural barriers, and to the fact that many non-Japanese are recruited mainly “to expand English-language teaching programmes”. 
Other academics are doubtless held back from applying by concerns about the long-term prospect of working in the Japanese university system. Population decline has raised the spectre of cuts, mergers or closure of a number of institutions, especially in rural areas. The use of short-term contracts is widespread, creating job insecurity among both Japanese and non-Japanese academics. Many institutions still have a limited international outlook and do not effectively integrate non-Japanese staff into university committees or involve them in important decision-making. Language barriers are of course an important element in this, although the expectation that foreign staff are transient and will not bother to learn Japanese can easily become self-fulfilling.

But this is not the whole story. Interviews with researchers reveal a number of positive reasons for coming to Japan, including high-quality facilities, intellectual freedom, good relations with colleagues, an interest in Japanese culture, and (for those few fortunate enough to find tenured positions) stable and well-paid employment. Although the job market is tight overall, this essay will argue that recent changes in student intake and educational methods have created a number of new job opportunities in interdisciplinary fields such as culture, history, global studies, and translation studies. With appropriate preparation, and knowledge of the Japanese system, international researchers can become strong candidates for these jobs.

This brief guide, aimed at humanities PhDs, draws on a number of recently published studies of the Japanese university system, as well as my own experience and discussions with researchers working in Japan. I am grateful to the colleagues who generously read earlier drafts and offered feedback. While not for everyone, it is certainly possible for international academics to find rewarding careers in Japan, and this essay is written in the hope that more information about the realities of the university system here will contribute (just a little) to broadening the pipeline.

I. Universities in Japan: An Overview

The Japanese higher education system is large by European standards, enrolling over 3 million students. Deregulation in the 1990s led to a surge in the number of universities, from 523 institutions in 1992 to now over 770, not including over three hundred two-year junior colleges. The UK, by contrast, with around half of Japan’s population, has only around 130 universities. Roughly three-quarters of
universities are private, with the rest a mixture of centrally-funded “national” and locally-funded “public” institutions.

With such a variety of universities, working out which are well-regarded within the country, and likely to be financially stable in the future, can be a challenge. The Times Higher Education (THE) Japan rankings, which began in 2018, provides a rough guide to the top institutions. Japan’s “Ivy League” is composed of the seven formerly-imperial national universities (Tokyo, Kyoto, Tohoku, Kyushu, Hokkaido, Osaka, Nagoya), plus a handful of elite private institutions (including Keio and Waseda). The private Christian schools, such as Aoyama Gakuin, International Christian University, Kwansei Gakuin, Rikkyo University, and Sophia University, generally have good international networks and a track record of employing foreign staff. There are also a few more recently-established, fast-growing institutions which are strongly focused on the international student market and teach a large proportion of their classes in English, such as Akita International University and Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University.

Government policy over the last decade has focused strongly upon improving Japan’s performance in global university rankings, as a marker of internationalization in general. In these tables, which are dominated by English-speaking institutions, Japan is often seen as an underperformer. In the 2019 THE rankings, just two of the top 100 world universities were Japanese (Kyoto University and the University of Tokyo). On the other hand, the same rankings show a solid number of middle-ranking institutions: Japan has 103 of Asia’s top 350+ institutions, the highest-ranked higher education system in the region. The government-funded “Top Global University” project, which began in 2014, has created a new domestic hierarchy by selecting 37 institutions for extra funding (divided into “A” institutions, with the potential to enter the world top 100, and “B” institutions, expected to lead “the internationalization of Japanese society”).

The rhetoric of internationalization (kokusaika), although present in higher education for decades, has been given added urgency by Japan’s well-documented population decline. There was much talk of the “2018 Problem”—the year in which the population of 18-year-olds was expected to begin another rapid decrease—and perhaps one-fifth of private universities are already facing a decline in enrolment large enough to threaten their long-term survival. In a bid to maintain numbers and quality by recruiting foreign students, major Japanese universities are racing to sign exchange agreements with institutions abroad, and
setting up departments and even whole faculties in which teaching is entirely offered in English. In Tokyo, Waseda University, the University of Tokyo, and Sophia University, amongst others, now offer taught BAs in which Japanese is not required.

The effects of these initiatives on Japanese higher education have been uneven. The higher education sector is now actively attempting to “market itself as a gateway for global educational opportunities”, rather than as just a place to study Japanese culture: in this respect it is now in fierce competition with universities elsewhere in Asia, including China, Korea, Malaysia, and Singapore. The number of international students has risen by over 50% in the past five years, and is on track to reach the government’s target of 300,000 students by 2020 (although this figure includes not just universities but also Japanese language institutes and professional training courses, which have also seen strong growth). Over 90% of students are from elsewhere in Asia, particularly China and Vietnam. This rapid rise has been enough to change the campus culture and the teaching requirements of many institutions, and to shake the long-held conception of Japanese higher education as mainly engaged in educating a national elite.

However, the hiring of international staff, although on a general upward trend, has progressed more slowly. Across the 86 national universities combined, the numbers of foreign staff rose by over 80% between 2006 and 2016—although to only around 2,800 individuals. Internationalization is uneven across disciplines (for example, one particular area of growth in overseas staff numbers has been young Chinese scholars recruited to science and engineering faculties). Among the two-thirds of foreign staff who hold Chinese and Korean nationality, many may already have been born and educated in Japan, rather than internationally recruited. Overall, according to 2013 data, among the “Type A” institutions in the “Top Global University” project, the overall proportion of non-Japanese staff exceeded 5% at just four universities (Waseda, the University of Tokyo, Tohoku, and Tsukuba). This seems short-sighted, given that, as Takamitsu Sawa points out, international reputation is particularly crucial in attracting graduate students.

What does this mean for the study of humanities in Japan? A bungled government attempt in 2015 to encourage national universities to restructure their humanities departments to better “serve society’s needs” was widely reported outside Japan as evidence of the humanities’ endangered status (although of
course fears of a “crisis in the humanities” are widely shared outside Japan, and many of the structural forces are similar). A fuller picture would show that, due to changing trends in research, as well as the tendency to recruit diverse international students to broad-ranging liberal arts courses, many humanities disciplines are becoming reorganized into departments centred around broad interdisciplinary themes, such as area studies, culture and representation, global studies, and translation theory. Although this has reduced the number of jobs offered in traditional fields, it has created new opportunities for PhDs whose research can be adapted to interdisciplinary or comparative programs. At the same time, the rise of content and language integrated learning for undergraduates (CLIL) has also eroded much of the old divide between “language” classes (in English) and “content” (in Japanese), increasing the tendency to hire academic specialists rather than TESOL-qualified instructors.

II. International Staff at Japanese Universities

At the time of writing, the 2018 immigration reform act (which took effect in April 2019) seems to have marked a decisive step in Japan’s efforts to create a society which is more able to attract and retain international workers. The situation of staff at universities can be seen as a small, relatively privileged sub-section of this debate.

What is it like to work as an international academic at a Japanese university? At the top of the system, a minority of scholars are fortunate enough to hold relatively well-paid and stable positions. Permanent academic jobs in Japan are often described as “tenured”, although in fact they simply offer the same protections given to most regular company employees and public officials in Japan. (Tenure and job rank are not necessarily connected, so it is possible, for example, to be tenured at assistant professor level, or even untenured as a full professor.) Academic job ranks follow the American system, with kōshi (lecturer) or jokyō broadly equivalent to “assistant professor”, jun-kyōju to “associate professor”, and “kyōju” to “professor”.

Full-time pay averages (according to 2017 Ministry of Labour statistics) from 7 million yen for assistant professors, to over 10 million yen for full professors, although this varies by region (with salaries, and cost of living, higher in the larger cities) and by type of institution (private universities pay perhaps 15–20% more than the national universities, although often with higher teaching
expectations). Part is paid in biannual bonuses, usually totalling 3–5 months of basic salary. Other benefits include health insurance, housing and commuting allowances, pension (for which 10 qualifying years in Japan are required) and retirement lump sum. Most universities offer research allowances to pay for books and conference travel, and some tenured positions have sabbatical entitlement.

This favourable picture is not, however, the situation for most university teachers in Japan, who work on fixed-term (ninki tsuki) contracts, or alternatively as part-time (hijōkin) lecturers, teaching as many as 10–15 classes in a single week. This casualization of academic labour resembles the situation in much of North America, disproportionately affecting women, younger academics, and those without a PhD or working in TESOL fields (Larson-Hall and Stewart, 18). It is worth noting that the situation is also severe for Japanese academics, many of whom entered graduate school during a boom in the 1990s and early 2000s, and graduated into a shrinking market. The number of PhDs graduating yearly from Japanese universities now outstrips the numbers of full-time jobs offered by nearly eight to one, and among those working as “part-time” lecturers, nine in ten earn less than 3 million yen yearly.

Although a change in the law in 2013 gave workers the right to gain permanent positions after doing the same job for five years, the extent to which this law applies to universities is still unclear. Several large universities have recently changed their rules to allow more long-term staff to convert to permanent jobs; others have, predictably, tried to limit contract renewals to a maximum of five years.

In addition, initiatives to hire more “international” staff (a metric often crudely measured by non-Japanese citizenship) have largely failed to spark a necessary debate about improving gender and racial diversity among the professoriate. The gender gap in Japanese society manifests in many ways in its higher education system, highlighted by a 2018 medical university scandal showing systematic discrimination against women. Japanese women go to university at a lower rate than other OECD countries, and at the country’s top university, the University of Tokyo, only 19% of domestic undergraduates are female. Although some job advertisements now express a preference for female candidates, surveys suggest that less than one-fifth of international academics are women, which is perhaps not coincidentally about the same ratio of female staff at Japanese universities overall. Overseas academics applying for spousal
visas may also be affected by the fact that same-sex marriages are still not recognized in Japan.

III. Applying to Jobs

International applicants with a PhD in a humanities discipline, such as history or culture, are in many ways well-positioned in the Japanese job market, particularly when compared to Europe and North America. Nevertheless, competition has risen over the past decade to the point where—especially in Tokyo—a relevant PhD, publications, and teaching experience are increasingly essential for landing any tenured or tenure-track position. The main place to find job listings is the Japan Research Career Information Network (JREC-IN), which can be searched by keyword, field, and job type (a search for the keyword “humanities” is a good place to start). Independent or inter-university research institutes, such as the National Institutes for the Humanities or National Institute of Informatics, may also advertise jobs directly.

Word-of-mouth and personal recommendations are also an important source of jobs, particularly for part-time positions, which are often filled by recommendation, rather than openly advertised. Among long-term residents in Japan, it is common to begin with contract work or part-time positions at a number of universities and gradually (through networking and giving presentations at academic societies) to work one’s way up, gradually, to more secure jobs. Academic networking often takes place in post-conference nomikai (drinking party) settings, which disadvantages scholars who cannot take part, such as those with caregiving responsibilities.

Compared to TESOL jobs, positions in humanities fields are more likely to be advertised as tenured or tenure-track (Larson-Hall and Stewart, 18). Nevertheless, the majority of positions on JREC-IN are term-limited (described as “contract”, “project”, “non-tenured”, “visiting”, etc.). As with visiting assistant professor positions outside Japan, these vary widely in terms of teaching load, length of contract, and salary. Jobs may be advertised at any point during the year, but the main period is probably from March to August, for jobs beginning in April of the following year (the Japanese academic year runs from April to March).

The course load, and the type of classes taught, will vary widely both across and within institutions. Many job advertisements are in broad fields (for
example, “world literature” or “society and culture”), and potentially open to applicants from a number of disciplines. Social science or science departments may also advertise for humanities specialists, but their teaching needs will be different: in all likelihood, more language-teaching-focused. The usual assumption is that you will teach some upper-level courses in your field, as well as surveys, language classes, or composition courses to first- and second-year students. Some departments will give professors a high level of autonomy in designing and teaching their courses; others will have a set textbook, especially for introductory courses.

Overall, teaching expectations almost everywhere are higher than American “R1” research institutions. Teaching experience is important for nearly all jobs, and even research universities may ask you to give a teaching demonstration at interview. A class load of five to seven koma (weekly sessions) is standard for most full-time Japanese staff, translating into 7.5 – 11.5 hours of classroom teaching. National universities may ask for as little as three to four koma, with higher research expectations; contract teaching-focused posts may ask for over ten. Previous experience of teaching at Japanese universities is prized by interviewers: those who have not worked in Japan before should highlight any experiences with non-native English-speaking students.

There are also a number of postdoctoral fellowships potentially open to international researchers. Perhaps the best-known are the research fellowships from the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (JSPS), offered to over 200 researchers per year from all areas of the humanities and sciences, for up to two-year stays. Other options include the NIHU-AHRC awards for British fellows, and the new Tokyo College fellowships at the University of Tokyo.

Those used to job applications in the US and UK will probably not need to make huge adjustments to apply to universities in Japan. Most applications will ask you to submit a CV (which may need to follow an official template), cover letter, references, and copies of publications. Japanese CVs usually include a professional-looking photo and date of birth, although this is optional.

As with applications elsewhere, you need to show a strong research agenda, a cover letter which shows understanding of the department and its needs, and recommendations from people who can talk about your strengths in convincing detail. Degrees from “name brand” universities will be highly valued. Non-peer-reviewed publications (such as articles in department journals), although obviously less desirable, can be included on CVs in Japan, as long as
they are marked as such. Because your starting salary will be determined based on years of work experience (both full-time and part-time), it is best to include all relevant experience, and to minimize gaps on your CV. If you include sample syllabi, remember that Japanese courses generally meet only 14 or 15 times per semester.

Proficiency in Japanese will of course significantly improve the odds of success. It will also increase the number of jobs you can apply for: the Japanese version of JREC-IN has a number of listings which are not present in the English version. Many of the English job advertisements ask for sufficient Japanese for “administrative tasks”, which may seem like an intimidatingly high bar. For tenured positions, departments will expect good Japanese ability, or at least the serious prospect of it within a few years (the main worry is that a colleague without Japanese will increase the long-term administrative burden on others). The language requirement may be flexibly applied, however, for strong candidates who have already started studying the language.

Also important, for applicants outside of Japan, is a clear reason for wanting to come to the country. You do not necessarily need to rhapsodize about your love of noh theatre, but you should try to give reviewers a sense that you are aware of the different research and teaching environment, culturally adaptable, and committed to coming to live in Japan.

IV. Interviewing

The interview process is speedy, especially by US standards: usually, finalists are interviewed together on the same day, and a decision is made soon afterwards. One major barrier for international applicants is that many departments still do not pay travel expenses, although some may accept Skype interviews. Departments that do neither invite serious questions about their commitment to hiring the best staff. At interview, you may be asked to give a research presentation or a short teaching demonstration. If you give a teaching demonstration, remember that the target audience is non-native English-speaking undergraduates, and adjust your delivery and materials accordingly.

After you are offered a job (congratulations!) the process will roll on, possibly for several months, as the decision to hire is approved by the faculty and university governing body. Although this is usually a formality, it can introduce a frustrating delay for overseas professors needing to give notice and apply for
visas. You may be asked to complete a pre-employment health check (given yearly to employees in Japan). Salaries are set by the human resources department, based mainly on qualifications, work experience, and age, so it is unlikely that the department can let you know the salary at the time of hire, although they may be able to give an informal range. Unlike the US, there is little to no room to negotiate salary, although (also unlike the US) permanent employees usually receive an automatic raise with each year of service. For overseas hires, universities often pay home and office relocation expenses, although there is no guarantee of this.

V. Working at a Japanese University: Some Thoughts

There is still a common idea overseas (dating back at least to the Bubble period in the 1980s) of Japanese universities as undemanding places for students to engage in four years of extracurricular activity and preparation for corporate life. Like many Bubble-era stereotypes, this is in need of updating. In reality, rising tuition fees means that students are likely to be balancing heavy course loads—sometimes 10 to 15 classes in a single semester—with part-time work, club activities, and job hunting.

Another common stereotype (which may be a self-fulfilling expectation) is that Japanese students are passive and withdrawn in class. While many students are more reluctant to volunteer questions and ideas, often this can be overcome by varying the teaching approach, and all instructors moving to Japan are well advised to at least take some seminars in CLIL and EMI (English as a Medium of Instruction) methods. Overall, hard-working, intellectually curious, rewarding students are as likely to be found here as in other countries.

In terms of working conditions, most universities follow the semester system, with classes spread over 28 or 30 weeks of the year and breaks in February–March and August–September. (In order to promote international exchange, a number of universities are now introducing a quarter system, with each semester nominally divided into two halves.) Administrative duties will include, almost invariably for foreign staff, writing the English entrance examination. Teaching is usually spread over four days of the week, with one “research day”. Although it is usual not to have to come to campus on non-teaching days, some universities have stricter attendance requirements and even
timesheets for staff, so you should check expectations (both in-semester and during the holidays) before accepting a job.

A great deal will depend on the particular culture of the institution and department, so it is wise to do as much research as you can before applying (for example, by searching the department and university websites, or through informal inquiry). Universities with a high number of tenured non-Japanese staff, and a history of involving them in high administrative positions, are more likely to offer a supportive environment. Other departments may have unfriendly or even bullying cultures (despite efforts to address “academic harassment”); may fail to involve non-Japanese, even when tenured, in collective decision-making; or may restrict them to teaching certain, less desirable, courses.

In addition, international hires may be the only foreign member of staff in the department: this can lead to isolation, particularly on more rural campuses. Strategies such as learning Japanese, networking with academics in other departments, joining scholarly societies, or even becoming involved with local community social events can all help ease adjustment to Japanese academic life. Overall, though, the integration of foreign academics is still too often left to chance, or to arrangements made by individual departments, and many universities need to give much more systematic thought to this process.

It is in many ways easier now to maintain an international research agenda in Japan than several decades ago, with the spread of email and videoconferencing and the digitization of many texts and archives. Humanities professors can usually receive research grants from their own institutions to apply for foreign trips abroad, and can apply for larger JSPS kaken research grants on the same terms as Japanese professors. Still, it can be hard, even with regular trips overseas, to maintain professional and personal networks, and the sense that Japan is still off the “beaten track” may make it harder to move back again (although this mainly depends on research record).

Interviews with researchers in Japan suggest that many academics are contented in their careers in the country. Huang finds that a “huge number” of interviewees cite academic and professional reasons as their main reasons for working here. These might include availability of funding, good facilities, autonomy, and intellectual freedom. Others mentioned the professional “esteem” received from society and colleagues, the chance to experience Japanese culture, and the “self-actualization” that came from being challenged to adapt to a new environment. Larson-Hall and Stewart similarly argue that “a university
career in Japan is one way a dedicated educator can still beat the odds and find employment that is personally, professionally, and financially fulfilling” (23).

**VI. Conclusion**

Overall, the responsibility for transforming Japan from a lesser-considered career path into a magnet for researchers mainly lies with Japanese universities themselves. Departments need to move beyond their tendency to “internationalize from within” by hiring non-Japanese professors mainly from inside the country on short-term contracts. They need to make it easier for overseas academics to find and apply for jobs in the country; to develop better administrative support structures for their non-Japanese-speaking staff; and to motivate and retain staff (both Japanese and international) by providing stable career paths.

Changing this situation will require many steps, small and large. One of these steps involves raising awareness of Japan as a possible career option among researchers overseas. This article has aimed, if only in a small way, to help broaden the “pipeline” connecting Japanese universities and the rest of the world. Japanese academia certainly has many problems, but it does also offer some attractive and relatively stable positions which more international PhDs should consider—particularly in the context of the ongoing humanities jobs crisis in Europe and North America.

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**Useful links**

- JREC-IN portal for Japanese university jobs (English version)
- Japan University Rankings 2019, Times Higher Education
- Top Global University Project, MEXT
Further reading

- Daniel Brooks, “University teachers in Japan work under the shadow of a falling ax”, *The Japan Times*, March 2015

- Susan Burton, “Beyond sushi: The attractions of lecturing in Japan”, *Times Higher Education*, November 2013

- “Getting a University Teaching Position”, Inside Japan podcast, November 2019

- Futao Huang, “Japan weighs the value of imported academics”, *Nature Index*, August 2018

- Futao Huang, “Foreign faculty at Japanese universities: Profiles and motivations”, *Higher Education Quarterly* 72.3 (July 2018), 237–249

- Futao Huang, “Who are they and why did they move to Japan? An analysis of international faculty at universities”, Centre for Global Higher Education working paper 27, October 2017


- Jeff Kingston, “Japan’s Ministry of Education Downsizing the Liberal Arts?”, Social Science Space, October 2015


• Paul Raine, “Teaching English at Japanese Universities”, jobs.ac.uk, September 2012

• “Researcher’s suicide reflects bleak prospects for post-Ph.D. life”, Asahi Shimbun, May 2019


• Warren Stanislaus, “How Japanese universities are attracting more international students”, Times Higher Education, December 2018