

Conference Paper

Potential Discrimination and Coping Strategy Models Implemented by Indonesian Trainees in Japan

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The Indonesian Diaspora has been active in sending large amounts of remittances. The big contribution was mainly given by TITP trainees from Indonesia. Indonesian TITP trainees in Japan are divided into first-year trainees (jisshusei) and subsequent-year trainees (kenshusei). Amidst a difficult situation, Indonesian TITP trainees who work in dirty, dangerous, and demeaning sectors also have to face various problems related to discrimination which can increase their stress levels. The researchers examined the potential discrimination faced by the trainees through research conducted on three kenshusei who have returned to Indonesia. The three kenshusei were interviewed using the in-depth interview method. This paper discusses how the three kenshusei solved their problems with the concepts of coping strategies namely: strengthening ethnic identity, seeking social support, and channeling anger. From the results of the study, it was found that the discrimination experienced by those kenshusei could be overcome with 3 models of Brandolo's coping strategies and 6 other models of coping strategies.

Keywords: TITP trainees, discrimination, kenshusei, jisshusei, coping strategies

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1. Introduction

In relation to migration studies, we are familiar with the term diaspora. "Diaspora" is defined as "emigrants and their descendants who live outside the country of their birth or ancestry, but they still maintain a sentimental and material relationship with their country of origin" [1]. This definition of the diaspora includes Indonesian migrant workers who work to Japan to collect foreign exchange and are very vulnerable to various acts of discrimination. Migrant workers are classified as diaspora who are vulnerable to acts of discrimination because they are in relatively weak and inferior position. What-so-called migrant workers in this research are the blue-collar workers who mainly work in dangerous, dirty, and demeaning field [2-3]

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The first and subsequent year TITP trainees are considered socially weak because most of them only have very limited knowledge of Japanese language and culture. Migrants who are mostly coming from lower strata likely come with huge debts, and are employed under the minimum wage. Their period of stay is also pre-decided, the only option left might be to become undocumented if they cannot accumulate enough capital. If that is the case, migration to Japan and return processes might result not only in wasting money and time, but also de-skilling without being given a chance to develop their capabilities [4]. Economically, they are also weak because most of them come from middle to lower income groups and come to Japan as apprentices/trainees since the main intention of TITP is not providing technical skills, but to provide unskilled labour for Japan [5].

Those trainees can join TITP only by achieving basic level of Japanese language. It is not quite different with the IJEPANurses who are employed in Japan. In Japan, however, the nurses from the Philippines and Indonesian experience serious difficulties when studying nursing in the Japanese language. Japan's national exam questions are written entirely in Japanese (Nihongo), which consists of three types of characters, hiragana, katakana and kanji. Reading kanji for nursing terminologies are very difficult for the nurses and most of them cannot pass the certification test [6].

Not infrequently, some of the trainees are people who try new hopes after being left out of job competition in Japanese companies in Indonesia which are headquartered in Cikarang and Karawang. Some are eliminated from jobs in Japanese factories in Indonesia because of their age while some of them bring new hopes to raise working capital to later work as entrepreneurs in Indonesia. There are also those who do not want to try their luck at Japanese companies in Indonesia because the salaries are small when compared to the workload they do [7]. In case of IJEPANurses, some nurses lost their skills in nursing and performing brain drain because in Japan they do not perform the whole tasks commonly performed by nurses. They only use their skills as care workers [8-9].

Kenshusei or trainees are well-known as workers who still have to "work harder" than other Indonesian white-collar workers in foreign countries. A lot of small and medium sized companies employ the TITP trainees. Their key motives did not relate so much to the spread of knowledge of technology but rather more to the filling of vacant jobs, which small and medium scaled firms had a harder time filling than big enterprises, especially the so-called 3-K jobs (Kitanai, Kiken, Kitsui), i.e. dirty, dangerous or demanding jobs [10].

One of the causes of their high level of work stress is discriminatory treatment that they often have to receive from their superiors and colleagues from different countries [11]. 3K jobs (kitanai, kiken, kitsui) or in English are more famously known as 3D jobs (dirty, dangerous, demeaning), these are jobs that are mostly done by blue collar workers (workers in the field, not office workers). This work includes manual labour, and the fields of work include care for the elderly/the sick people, construction, food, and beverage processing, wood processing, fisheries, agriculture, and others. This job requires more physical activity and is also psychologically very tiring due to the dirty conditions in the place, a lot of psychological pressure, or it is very dangerous.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Japanese resistance to Indonesian migrant workers

Japan continues to implement restrictive policies towards migrants, especially for low skilled and unskilled migrant workers. This is of course very ironic for the Indonesian diaspora in Japan which is ranked eleventh of all Indonesian diaspora in the world [12]. More specifically, Japan issued a policy that prohibits travel inside and outside Japan to more than 90 countries in the world. The ban on entering and exiting Japan for hundreds of countries was prepared by looking at the number of spread of COVID-19 outside Japan which continues to rise to the point of worrying. This travel ban action raises pros and cons. On the one hand, Japanese industries need foreign workers to fill their workforce needs, but on the other hand, if the policy are relaxed, there will be a threat of an increase in the number of new COVID-19 patients and this can weaken the Japanese economy. The Japanese government must also look at the safety aspects of migrant workers during the pandemic, and various other issues [13].

”Resistance to the low skilled and unskilled category of migrant workers was triggered by the opinion that their presence could cause damage to the social order,” damage to culture and hereditary heritage” [14] and present disruption to national stability and homogeneity of Japanese society.

The Japanese Ministry of Justice (MOJ) maintains the reasons for domestic security and a ”homogenous Japan” ideology in formulating policies related to migrants [15]. The Japanese government’s counter-immigrant opinion is also supported by the LDP and some members of the Japanese community. This opinion is supported by a survey UN Women [15] which results: most Japanese people are willing to accept migrant workers but their period of stay must be limited.

Japanese negative sentiment towards low skilled and unskilled migrant workers can also be read in the book "Controlling Immigration: a Global Perspective" by Cornelius and Tsuda [16]. Tsuda writes in a chapter entitled "Immigration to Japan: Myths and Realities." He reviewed that the Japanese government uses three general principles in accepting migrant workers: "a) no recognized unskilled workers b) facilitation of admission only for high skilled workers 3) all foreigners are allowed to stay only temporarily" [16].

This sentiment also arises because of the growing assumption in society that perpetrators of crime are usually dominated by migrants. This is reflected in the comments of an employer interviewed by UN Women [15] who stated that "Roppongi is an area inhabited by a lot of migrants, so in that area there tends to be a lot of crime." This opinion is reinforced by a survey which states that "migrants have a bad work ethic and they (Japanese society) cannot trust migrants." [15]

Furthermore, four negative views of migrants have developed, which are reflected in the following opinion: "(a) migrant workers should not be given rights at work because of their status as not permanent workers; (b) they are not entitled to receive benefits and salaries equal to those of national workers; (c) if there is exploitation, it is the fault of the migrant workers themselves. (d) because they are not permanent workers they have no right to expect the fulfilment of their rights at work" [15].

It is clear that Japan has implemented a double standard for skilled and unskilled migrant workers. On the one hand, Japan needs low skilled and unskilled workers to fill manual jobs classified as dirty, dangerous and demeaning or 3K jobs/kitanai, kiken, kitsui [17]. This kind of menial work has been abandoned by many Japanese youths who have reached a relatively high level of education and have sufficient skills to work in a more comfortable environment [18].

In the case of Indonesian nurses who enter the labour market in Japan through the IJEP channel, they enter through two channels. The first path is the skilled worker path, which allows the nurses to actually work as nurses in hospitals or health clinics because they have passed the nursing/kango fukushishi certification exam. Meanwhile, the ones who do not meet the requirements and pass professional certification are vulnerable to entering the unskilled path and are forced to choose the path as a support for the elderly (care worker)/kaigo fukushishi who are also included in the 3K job category [8].

On the other hand, Japan treats low skilled and unskilled workers in an unfair way. Unskilled employers in Japan pay significantly lower wages than native Japanese workers, limiting their length of stay and space for movement [19]. Often there are employers or co-workers who give them discriminatory, racist, or even degrading treatment.

The workers were given very long overtime hours. Sometimes overtime is given without overtime pay on the grounds of providing training to employees on holidays or outside working hours [20]. The kenshusei were given a very tough job and an extraordinarily tight control mechanism. They are required to live in groups in a dormitory in order to monitor each other and be isolated from associating with the surrounding community [20].

Furthermore, it is explained in Ratnayake et al. [21], TITP apprentices who work in Japanese companies do not have enough freedom of movement and communication with the local community. For two or three years of work, TITP apprentices live only in office and dormitories with their fellow male or female compatriots. They were completely isolated from the surrounding community while they were working in Japan. What is meant by the community here is the community surrounding the kenshusei's place of work and dormitory. Knowledge of their existence when asked to the local community is very limited. The community's knowledge of the programs they are participating in is no less limited. Most apprentice-accepting organizations do not permit any party to conduct scientific studies of trainees working under their supervision.

2.2. Discrimination based on the type of jobs in Japan: Burakumin society

Before the age of foreign migrant workers, the discrimination based on the type of job is widely known among Burakumin society. The Burakumin are marked on the Google Map as burakumin people who are discriminated against from various occupations because their ancestors' jobs are considered rough and very close to death, such as tanners, butchers and death ceremonial workers. Because of this kind of tagging, burakumin was blacklisted from certain jobs that were considered quite prestigious. To this day the Burakumin are still discriminated. Members of this group were excluded from the four castes (samurai (𠄎 shi), peasants (𠄎 nō), craftsmen (𠄎 kō) and merchants (𠄎 shō)) of which structure was adopted during the Tokugawa shogunate. Burakumin people's predecessors are called senmin (despised citizen criteria), the outcasted caste of Japanese society during Tokugawa time. The senmin or burakumin consisted of hinin (non-people) and eta ("much filth") [22].

The hinin were a heterogenous group comprised of beggars, prostitutes, itinerant entertainers, mediums, diviners, religious wanderers, and fugitives from justice who had fallen out of the four-tier [caste] system, and others who had been reduced to hinin status as punishment for infractions of civil or penal codes. Beneath the hinin were hereditary

outcastes called eta... who traditionally performed tasks that were considered to be ritually polluting, including animal slaughter and disposal of the dead [22].

They were considered to be unequal to other humans. Even in ancient times a samurai had the right to immediately cut down a burakumin's head who had committed a crime without any evidence in court because the burakumin, who was also known as eta (the dirty general public), was considered only one seventh of an ordinary human. They are too worthless for the people of Yamato. Burakumin was also discriminated for being close to the yakuza. Nearly sixty percent of yakuza members come from this group [23].

The main forms of discrimination received by Burakumin people are as follows: the options included living in the Buraku district, living in the Nishinari ward, gender discrimination, nationality discrimination, employment discrimination, disability discrimination, personal appearance, housing tenure or being a single-parent. Due to the discrimination they receive, some of Burakumin people are risked with symptoms of depression and other mental illness. Low social-economic status, low level of interpersonal relationships, and unhealthy behavior indicated higher deterioration of mental health and most of Burakumin with mental health are men with higher socio-economic, social, and educational status [24].

2.3. Coping strategies against discrimination

Based on Aldwin and Revenson [25] coping strategy is a way or method conducted by individuals to cope with or maintain certain situation or problem that they perceive as disturbance, challenge that may hurt them, or threat that may harm them. TITP Trainers need to develop various coping strategies to avoid their stress or reduce them. Some coping strategies are used by the TITP trainees to deal with discrimination. There are three coping strategies against discrimination by Brandolo et al. [26] that can be done after examining thousands of papers in their study:

1. strengthening racial/ethnic identity, if someone who gets discriminatory behaviour has a high racial or ethnic identity, he will not feel easily discouraged when discriminated against. A sense of self-confidence as a member of ethnicity X or race Y will arise when he is insulted or discriminated against.
2. Another way of coping with discrimination is to seek social support. By seeking social support, someone who is treated discriminatively can seek help and advice and even assistance from people around him to fight the perpetrators of discriminatory acts.

3. The last way, according to Brandolo et al. [26] which may also be reasonable for kenshusei to do coping with discrimination is to choose a fight mechanism when life offers two options "fight or flight." This coping strategy is carried out by channelling anger or confronting the perpetrators of discrimination. Psychologically, there are two advantages that can be obtained from this method, namely that it can channel anger and dissatisfaction and can show our teeth to the perpetrator of discrimination and show our position that can fight back and is not inferior to the perpetrator of the discriminatory act.

According to Rasmus et al. [27] coping is a condition in which a person experiences stress or psychological tension in dealing with problems of daily life that require personal abilities and support from the environment in order to reduce the stress they face. In other words, coping is the process that individuals go through in solving stressful situations. Coping is an individual's response to situations that threaten him both physically and psychologically.

In contrast to Brandolo et al. [26], Lazarus and Folkman [28] also categorize coping strategies into 2 big groups:

- a. Emotional-focused coping

This method is used to regulate emotional responses to stress. This regulates through individual behaviour such as the use of alcohol, how to negate unpleasant facts, through cognitive strategies. If the individual is not able to change conditions that are full of stress, then the individual will tend to regulate his emotions.

- b. Problem-focused coping

It is used to reduce stressors or cope with stress by learning new ways or skills. Individuals will tend to use this strategy if they believe they can change a stressful situation. This method is more often used by adults.

Locke and Taylor [29] developed the coping theory of Lazarus & Folkman [28] into 8 kinds of indicators of coping strategies:

- a. Problem-focused coping

1. Confrontation; Individuals stick to their stance and defend what they want, aggressively change situations and have the courage to take risks.
2. Seek social support; Individuals seek to get help from others.
3. Planning problem solving; Individuals think, create, and develop problem-solving plans so that they can be resolved.

- b. Emotional-focused coping

1. Self-control; maintain balance and hold emotions in him
2. Make distance; keep away from friends and the environment
3. Positive reassessment; can accept problems that are happening by thinking positively in overcoming problems.
4. Accept responsibility; accept tasks under any circumstances when facing problems and can bear everything
5. Run/evasion; stay away and avoid the problems they are experiencing.

Whereas Stuart [stated that there are 3 groups of coping mechanisms, i.e.:

1. Problem-focused coping mechanisms, which include tasks and direct problem-solving efforts to address threats, such as negotiation, confrontation and seeking advice.
2. Cognitive-focused coping mechanisms, which are individual efforts to control and neutralize problems, such as positive comparisons, selective neglect, reward substitution, and devaluation of objects of interest.
3. Emotionally-focused coping mechanisms, which are efforts in which individuals are oriented to suppress emotional distress, for example the use of ego coping mechanisms such as denial, suppression, or projection.

Thus, we can categorize Brandolo's coping strategies into the following: growing national identity is similar to planning problem solving, seeking social support is similar to seeking social support in Locke and Taylor's concept, and coping in the form of anger is similar to confrontation. Those three coping strategies belong to problem focused coping that used to be applied by adults.

2.4. Research question

After knowing that the *kenshusei* are facing various kinds of discrimination, the researchers would like to elicit how is the discriminatory treatment received by Indonesian TITP trainees in their place of work and what coping strategy models employed by the trainees to solve the stressful situation in their place of work.

3. Method

From the facts revealed by the various experts above regarding discrimination, the researchers designed a qualitative research in the form of in-depth interviews regarding the existence of discrimination committed by Japanese people against kenshusei who have worked in Japan. In this research the researchers involved 3 kenshusei, namely NK, LH, and AP.

NK is a 27-year-old male from Padas, Semarang Regency who worked as a kenshusei from 2016-2019 in the pressing industry in Tochigi. LH is a 34-year-old male from Cirebon who worked as a kenshusei from 2006-2009 in a metal smelting industry in Fuji shi, Shizuoka ken. Meanwhile, AP is a 26-year-old male from Boyolali who worked as a kenshusei from 2014-2017 in a casting industry in Okayama.

Researchers asked seven main questions related to discrimination that had happened to them and explored what coping strategies they would do if they experienced acts of discrimination. The research question given by the researcher is related to whether the trainees have received discriminatory treatment from their Japanese superiors, or have they received discriminatory treatment from Japanese colleagues or the community around their company or dormitory and whether there is coping strategies they have implemented to overcome those discriminatory acts. The questions are:

1. Have you ever received unpleasant treatment from your boss?
2. Have you ever received unpleasant treatment from fellow workers from other countries?
3. Have you ever received unpleasant treatment from fellow workers from Indonesia?
4. Have you ever received unpleasant treatment from Japanese people who live near your company or dormitory?
5. Do you have time to socialize/mingle with the people around you? Are you familiar with Japanese people outside your company and dormitory?
6. What is the view of the Japanese people around you about migrant workers from Indonesia? Is it good or bad? Why?
7. Have you ever received discriminatory treatment from the local community?

4. Result and Discussion

4.1. Discrimination and coping strategy models by Indonesian TITP trainees

From seven questions asked by researchers that revolve around discrimination, the following answers are obtained: In the first question, “Have you ever received unpleasant treatment from your boss?” LH and AP answered that they have never received unpleasant treatment from their superiors, but NK was threatened with being sent back to his homeland for unofficially taking Eid leave in the first year of his job (when he was still a jishusei). NK admitted that actually the reason why he did not dare to come to work alone and unofficially took Eid al-Fitr leave was not merely because he wanted to offer Eid al-Fitr pray, but because he also had language problem when he was required to hold the task alone on that day. He felt insecure about communicating with his superiors and colleagues who were all Japanese and could only speak Japanese. NK could only speak Indonesian, Javanese, and a little basic Japanese. He was afraid that he would not be able to understand the instructions given by his colleagues and seniors who were all Japanese. NK chose to go with his Indonesian seniors especially in taking Eid leave because there were no Indonesian workers came to the office that day.

The answers to the second question, “have you ever received unpleasant treatment from fellow workers from other countries?” from LH and NK are they also did not face any discriminatory acts from their Japanese colleagues. No unpleasant treatment has ever been received from their Japanese colleagues. Only AP said that he had received unpleasant treatment from a native Japanese colleague because of the carelessness of his senior. His senior made work error and acted disrespectfully to his Japanese superiors and colleagues, after which all Indonesian kenshusei were considered rude and given unpleasant treatment by Japanese workers. The individual is a representation of the group, if one person makes a mistake, others will be considered wrong. This is known as team performance in the concept of ethnicity.

In contrast to AP, LH actually experienced a conflict with a senior from Indonesia. Answering the third question, “have you ever received unpleasant treatment from fellow workers from Indonesia?” Because of a misunderstanding caused by not being good at arguing in front of his boss in Japanese. The mistake of his senior was blamed on LH because he could not speak Japanese well at that time. He lost an argument and he chose to be silent. It can be seen here that the problem of language acquisition can be a cause of discriminatory treatment.

Regarding the fourth question, “Have you ever received unpleasant treatment from Japanese people who live near your company or dormitory?” the three kenshusei

answered that they had never received any unpleasant treatment from the community around their dormitory or company. There is no mechanism of mutual control between kenshusei as described at the beginning of this paper. The dormitory atmosphere is relaxed and not tense. Anyone is free to go home at any time. Even with a slightly joking tone, LH said, "If there are seniors or colleagues who dare to do bad things to me, I'll just kick them out".

Responding to the fifth question, "do you have time to socialize/mingle with the people around you? Are you familiar with Japanese people outside your company and dormitory?" Complaints made by the surrounding community are usually only related to company activities that disturb the community such as overtime jobs which cause noise during off work hours, not due to the daily activities of the kenshusei.

Regarding the sixth question, "What is the view of the Japanese people around you about migrant workers from Indonesia? Is it good or bad? Why?" The three kenshusei also think that their relationship with the surrounding community is fine, or even they don't know and don't care about the views of the surrounding community because they don't have a little time to interact with people outside the company and their dormitory.

NK has the opposite experience with superiors and colleagues from Japan. The employers really appreciated NK and other Indonesian kenshusei as young workers, because the majority of native Japanese workers were elderly. The presence of NK and his comrades were very welcome and considered very helpful by "senior" Japanese workers who were working in a small company in Tochigi.

Answering the 7th question, "Have you ever received discriminatory treatment from the local community?" LH became more familiar with the people around him after he sought extracurricular activities outside of his job. LH learned karate when he did not have work schedule. From there, he was considered as an inner circle by the people in his karate doujou and was not treated in a discriminatory way. The participation of LH in sports activities is an alternative to immerse into Japanese society through sports and arts activities.

In contrast, AP experienced "discriminatory" treatment after the criminal act was conducted by a foreign citizen from China, who robbed and messed up the "kombini" around his dormitory. AP admitted that he was once followed by the police who suspected he was a Chinese/Filipino person who had committed a crime at a convenient store in the local area.

This paper discusses not about how intense the amount of discriminatory behavior received by the trainees, but about what discriminatory behavior and how the coping strategy the trainees did to overcome the unpleasant behaviors. AP said that the

lack of discrimination against kenshusei from Indonesia was triggered by the motive that Indonesian kenshusei were workers who obeyed orders from their superiors and obeyed the surrounding legal laws and regulations.

In addition, the small amount of salary the Indonesian TITP trainees received, if it was compared to the amount received by native Japanese workers will make Japanese people think that Indonesian kenshusei are not their competitors and those Indonesian kenshusei are not a threat to the continuity of the local workers' careers and jobs [30]. The absorption of non-Japanese workers should be undertaken in such a manner that co-existence and mutual prosperity between Japan and its neighbors is not impaired [31].

Coping Strategies Conducted Against Discrimination by TITP Trainees from Indonesia
Based on the above-mentioned findings, we can conclude that there are nine coping strategies that can be done to face discrimination by the kenshusei from Indonesia to survive in Japan from the onslaught of discrimination:

1. Strengthening cultural/race identity;
2. Seeking social support;
3. Channelling anger/doing confrontation,
4. Avoiding working conditions without backing up from friends who are fluent in Japanese;
5. Obeying existing regulations;
6. Participating in every day's community life in order to better understand the cultural and social context of the community;
7. Due to previous hard work experience, the trainee was able to accept heavy work in Japan;
8. Understanding the rights of workers well and taking advantage of SO facilities that provide protection for the trainee;
9. Managing himself so that he does not act as a problem carrier in his workplace.

There are 3 of the above-mentioned nine coping strategies which are in accordance with the theory of [32]. First, a sense of pride in a strong ethnic identity will outweigh the negative influence of discriminatory words from others. This was experienced by NK who was almost fired as a trainee and returned to Indonesia because he unofficially took Eid leave in his first year as a jissusei. NK believes he took the leave because he is

a devout Muslim. He also explained to his superiors that Muslims were entitled to leave on religious holidays. NK did a coping strategy to defend his position by strengthening his identity as a Moslem who has a right to perform his religious ritual in that special day.

Through the negotiations, NK's mistakes were forgiven and he was allowed to take Eid leave on that day. In the following days, NK also became very trusted by his superiors because of their prejudice that foreigners are lazy and have a low work ethic, unlike Japanese people, was proven as a wrong opinion because NK was proven to be a hard worker trainee who has good manners to his boss, seniors, and colleagues.

NK has the principle that he is a "Wong Jowo sing nrimo lan kulino urip rekoso" (a Javanese who is thankful and used to live in hardship). He used to have a difficult life in his village by being a woodcutter. That is why, even a difficult job in Japan was only an easy task for him. Because of this work attitude, the native Japanese workers, who are generally elderly, sympathize with him and do not discriminate against him anymore. He is always there to help these Japanese elderly people to do things they cannot do and as a result, he is loved by his boss, seniors, and co-workers.

NK has even been offered to return to work and continue his work as kenshusei in Japan for the next two years when he returned to Indonesia, as an effect of the extension of the TITP scheme's working term to 5 years. But NK refuses softly because he already feels comfortable with his current job as a woodcutter and entrepreneur in his hometown. He also admitted that he was reluctant to work for Japanese companies in Indonesia because the workload was as heavy as a kenshusei's task in Japan but the salary was much lower.

The second way according to Brandolo et al. [26] for coping with discrimination is to seek social support. This is how AP is doing in dealing with things that might go wrong in the company. He reported to his seniors from PT JIAEC who always supervised the trainees to seek protection against improper payment of wages and other improper treatment. AP said that the supervisor from PT JIAEC always came to his workplace at certain times to collect complaints from participants in the TITP apprenticeship program. If there are problems related to late payments, unpaid overtime, etc, kenshusei can report to a representative of PT JIAEC to find a solution to the problem and discuss this with the company where they work.

The last way that kenshusei may also be done to coping with discrimination is to choose a "fight" mechanism. When life offers two options "fight or flight," LH admitted that he would choose to fight. LH will carry out this coping strategy if there were fellow workers, seniors or Japanese people who discriminated against him. He studied

Japanese language so hard that he had passed a JLPT N3 certificate. He will have a confrontation with better Japanese language if he must face a conflict involving an argument because now his Japanese language is a lot better than when he first came to Japan.

The function of doing a confrontation is twofold. The first function is related to releasing negative emotion from within yourself and the second function is to make the opponent rethink to discriminate against us, because we can provide resistance to unfair and improper actions from them. In addition, in a koujou (factory) setting, it would be better if we could argue and confront discriminatory or unpleasant statements from the other person, but don't be provoked into making physical contact first. This is because usually the party who carries out the physical attack first will be considered as the party responsible for a dispute in a company or factory, according to LH.

5. Conclusion

TITP apprentices in Japan who work in the 3K sector are also vulnerable to potential acts of discrimination. Sometimes they are suspected of doing criminal acts or suspected of being members of a certain race who often commit abusive behaviour in Japan. Due to the disrespectful actions or performance of one kenshusei that did not satisfy Japanese superiors and seniors, all (Indonesian) kenshusei were often all labeled incompetent at work or received discriminatory treatment or statements from their Japanese colleagues.

To overcome these discriminatory treatments, the researchers found that there were 9 coping strategy models implemented by kenshusei, 3 of which were in accordance with the concept of Brondolo et al. (2009). Those coping strategy models are: 1. strengthening ethnic identity; 2. seeking social support; 3. channelling anger/doing confrontation; 4. avoid working conditions without a back-up from friends who are fluent in Japanese; 5. obeying existing regulations; 6. socializing in order to better understand the cultural and social context of the community; 7. due to previous hard work experience, the kenshusei was able to accept a heavy task in Japan; 8. understanding the rights of workers well and taking advantage of SO facilities that provide protection to kenshusei; 9. managing himself well so that he will not become the first person starting the physical contact in the setting of a workplace.

6. Suggestion

Researchers' suggestion for the Sending Organizers (SO) of TITP trainees and the Indonesian government are: for TITP trainees to be given more social support or channels for complaints if they are faced with various problems, including those related to discrimination.

The role of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) for TITP trainees should be strengthened. NGOs should be able to embrace and provide protection for TITP trainees because according to the trainees' confessions, the three interns trainees whom the researcher interviewed had never been in touch and heard of the direct assistance of NGOs on the problems of Indonesian migrant workers in Japan.

Furthermore, this research is expected to be continued by other researchers in the future by involving more subjects and more complex methods.

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