DOI：10.20776/S24364231-50-P5

From Hope to Disillusionment: Shaping the Indonesian Care Workers in the Pre-Departure Training

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Summary Japan's aging population has increased the demand for care workers, leading to the introduction of the short-term labor rotation program, Technical Intern Trainee Program (TITP), for the care sector in 2017. One of the key features of this program is Pre-Departure Training organized by private agencies. However, this training often enforces rigid disciplinary practices misaligned with the nature of care work. Drawing on 18 interviews conducted between 2022–2023 with Indonesian care workers in Japan, using regulatory dimension of migration infrastructure framework, this study reveals how normalized silence during training leads to difficulty voicing concerns, shaping compliant and docile care workers, that eventually affect their performance as care workers.

1. Introduction

Migrant labor from Indonesia is not a new phenomenon (Nawawi, 2009); it dates back to the Dutch colonial era and during that time it was considered a form of forced migration (Hugo, 2006). After Indonesia's independence, labor migration was first conceptualized in the late 1960s by the New Order regime as a strategy to claim political legitimacy. This was part of an agenda that prioritized economic development and political stability following the turbulent years of the Sukarno era (Palmer, 2016). Migration significantly increased during the 1970s and 1980s, with workers primarily being sent to the Middle East and Malaysia under the REPELITA program[1)].

Historically, Indonesia has been sending trainees to Japan under a cooperative agreement in 1993 between the Indonesian Ministry of Manpower and Transmigration and the Japan Association of International Manpower Development (Widarahesty, 2021). Technology transfer and international cooperation was the main objective, started as one year program, and was gradually extended up to 5 years. Under this program, Indonesians are sent as trainees to Japan (Oishi, 1995). This is not only a solution to the problem of labor shortages in Japan, but it also contributes to development of Indonesia by gaining foreign exchange earnings, reducing the number of people experiencing poverty, and improving the standard of living of the community and nation (Nawawi, 2010). Under the TITP

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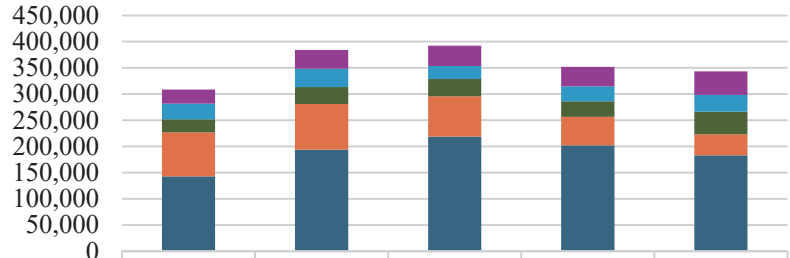
1) REPELITA (Rencana Pembangunan Lima Tahun, *Five-Year Development Plans*) was introduced since 1970s to address economic challenges, including unemployment, in Indonesia. It facilitated labor migration to countries such as Saudi Arabia, Malaysia, etc. During the period from 1974 to 1979, the number of migrant workers was only 17,042. However, this number increased significantly to 96,410 during 1979-1984, and even reached 292,262 in 1984-1989 (Tirtosudarmo, 1999). The Repelita system was discontinued in the late 1990s following the fall of New Order regime.

program, trainees hoped that when they return home, they can utilize the industrial and vocational skills they learned while receiving technical intern training in Japan (Widarahesty, 2021).

As of 2023, the Technical Intern Training Program (TITP) offers 83 job categories across various sectors, including manufacturing, construction, agriculture, caregiving, and fisheries. Indonesia is one of the largest contributors to Japan's foreign workforce, alongside Vietnam, China, and the Philippines. The total number of TITP workers has grown significantly, from 19,443 in 1993 to 412,501 in 2023. According to Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare of Japan, in 2023, 121,507 Indonesians worked in Japan, with 68,238 holding TITP status (MHLW, 2023). More than half of Indonesians in Japan are on this residential status.

TITP Workers Number by Nationality
(countries with the highest number of TITP workers)



	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022
Other (Nepal, Myanmar, Peru, Brazil, etc)	26,733	35,639	39,005	37,140	44,799
Phillippines	29,875	34,965	24,590	28,553	32,206
Indonesia	24,935	32,480	33,239	29,716	43,145
China	84,063	86,982	76,922	54,161	40,093
Vietnam	142,883	193,912	218,600	202,218	183,011

Figure 1: Source: Ministry of Health, Labor, and Welfare of Japan (2018-2023)

The care work sector in Japan is quite unique, as it has four pathways for migrant care workers to enter Japan: Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA) (2008), TITP (2017), *Kaigo Ryuugakusei* (2017), and Specified Skilled Worker (SSW) (2019). The care sector was incorporated into the TITP when the Japanese government revised its Immigration Law in 2017, creating new pathways for hiring more migrant care workers due to the aging population[2)]. Starting from November 2017, care work was added to the list of professions eligible under the TITP.

TITP has several key features: pre-departure training managed by the sending organization, language proficiency requirements for candidates in care sector (Japanese Language Proficiency level 4 or equivalent), and a fixed employment period of three to five years with restrictions on changing jobs or employers. Care work sector has higher requirements in language proficiency compared to

2) According to the Ministry of Health, Labor, and Welfare (2021), Japan's elderly population, aged 65 and over, has reached a record high of 36.4 million, making up 29.1% of the total population—the highest percentage globally. This demographic shift has led to chronic labor shortages in the care sector

the other sector, as effective communication in Japanese with care recipients and teamwork with co-workers including medical professionals are important. This higher language requirement makes the training period longer compared to other fields, resulting in a heavier financial burden for trainees due to the extended training duration[3)].

The pre-departure training in the TITP is unique as it is managed by the sending organization in the sending country. Article 59 of the 2021 *Peraturan Pemerintah* (Government Regulation) of the Republic of Indonesia on the Protection of Migrant Workers[4)] basically stated that the purpose of pre-departure training is to provide prospective migrant workers with important information about their rights and responsibilities, so they can better navigate life abroad, understand their entitlements, and resolve any issues that may occur (Widarahesty, 2022). However, instead of adequately preparing workers for Japan, the training at the sending organization often manifests as rigid and harsh disciplinary practices which focus heavily on physical endurance and mental toughness. This then misaligned with nature of care work which requires the development of trustworthy relationships with the care receiver and the team members, creating unique challenges for care workers upon their arrival in Japan.

Furthermore, in Widarahesty's (2023) study, she notes an interview with a representative from the Directorate General of Training and Productivity Development (Binalattas) at the Ministry of Manpower, where it was mentioned that a series of these *rigorous physical training sessions* (emphasis mine) were implemented to ensure prospective trainees developed strong mental and physical resilience, particularly due to the differences in climate between Japan and Indonesia. However, it is worth considering whether such training is truly suitable for caregiving needs, given that care workers need strong communication and interpersonal skills to effectively work as part of a team.

Given that the TITP has been in place for over 30 years, it is unlikely that the government, as the regulatory body, is unaware of these training practices. For example, Widarahesty (2023) noted an event where the Head of the Office of Manpower and Transmigration of West Nusa Tenggara visited the province's training facility (UPTD BLKDN) and encouraged participants to follow the example set by TITP alumni. By allowing these practices to persist, it shows that the state normalizes and endorses this training method. This paper, therefore, aims to examine how these state-endorsed disciplinary practices, manifested through pre-departure training, contribute to shaping a docile and compliant workforce, with a particular focus on the experiences of Indonesian care workers in the

3) At Sending Organization M, the costs for pre-departure training include an educational fee of around IDR 5,000,000 (¥48,500) and living expenses of IDR 3,500,000 (¥33,950) for four months, totaling IDR 8,500,000 (¥82,450). This amount could be paid in installments over four months. However, the living expenses only cover dormitory rent fee, utility bills, and lunch. For food, trainees are still responsible to pay for breakfast and dinner by themselves. TITP Care workers also have to undertake the special training after they secure the job, which costs around IDR 9,000,000 (around ¥87,300) for education and living cost. In addition, if they fail to pass the N4 exam within four months the cost will increase. However, trainees outside the care sector, face lower language proficiency requirements and are hired faster, making them pay less.

4) Article 59 of the 2021, *Peraturan Pemerintah* (Government Regulation) of the Republic of Indonesia on the Protection of Migrant Workers: "Pre-Departure Orientation (OPP) is the activity of providing pre-departure training and information to prospective workers. Indonesian migrants who are going to work abroad will receive this orientation to ensure they have the mental readiness and knowledge to work abroad, understand their rights and obligations, and are able to solve any problems that arise"

TITP.

2. Literature Review and Methodology

TITP has been implemented for over 30 years and is often discussed in relation to human rights concerns. It is mentioned as a way to obtain cheap, unskilled labor and has been heavily criticized for widespread human rights violations (Ogawa, 2017) and labeled as modern slavery (US State Department, 2021). Oishi (1995) examines the dilemma of whether TITP is genuinely a training program or a form of employment, pointing out that the program often does not serve its original training purpose as intended.

These human rights concerns have led scholars to examine the overall process, not only the situation of the worker in the host country, but before their arrival in the home country as well. Several scholars have explored TITP pre-departure training, especially in the context of Indonesia. Widarahesty (2022) highlights the vulnerability of Indonesian TITP trainees, shedding light on the precarious cycle they face from departure to arrival in Japan. In her dissertation, Widarahesty (2023) further examines how pre-departure training normalizes silence among Indonesian TITP trainees, arguing that this silence is key to understand the vulnerability and endurance of TITP workers in their migration to Japan. Rustam (2023) focuses on how structural violence is normalized during pre-departure training, and how the trainees have to bear a lot of burden such as debt and violence in their migration journey. HRWG (2020) discusses migrant workers' experiences during the pre-departure process, particularly the phenomenon of debt bondage and the lack of a rights-based approach to training.

On the other hand, research on TITP care workers remains limited, as most studies focusing on EPA care workers instead. For example, Ogawa (2021) highlights disparities between EPA care workers and TITP in the care sector, particularly regarding workplace treatment, career development, and access to citizenship. Furthermore, most existing literature focuses on the situation of workers in Japan, with a lack of studies examining the conditions on the sending side or approaching from a transnational perspective. Despite the growing attention to Indonesian labor migration, there is still a gap in understanding the experiences of Indonesian TITP care workers from the sending side, particularly regarding their pre-departure training and its potential impact on their work in Japan.

This paper addresses the research gap by examining the issue through the lens of migration infrastructure, which refers to the interconnected technologies, institutions, and individuals that enable and influence mobility (Xiang & Lindquist, 2014). This framework has five dimensions: commercial (sending-side activities), regulatory (state apparatus and procedures for documentation, licensing, and training), technological (communication and transport), humanitarian (e.g., NGOs), and social (migrant networks).

Migration infrastructure has been used as an analytical framework to understand migration more comprehensively. Xiang and Lindquist (2014) argue that migration is best conceptualized through infrastructure, as it captures the interconnectedness of state policies, labor markets, and migrant networks. Düvell and Preiss (2022) further enhance the framework’s analytical power, while Sigona et

al. (2021) explore how migration infrastructures shape migrants' experiences, particularly during irregular status transitions in Japan and the UK.

This paper uses the regulatory dimension to investigate how state-endorsed pre-departure training shapes TITP care workers' experiences in Japan. I try to examine how the pre departure training that managed privately, often misaligned with the nature of care work and create docile workers. By situating pre-departure training within the migration infrastructure framework, the research highlights how these practices heighten workers' vulnerabilities. The main research question is: *How does pre-departure training affect the experiences of Indonesian TITP care workers in Japan?*

This research was conducted through interviews with 18 females Indonesian TITP care workers across the Kanto, Chubu, and Kansai regions, between Summer 2022 and Summer 2023. Most participants were from Sending Organization M in Indonesia, with which the researcher has a connection, having worked as a Japanese Teacher in the same organization from 2017 to 2021. Among the 18 respondents, only two had a background in nursing or healthcare. The interviews took place in the respondents' apartments or in local restaurants/cafés in their living or working areas. Indonesian was the primary language used, with Javanese occasionally spoken, as 16 of the 18 respondents were from Java.

This study provides a transnational perspective on Indonesian care workers' challenges within the migration infrastructure as significance, trying to enhance understanding of migration dynamics and the key actors that shape their experiences.

3. Findings

a. Recruitment Phase (Case of M Sending Organization in Indonesia)

Before arriving in Japan, TITP care workers must undergo a pre-departure training program, which requires them to stay for several months in dormitories provided by sending organization. The table below outlines the general flow of the TITP program, as described by BNP2TKI (Agency for the Placement and Protection of Indonesian Workers Overseas) (2020):

A. The selection process for the TITP Participants in Indonesia	
1.	Administrative check
2.	Math test
3.	Physical ability test
4.	Physical endurance test
5.	Interview
6.	Medical check-up
7.	Language test preparation
8.	Japanese language test
9.	Training
10.	Departure

Table 1: Selection and Process for TITP Prospective Worker
Source: Made by author based on Agency for the Placement and Protection of Indonesian Workers Overseas/BNP2TKI (2020)

However, the duration and sequence of the process may vary depending on the private agency. For example, at Sending Organization M in Indonesia, the process from admission to departure is as follows:

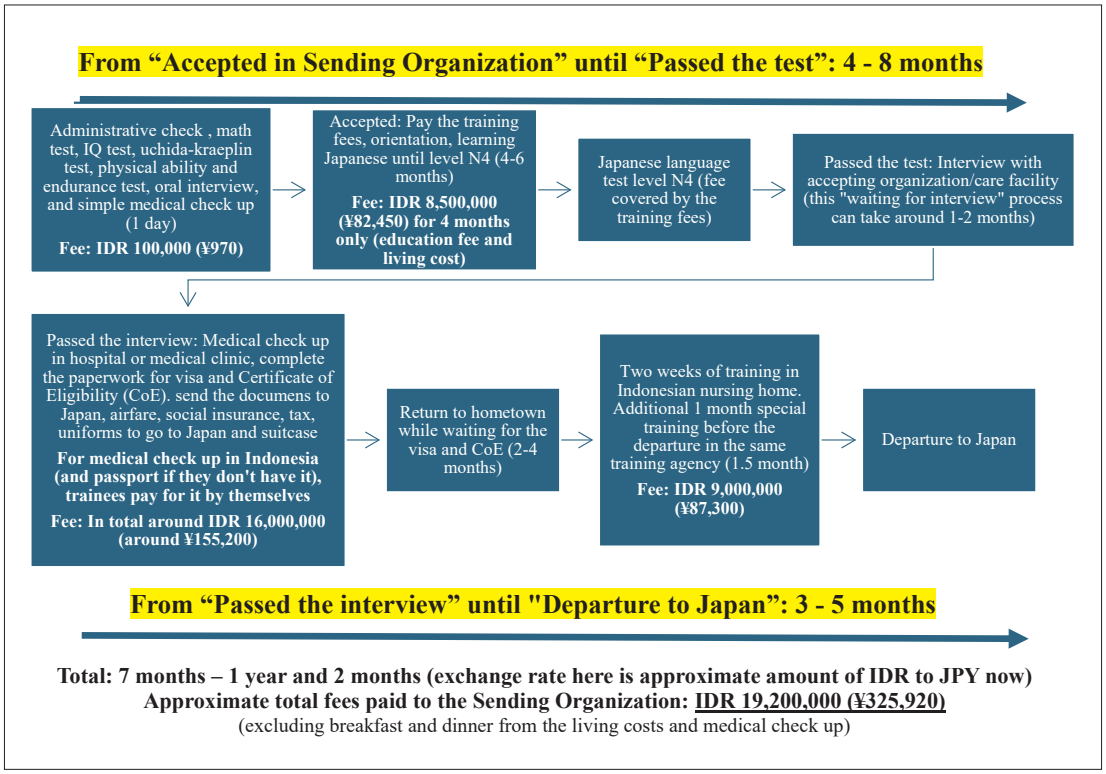


Figure 2: Selection and Process for TITP Prospective Care Worker in Sending Organization M

Most trainees in the TITP program, including the respondents in this study, go through a similar process. This sub-chapter uses Sending Organization M as an example, as most of the respondents in this study are trained there.

At Sending Organization M, the recruitment process begins with filling out administrative forms and submitting required documents. Trainees then take a math test, followed by an IQ test and an Uchida-Kraepelin psychological test. These tests assess their basic abilities and resilience in learning. If they pass, they proceed to the next stage: a physical ability and endurance test. This includes activities like push-ups, sit-ups, squat jumps, and agility exercises. After that, the test continues with Japanese language test (if the trainee has previous Japanese language proficiency), color blindness test, and an oral interview with staff. The interview determines whether the trainee can proceed with the training as a prospective trainee at Sending Organization M.

b. The Pre-Departure Training Phase

Once the recruitment process is complete, the "education period" or pre-departure training begins, lasting between 4 to 6 months. Trainees are divided into groups based on their Japanese language proficiency. During this period, they focus on learning Japanese at the N4 level six days a week, attend physical exercise classes twice a week, and engage in lessons on general knowledge

about Japan, including simple geography, culture (traditional clothing, music, popular culture, etc.), and other topics to foster interest in Japan. These classes offer a break from the intense language sessions, which run from Monday to Friday (8:00 AM to 3:00 PM, extending to 5:00 PM if physical exercise is included) and Saturdays (8:00 AM to 12:00 PM). The training also reinforces an image of Japan as a prosperous, technologically advanced nation full of hardworking and disciplined citizens. When asked about their purpose for going to Japan, many trainees commonly respond that they wish to "learn how the Japanese work".

Other than attending these classes, trainees have daily duties. Each morning, they have to participate in *rajio taiso* (a radio calisthenics exercise) and chant *jisshuusei no kokorogamae*[5] loudly. At lunchtime, they help distribute the meals, have lunch together in the same room, then clean the dishes. After class, they are responsible for cleaning the training center. These duties rotate among different groups each day. Duties include sweeping classrooms, cleaning toilets, and locking the facility rooms after use. As for the weekly schedule, there is an overall cleaning activity (*oosouji*) where trainees have to sweep and mop floors, wipe windows, remove grass around the building, and clean other items in the training center.

They are living in the dormitory near to the training center. The dormitories are gender segregated. Dormitory duties differ from those in the training center and include daily and weekly cleaning, cooking, eating breakfast and dinner together, groceries, and gathering for prayers. Cell phone usage is restricted to specific hours: 3:00 PM to 6:00 PM (Monday-Friday), 3:00 PM to 10:00 PM (Saturday), and 10:00 AM to 8:00 PM (Sunday). At all other times, cell phones are collected by the dormitory staff.

The batch system of recruitment creates a hierarchical relationship between trainees, with senior and junior roles. This hierarchy is often viewed as a reflection of Japan's *jōge kankei* (hierarchical relationships), where seniors hold authority over juniors and can impose punishments for rule violations.

Below are examples of rules that trainees must follow during the training period and the punishments if the trainees failed to follow it:

5) *Jisshūsei no kokoro gamae* refers to the "mindset" that trainees should adopt as workers in Japan. It encompasses the attitudes, behaviors, and mental preparedness needed to successfully adapt to the Japanese working and living environment. This often includes a strong emphasis on respect for hierarchy, a diligent work ethic, and an understanding of Japanese workplace culture and norms. While this practice is common among many sending organizations in Indonesia, I am unsure where is this practice come from. The full list of *jisshusei no kokoro gamae* (English translation) is in the appendix.

No	Rules	Punishment
In the training center		
1	Late for morning exercises	Run around the training center grounds ten times and undertake toilet cleaning duties (at training center) for one day.
2	Late for class (must enter the classroom 10 minutes before)	
3	Not wearing the designated attributes (name tag, belt, socks)	
4	Leaving the classroom before the end of class	
5	Not bringing textbooks to class	
6	Having two consecutive red marks in tests	
7	Not turning off the air-conditioner after class	
8	Not cleaning up the classroom after class	
9	Littering	
10	Having leftovers from lunch	
11	Not greeting the teachers or staff	Run around the training center grounds 20 times, undertake toilet cleaning duties for two days (at training center), and wash all tableware used by staff and trainees during lunch on that day.
12	Eating in the classroom during class	
13	Having long hair (for men)	
14	Having a beard (for men)	
15	Not tying the long hair (for women)	
16	Not doing the homework	
In dormitories		
17	Not completing meal checklists	Run around the training center grounds ten times and undertake toilet cleaning duties (at dormitory) for one day.
18	Not washing the dishes	
19	Late in giving over their mobile phones to the dormitory staff	Run around the training center grounds 20 times and undertake toilet cleaning duties (at dormitory) for two days.
20	Breaking the curfew	
21	Leaving the dormitory without permission	
22	Jumping over the dormitory fence	
Both in training center and dormitories		
23	Getting into fights	Run around the area where the sending organization located 15 times, undertake toilet cleaning duties at the training center/dormitory for one week, and wash all tableware used by staff and trainees during lunch throughout the week.
24	Drinking alcohol	
25	Smoking	
26	Stealing	Expelled from the sending organization
27	Sexual harassment	

Table 2: Example of Rules and Punishment in Sending Organization M

Disagreement or criticism is rarely voiced during pre-departure training. Such opinions, even some may be constructive suggestions, are typically met with punishment. At times, the junior can only respond with "*wakarimashita*" ("I understand") to comply and avoid conflict with seniors. This

power dynamic applies not only to the senior-junior relationship but also to the teacher/staff-student. Each rule is accompanied by specific punishments, which can be administered by either the senior (e.g., running around the field) or the teacher/staff (e.g., taking away cell phones or expelling trainees from the program), or both. Punishments range from simple tasks, such as running around the field several times or losing access to cell phones, to more severe measures like cleaning the classroom alone for a week or expulsion from the training program.

The reason for the creation of the rule was unclear to the respondents, as they simply followed it out of fear that questioning it could result in punishment, leading to wasted effort, money already paid, and time. They adhered to the rule based on this fear, even though some were curious about the reason behind these rules. One or two respondents ever asked their teacher or staff about the rule, but the answer was unclear, and essentially stating that "*This is the way to be disciplined, and it is necessary to be a worker in Japan*". Ultimately, the rule had a deterrent effect on them, leaving them with no choice but to obey their superiors. This is because some part of decisions on who will be selected is in the hands of the teacher or staff (they can recommend the trainees to the accepting organization or company), and the trainees have already invested their time and money, they feel they have no control over the situation.

The training period concludes after approximately four months, marked by one or two language proficiency tests, such as the *JLPT, NAT Test*, or *J-TEST*, aimed at achieving the N4 certificate. If trainees fail the language test, the decision to continue training is left to the prospective trainees themselves. If they pass, they will then proceed to a job interview, either in person or online. In a slight reversal of the order in the *BNP2TKI* table, medical check-ups at Private Agency M take place only after passing the language proficiency test and the job interview with a Japanese company.

Once these steps are completed, prospective workers return to their hometowns to wait. Those who secure a job will wait for their visa and Certificate of Eligibility issued by the Immigration Service Agency in Japan. For those who have interviewed but were not selected, they will wait for the next interview opportunity. If a trainee secures a job in Japan, they will be called back 1 to 2 months before departure. During this waiting period, for care worker, they will undergo a 2-week internship at an Indonesian nursing home partnered with the sending organization, followed by a month-long special training focused on care work. While this special training shares similarities with the earlier training, its duration is shorter, and the material is more tailored to their upcoming work as care worker in Japan.

During this special training, trainees will learn care work vocabulary, practice care techniques through role-plays, and acquire skills for vital checks. In addition, every Saturday, there are discussion classes covering various topics, such as how to send money to Indonesia, how to use ATMs in Japan, and other practical aspects of life in Japan. This is quite important as many trainees are coming from rural area in Indonesia. They may need help navigating such matters. Following the special training, a farewell event, typically a dinner and prayer with staff and juniors, is held before the trainees depart for Japan.

Throughout the training, Private Agency M emphasizes the narrative that care work is a well-paid job, more comfortable than factory work due to its indoor nature and focus on caring for older people. However, this perspective is difficult for trainees to fully grasp, as they often thought that this job is the same as nursing. This happens due to differences between long-term care systems in Indonesia and Japan. The percentage of the population aged 60 years or older has steadily increased in Indonesia, from 3.2% in 1950 to 6.5% in 1990, and reached 10.5% in 2020 (UN DESA 2022). While this percentage continues to rise, with Statistics Indonesia (2023) estimating that it will reach 21.9% by 2050 due to a declining fertility rate, elderly care work has not yet been established as a distinct occupation. Instead, it has become part of the medical nursing profession and education, where elderly care is focused on medical needs in institutions like hospitals, clinics, or nursing homes. Furthermore, specialized eldercare institutions with the specific system like those in Japan, are rare. As a result, there is no equivalent term for "*kaigo*" in Indonesia; instead, the term "perawat lansia" (Literal translation: "nurse for the elderly" or "gerontology nurse") is used, but it typically refers to medical nurses rather than caregivers. On top of that, in Indonesia, long-term care primarily relies on family or voluntary support, with the role of "*perawat lansia*" typically limited to medical duties rather than broader caregiving responsibilities to support the independent living of the elderly. This is why this job is quite hard to understand by the trainees.

c. How do these practices affect them?

The practices Indonesian care workers experience particularly during pre-departure training, significantly undermine their ability to voice concerns and manage expectations. The following diagram illustrates this process:

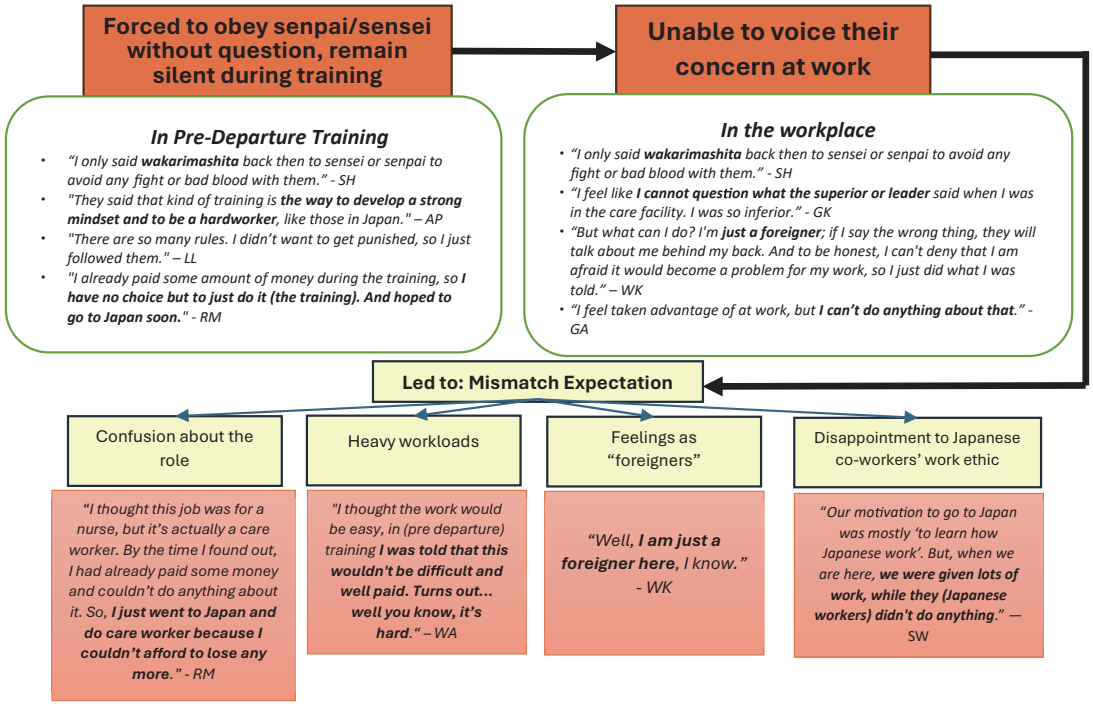


Figure 3: The process of silencing the care workers

A key issue in the pre-departure training is the obedience to superiors such as senior or teacher/staff, which forces workers to stay silent and comply without questioning it. Seniors not only guide juniors but also enforce strict rules, punishing mistakes to maintain a rigid hierarchy. This creates a culture of silence and compliance, where workers are expected to follow orders without question, prioritizing obedience over open communication.

As a result, in their work in Japan, the pressure to please superiors leaves care workers feeling powerless, as they fear challenging authority. Concerns about negative consequences, such as criticism or facing problems for not obeying superiors, further discourage them from expressing discomfort or concerns. Widarahesty (2023) describes this as a pattern of unhealthy silencing that creates a cycle of violence, placing workers in a vulnerable and inferior position, ultimately shaping them into "silent workers", as Rustam (2022) identifies.

The origins of such training practices can be traced to Japanese labor practices historically used in the manufacturing sector to maximize efficiency and ensuring safety. Ogawa (2022:138) highlights the experiences of Vietnamese migrants, noting how these methods are repeatedly indoctrinated during training especially through Japanese language education. This military-like and harsh training approach echoes colonial-era education in Korea and Taiwan, designed to create an "ideal Japanese" by contrasting them with "inferior others". Such training fails to empower migrants to exercise or negotiate their rights, leaving them vulnerable in situations like contract violations or exploitation.

Widarahesty (2023) also mentioned in her works that the normalization of physical and verbal violence in pre-departure training is justified as a means of increasing mental and physical resilience. Physical activities such as running and push-ups are presented as tools for evaluating discipline and physical capability, alongside certain appearance such as bald haircuts and no-tattoos. These practices, borrowed from military training methods, are justified as necessary for creating discipline practices, yet they dehumanize workers and reduce them to mere instruments of labor.

In this context, I also argue that a vicious cycle is created. The cycle begins with labor market demands in Japan for low-cost and easily controlled workers. Due to these demands, the state responds to this through regulatory measures, such as producing disciplinary processes like pre-departure training. This training produces and shapes compliant workers who enter the labor market, fueling the need for more of the same type of labor. As a result, this cycle reinforces a continuous and sustained vulnerability for workers, as they are shaped to fit into an exploitative system with limited room for change.

As for care workers, this training system makes it hard for workers to speak up, causing many problems. One major issue due to this situation is the gap between what care workers expect and the reality of their jobs. Many enter the program with the wrong idea about their work and only find out later that the work is not always the same as what they were learned in the pre-departure training. The idea of "*easy*" job, "*only talk with elders*", or "*all of the Japanese are hardworking*" are not always the reality. This leads to frustration and disappointment. The training downplays how difficult the job really is, leaving care workers unprepared for the heavy workloads. Being foreigners adds to their struggles, as they often feel isolated and have trouble building good relationships

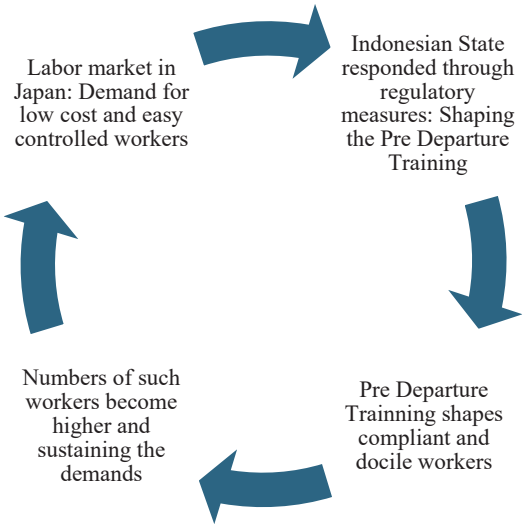


Figure 4: The vicious cycle of creating compliant and docile worker

with their Japanese colleagues.

The pre-departure training encourages care workers to follow orders without questioning or voicing concerns, creating a passive attitude. This is an issue in caregiving, where good communication and teamwork are essential. By discouraging workers from speaking up, these training practices hurt their ability to perform well and succeed in their careers being docile and compliant care workers.

4. Conclusion

This study examines the experiences of Indonesian care workers in Japan's Technical Intern Training Program (TITP) through the lens of migration infrastructure, focusing on the regulatory dimension. It explores the question: *How does pre-departure training shape the experiences of Indonesian TITP care workers in Japan?*

The regulatory, endorsed by the state, enforces military-like disciplinary practices in the form of pre-departure training. In this study, these practices shape "silent" care workers who, upon arriving in Japan, struggle to voice their concerns or opinions in their work. By allowing such practices to persist, the state as the regulatory body normalizes and endorses these practices of pre-departure training, creating a vicious cycle of creating compliant and docile worker.

As for the impact to the care worker experience, the emphasis on discipline and obedience during pre-departure training carries over into their work, creating challenges in their professional roles as care workers. Many care workers in this study experience disillusionment with their jobs. They are often confused about their role as care workers, reluctant to negotiate for better working and living conditions in Japan and inclined to obey their superiors at work without questioning it. Despite their dissatisfaction, they feel like they have no choice but to remain in their roles until their contracts end, unable to advocate for themselves or explore alternatives. This may prevent Indonesian care workers from actively acquiring new skills, offering suggestions to improve quality of care, and taking on leadership or managerial roles for upward mobility.

It is crucial to empower care workers to negotiate and express their concerns. Efforts such as building their confidence and equipping them with tools to advocate for their rights and well-being are important. Avoiding practices that reinforce silence is essential for improving their experiences and creating a better working environment.

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6. Appendix

a. Interview List

SW (Kanto, August 2022)
LL (Kanto, August 2022)
EA (Kanto, August 2022)
SH (Kanto, August 2022)
AN (Kanto, August 2022)
WK (Kanto, August 2022)
GK (Chubu, February 2023)
AP (Kansai, February 2023)
EO (Kansai, February 2023)
SF (Kansai, February 2023)
NN (Kansai, February 2023)
WA (Kansai, February 2023)
TM (Kansai, February 2023)
GA (Kansai, February 2023)
RA (Kansai, February 2023)
RM (Kansai, February 2023)
PL (Kanto, June 2023)
BE (Kanto, August 2023)

b. *Jisshūsei no kokoro gamae* (English translation)

1. Follow the rules.
2. Work hard and diligently.
3. Observe, listen, and think.
4. Take note of important things.
5. Greet others cheerfully and energetically.
6. Answer honestly, do not remain silent.
7. Be punctual.

8. Cooperate with others.
9. Always express gratitude by saying "Thank you".
10. When you do not understand, ask questions. Do not just say "Yes" or remain silent. Do not make decisions on your own.
11. Apologize immediately when you make a mistake. Do not make excuses. Reflect on your actions.
12. Do not laugh or smile when you make a mistake.
13. Understand the mistakes you've made, find out why they happened, and take measures to avoid repeating the same mistake.
14. Pay attention to safety.
15. Prepare before you start work. Clean up after you finish work.
16. Work during working hours.
17. Look for work on your own.
18. Work quickly and accurately, then double-check your work.
19. Use tools properly. Report immediately if they are broken or lost.
20. Request permission before taking time off. Apologize and report after returning.
21. Take care of your health.
22. Keep your surroundings clean.
23. Change your clothes daily. Always carry a handkerchief.
24. Cut your hair, trim your nails, and shave your beard neatly.
25. Use tissues when you blow your nose. Do not spit in public places.
26. Clean up daily. Dispose of garbage properly.
27. Do not smoke.
28. Do your own laundry, cleaning, etc., to live independently in Japan.
29. Save electricity, water, etc.
30. Do not waste food.