

An Exploration of Female University Students' Subjective Well-Being

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Various studies on well-being have been conducted in recent years. Zhang et al. (2023) had an online questionnaire to 363 adults investigating the within-person association of gratitude with hedonic and eudaimonic well-being, and their results showed that gratitude was positively related to hedonic and eudaimonic well-being on the same day, and gratitude positively predicted next-day hedonic and eudaimonic well-being. Kumano (2018) had a web-based survey on well-being to 846 Japanese participants in their thirties, and reported that feeling *shiwase* is primarily characterized by feelings such as delight and peace, and is oriented toward the present; whereas feeling *ikigai* entails actions of devoting oneself to pursuits one enjoys and is associated with feelings of accomplishment and fulfillment. The result indicates that feeling *shiwase* is close to hedonic well-being and feeling *ikigai* is close to eudaimonic well-being.

Kohki et al. (2019) examined differences in compassion, well-being, and social anxiety between Japan and the USA, and found that self-compassion was related to positive and negative affect, social anxiety disorder and TKS (*taijin kyofusho*: other-focused social anxiety) symptoms, and well-being in both countries, and compassion for others was found to be associated with increased positive affect and decreased TKS symptoms across both cultures. However, the results revealed different patterns of self-compassion and compassion for others: self-compassion had a stronger relation with positive affect among US adults than their Japanese counterparts, whereas compassion for others was related to interdependent happiness only in Japan, which reflected the collectivistic characteristic of Japanese culture. Tiefenbach and Kohlbacher (2013) analyzed happiness differences across gender and age based on the Japanese government's annual survey (*National Survey on Lifestyle Preferences*) data from 2010 to 2012, and one of their results indicated that although household income affects happiness and life satisfaction equally for both men and women, having no savings revealed a stronger negative correlation with life satisfaction for women.

Some researchers also investigated the impacts the COVID-19

pandemic had on people's well-being. For example, Maruyama and Sugawara (2022) examined the frequency of small talk due to the COVID-19 pandemic among middle-aged and older people in Japan and found that those who felt a decrease in small talk frequency had lower psychological well-being and greater loneliness compared with the pre-pandemic period.

The young generation's well-being is very crucial to the whole nation as it affects the nation's future. Thrive Global (2024) reported that according to the 2019 World Happiness Report, negative feelings, including worry, sadness, and anger, have been rising around the world, up by 27 percent from 2010 to 2018. In 2016 - 2017, more than one in three students across 196 U.S. college campuses reported diagnosed mental health conditions. Some campuses have reported a 30 percent increase in mental health problems per year.

Ren et al. (2023) studied 97 college students' well-being by using proactive vitality management (PVM) - a proactive action aimed at managing physical and mental energy based on personal unique needs and conditions. Their results revealed a positive correlation between the weekly PVM and student weekly goal attainment, which in turn, enhanced the current week's well-being as well as the next week's well-being, therefore the researchers proposed PVM as one effective tool for college students to manage their weekly well-being.

The 2023 World Happiness Report pointed out that "the central task of institutions is to promote the behaviors and conditions of all kinds which are conducive to happiness" and emphasized the positive effects of well-being on various valued outcomes such as longevity, productivity, and pro-sociality (Helliwell et. al, p. 19 & 25). "Even before COVID, the well-being of adolescents in most advanced countries was falling, especially among girls," the report proposed as follows:

There are many ways in which schools can improve well-being, and many do. First, there is the whole ethos and value system of the school, as shown in relations between teachers, pupils and parents. Second is the practice of measurement – by measuring well-being, schools will show they treasure it and aim to improve it. Finally, there is the regular teaching of life skills in an evidence-based way, where many methods based on positive psychology have been found to be effective.

(2023 World Happiness Report, p. 22)

The number of university students in Japan has been declining, which

is significantly influenced by the sharp decrease in the birth rate, marriage rate, and the increasing number of people who stay single. Many universities, particularly private universities, face the crucial challenge of gathering enough students, and the quality of university life is highly emphasized. Universities are not only seen as a place to learn knowledge, skills, and gain experiences, but also a space for self-understanding and well-being improvement. Students' perceptions of university life and their well-being will in turn motivate or demotivate their subjective well-being. How the students perceive their university life indicates their satisfaction with their learning, their relationships with others, and how they add meaning. If they are happy with their university life, they are more likely to participate actively in various activities, develop better relationships with others, and have higher evaluations of the university they are enrolled in.

This study aims to examine female university students' subjective well-being by applying Seligman's Well-Being Theory. Subjective well-being is "people's cognitive and affective evaluations of their lives" (Diener, 2000, p. 34). Seligman (2011) has a thorough explanation of Well-Being Theory in his book *Flourish*. As a founder of positive psychology, Seligman distinguishes his Authentic Happiness Theory from Well-Being Theory. Different from the topic of Authentic Happiness Theory as happiness, Well-Being Theory focuses on well-being. Instead of measuring life satisfaction, Well-Being Theory measures five elements: positive emotions, engagement, positive relationships, meaning, and accomplishment, in short, PERMA. In contrast to the goal of increasing life satisfaction, the Well-Being Theory aims to "increase flourishing by increasing positive emotion, engagement, meaning, positive relationships, and accomplishment" (Seligman, 2011, p. 12).

Research Method

The PERMA Profiler (Butler & Kern, 2016) was adopted in this study to measure the university students' perceptions of well-being. The Japanese version was used to ensure the meaning of each question was accurately interpreted. Major elements of the questionnaire include positive emotions, engagement, positive relationships, meaning, and accomplishment, health, negative emotions, loneliness and happiness in general.

The questionnaire was posted in four Google Classrooms to 114 students, for two consecutive weeks. The answers contain a scale of 0 to 10, with the number 0 representing not at all, terrible or never, and 10 as excellent, always, or completely. The participants were required to choose one number that best described their answers at the time of taking the questionnaire.

Results

Within two weeks, a total of 68 students answered the questionnaire which included 23 sophomores, 30 juniors, and 15 seniors; all female. Results were summarized in the sequence of PERMA: positive emotions, engagement, positive relationships, meaning, and accomplishment, health, negative emotions, loneliness and happiness in general.

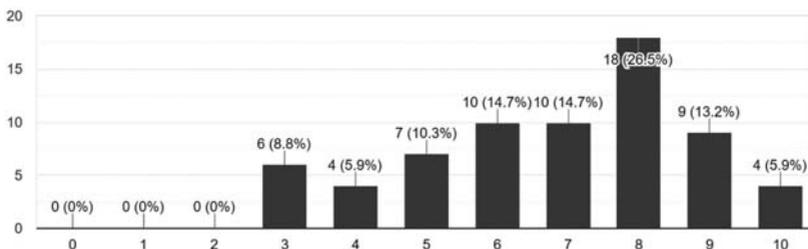
Positive emotions

Firstly, Question No. 5, 10 and 22 measured positive emotions.

When asked about the frequency of feeling joyful on a scale of 0 (never) to 10 (always), 51 participants (75%) answered with the number 6 or above, 7 (10.3%) moderate with the number 5, and 10 (14.7%) below 5 with 6 of the number 3 and 4 the number 4. The number of people who frequently feel joyful is five times more than the ones who feel less frequently. In general, more than 85% of the participants reported moderate or higher frequencies of feeling joyful.

5. 通常、あなたはどのくらいの頻度で楽しいと感じますか。

68件の回答

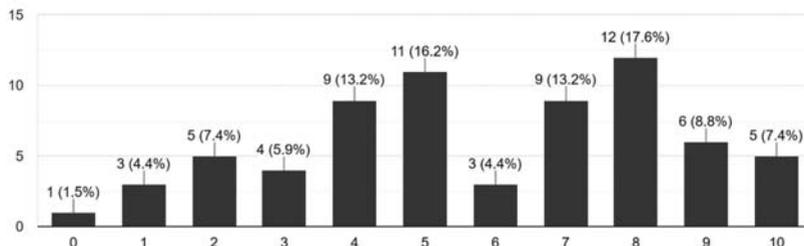


Question No. 10 asked about the frequency of feeling positive in general. 35 (51.4%) participants reported various degrees of frequency of

feeling positive with the number of 6 up to 10, whereas 22 (32.4%) reported a much lower frequency of 4 or less.

10. 通常、あなたはどのくらいの頻度で前向き（ポジティブ）だと感じますか。

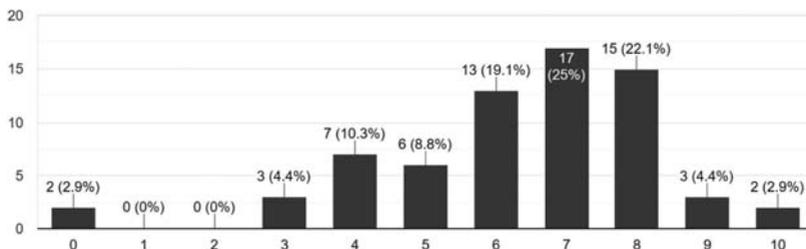
68件の回答



Regarding the extent of feeling contented in general in question No. 22, 73.5% of 50 out of 68 reported good extents of feeling contented with scales of 6 or more. 6 of the participants (8.8%) answered the number 5, whereas 7 (10.3%) chose the number 4, 3 (4.4%) the number 3 and 2 (2.9) the number 0 depicting 17.6% of the participants didn't feel much contented or not contented at all in general.

22. 通常、あなたはどの程度満足していると感じますか。

68件の回答



To have a better look at the answers of these questions, the following table shows that despite the result that approximately same frequencies of feeling joyful and contented in general were reported, frequency of feeling positive is much lower, with only 51.4% of higher frequencies; however, more than one-third of respondents lower than the average scale of 5.

Scale	5. Frequency of feeling joyful	10. Frequency of feeling positive	22. Extents of feeling contented in general
(never/not at all) 0-4	14.7%	32.4%	17.6%
(average/moderate) 5	10.3%	16.2%	8.8%
6-10 (always/completely)	75%	51.4%	73.5%

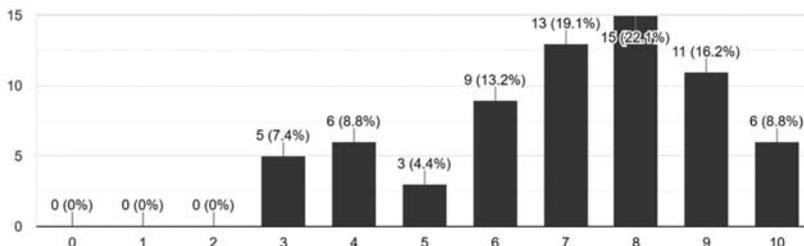
Engagement

Questions No. 3, 11 and 21 were designed to test engagement: how much the participants think that they are absorbed and lose track of time while doing things.

Regarding the frequency of becoming absorbed in what they are doing, the number of participants that selected the number 6 or above is 54, 79.4% in all, a rather positive result indicating that nearly 80% of the participants frequently have things they can engage themselves with. 11 answers (16.2%) are below the number 5, with 6 (8.8%) of the number 4 and 5 (7.4%) of the number 3.

3. あなたは自分がやっていることに、どのくらいの頻度で夢中になりますか。

68件の回答

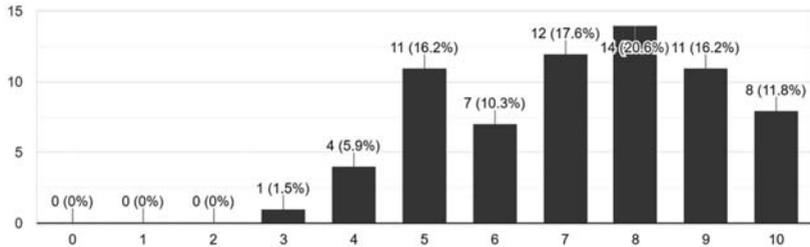


Question No. 11 In general, to what extent do you feel excited and interested in things? 11 participants chose the number 5, revealing a medium extent. 52 (76.5%) answered 6 or above showing higher extents of feeling excited and interested in new things than the 5 (7.4%) participants who answered with the numbers 4 and 3.

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11. 通常、あなたはいろいろな物事にどの程度わくわくしたり、興味を感じたりしますか。

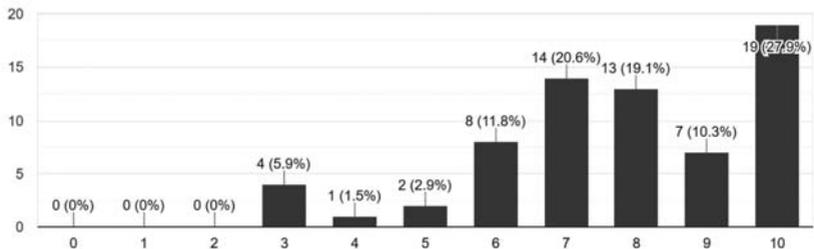
68件の回答



The 21st question is: how often do you lose track of time while doing something you enjoy? With a scale of 0 never to 10 always, 61 participants, 89.7% of the 68, reported higher frequencies of getting absorbed in doing something they like with scales of 6 or higher. One significant result is that 19 (27.9%), nearly one-third of all answered with the number 10, indicating the frequency as always.

21. あなたは何か好きなことをしているとき、どのくらいの頻度で時間がたつのを忘れますか。

68件の回答



Regarding engagement, as the following table shows, the frequency of becoming absorbed with higher scales of 6 to 10 resonates with the extent of feeling excited and interested in things and frequency of losing track of time while doing enjoyable activities, all above 75%. However, 16.2% of respondents reported less frequency of becoming absorbed with scales of 4 or lower.

Scale	3. Frequency of becoming absorbed	11. Extents of feeling excited and interested in things	21. Frequency of losing track of time while doing something you enjoy
(never/not at all) 0-4	16.2%	7.4%	7.4%
(average/moderate) 5	4.4%	16.2%	2.9%
6-10 (always/completely)	79.4%	76.5%	89.7%

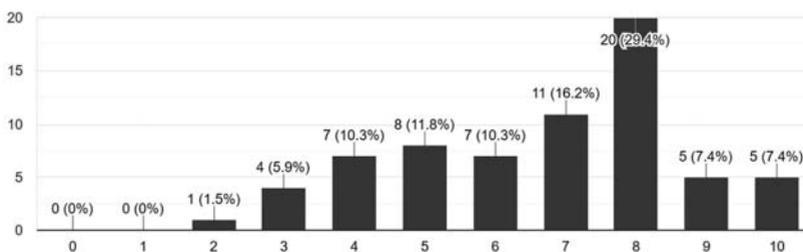
Positive relationships

Questions No. 6, 15 and 19 measure the respondents' perception of positive relationships.

First, regarding the extent of receiving help and support from others when needed, 58 people (85.3%) reported that they would receive help and support from others. Specifically, the number of people who chose the number 6 is 7 (10.3%), 11 (16.2%) number 7, 5 (7.4%) number 8, and 5 (7.4%) number 10. 8 participants (11.8%) chose the number 5, and 12 (17.7%) chose numbers below 5. In total, more than 80 percent of the participants answered that they would receive help and support from others when they needed it.

6. あなたは、人からの助けや支援が必要なときに、それをどの程度受けていますか。

68件の回答

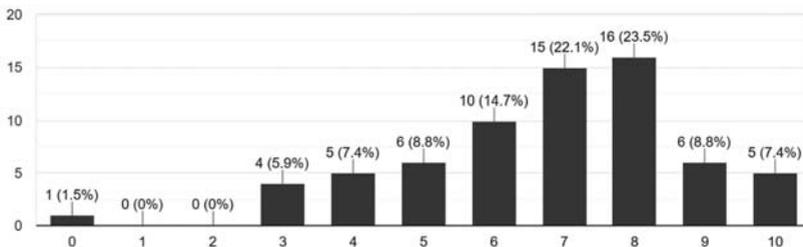


Question 15 measured the extent of feeling loved with a scale of 0 (not at all) to 10 (completely). Only 1 participant chose the number 0 indicating she didn't feel loved at all, all the other 52 (76.5%) expressed various extents of feeling loved, even though 9 (13.3%) were on the scale of 3 or 4.

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15. あなたは自分が愛されていると、どの程度感じていますか。

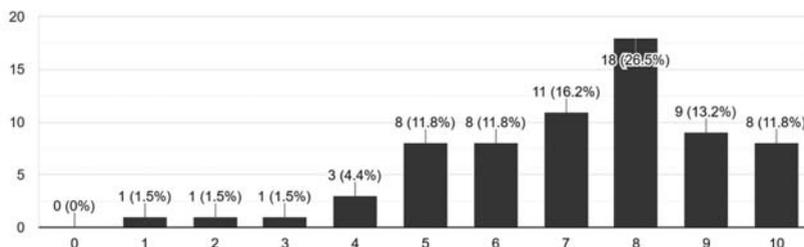
68件の回答



Regarding satisfaction levels of personal relationships, 54 participants (79.4%) felt higher levels of satisfaction with the scales of 6 to 10, 8 (11.8%) reported average with the scale of 5, and 6 (8.8%) didn't feel satisfied with their personal relationships with scales of 1 to 4.

19. あなたは自分自身の人間関係に、どのくらい満足していますか。

68件の回答



The results of personal relationships showed that about 80% of the participants had higher extents of receiving help and support from others and higher satisfaction levels of their personal relationships. However, approximately 15% of the participants chose the scale of 4 or lower in the extent of receiving help and support, and feeling loved. In general, all three results revealed a similar pattern that with a higher extent of receiving help and support from others, the extent of feeling loved and satisfaction levels of personal relationships also increased.

Scale	6. Extents of receiving help and support from others	15. Extents of feeling loved	19. Satisfaction levels of personal relationships
(never/not at all) 0-4	17.7%	14.7%	8.8%
(average/moderate) 5	11.8%	8.8%	11.8%
6-10 (always/completely)	85.3%	76.5%	79.4%

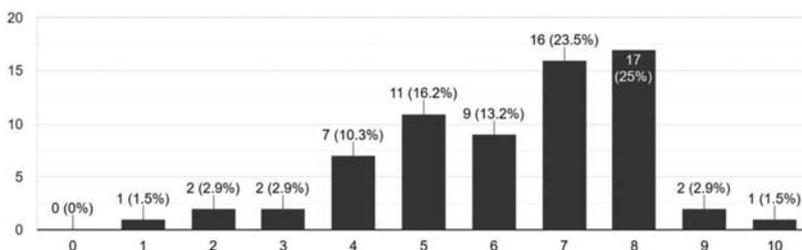
Meaning

Questions No. 1, 9 and 17 focused on the participants' perceptions of meaning.

"In general, to what extent do you feel contented?" As the following graph shows, only 1 participant (1.5%) chose the number 10 meaning always, 2 (2.9%) number 9, 17 (25%) number 8, followed by 16 (23.5%) with the number 7, which adds up to 45 (56.1%) in total who scored 6 and above, indicating a percentage of general satisfaction of life closer to "always" than "never" in general. 11 (16.2%) participants chose the number 5, neither always nor never. The number of participants who feel less satisfaction is 12 (17.6%), specifically 7 (10.3%) number 4, 2 (2.9%) number 3, 2 (2.9%) number 2, and 1 number 1(1.5%). More than half of the participants answered to various extents that they feel contented in general.

1. 通常、あなたは目的や意味のある生活を、どの程度送っていますか。

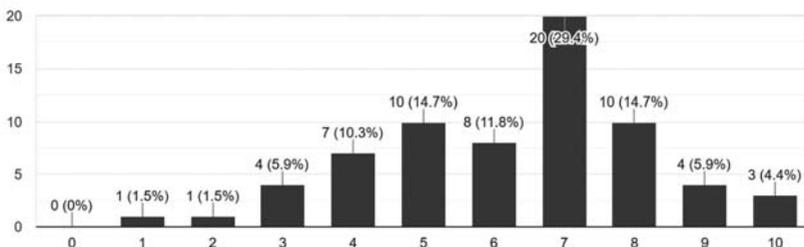
68件の回答



Question No. 9, in general, to what extent do you feel that what you do in your life is valuable and worthwhile? On a scale of 0 (not at all) to 10 (completely), 45 (66.2%) reported different extents of feeling what they do

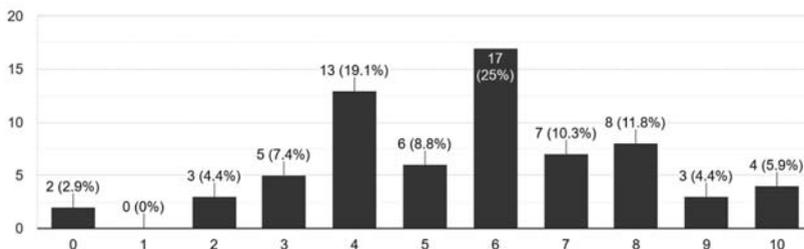
in life is valuable and worthwhile, whereas 13 (19.1%) marked 4 or lower.

9. 通常、あなたは人生の中で自分のやっている...要で価値のあることだと、どの程度感じますか。
68件の回答



Question No. 17 tested the general feeling of whether the participants feel a sense of direction in life or not, the result indicated that 39 (57.4%) of them felt positive with varied extents numbering 6 or above; however, except 6 (8.8%) who chose the number 5, 23 people (33.8%) reported a lack of sense of life direction by marking the scale 4 or lower, among which, 2 participants chose the number 0 not at all.

17. あなたは自分が人生を送る上で方向性をもっていると、どの程度感じますか。
68件の回答



The result in meaning showed a comparatively lower scale in general, about half of the respondents answered with a scale of 6 or more, a high percentage of 20% reported a lack of contented feeling in general and failed to feel what they do as valuable and worthwhile. A significant ratio of 33.8% depicts that more than one-third of the participants didn't feel that they have a good sense of direction in life.

Scale	1. Extents of feeling contented in general	15. Extents of feeling what you do is valuable and worthwhile	19. General feeling of a sense of direction in life
(never/not at all) 0-4	17.6%	19.1%	33.8%
(average/moderate) 5	16.2%	14.7%	8.8%
6-10 (always/completely)	56.1%	66.2%	57.4%

Accomplishment

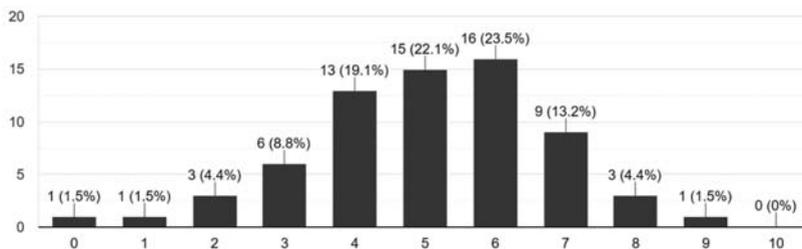
Questions No. 2, 8, and 16 asked about accomplishment.

The second question measures how much of the time the participants feel they are making progress towards accomplishing their goals. In total 28 (41.2%) out of 68 chose the number 6 or above, with 16 (23.5%) of 6, 9 (13.2%) of 7, 3 (4.4%) of 8, and 1 (1.5%) of 9, indicating 41% of them feel they are making progress towards accomplishing their goals. 15 (22.1%) chose the number 5, 24 participants (35.3%) expressed their feelings with the number 4 or less, 13 (19.1%) the number 4, 6 (8.8%) the number 3, 3 (4.4%) the number 2, 1 (1.5%) the number 1, and 1 (1.5%) 0. It's alarming that more than one-third of the participants didn't feel they were making progress at all or hardly felt it.

2.

あなたが自分自身の目標達成に向けて前進していると感じる時間の割合は、どのくらいですか。

68件の回答



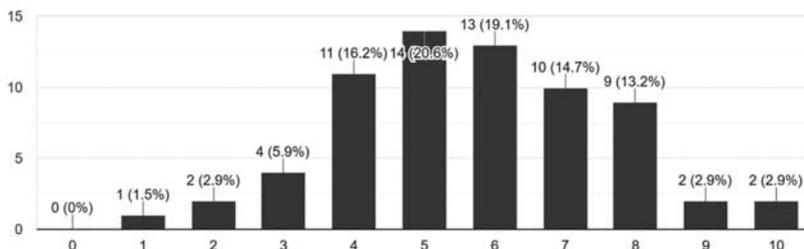
Question No. 8 asked about frequencies of achieving important goals on a scale of 0 never to 10 always. 14 (20.6%) chose the number 5, 36 (52.9%) the number 6 or above, and 18 (26.4%) were below 5, indicating that more than half of the participants felt frequently to achieve the important goals

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they set for themselves, whereas one-fifth of them reported the opposite.

8. あなたは自分で立てた大切な目標を、どのくらいの頻度で達成できますか。

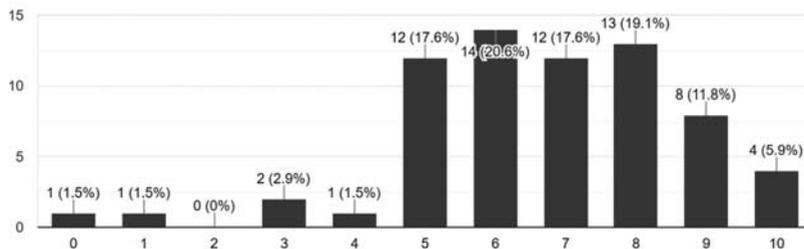
68件の回答



Question No. 16 How often are you able to handle your responsibilities? Only 5 participants (7.4%) chose the number below 4, revealing a very low perceived frequency of being able to handle responsibilities. All the other 63 participants (92.6%) reported higher levels of frequencies by the number of 5 or above.

16. あなたはどのくらいの頻度で、責任を果たすことができますか。

68件の回答



To summarize the result of accomplishment, the frequency of handling responsibilities with a scale of 6 or more is as high as 75%. However, only about half of the participants reported a high frequency of achieving important goals, and 26.4% reported a scale of 4 or less. More than one-third of the participants answered a lack of positive feeling making progress in accomplishing goals sufficiently.

Scale	2. How much of the time feeling making progress in accomplishing goals	8. Frequencies of achieving important goals	16. Frequency of handling responsibilities
(never/not at all) 0-4	35.3%	26.4%	7.4%
(average/moderate) 5	22.1%	20.6%	17.6%
6-10 (always/completely)	41.2%	52.9%	75%

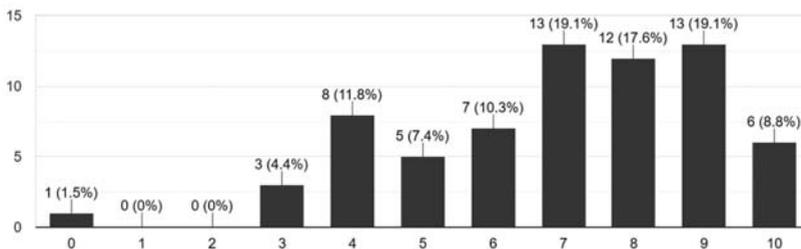
Health

Questions No. 4, 13 and 18 were about health.

As the following shows, 51 participants ((75%) reported good health with 6 (8.8%) choosing 10, 13 (19.1%) the number 9, 12 (17.6%) the number 8, 13 (19.1%) the number 7 and 7 (10.3%) the number 6. Apart from 5 (7.4%) that chose the number 5, 12 (17.7%) were below 5, with 1 (1.5%) declared as terrible by choosing the number 0.

4. 通常、あなたの健康状態は、どうであると思いますか。

68 件の回答

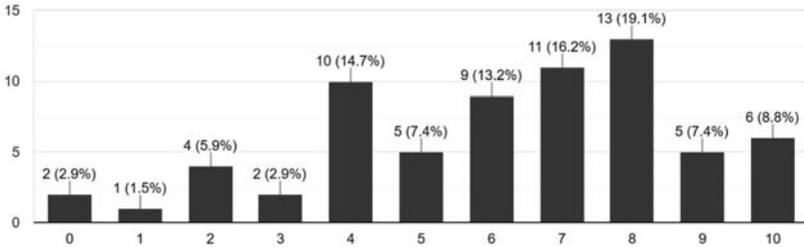


13. How satisfied are you with your current physical health? In total 44 participants (64.7%) reported good or great health conditions. In contrast, 19 of them (27.9%) had negative views of their health conditions with the scale of 4 or lower.

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13. あなたは現在の健康状態にどのくらい満足していますか。

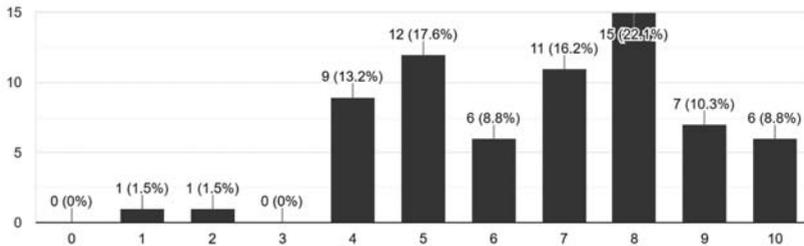
68件の回答



Question No. 18 asked the participants to evaluate their health in comparison to others of their same age and sex, on a scale of 0 terrible to 10 excellent. Only 2 (3%) reported their health as bad by choosing 1 or 2, and 21(30.9%) expressed as moderate by 4 or 5. The other 45 participants (66.2%) perceived their health condition to be above the number 6, indicating their different levels of satisfaction with their health.

18. 同年齢で同性の人達と較べて、あなたの健康状態はどうですか。

68件の回答



In general, more than 60% of the participants felt positive about their health conditions in comparison to others of the same age and sex. However, perceptions of health condition and satisfaction with current health condition revealed a concern that approximately one-third didn't feel happy with their health condition.

Scale	4. Perceptions of health condition	13. Satisfaction with current health condition	18. Evaluation of health in comparison to others of same age and sex
(never/not at all/terrible) 0-4	35.3%	26.4%	7.4%
(average/moderate) 5	22.1%	20.6%	17.6%
6-10 (always/completely/excellent)	41.2%	52.9%	66.2%

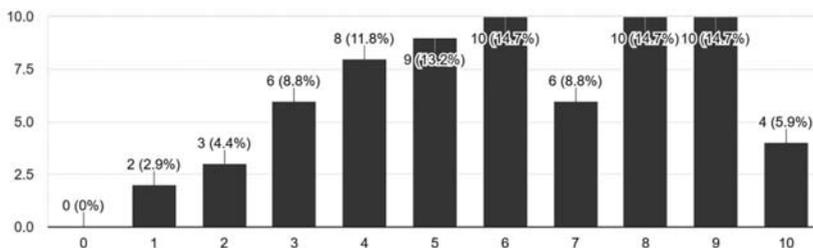
Negative emotions

There are also three questions (No. 7, 14 & 20) measuring perceptions of negative emotions.

Question No. 7, regarding the frequency of feeling anxious, except 9 (13.2%) chose the number 5, 40 participants (58.8%) expressed a high frequency of feeling anxious with the number 6 or above, which is more than twice the total number of 19 participants (27.9%) that didn't feel anxious very often with the answer of 4 or below. More than half of the participants expressed different levels of frequent anxiety.

7. 通常、あなたはどのくらいの頻度で不安だと感じますか。

68 件の回答

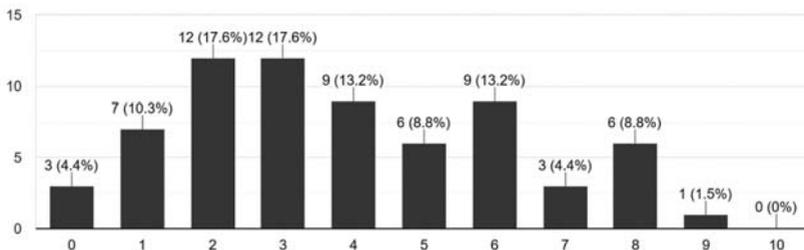


Question No. 14 In general, how often do you feel angry? 43 (63.2%) participants chose 4 or lower scales indicating a low frequency of feeling angry, and 19 (27.9%) of them answered with the number 6 or above.

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14. 通常、あなたはどのくらいの頻度で怒りを感じますか。

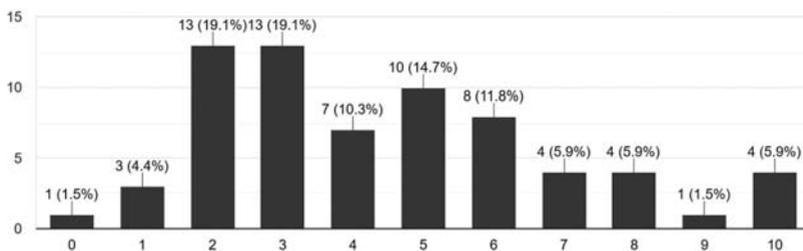
68件の回答



Question No. 20 aimed to investigate the frequency of feeling sad, on the scale of 0 never to 10 always. 37 participants (54.4%) reported that they didn't feel sad with a lower scale of 4 or below, 10 (14.7%) a moderate scale of 5, and 21 (30.9%) people felt varied higher frequencies of sadness with 6 or above. This result indicated nearly one-third felt sad very frequently.

20. 通常、あなたはどのくらいの頻度で悲しいと感じますか。

68件の回答



Despite the result that 27.9% of the participants reported frequency of feeling anxious with a scale of 4 or less, more than twice of it, 58.8% reported higher frequency of anxiety between scales 6 and 10. The results of the frequency of feeling angry and sad showed an opposite pattern, with more than half of the participants reported feeling having a lower frequency in comparison to the much higher frequency of anxiety. In short, most feel anxious much more frequently than they feel angry or sad.

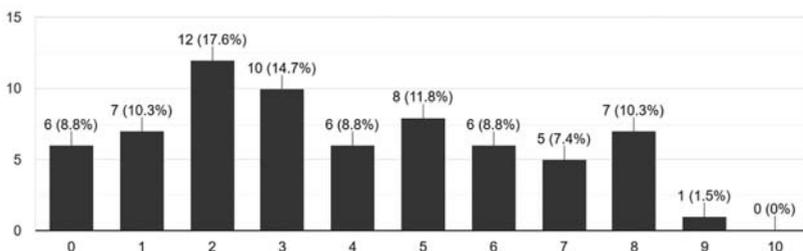
Scale	7. Frequency of feeling anxious	14. Frequency of feeling angry	20. Frequency of feeling sad
(never/not at all) 0-4	27.9%	52.9%	54.4%
(average/moderate) 5	13.2%	8.8%	14.7%
6-10 (always/completely)	58.8%	27.9%	30.9%

Loneliness

Question No. 12 measured the extent of loneliness in daily life. 41 (60.3%) participants answered lower levels of loneliness with 4 or lower; whereas 19 (27.9%) reported higher levels of loneliness with 6 or above.

12. あなたは日々の生活でどのくらい孤独を感じますか。

68件の回答

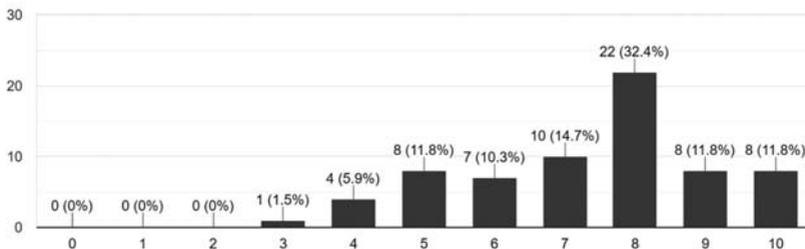


Happiness in general

Question No. 23 Taking all things together, how happy would you say you are? In general, 55 participants (80.9%) evaluated their happiness with a scale of 6 or above, and only 5 (7.4%) answered below 5.

23. すべてを考え合わせて、あなたは自分がどれくらい幸せだと思いますか。

68件の回答



Discussion

This study examined university students' subjective well-being utilizing Seligman's PERMA Profiler questionnaire. Specifically, the following main aspects were investigated: positive emotions, engagement, positive relationships, meaning, and accomplishment, health, negative emotions, loneliness and happiness in general. There are a few findings regarding these aspects.

First, the results of positive emotion questions showed that the frequency of feeling joyful is about the same level as the extent of feeling contented in general, with over 70% of the participants who answered 6 or more. However, frequencies of feeling positive vary from 32.4% of scale 4 or less to 51.4% of 6 or more. Although half of the participants were feeling positive very frequently, more than one-third were not.

Second, almost eighty percent of the respondents reported higher frequencies of becoming absorbed, and feeling excited and interested in things. In general, 89.7% expressed the high frequency of losing track of time while doing something they like, suggesting that most respondents engage in things they enjoy doing frequently. Regarding personal relationships, 85.3% of participants expressed their high extent of receiving help and support from others, accordingly, extents of feeling loved and satisfaction levels of personal relationships were also high as 76.5% and 79.4%.

The next element meaning has results worth attention. Even though in general all three questions revealed that more than half of the

respondents felt a high extent of meaning in life, 33.8% reported a lack of general feeling of a sense of direction in life. This result may be due to the 78% of sophomores and juniors, who are still at a stage of uncertainty and not completely sure about what they want to do in the future. With regard to accomplishment, 75% reported higher frequency of handling responsibilities; however, frequency of achieving important goals dropped to 52.9%, and the amount of time they felt making progress in accomplishing goals was 41.2%. Despite the higher percentage of handling responsibilities frequently, about one-third reported a lack of feeling making progress in achieving their important goals.

The result of health is alarming. Although more than sixty percent declared better health in comparison to others of the same age and sex, when it comes to their health condition, only 41.2% were happy with their health condition whereas 35.3% were not. This result may be related to the timing of this study which was at the end of the semester when many of them might feel exhausted and out of energy.

Negative emotions measured frequency of anxiety, anger and sadness. As a clear contrast to the higher frequency of feeling angry and sad which was approximately 30%, frequency of anxiety was 58.8%, almost doubled. This may be related to the result of meaning, accomplishment, and health. The respondents' feelings of uncertainty in life direction and less frequency of achieving important goals as well as their unsatisfying health condition may have led to their frequent anxiety. Since in Japan compassion for others was related to interdependent happiness, as Kohki et al. suggested, anxiety may also arise from social anxiety disorder and TKS (*taijin kyofusho*) symptoms. The COVID-19 pandemic may have played a role in this result too, causing uncertainty in the respondents' career plans. This result also corresponds to Thrive Global's (2024) report about the increase of negative feelings based on the 2019 World Happiness Report.

The result of loneliness showed that about sixty percent of the participants reported feeling lower degrees of loneliness in daily life, and less than one-third reported higher scales of 6 or more. Lastly, more than 80 percent of the participants expressed higher levels of happiness in general, with only 7.4% who didn't feel happy or with a lower extent.

This study examined the subjective well-being of female university students, given the limited number of the samples, the results may not represent the majority. However, by measuring the participants'

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perceptions of their well-being, we can have a better understanding and apply it to help the students think positively, which will ultimately lead them to flourish. As Seligman said, “optimists believe the causes of setbacks in their lives are temporary, changeable, and local” and they “do not become helpless readily in the laboratory” (Flourish, p. 189).

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