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**HUMAN CAPITAL TRAINING IN THE GLOBAL  
CARE CHAIN: MIGRANT CAREGIVERS IN JAPAN**

A Research Paper presented by:

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## List of Acronyms

ASEAN	Association of South-East Asian Nations
EPA	Economic Partnership Agreement
GCC	Global Care Chain
GoJ	Government of Japan
ILO	International Labour Organisation
ISS	Institute of Social Studies
JITCO	Japan International Training Cooperation Organisation
JICWELS	Japan International Corporation of Welfare Services
MHLW	Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare of Japan
MOJ	Ministry of Justice of Japan
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NPO	Non Profit Organisation
OJT	On-the-Job Training
TITP	Technical Interns and Training Programme

## Abstract

A 'good practice' of 'EPA elderly caregiving training programme' at a facility in Japan, in which foreign qualified nurses are training at nursing home for elderly for passing the Japanese national certificate for elderly caregiving, contains silenced in a governmental program discourse but existing problems.

Discourse analysis on the programme guideline is contrasted with a local practice, the research paper shows that deskilling is taking place for fuelling cheap labour force into elderly care sector in Japan, and resolving the labour shortage due to unpopularity of the jobs among the Japanese nationals. Interestingly, the foreign qualified nurses are hired regular basis but the salary ranks start the minimum class equal to the high school graduates of Japan. The given reasons are '*ethnic penalty*' and '*linguistic incapability*' which derive from cultural differences. The migrants' traits in their national characters influence on their measurement of 'the value of human resources'.

Due to the lower wages the migrants owe some risks for becoming precarious existences in a society. The rules and regulations written in the concerning guideline does not protect them, but defines 'who is more desirable to be employee'. It is notable that even a successful case of policy implementation, it is probable that silenced effects and unconscious malpractice would be found.

## Relevance to Development Studies

Human capital training in global care chains might assist uneven development within the territory. Japan imports qualified nurses from developing countries as trainees under the terms of economic cooperation. Within the programme institution, Japanese elderly care sectors hire qualified nurses from developing countries with cheaper wages. For compensation of the lower wages, the participants receive training and will take the exam for the national certificate specialising in elderly caregiving in Japan. Neglected their original qualifications, they are fuelling labour into a sector which is less attractive to domestic labour force in Japan. Due to the activities, the supplier economies likely to lose important human resources for the local socioeconomic development.

## Keywords

Global Care Chain, Human Capital, Deskilling, Migrant workers, On-the-Job Training, Economic Partnership Agreement, Japan

# Chapter 1 Migrant Workers in Japanese Care Provision

## 1.1 Introduction

### 1.1.1 Migrant Care Workers in Japan

*"I have an impression..., that they are quite cheaper than hiring a Japanese dispatch. And they work at least three years. That is certainly good for us (an accepting facility) assuring workers for a designated period. We have been struggling with attracting labours who constantly work. Currently, I think it is important to have several sources of labour overseas. More workers are needed, while less Japanese enter into this sector. And, simply I like to go for eating and to chat with them, because they are lovely and good people. They can make money for remittance and they are happy, and we are happy, too. Win-win situation at this facility. That is best thing, isn't it?" (facility manager, nursing home for elderly, interview 23 August 2018).*

A facility manager, middle aged cheerful male, of a nursing home for elderly in Japan told the author about his perspectives on accepting migrant workers. The facility has been accepting foreign nurses from Indonesia, The Philippines, and Viet Nam. The facility hires them as regular workers. The nurses are 'learning' caregiving through On-the-Job-Training (OJT) and some course lectures. They are helping elderly people with bathing, eating, toileting, and exercising. They were qualified nurses back in their countries, but they are not allowed to utilise their medical nursing skills such as injection, saturation, and respiratory therapy in Japan. What does it mean by 'cheaper than a Japanese dispatch'? Why and how do they regard them 'cheaper'? Are they nurses or carers? Moreover, are they workers or trainees? How do these entitlements affect the migrants' lives? The research paper considers such questionable policy settings of 'EPA Elderly Caregivers'.

### 1.1.2 Hyper Ageing Society requires Foreign Caregivers

The proportion of elderly in Japan was recorded 27.7% in 2015 (Government of Japan, 2014). The demographic imbalance has gradually worsened by lower birth rate and growing the ratio of elderly people. Shrinking population in the domestic working age generation means that the labour market tends to rely on foreign human resources. According to Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare (2015), defined required minimum number of care givers as of 2025 is 2, 530, 000, while the estimated supply would be 2, 152, 000. The shortage is calculated 3, 77, 000. The average sufficiency rate is 94.0% in 2017, 91.1% in 2020, and is prospected to be 85.1% in 2025 (Ibid). The real wanting number of care staffs are more, and their local sufficiency rate falls into 20.4% (Ibid.). In this circumstances, Japan has been

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accepted two types of migrant care workers; one is under the umbrella of Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA) since 2008 and another is through Technical Intern Training Programme (TITP) from 2017<sup>1</sup>. This research paper will pay attention on the case of EPA. The participants are commonly referred to as 'EPA *Kaigofukushi-shi* [Elderly Caregivers]' or 'EPA *Kohosei* [Candidates]', and main characteristics of this programme are offering elderly caregiving training for the qualified nurses overseas while they are contracted as regular full employment workers. Contextually, they are *trainees*, and at the same time, migrant *workers*.

### 1.1.3 'EPA Elderly Caregivers'

The goals of the programme is to train foreign candidates in Japan. Under the terms of Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA) in Japan-Indonesia since 2008, The Philippines since 2009 and Viet Nam since 2014, Japan aims to train and support special foreign candidates from these countries to pass the exam (the Japanese national certificate for elderly care giving) through job-training at a particular scale and registered accepting organisations (i.e. hospitals and nursing homes for elderly). Within three or four years, they require to pass the exam. Upon passing the exam, they will be able to renew their working visa literally for ever. This strengthens economic bonds among the host- and supplier- economies with constant employment and movements of human resources within the territory.

The guideline notifies that the programme is not welcoming unskilled labour from overseas. The document warns that accepting **foreign unskilled labour** may occupy domestic job vacancy, which **domestic youth, female, and senior** are supposed to fill. Thus it is important to set the maximum number of accepting candidates. Then the programme explains that EPA programme is just a special case which allows a certain number and level of candidates into Japan for working and job-training in order not to negatively influence on domestic labour market.

The institution crosses the boundaries. Since the programme is based on governmental bilateral agreements, each government has autonomous organisation for smooth matching, sending and accepting procedures; JICWELS in Japan, National Board in Indonesia, POEA in the Philippines, and DOLAB in Viet Nam. Each organisation holds guidance and meeting cooperatively with JICWELS in the home countries. Only those facilities in Japan, which have adequate number of rooms and more than 30 regular workers, can join into this programme arena. Holding matching conference, potential candidates and recruiters from the accepting facilities directly meet and talk one another about employment,

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<sup>1</sup> Technical Intern Training Programme has opened additional category which are nursing and caregiving since 2017 (MHLW 2017).

life in the town, and other participants' experiences. Once the working facility has been agreed between candidates and recruiters, Immigration Bureau of Japan deals with the entry visa, registration, and 'special activities' visa cooperatively with the accepting organisations and JICWELS.

The accepting facility pay to JICWELS these costs; annual registration fee (30,000 JPY<sup>2</sup> for the first registration and 20,000 JPY for annual renewal), annual immigration control fee per person (20,000 JPY for the candidates and 10,000 JPY for the certificate holders), matching fee per accepting person (131,400 JPY), and costs of introductory job training offered by JICWELS (220,000 JPY for Indonesian, 200,000 JPY for Filipino, and 100,000 JPY for Vietnamese per person respectively), besides to Japanese education organisations, 360,000 JPY for Indonesian and Filipino, and 260,000 JPY for Vietnamese per person. The registration fees would be discounted if the facility constantly accept new candidates. The accepting facility also pay matching and registration related fee to each governmental autonomous organisations; 48,500 JPY (registration) and 6,700 JPY (medical checkout) per person to POEA of the Philippines, 38,100 JPY (registration including medical checkout) per person to National Board in Indonesia, and 48,500 JPY (registration) per person to DOLAB of Viet Nam. In total, it is assumed to cost approximately 800,000 JPY for the facility to accept one candidate. In addition, the transportation costs for the candidates from their countries and domestic transportation also bear to the accepting facility. The costs of working insurance, accommodation (housing subsidies, appliance, and furniture), bike, and laptops are covered by the facility. Thus the total related costs would be approximately 1,000,000 JPY per one candidate (JICWELS 2018 & Takahashi 2018: 14).

The programme instruments are OJT, Japanese classes, and lectures on elderly care in Japan. Besides, regulations, monitoring and evaluation among the stakeholders. JICWELS provides three month introductory sessions before allocation to the facility after entry into Japan, which consist general introduction for living in Japan, Japanese language, and lectures about elderly care in Japan. Once they started job-training at the facility, they continue participating in Japanese classes at the working place or commuting local Japanese language schools as well as learning and preparing for the exam instructed by colleagues with the certificate and more than five-year-working experience. JICWELS appropriately sends staffs to the facility for monitoring and evaluation by interviewing the candidates about the treatments by the facility and living conditions. Keeping rules and transparency are assured by JICWELS and cooperation by the accepting organisations.

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<sup>2</sup> JPY or yen is Japanese Yen. As of November 2018, 1 EUR = 130 JPY (*Nikkei*, 7 November 2018).

Qualified nurses<sup>3</sup> with the actual work experience in their countries and N3<sup>4</sup> of the Japanese proficiency certificate can join guidance and matching conference. They meet and talk with the recruiters of accepting organisations face-to-face, and submitting their aspiring ranking sheets mutually by the candidates and the recruiters of the hosting facility (JICWELS 2018). The purpose of the programme is for them to pass the exam and continue working in Japan. However, since Japanese immigration policy does not accept ‘unskilled foreign labour’, they have to go back to the countries upon failing the exam after the training period. Besides, due to globally growing demand for elderly caregivers, global sourcing of carers has been getting competitive. In fact, the number of candidates for the EPA programme is getting smaller year by year (Takahashi 2018).

**Table 1 Scope of the current EPA participants in Japan**

How many participants from each country has come to how many facilities?		
Indonesia	1199 people	249 facilities
The Philippines	1124 people	272 facilities
Viet Nam	417 people	145 facilities
How many of them has passed the exam?	Number of successful	402/ approx. 7,000
	Passing rate	23%

(Source: MHLW 2017, JICWELS 2018 & Takahashi 2018: 13)

## 1.2 Background

### 1.2.1 Reshaping of Care Provision in Post-Fordism Japan

The debates around ‘EPA Elderly Caregivers’ or migrant elderly caregivers has introduced into the society in the context of commoditisation of ‘care’. ‘Care’ is the basis for reproducing new lives and passing away old lives side by side (Ueno 2011: 21). By supporting people in need with daily lives, caregivers will contribute to one’s Quality Of Life (Fukushishi Yōsei Kōza Henshū Iinkai 2006: 3). Although ‘care’ has been connected to be unpaid and intangible labour which has been expected to be dealt with within family units, ‘care work’ is valuable as paid labour as part of reproductive work in economics (Yeates 2009, Sato 2010: 2, and Asato 2018).

<sup>3</sup> They are graduates from higher education specialising medical nursing in their original countries.

<sup>4</sup> N3 refers to one of the five levels which demonstrate one’s Japanese proficiency. According to Japanese-Language Proficiency Test (JLPT) (2018), successful candidates of N3 level can understand daily use Japanese to a certain degree (i.e. read and comprehend ordinary use Japanese, understand contexts and human relations from one’s conversation, and require some paraphrase if they meet complicated expressions).

Industrialisation maximises females' reproductive labour and minimises males' (Ueno 1990: 86). Divided the roles of labour between women and men had prevailed under the Fordism (Matsuoka 2007: 10). The labour policy of the states and the industries dedicated to improvement of standards of living for wage-working class, and increased their incomes and purchasing power (Ibid.). The triangle institutions; the states, industries and family are cooperatively function as a firm with dividing roles of wage-earnings (i.e. working outside) from intangible works (i.e. child care, elderly care, and house chores) (Ibid.). Consequently, the policy kept female housewives focusing on the reproductive parts of the society alongside of the perception that the care-related labour is not monetary tangible. (Matsuoka 2007: 12, Vosko 2011: 6 & Igarashi 2018: 250). Fordism had an end in 1980s since capitalism expanded globally (Igarashi 2018: 249). Post-Fordism brought about transition of roles-bearers of 'care' (Kuba 2007: iv). Those were frequently transferred from the family unit to social and commercial entity (Asato 2018).

Legislation encouraged greater female labour force participation in post-Fordist Japan. The Gender Equal Employment Act (firstly enacted in 1972 and revised in 1985) encouraged the more domestic female labour forces to fill the vacancy in productive labour market by offering equal opportunities for hiring and promotion and equal wages with the same jobs without discrimination (MHLW 2018). It has been positively understood that women's labour and social rights would have been increased by diversifying labour market (Matsuoka 2007: 15). Although, discriminatory recruitments (i.e. Female workers are assigned general office jobs. Most positions with more prospect of promotion are reserved for male ones) are prohibited in the legislation, but in reality, such as are still existing informally. The enactment was coincidentally Post-Fordism Japan needed more female participations into production market as well as reproductive realm (Kuba 2007: iv). In fact, some women got higher ranked jobs and increased their earnings. That took them time and labour away from dealing with 'care duty', while the socially embedded perception which "women take care" has yet been stick to 'female'. Women tend to take both reproduction and production as double-work. Increasing number of female part-timers and the dispatch is predictable when they try to deal with time for the double-work. The Act has glorified diversification of working style by appealing more suitable working and living style (i.e. part-timers and shorter time shift which often end up with inadequate welfare access by themselves) and promoted female participations into production part of the society without adequate social debates around 'to value care labour'. These activities under patriarchy the less recognised and remunerated reproductive activities are allocated to the more marginalised gender – women (Vosko 2011: 6).

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### ***1.2.2 Externalising Care Works***

Externalisation of reproductive duty refers to exclusion of care-related works, such as child and elderly care, and house chores etc., from family unit to the society (= Socialisation) or the market (=Marketization) (Asato 2018: 17). Externalisation occurs when the development of service industry, women's higher educational attainments, men and women's participations into the labour market, and hyper ageing society happen almost simultaneously (Asato 2018: 17). That brings about the private and family duty out from the intimate territory.

The two realm of externalisation comprise socialisation and marketization. Marketization is commodification of housekeeping (i.e. housekeeping service, ready-made meals, baby sitters etc.). Socialisation correlates to the social welfare services offered by the states. The society as a whole is responsible for the reproduction of all the family in need. The state is taking account of service distributions; for example, the subsidies given to NGOs, NPOs and community-based care entrepreneurs by the state and the long-term care insurance on individual basis. The boundary of socialisation or marketization is vague because the service-recipients can use the public insurance for asking private care service, and also the care entrepreneurs rely on public subsidies in business.

The condition of externalisation in Japan is in the quasi-market regarding the hybridity of the state welfare insurance and its utilisation of capital mechanism (Asato 2018: 22). The system shapes mutual-assistance by the state which provides care service through private sectors. In the Japanese society, the pension and the long-term care insurance enable the elderly people to be financially independent existence for utilising care services from public and private sectors (Asato 2018: 25). Japan has provided the long-term care insurance since 2001. When the citizens become 40 years old, they start to pay for the fee until age of 64. After becoming 65, the fee is deducted from the pension until they pass away. When they need financial support from the insurance, they request for the city hall and the municipality officials with the licence of care managers and/or social workers judge and verify the level of the requirement of supports or long-term care depending on the psychological and physical conditions of the elderly (i.e. support 1-2 and long-term care 1-5). The services vary from home-visit care for assisting daily lives including toilets, bathing, rehabilitation, and using assistive devices etc, to commuting day care centres for the purposes abovementioned. The elderly nursing home contains hospitalisation at the designated elderly care centres with medical supports including infusions, bedsores care, and

absorptions etc. The core idea of the insurance is based on the philosophy of the welfare regime apart from the capital competitions. By pooling risks and responsibilities for taking care of people in need, the nations as a whole are involved in the financing reproductive duty. The state takes account of distributing care service or financial aids for them to ask for social supports. This type of externalisation is justified by the exercise of public authority.

The system eventually enforces the care-receivers to want external care support because the state financial supports are not given to the family care done by the family members. Therefore the society requires those workers who are specialising in care work. In 1987, elderly caregiving became one of the expertise jobs entitled the national certificate so that the service quality would be stabilised and meet the demands from the public (Fukushishi Yōsei Kōza Henshū Linkai 2006: 3). Nonetheless, the primary concern of Japan is shrinking population who enter into the sector. When the society demands foreign workers for fulfilling the care vacancy, transnationalising care economy has begun.

### ***1.2.3 Transnationalising Care Workers shapes Global Care Chains***

Global Care Chain (GCC) refers to the network approaching the issues around migrant care workers who vary from unskilled (cooking, cleaning, and laundry) to skilled (nursing, teachers, and specific care work) care workers with paid and unpaid in both households-based (domestic housewives) and in the institutional settings (hospitals and nursing homes) (Yeates 2012: 137). A migrant care worker tends to go to a richer country to free a mother, father or other carer from the domestic duties on the paid basis while hiring another care worker from poorer region to fulfil her own duties (Hochschild 2000: 131). This shapes a chain until the bottom of the continuum which often ends with female siblings' taking the roles on the unpaid basis (Ibid). At the top end of the continuum the care worker gives the 'surplus love' and to the service recipients, and the supplier family might experience the loss instead. Extended, GCC analysis covers "intra- and cross-sectoral dynamics, and wider sociocultural, economic and political consideration variously shaping demand care labour migration (Yeates 2012: 142)." In its sphere, occupational hierarchy in skill and interpretation of the skill would be debatable (Cuban 2013: 63).

The conceptual positions of this analytical framework is underpinned within Relational Approach which questions the concretised power relations between the supplier- and recipient-countries, expressed territorial, racial and ethnic preference, and globally but regionally circulated process of the care chain (Yeates 2012: 142). Colonial ties often

correlate the territorial spread of a care chain (Ibid: 141). The economic powers are understood as the indicators of more advanced and qualified labour is needed in the region (Ibid.). A certain behavioural, cultural and religious traits are assumed to assure the quality of service they provide (Yeates 2012: 143 and Cuban 2013: 16). Since the required level of the accepting countries is assumed higher than ones in the supplier ones, the supplier-countries invest on the strategy of training qualified care workers for export (Yeates 2012: 144). That might foster the level of service in the supplier-countries; besides, remittance might be calculated as repayment from the investment and the stimuli of the economic development (Ibid.). The workers themselves might be willing to earn overseas and climb up the social status (Ibid: 141). The global power relations have been maintained through the residual justification that seeking growth would eventually reach the bottom of the chain in the poorer counties (Hickey and du Toit 2007: 5). However, the residual approach fails to capture the exploitative employment relations, either the possibilities that the migrant care workers might enter into the precarious living conditions in the distant society due to their cultural and social status determined by the hosting states (Hickey and du Toit 2007: 5, Anderson 2010: 300, & Folbre 2012: 282). Also, it does not problematize the increased outsourcing of care duties from much poorer nations, which recreates uneven development (Hickey and du Toit 2007: 5 & Yeates 2012: 137). In this sense, GCC is aiming to capture the multiplicities of the migrant care workers in terms of the organisational, occupational and sectoral settings with respect of relational approach (Yeates 2012: 139). This research locates itself in the relational ways of thinking when it comes to exploring the function of the EPA care training programme in global care chain realm.

### **1.3 Research Objectives**

#### ***1.3.1 Research Motivations***

The EPA programme is interesting topic for those who investigate issues around migrant care nexus. Within the programme institution, Japan imports qualified nurses from developing countries with cheaper wages. For compensation of the lower wages, the participants will have training and will take the exam for the national certificate specialising in elderly caregiving in Japan. Ignored the existing problems which ageing society and increasing demands of labour in the elderly care sector in Japan, the EPA programme hypothetically promotes uneven development among the involved economies.

### ***1.3.2 Research Questions and Strategy***

These contexts raise questions how the programme illustrates the justification of accepting foreign professional nurses as candidates, and how the designed programme has been interpreted by the practitioners. Is the programme beneficial for the participants' human capital accumulation as the guideline describes? What justify and sustain the narratives of the training programme? What's the real problem behind? The research paper discusses these questions.

For answering the questions, the research paper specifically asks 1) what the programme guideline problematizes, 2) on what assumptions the programme was designed, and 3) what is exactly being resolved in reality. In Chapter 2, the research paper firstly explores the EPA migrant care training programme in relation to human capital theory in terms of deskilling and reskilling migrant workers, secondly it considers how does the training programme give reasons for 'migrants' different frames and references (Anderson 2010: 301)' through the lenses of the migrant precarity. Then Chapter 3 introduces how the research processes collecting data from a practitioner in Japan, dealing with the data and analysing it, so that the research paper finally examines the programmes design together with a local interpretation. Chapter 4 analyses the programme guideline specifically by applying a descriptive programme evaluation methods on what assumptions the programme was designed, and Chapter 5 develops themes from the interview data collected from a practitioner. Chapter 6 comparatively discusses the programme logic with the real life experience of the participants and the practitioner, and outlooks the policy.

## Chapter 2 Conceptual Framework: Are they Trainees or ‘Wasted Precariat’?

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### 2.1 EPA Training Programme through Human Capital Theory

#### 2.1.1 Human Capital Theory

Human capital theory explores the link between the investment in human resources and the foregone monetary returns (Teixeria 2014: 8). Gary Becker (1930-2014) introduced the idea that the investment in human resources in the form of education, training and experience is as much important as the one in the physical capital (i.e. better machines and new technology) in terms of the income development (Becker 1975: iii). It is influential for the ones’ employability, productivity and the future incomes as ‘the value added human capital’ (Becker 1975: ii). Human capital could be accumulated not only by school education but also by training in the firms, with attention the distinction between general and firm-specific human capital. The general human capital can be seen even in the state policy of which provides general and primary education schooling and basic vocational training (i.e. a particular language proficiency, expertise certificate and knowledge) (Akabayashi 2012: 10 & Kumakura and Kojima 2017: 4). The human capital can be used in any firm throughout their lives; therefore, the firms tend not to invest on this training because they are less likely to collect revenue when the workers quit jobs to move to other firms (Akabayashi 2012: 10). The specific human capital, in contrary, is accumulated through OJT while being employed (Tochio 2013: 153). The firms tend to have more incentives on investment in the firm-specific human capital (i.e. industry-specific knowledge, organisational management, and personal connections) (Akabayashi 2012: 10 & Hiroda 2011: 67).

#### 2.1.2 EPA Programme as Specific Human Capital Training

EPA training programme offers OJT at nursing homes for elderly, preparation study for the exam of the national certificate of elderly caregiving with lectures and the designated textbooks, and Japanese language proficiency. OJT and studying for the exam are specific knowledge focusing on elderly care and usable within the sector in Japan. Japanese proficiency skill is, although it is a language skill, but it is only useful in Japan and Japan related firms overseas possibly. Strategically, the specific human capital is only used in the firm or the sector; thus the employees are less likely to move to other firms because

they cannot use the learned skills in different fields (Akabayashi 2012: 10). This enables the firms, namely investors, to keep such skilled or transitional labour for longer tenure (Eguchi 2018: 42 & Akabayashi 2012: 10). Moreover, the tenure-based wage profile which has been schema in Japan gives incentives the workers to be patient and diligent workers until the wages will be paid more (Akabayashi 2012: 10). Such 'less-value added' workers such as younger or beginners earn less, because the training costs are literally deducted from their wages (Eguchi 2018: 41).

In addition, the risks and costs of human capital investments are owed by the workers until they get monetary returns, while the benefits are always shared both by the employers and employee (Folbre 2012: 283 & Tochio 2013: 155-157). When it comes to who invests to whom, who benefits from their investments and who bears costs and risks, the decisions and the behaviours of the workers might be whichever expanded or narrowed under a particular job training. Highly specified human capital training in case of EPA care training programmes probably bring more benefits for the investors, the accepting organisations and hosting countries in this case. Optimistically, this is an effective investment on human capital for increasing potential employability, profitability and job-security for each migrants, employers and economies respectively (*'win-win-win'*). Pessimistically, however, the trainees might be regarded as cheaper labour forces. EPA migrant caregivers could be bargained **cheaper** because they are **trainees** and candidates for the exam of Japanese national certificate.

## **2.2 Deskillling and Reskillling turn out to be Fuelling Labour Force to Japan**

### ***2.2.1 Deskillling Migrant Workers moulds Precarious Workers***

When it comes to exploring why the migrant caregivers under the umbrella of EPA are **trainees** while they were qualified nurses, it is probably that deskillling is taking place for the presuppositions directed by immigration controls (Cuban 2013 & Anderson 2010: 313). **Deskillling** refers to lack of recognition of qualifications and educational entitlements (Cuban 2013: 79 & Anderson 2010: 304). Migrant workers are often degraded when they pass through the filter named immigration controls (Anderson 2010: 307). Immigration policy selects what kind of migrants in and out, so that the policy defines *more desirable employees* (Anderson 2010: 313). For the reasons of discrimination based on the national character traits such as race, ethnicity, and nationality (*'ethnic penalty'*), and lack of fluency in the language (*'language penalty'*), immigration policy degrade the migrants as employee (Cuban 2013: 16). The inequalities in wage earnings are assumed reflecting their different

productivity from the perspective of the neo-classical economic traditions; however, this assumption does not suit the reality which the wages are primarily decided based on their value of labour power in a certain societal-context (Folbre 2012: 282). Lower status leads to lower wages and unsecured employment relations; furthermore, these characteristics are shared with 'precarious workers' (Standing 2011: 10 & 153 & Anderson 2010: 300). Regarding the labour market, Pajnik (2016: 160) defines precarious works are shorter employment relations, high degree of flexibility, and less social protection through the employment. The primary features of precarious works are the higher risks of losing jobs, strict employer's controls, little access to legal protection, and poverty due to lower incomes (Pajnik 2016: 160). Those who experience marginalised labour rights and victimised welfare shape a new class phenomenon, 'the precariat' as a new dangerous class characterised by "anxiety, anomie and alienation (Bessant 2018: 3)." Traditionally, most vulnerable population would be senior, female, young, and migrant workers (Pajnik 2016: 159 & Siegmann and Schiphorst 2016). In the society of destination country, migrants might be precarious workers when their background and experience are deskilled.

### ***2.2.2 Reskilling for Better Positioning in Immigration Hierarchy***

The participants of EPA programme is reskilling their knowledge and skills from the working places (Cuban 2013: 151). The job hierarchy in care work realm in terms of skill acquisition and the quality of the skill designated by the accepting governments (Yeates 2012: 138). The occupation as elderly caregivers in Japan was uncoupled from nursing care in 1987, because necessary number of workers in the sector was getting increased. Moreover, most of the tasks do not need medical training or knowledge; moreover specialising vocational college degree is assigned for obtaining the certificate. Higher education degrees are not always required, however, foreign qualified nurses under EPA training programme are to learn elderly caregiving in Japan. They train themselves into new culture and sector and that would turn out to be 'Brain Waste' (Siar 2013, Azar 2015 & Kurniati et al. 2017). They can lose their original skills and know-how by reskilling new ones in destination society. In case EPA programme, foreign qualified nurses might lose their skills while working and receiving training at nursing home for elderly in Japan. Such activities are basically beneficial for the migrants to upskill their job and social status in the hosting countries (Cuban 2013: 151). Notably, EPA programme does not ensure the migrant long-term working life in Japan. If they fail the exam for the certificate, they have to go back to their countries even though they have already spend three or four year job training in Japan. The training tenures would have ruined their original knowledge of

nursing, but they would have to leave Japan for the sending countries (Kurniati et al. 2017). The returnees would be in difficult in refresh nursing skills and searching appropriate jobs (Ibid.). Again, they might be ‘the precariat’ upon returning to their original countries.

### **2.3 Who Benefits More through EPA Training Programme?**

Japanese elderly care sectors and more or less Japan could benefit more than the supplier economies, because the investors in specific human capital training in a certain sector are more likely to take benefits more (Folbre 2012: 283 & Tochio 2013: 155). Besides, the employment contract between employers and employee tend to end up with the continuous exploitation even though the employment relations are recognised fair (Tanno 2007: 4). The employers benefit more than the employee as the recipient- economies gain more than the supplier-economies when they import and export labour force (Tanno 2007: 4 & Yeates 2012: 144). Regarding the distributions of benefits, risks, and costs within this global care chain sphere, the share of benefits stay in Japan while the risks and costs tend to be owed by the migrants themselves (Yeates 2012: 144). For instance, the supplier state-sponsored education provides the skill training or the workers themselves purchase from private vocational school (‘self-investment’) (Yeates 2012: 138 & Folbe 2012: 284); and to export own-trained care workers by the public investment would be ‘brain drain’ and ‘care erosion’ (Takahashi 2018: 26).

## Chapter 3 Methodology

### 3.1 Techniques for Data Generation

The specified research questions are; what the programme guideline problematizes, on what assumptions the programme was designed, and what exactly is being resolved in reality. In order for answering those questions, this research will **firstly** explore how the programme logic assumes the **goals** of the implementation, what kind of **impact** is predicted and **what** the problem is expected to be resolved with the programme by utilising *realistic policy evaluation* approach modified by Leeuw et al. in 1999 and *problem frame analysis* named “What’s the Problem Represented to be? (WPR) Approach” by Bacchi in 2009 and elaborated by Goodwin in 2011 (Leeuw et al 1999 and Goodwin 2011). **Then**, it will **contrast** to the local reality collected through interview. The researcher conducted semi-structured interview with preparatory questionnaires for taking account of background information and situation of the interviewee followed by approximate one hour free style conversation respectively (Patton 1990).

### 3.2 Selection of Research Location and Participants

The research location is an elderly welfare facility<sup>5</sup> part of a social welfare corporation<sup>6</sup> in Kurashiki city, Okayama, Japan<sup>7</sup>. JICWELS, Japanese governmental autonomous organisation which is specialising in management of the programme, has chosen this facility as one of the successful cases with higher satisfactory level of the foreign candidates, their colleagues, and the users. When they held annual guidance conference in



<sup>5</sup> For privacy reason, the research paper keeps the facility name anonymous.

<sup>6</sup> This type of facility is for those elderly patients who need intensive nursing care on daily basis (i.e. supports for eating, bathing, toileting, and moving from beds to wheelchairs etc.). The conditions of the users are various from staying and living for years, commuting several times a week or a month, to using day-care services. The users and the family members consult professional care managers to decide how much they use services depending on their physical and psychical conditions as well as financial balances.

<sup>7</sup> Kurashiki city, Okayama is the author’s home town. (Map from Kurashiki city guide: <https://www.kurashiki-tabi.jp/for/en/>, 2018)

Osaka in April 2018<sup>8</sup> (JICWELS 2018), the facility managers introduced their experiences to the audiences including potential accepting facilities, other practitioners and those who are interested in the programme. The case would define what a successful case is and how the local reality should be like. Analysing such **typified** case, the research would be able to outlook this policy design even though the number of sample is very small. In addition, statistically, the conditions of the research arena is similar to average of the whole Japan (See Table 2 below). This sample case of the city would be justifiable to contrast to the logic analysis and the problem representations of the programme guideline.

*Table 2 Ratios of Elderly Care Okayama with all Japan*

	Above-65 population rate	The increase rate of the beneficiary of the long-term care insurance	The sufficiency rate of staffing elderly care givers
Okayama	29.6%	38.6%	20.4%
Japan	27.7%	50.7%	20.4%

*(Source: Okayama prefectural statistical bureau, 2017)*

When it comes to the research participants, the facility has employed 10 participants insofar. A Filipina retired and went back for giving birth during the designated period. An Indonesian staff who is on maternity leave and another Filipina took the exam, but only the former candidate passed in 2015. The latter one did not retry the exam but went back to the Philippines, because she had her fiancé back home. In total, three from Indonesia (including one on the paid leave), three from the Philippines, and two from Viet Nam are working at the facility as of August 2018. Only one of them is the certificate holder. The capacity of the facility is suitable scale for accepting the candidates with adequate number of regular Japanese workers. The social welfare corporation has other elderly care related facilities, and one of the smaller scale facilities will newly accept foreign trainees under the terms of Technical Intern Training Programme (TITP) from 2019<sup>9</sup>(See Table 3 below).

<sup>8</sup> JICWELS holds annual guidance in Osaka, Fukuoka, and Toyo in Aprils. The presentations materials <[https://jicwels.or.jp/files/EPA\\_case\\_2019\\_4.pdf](https://jicwels.or.jp/files/EPA_case_2019_4.pdf)> and other information are available in the website <<https://jicwels.or.jp/?p=6584>>.

<sup>9</sup> Those staffs and managers who experienced training foreign staffs came by EPA programme will take charge of the new acceptance. Although the programme logic and aims are different, they would treat them equally within the corporation.

**Table 3 Corporation Outline of the Target Facility**

Name	Elderly Welfare Facility part of Social Welfare Corporation
Type of facility	Nursing home for elderly
Capacity (main/ new building)	50 +10 (occasional)/ 30
The number of employee (main/new)	28 or over /23 or over
The number of EPA workers	10 (one is on maternity leave)
Number who passed the exam	1 (Indonesia)
Number who left upon failing the exam	1 (the Philippines) for marriage
Number who left before taking the exam	1 (the Philippines) for giving birth
The passing rate among EPA workers	50% (one passed put of two candidates)
Planning to accept TTTP	Applicable (2019)

(Source: Own elaboration based on interview, 2018)

Three interviewee participated in the research and their background information is shown below (See Table 4). They are all female qualified nurses and one from each agreed country. S is the only one married participant, and the certificate holder; but other two, T and J are single and candidates for the exam<sup>10</sup>. The unmarried two are remitting money to their family back in their countries while S is not.

**Table 4 Background Information of the Interviewee**

	<b>S</b>	<b>T</b>	<b>J</b>
<b>Nationality</b>	Indonesia	Viet Nam	The Philippines
<b>Age</b>	32	28	26
<b>Gender</b>	Female	Female	Female
<b>Religion</b>	Hinduism → Muslim (changed upon marriage)	Buddhist (no particular practice)	Catholic Christian
<b>Certificate original</b>	Nurse (General)	Nurse (Gynaecological clinic)	Nurse (Respiratory)
<b>Education back in their countries</b>	Master (Indonesia)	Junior college (Viet Nam)	University (the Philippines)
<b>Exam for Japanese Certificate of Elderly Care</b>	Passed (2015)	Will take next January 2019	Will take in 2021
<b>Working experience before coming to Japan</b>	2 years	1 year	2 years
<b>Working period in Japan</b>	6 years (since 2012)	3 years (since May 2015)	7 months (since Dec 2017)
<b>Japanese level (JLPT)/the current level (Subjective judgement by the</b>	N3 (before 2012)/ Fluent	N3 (2015)/ Fluent with a dictionary	N3 (2017)/ Some difficulty in communication

**Commented [KAS5]:** Consider shifting the presentation of your research participants' background into chapter 3, too. Alternatively, you could shift the table into an appendix a

nd briefly introduce the respondents in a flow text, highlighting those features that you refer to in your analysis. Not everything that is listed here, that your respondents mentioned is relevant for your analysis.

**Commented [KAS6]:** Introduce these levels if you haven't done so before.

<sup>10</sup> For privacy reason, the research paper describes their names initials.

<b>researcher)</b>			
<b>Employment</b>	Maternity leave (80% of the regular monthly payment is assured during the leave. She will come back to work from August 22, 2018.	Regular: 8 hours working and one hour break 4 or 5 days per week (9 day-off a month) Overtime payment & equal promotion opportunities as Japanese (The judgement is also equally done)	Same as the left
<b>Family in Japan</b>	Husband (ITTP → University Student (Japan)) & two babies born in Japan (Indonesian)	Single	Single
<b>Family back in their countries</b>	Mother (nurse), two sisters and brother (store at home), Father passed away (founded family owned store)	Father (carpenter at home), Mother (pension/retired road construction worker), sister (university in business administration) and brother (junior college in mechanical engineering)	The parent (unemployed), brother (just finished schooling in engineering), another brother (computer engineer)
<b>Remittance</b>	N/A, financial support from family in Indonesia & from the employer (Japan)	Approx. 50,000 JPY per month	80,000 JPY per month
<b>How to spend days-off?</b>	Taking care of children, talking with friends and family	Listening music, studying for the exam, short trip (Kansai)	Watching American movies, shopping, eating outside & short trip (Kobe)

(Source: Own elaboration based on interview to three participants, 2018)

### 3.3 Techniques for Data Analysis

The research wants to comparatively analyse the programme guideline with the local reality at the end in order to assess the binary standard of the programme (i.e. human capital training while hired as regular workers); therefore, this will look for what the programme tries to deal with and what it is resolving in reality.

Main analytical framework is Bacchi's poststructuralist discourse analysis, an extended theory from Foucauldian discourse analysis (Goodwin 2011). Poststructuralist policy analysis pays attention on the *meaning creation* and policy design as problematizations (Ibid). In other words, a designed policy might not be a direct response to existing problems but might be a strategic creation of problems for some intentional outcome (Ibid: 178). They would 'make problems' and 'solve them' (Ibid: 177). Therefore, it is useful to seek possible

impacts, silenced effects, and alternative view in the documented problems in the policy guideline (Bacchi 2009 in Goodwin 2011: 173). Bacchi's "What' the Problem Represented to be? Approach" is a convenient tool to recognise the meanings of a certain policy creation (Ibid: 167).

Combined with WPR, realistic policy evaluation method, which is elaborated by Leeuw et al. (1999), helps understanding programme underlying assumptions. The evaluation extracts topical premises from the programme discourse. Then, by questioning on what 'logic'/ 'theory' the EPA training programme is based and what potential impacts of the programme implementation are, this approach clarifies constructed logic and expectations of in the programme context. This approach is meaningful because it is not only foregrounding activities' set-up but also connecting those with socio-institutional *context* (Leeuw et al. 1999: 200). That is why this evaluation requires contrasting to empirical evidence; therefore, this research conducted semi-structured interviews in a local reality (Leeuw et al. 1999: 210).

Semi-structured interview both consists preparatory questionnaires (structured interview) and freely elaborative conversation (unstructured interview) (Kvale 2016). The qualitative analysis requires narrowing the raw data down into manageable segments by following the theme development steps (Vaismoradi et al. 2016: 103). The Vaismoradi et al.'s strategy is manifested by the four dimensions of extracting necessary and useful variants from the qualitative data; 1) Initialisation, 2) Construction, 3) Rectification, and 4) Finalisation (Ibid.). **First**, the researcher prepares for the transcripts and reflective notes, and divides all the elements of the data topics, and reorganises them into codes by meaning units. In this research, meaning units are based on the conceptual indicators; A) Human Capital Concepts, B) Vulnerabilities of being 'The Precariat'. **Then**, construction processes the codes into more analytical unit by describing similarities and differences among the participants with theoretical accounts. **Finally**, the last chapter will comparatively analyse the results from these analysis and explore conceptual discussion on application of human capital training into global care chain realm.

### 3.4 Ethical Considerations

It is crucially significant to keep 'outsider-perspective' in mind throughout the research process (Ibid: 106). **First**, it is important to be acknowledged about **understanding gap** of between the researcher and the interviewee (Patton 1990). When collecting data by interviewing, since the participants are not native Japanese speakers (the language is the only shared language among the researcher and the interviewee), important things are; careful word choices, more careful rephrasing their words if necessary, and giving enough

time for them to pick words in a dictionary. **Second**, it is almost impossible completing all the perspectives 1) because of language differences, 2) in case the topics are sensitive issues, and 3) when the number of variant is limited (Patton 1990). Thus, the author informed the participants beforehand; contacted the facility owner and manager who know well about the participants, and handed preparatory questionnaires with acknowledgement of the author's status, the research purposes, privacy policy (i.e. promise not to open the data outside of the research purposes). **Third**, in data analysis stage, translation and coding procedure can ruin the raw data because interpretation and paraphrase proceed by reference to own knowledge and concepts (Vaismoradi et al 2012: 105-106). Notably, sympathetic understanding is necessary but also distancing the objectives in order not to make an interpretation of the convenience to the researcher.

### **3.5 Scope and Limitations of the Research**

Limitations are derived from small variant of sample, translation, and difficulty in scrutinising all the possible interpretations. The research took up only one facility for observation and interview. The target guideline is written only in Japanese, and the interviews are also done in Japanese, thus some information would be ruined in translating. Note that it ideally requires double-analysis by multiple researchers because one analyst does not provide a finite interpretation and the researcher determines the level of abstraction. Yet, combined several methodological approaches supplement these weakness. In addition, the cooperation from the facility was incredibly respectable. The director of the facility welcomed the author to visit and interview to the EPA candidates. Their transparency enables the author to conduct this research at the facility. The facility manager supported with arrangement of meeting schedule and the introducing the research purposes and the researcher's information to them beforehand so that they can trust me and open their minds. Fortunately, the participants are professional in talking with the elderly people and other users, basically the interview and communication was smoothly conducted.

## Chapter 4 Unpacking Underlying Assumptions of the Programme Guideline

The guideline for training migrant care workers under the terms of EPA published by JICWELS<sup>11</sup>. Generally, the expected audiences of the guideline is the potential accepting organisations of Japan so that they can smoothly follow the necessary procedures in planning acceptance and training, meeting and recruiting, attending and preparing for housing, and reporting all the procedures to concerning legal administrative sectors (i.e. JICWELS, Prefectural immigration bureau, and MHLW). The pamphlet-type of document only written in Japanese and has 42 pages including the cover and the acronym guidance pages. The vocabulary and the style of the document sound policy notification but are more explanatory to the readers. Depending on each government the operation organ is different; for instance, National Board in Indonesia, POEA in the Philippines, and DOLAB in Viet Nam respectively have particular rules respectively with JICWELS in Japan. The document covers the purposes and justification of the acceptance migrant nurses and elderly care givers from the designated countries, and standardises what hosting facilities have to prepare, the applying conditions of the candidates, and matching process, the employment contracts, visa status, the agent commission to each organ, matching and attending procedure, and the introduction of the job training.

**First**, poststructuralist problem analytical framework which name is “What’s the Problem Represented to be? Approach” helps comprehensively understand what’s problematized and how that could be resolved, and how the programme itself could be questioned, criticised, or disrupted (Goodwin 2011: 173). That enables to see policy argument as discourse and to find out important silences and hidden problems both in discourse and in reality. **Second**, the section unpacks underlying assumptions and logic by applying realistic evaluation methods presented by Leeuw et al. (1999), which not only reveal social behavioural mechanisms but also access these to institutional contexts. **Third**, summary of these two analysis approaches raises some points which require contrasting to empirical assessments.

### 4.1 “What’s the Problem Represented to be?”

“What’s the Problem Represented to be? (WPR)” Approach is supportive because it foregrounds more institutional and contextual understandings and prospects material

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<sup>11</sup> The original text is available at <[https://jicwels.or.jp/files/EPA\\_2019\\_pamph\\_r.pdf](https://jicwels.or.jp/files/EPA_2019_pamph_r.pdf)> in the website of JICWELS <[https://jicwels.or.jp/?page\\_id=16](https://jicwels.or.jp/?page_id=16)>.

impacts of the programme. This section subdivides problem representations, underpinned assumptions behind the problematization, silences and hidden problems in reality, how and where the discourse is yielded, and how could it be criticised. These analytical questions would reveal underlying assumptions and expectations of the programme designer as the results of the implementation (See Appendix A).

The guideline **problematizes** that the counterpart economies, Indonesia, the Philippines and Viet Nam, have a problem of surplus unskilled labour. Besides, there is a notion which economic ties should be strengthened. Accepting them to train to be professionals in Japan, is assumed to be a **solution** for the problem. **Presupposed** that the Japanese national certificate for elderly caregiving is to be advantageous for the participants, thus Japan offers this programme. **Yet**, the document concerns about any **negative** influence over domestic labour market. This prospects decreasing number of vacancy for Japanese nationals due to importing foreign unskilled labour. What is distinctive about this discourse, such negative influence can concentrate on “**youth, female, and senior**”. The programme designers seems to expect these domestic labour power to antagonise to foreign candidates in the care sectors.

However, that **fails to grasp** the unpopularity of this sectoral jobs among Japanese nationals, nor the already-visible shortage of labour power in the sector. Although, this representation has perhaps been **justified** by economic powers and relations among the Japan-ASEAN membership states, and typified image of feminized and simplified labour of ‘care’. Economic power relations **rationalise** the relations of investor/ donors and investee/ recipients in terms of development aids including human capacity building. ‘Care labour’ is female job which is less monetary intangible and less complicated, which ‘female, youth, and senior’ can deal with.

Such assumptions have been **sustained** by involved **agencies** in a particular **institutional** culture of which Japanese government defines meanings of problems and concepts of the programme. Japanese immigration policy does not accept unskilled foreigners, while the elderly care sectors can no longer manage without foreign human resources. Manipulating discourse eloquently, Japan let ‘qualified’ but ‘unskilled’ nurses as candidates to be professionals through the programme from developing countries into the unpopular sector. Knowing its ambiguity or not, other stakeholders follow the stream because they likely to benefit to some degree from this implementation. This is **questionable** in many ways. Is the human capital training beneficial for the candidates as mentioned in the programme guideline? How have the regulations and rules come about? Do they really protect the candidates as predicted in the document? What are down-to-earth impacts for each stakeholder? On what assumptions is the logic

established?

#### 4.2 On What Assumptions is the Programme Designed?

Above all, the guideline recognises that human capital training for the foreign participants in the sector would promote economic cooperation among the agreed economies. The presuppositions, which know-how and skills in elderly caregiving in Japan are transferable, and worth to transfer to other countries in terms of stimulating economic interactions. For an effective and safe implementation, rules and regulations are essential. Following rules and intermittent monitoring prevent the foreign candidates and the practitioners from yielding/ being illegal and precarious migrants. Also, these rules define what the successful cases are. When it comes to how the programme has been designed based on which assumptions, some logic and theory are underlined. This section discusses three themes; I Skill hierarchy, II Rules and immigration controls, and III Unclear benefits behind costs owed by practitioners, which were extracted from the given topical premises in the guideline of EPA implementation published by JICWELS (See the premises list in Appendix B & logic analysis in Appendix C).

***Skill Hierarchy between Japanese and Foreigners:*** Premises 3 & 5 commonly mention that the foreign participants are subordinate to the counterparts of Japanese nationals. The foreign participants have to be qualified nurses in order for them to join in the programme arena. 'Qualified nurses' means that they were specialising in medical nursing at higher education. On the other hands, the potential instructors in accepting facility are not necessarily graduates from higher education. The guideline defines that the appropriate instructors are those who have the certificate and more than five-year-work experience in the sector. The certificate has been given to those students who completed special college school for three years, or those people who have passed the same exam concerned or worked for three years and participated in some skill lectures (i.e. absorption) (Social Welfare Promotion and National Examination Centre 2016). There is no academic qualifications, nationality, gender, and age of candidacy for the certificate examination (Ibid.). However, there is the qualifications for applying for the programme, which does not bind Japanese nationals but does foreign candidates. In addition, Premises 8 & 9 mention the migrants' equal judgement to the Japanese counterparts ensure equal treatment for the foreigners. Again, when the migrants' qualifications are defeated primarily, the 'equal judgement' does re-concrete unequal wages. There is a possibility of ***deskilling*** is justifiably taking place in implementation as a result of the programme guidance.

***II Rules and Immigration Controls:*** Premises 12, 15, 18, 20 offer stricter rules to migrants' participants while relaxed rules for the accepting facility. Those unequal ruling power would be related to *migrant precarity* at the end. In detail, Premise 12 **recommends** the facility to accept more than one candidates from a country annually because the migrant candidates will be more comfortably work and live in Japan. Moreover, Premises 18 & 20 provide monitoring schema by exaggerating "for the foreign participants' safety". The recruiters will go to pick the candidates up at airports and attend to the living places and the facility. The foreign participants are **not allowed** to change the working place until they pass the exam for the certificate. These activities emphasise on the candidates' mental health and safety. Alternatively, however, these activities are designated to monitor the candidates in order not to yield disappearance and illegal migrant workers from the programme arena. Even if the foreign candidates find the working environment unsuitable for them, it would be hard for them to escape. They have to wait until they would be allowed to do so.

Furthermore, JICWELS blocks any suspicious candidate from taking part in the programme who might have lent money from brokers, or those candidates who try to join in from other routes such as private dispatch agency (Premise 15). Limited freedom of move and decision-making imply that the migrant workers in the programme might experience uneasy lives. Furthermore, once they disappeared from the designated facility, they would be stated 'illegal migrants' simply because they have broken the rules, which frequently correlate to precarious living and working conditions without adequate legal protection. Strengthened restrictions might not **protect** migrant workers but **produce** *the migrant precarity* (Anderson 2010).

***III Unclear Benefits behind Costs owed by Practitioners:*** it is sceptical about the material costs and benefits which accepting facility will owe. The guideline mentions that the potential purposes and reasons for accepting organisations will be involved in the programmes could be various such as "To stimulate working environments and Japanese staffs", "To promote intercultural interaction", and "To experiment in organising an international working environment forecasting the future employment conditions<sup>12</sup>". Then the guideline notifies that those expectations are not prohibited but it is important to recognise the real purpose from the programme designing side, which is "To promote international and economic cooperation among the agreed economies, it is significant for the

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<sup>12</sup> The Japanese original text does not clearly mention, but it highly likely prospects that the sector will rely more on foreign human resources in coming future. What is more, the guideline allows concerning facilities to have this expectation when they join into the programme implementation.

candidates to have the certificate through the job-training at accepting facilities in Japan”.

However, as shown in Premise 21, the guideline explains the detailed costs which accepting facilities have to pay. In total, approximately 1,000,000 JPY will cost an accepting organisation to accept a candidate annually. It is questionable whether the facility accept them for the designated purpose although the price registration and administration fees. Critically, the text provides just an unclear description about benefits and material impacts which the accepting facility will meet. Recapping the features of investment on firm specific human capital training, the firms, namely investors themselves, tend to enjoy returns more than the investee (Akabayashi 2012: 10 & Hiroda 2011: 67). It is predictable there should be more benefits for the accepting facilities beyond the costs which they have to owe. Emphasised on costs bear on the accepting organisations which are training and investment givers, the guideline does keep silence about the material impacts but put an importance on the ‘created’ concept of the programme, which is “Promoting cooperation for all the agreed economies”.

## Chapter 5 Themes emerging from the Voices of the Participants

The research participants are three *EPA caregivers* and the facility manager<sup>13</sup>. S is the only married participant, and the certificate holder, and the other, T and J are single and candidates waiting for the exam. T and J are remitting money to their family back in their countries. As of this research was conducted in July and August in 2018, three Indonesian (including one on the paid leave), three Filipinas, and two Vietnamese are working at the facility. Three out of eight workers thankfully joined the research. Instructed by theme development tools (Vaismoradi et al. 2016), Appendix D-1, 2, 3 show the extracted codes from their voices referring to concepts aforementioned. This section teases out emerging themes in the participants' voices reflecting their experiences. Below, three themes are lined out; 1) Deskilling and Occupational Hierarchy, 2) Reskilling with Specific Human Capital, and 3) Migrant Precarity or Social Climber.

### 5.1 Theme 1 Deskilling and Fuelling Cheaper Labour Force

Deskilling is taking place when 'ethnic penalty' and 'language penalty' influence on their assessment of value of human resources. 'Ethnic penalty' refers to positive or negative stereotypes employers have of migrant caregivers (Cuban 2013: 16). "National character traits are influencing on their judgement (Ibid.). These characters connect to their treatment rather than their educational experiences and expertise. Pre-existing stratifications conjugate in subordinations to local counterparts. 'Language penalty' is manifested by weakness in communicative interactions in working place. Migrant workers can be excluded from promotions due to pre-existing discriminations such as language proficiency and their characters. Uncoupled care from nursing, Japanese society has differentiated wages and social ranks those who are 'nurses' and 'caregivers'. National traits shape who should be nurses or caregivers.

Firstly, the author raised questions to S from Indonesia, who is a holder of the national certificate in elderly caregiving, and live with her husband and two babies in Japan. She has Master degree specialising in nursing in Indonesia, and worked for two years before coming in Japan. She has been working for 6 years at the facility in Japan.

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<sup>13</sup> In the research paper, the facility manager is the only participant from the manager side. When I firstly contacted to the facility about my research, the corporation director welcomed me and told why they started to join the programme in 2012, when S has decided to come to the facility. Then, he introduced the facility manager who has been good friend of the *EPA caregivers* and their boss at the same time; so that I can pose research related questions.

*Kawata (Author): How do you think about your working status as a certified elderly caregiver in Japan while you were a qualified nurse in your country? Is there any difference between job task as qualified nurse in your country and as certified elderly care worker in Japan?*

*S: Ah, The certificate for medical nurses and the one for elderly caregivers are separated in Japan. Yet, in Indonesia, nurses take care of all of them. There is no field or position of Kaigo (elderly caregiving) in Indonesia. I think it is because Japan has many elderly people, and differentiating certificate has been convenient. In terms of technique, **high school graduates**, for example, cannot do that. **This job requires some special training.** Only nurses can take care of elderly patients in Indonesia. I understand elderly care is part of nurses' tasks. Hmm, yet differences like..., I **am not allowed to** inject, suture, or intravenous drip. Well I am allowed to test blood pressure [laughter]. I've worked in an emergency room at a hospital for about... six months when I was in Indonesia [laughter]. Yet it is okay with the current job in Japan [smile].*

She recognises that the caregiving is more sophisticated job which those who without training cannot deal with. For instance, she exemplify high school graduates in Indonesia, nurses are capable in caregiving in Indonesia. She thinks that the separation of the medical nursing certificate and the elderly caregiving certificate in Japan is for convenience due to growing number of elderly people in need. Accordingly, she seems to understand that the caregiving is respectable job as well as nursing care. In her understanding, recognition of medical nurses in Indonesia and elderly caregivers in Japan can be found both higher hierarchical status. However, it is important to tease out her neglected skills in such as injection and saturation in Japan. She does not seem to mind very much, but she experiences deskilling of her medical skills. Then, the author raised the similar questions to another candidate who has not yet passed the exam. T is from Viet Nam and she is going to take the exam next January after three-year-training.

*Kawata: Do you think that your tasks here in Japan are different from what you were doing in your countries? You were qualified nurses and you are candidates for elderly caregivers in Japan now? How do you see the difference of status?*

*T: More or less same. Elderly care is **part of** the nurses' tasks in Viet Nam, I think. I am a general nurse of surgical and internal medicine, meaning I am allowed to do everything in Viet Nam. I am not allowed to inject in Japan, yet elderly care is part of nurses' tasks. I was working at Gynaecological clinic. Now I am just working in this facility.*

**Commented [KAS7]:** This indicates that deskilling is taking place. Discuss in the light of the aim to contribute to human capital accumulation.

Her recognition is that she has wider general skills in nursing care related jobs, and she selectively uses part of her skills depending on her current working place. She does not care about losing some technical skills because she has not used them for a certain while. Both of them understand caregiving and nursing are not different but nursing category contains caregiving aspects. Although they were nurses, there are some skills that they cannot use in Japan, because their original qualifications of nurses are invalid in Japan. Besides, their background educational attainments and work experience do not positively influence on the current salary ranks in Japan. S has master degree in nursing care and two-year work experience at a general hospital, and T has finished college degree and one year working experience at a clinic. However, their wages in Japan are equal to minimum wage level equal to high school graduates level at the facility, because their academic degrees are **ignored**. This situation raises questions how their value of human capital has been degraded. The author asked this to the facility manager.

**Commented [KAS8]:** Raises the question what type of training they actually require... deskilling is unlikely to happen simultaneously with human capital investment.

*Kawata: I guess their academic backgrounds are high enough for meeting the criteria which falls into higher wages? They were definitely qualified nurses. How do you determine their salary ranks?*

*Facility manager (FM): I know what you mean. Hmm, every year, we provide self-evaluation sheets to all the workers including foreigners and Japanese, with which they report and appeal how well they perform. The manager side would reflect their reports for determining basic monthly wages and bonus. The judgement is **equally** done. Then they are not very **competent**. It is wrong to judge them leniently just because they are foreigners. It is not rights thing to do. We treat them completely equally. Therefore, it is proper judgement that they start with minimum level of wages. And, we of this type of facility frequently hold cultural events season by season. They are capable to do care related things, but that does not necessarily mean that they can also do whatever other Japanese workers can do. You know, they are foreigners. In this sense, I think their wages are reasonable comparatively judging them with Japanese counterparts. And I heard what they were doing was mostly care related matters, so the current wages are far beyond the ones in the past back in their countries. They earn monthly 180,000 yen at the minimum level now, they used to just earn approximately 30,000 yen. Thinking about the gap in costs of living, their current salary is more*

than enough.

...We cannot fully entrust them with unit management<sup>14</sup> or more complicated works. To be honest, some of them are kind of...good at being **lazy**. Yeah, I am serious. And, some of other staffs are terribly bad at Japanese. They have difficulty in speech **communication** which is crucially important. Yet, not all of them. Other foreign staffs are brilliant. I'm proud of their effort indeed!

His reflection raises curious points of view related to the research. To begin with, the author intended to point out the unfair starting point of their career with neglected skills and academic backgrounds. Basically, academic entitlement is reflected into salary ranks at the moment when one's employment relation has contracted; for example, undergraduates will start their salary ranks from 'undergraduate' whatever or not their practical skills are capable. Later, it is prospected that their salary ranks go up or stay depending on their performance. However, the facility manager considers the salary ranks entitled on *EPA caregivers* based on their **practical contributions** to their business. He demonstrates that they assess the foreign participants' performance **equally and properly without discrimination**. Consequently, the participants fall into minimum level of salary ranks. What is interesting, he connects the difference in living costs among the countries with reasoning the devaluation. Indeed, they might not fully competent in some cultural tasks because of their different backgrounds. Although, in the situation which their exercises of medical skills are not allowed, it might be disadvantageous for them that they are expected to perform as the employer demands.

Again, his lens captures their behavioural characters, and reflects the attitude on the evaluation. In this case, he recognises that some of them are less diligent and some other are not very proficient in Japanese speech communication. His notion indicates that 'equal evaluation' adheres how the performance should be like 'capable Japanese'. Ignorance of deskilling and highlighting their 'incapability' might rationalise unequal treatments. In addition, there is a risk yielding images of which nurses in those developing countries subordinate to elderly caregivers in Japan.

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<sup>14</sup> Elderly users of this type of facility are divided into each unit, which contains a kitchen, a dining room, bath rooms and their rooms (single/ group). Unit management means that the unit leader grasps the patients' conditions (i.e. medicine, chronic syndrome, personality, and favourites), plans and manages their activities and schedules.

**Commented [KAS9]:** Strong quotes. I would tease out reasons for unequal treatment with Japanese nurses and discuss them critically: self-evaluation, manager's reflection thereon, lack of competence, inability to contribute to cultural events, purchasing power abroad as reference point for salary, laziness, poor Japanese proficiency etc. you could also examine the different adjectives used for EPA participants and Japanese nurses: 'not very competent', 'lazy', 'terribly bad at Japanese' versus 'brilliant' Japanese staff of which s/he is 'proud' etc..

## 5.2 Theme 2 Reskilling with Specific Human Capital Training

Deskilled their background attainments and degraded their value of human capital especially because their linguistic and cultural inabilities, it is questionable what kind of training they have for reskilling in the programme. The author discussed the contents of the exam with the facility manager who is indeed the holder of the concerning certificate.

*Kawata: I solved some sample exams of the national certificate of elderly care giving which the participants will take. Most of them are very expertise that both foreigners and Japanese have to learn unless they do not know the answers. Yet, I found a certain number of sections are easy for Japanese people. If you grow up in Japan, you can guess cultural and ethical aspects of care, and how to deal with communications with the family members of the users and so on. These are probably difficult for foreign candidates.*

*FM: Yes exactly, they are studying hard so they can manage expertise parts by all means. However, such sections on 'specific cases frequently occur in workplace' make them confused. At first, the language explaining situation is difficult for them. Then more appropriate answers are embedded in quite cultural matters. For Japanese candidates, those are 'lucky' sections which we can guess without a particular studying. **For foreigners, they have to just learn and train themselves into the Japanese-like settings.***

This is what the migrant caregivers are learning through OJT and lectures as well as Japanese language. Once the employment starts in Japan, they need to acquire the local language, adjust themselves in to the local manners, and learn job related skills. According to Cuban (2013: 151), reskilling refers to having training at the working place for a particular job; moreover the training often aims to socialise the migrant workers in the cultural and normative contexts. Reskilling makes the migrants who are more desirable to be employee in Japan. Then, it is curious how the accumulated human capital will effect on her career choices and lives when she returns to Indonesia for some reason. The author raised the curiosity to S from Indonesia with the elderly care certificate.

*Kawata: How was your study?*

*S: It was so difficult! I did not want to retry that. It was good to me I passed once!*

*Kawata: Do you think it is advantageous for you to have the certificate?*

*S: Yes, I can live and work in Japan for an unlimited period of time (smile).*

*Kawata: Does the license help you if you go back to Indonesia?*

*S: Actually, I was invited by my professor of my university (smile), where I might be able to teach*

**Commented [KAS10]:** Make a link between this discussion and the previous sub-section. The issue of (lack of) language proficiency was quite prominent in the manager's view.

**Commented [KAS11]:** Giving one quote after the other gives the impression that this was one interview. they display different experiences, you might want to discuss them one by one.

**Commented [KAS12]:** Benefit of certificate is not learning that leads to higher productivity, but to better positioning in immigration hierarchy.

*students Kaigo (elderly caregiving). Or, I will work for hospitals as Japanese-Indonesian interpreter.*

*Kawata: How about working as a nurse again?*

*S: It is possible, but... I will have to start from the beginning, because I haven't done this for a long time.... I want to teach Kaigo to Indonesian students. I am not sure whether there is a better person to teach (laughter)!*

**Commented [KAS13]:** Human capital acquisition expressed in license might enable upward occupational mobility. It seems S needs to be prodded to think of going back to Indonesia. Her own idea that makes her happy seems more related to staying in Japan.

She has been working as an elderly caregiver in Japan for six years. Her two-year working experience at general hospital back in Indonesia does not seem to mean anything anymore. Reskilling might have lost her confidence with nursing skills and career. Yet, her reskilled knowledge is actually employable in Indonesia even though her career type would be changed, either not clear about her profitability with these new careers at this moment. In fact, the potential jobs she will take are related to the reskilled human capital which is Japanese language skills to be an interpreter and Japanese know-how in elderly caregiving to teach at university. Indeed, it is a hypothetical question and she does not intend to go back for a while; however, she will probably be working in a job related to Japan due to the current human capital of her even after returning home. It can be understood that the reskilling encloses trained migrant in Japan related territory. Similar questions to T from Viet Nam. She has been working in Japan for almost three years so she will take the exam next January 2019. She was just finished the course study when the author visited her.

*Kawata: How is your study?*

*T: Tough (sigh). I had a lecture this afternoon.*

*Kawata: Are you only taking the lecture for the exam? Not Japanese course anymore?*

*T: Only lectures now. I was participating in Japanese classes during the first year.*

*Kawata: Is that beneficial for you to pass the exam?*

*T: My basic wage will increase 5,000 yen per month. And, it is designated (in their program).*

*Kawata: It is the Japanese national certificate. Is that beneficial after you return home? (She has already told me she is going back after about five-year stay in Japan.)*

*T: Ah, year, it will. In Viet Nam, the number of elderly care facility is increasing. Japanese certificate will be advantageous when I go back. They will hire me.*

**Commented [KAS14]:** Human capital acquisition translates into higher wages as predicted by human capital theory. But is that because of higher productivity? Discuss.

She mentions about her wage increase as a result of passing the exam. This positive reward does not derive from her increased productivity (Folbre 2012: 282); rather, negative incentives seem to function in this case. In details, she wants to stay and work in Japan for a certain while, and returns. However when she wants to stay more than three years, she has to have the certificate unless she will have to go back immediately. In order to prevent the

**Commented [KAS15]:** Clarify.

situation she is going to take the exam. Plus, the governments of Viet Nam and Japan have expanded investment in establishment of knowhow and facilities of elderly nursing care in Viet Nam cooperatively, that creates jobs for alumni and provides rationality of obtaining the certificate from Japan<sup>15</sup> (JITCO 2017 & Government of Japan (GoJ) 2017). This also encloses such reskilled migrants within Japan related governmental cooperation.

*Kawata: How about you, J? Are you also studying?*

*J: I am mainly learning Japanese at this moment as well as working full time.*

*Kawata: You have just come last December, in 2017?*

*J: I came to Japan last December, and had introductory sessions. Since last June in 2016, I have been working here.*

*Kawata: I see, are you thinking about the third countries such as the U.S. or English speaking areas?*

*J: Before coming to Japan, at once, I thought about it. However, since Japan is safer, I have chosen Japan. Now, I'm particular about Japanese every day, all the time. I don't think I can work in English speaking regions. I am forgetting English (laughter)! Technical terms are different! I will work Japan or the Philippines.*

She is reskilling herself in Japanese manner similarly to the other two. She shows a typical feature that reskilling ruins her original skills which is English technical terms in nursing. Immediately, passing the exam is an investment in staying in Japan aiming upward mobility in job hierarchy of immigration status. Her notions tell that Japanese language acquisition is a specific human capital training which they can use only in Japan and Japanese related corporation. This is also the case which reskilling ends up with Japan's inclusion of migrant workers trained in Japan within the scope.

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<sup>15</sup> T knows and tells the author about new acceptance schema for Vietnamese nursing and elderly caregiving candidates on TITP basis since 2017. The governments' mutual consent over pooling human resources in this field is demonstrated in the public notification published by GoJ. Available at <[https://www.kantei.go.jp/jp/singi/kenkouiryuu/kokusaitenkai/eivo\\_bukai\\_dai2/siryou03.pdf](https://www.kantei.go.jp/jp/singi/kenkouiryuu/kokusaitenkai/eivo_bukai_dai2/siryou03.pdf)>

### 5.3 Theme 3 Migrant Precarity or Social Climber

Precarious workers exposed to more risks of losing jobs, stricter regulations in behaviour, less social protection, and poverty due to lower wages (Pajnik 2016: 160). S lives with her husband and two babies. Her family income and households situation is similar to the characteristics of the precarity.

*S: My husband is university student and he is going to work for a company nearby from next April (April 2019). We have difficulty in keeping households with the higher living costs here, because I am on maternity leave (paid 80% of the normal monthly rate). We have two babies (big smile). Our financial condition may be improved next year with his salary. I don't intend to leave Japan at this moment. I like this living environments. And my babies still need appropriate medical support in Japan, because my second baby was born immature. If we go back, I don't have insurance for such medical treatment.*

She demonstrates prospective improvement in households and continue working in Japan. However, she implies some anxiety in mind. Those who are victimised welfare shape a new class phenomenon, 'the precariat' as a new dangerous class characterised by "anxiety, anomie and alienation (Bessant 2018: 3)." Her situation is similar to this, so the author asked the facility manager about family welfares offered at the facility focusing on wages.

*FM: S tries to live at the similar living standard to Japanese counterparts. She has obtained driver's license and owns a car. I'm proud of her effort but she looks sometimes a spender. We sometimes give some advice on managing households.*

*...To be honest, she cannot afford for various things. We lend money informally to S's family actually. Their family in Indonesia send money to them by selling the lands. Still, they need more. For example, when they have to pay for the university tuition fee (of her husband), it is necessary to pay the amount at once. She cannot afford for that with her incomes. We lend money for that temporally. We know she is very lovely and diligently works. That is why we want to support her. She is not able to lead a life in another facility due to her economic situation. Well, S is okay as far as she stays here.*

The author found a hidden financial conditions of S's family from the voices of facility manager. In order not for S to ask money illegal or unknown money lender, the facility has

decided to lend money secretly. Without the support, S and her family are much more vulnerable to join into precarious living conditions. On the other hand, when the author raised a question how they think about getting married and having family in Japan, T and J unmarried two women showed pessimistic view on having family in Japan as foreigner.

*T: I am not intend to have family in Japan. Everything costs too much.*

*J: I am interested in getting married to Japanese person. Then it will be okay. I don't know about the future though!! (laughter)*

Those voices suggest that the EPA caregiving trainees are not expected to bring their family or make family within their ethnic community. By all means, the relationship or friendship between S and the facility is apparently fine. Thus she and her family are going to be at least assured the current living standard. However, when the relationship is not protective but bad, such participants would be much more seriously exposed to be precarious social status. The facility manager told the related story below.

*FM: I heard a case in another facility. Some candidates do not like the facility and want to change working place. However, without the license, they cannot change it, so they study very hard so that they can work in different facility. Thus, the license make them more independent. In this facility, they enjoy working here and some of them are not very eagerly studying (laughter). I don't know which is better.*

Again, the certificate function in different context as the guideline mentions. The licence would free the participants at the same time of helping them moving upward in immigration status. Regarding the function of improving their status, J also gives a notion.

*J: Me, I was working in code blue, emergency room and was in charge of respiratory. The previous job as respiratory staff was not very like nurses' tasks. And the wage was not good! Twenty or thirty thousand yen per month...maybe. I am excited that I had wages today! How much I can earn is more important than **what kind of job tasks I do.** I J: I support my family back home financially (looks so proud). I want to buy a new house in the Philippines, so I definitely want to pass the exam and work longer here (smile).*

**Commented [KAS16]:** One could discuss this in the context of labour unfreedoms/labour bondage.

**Commented [KAS17]:** It could be interesting to discuss the manager's question. Of course, for him it is better if they do not have a license: their labour turnover will be reduced and their salaries will remain low...

**Commented [KAS18]:** Introduce all of your quotes, place them in the context of the respective interview.

**Commented [KAS19]:** This is important in the context of what is important for your research participants: is it the training (does that actually take place?) or the possibility to earn a higher wage?

Different from the situation of S's family, J's family in the Philippines live quite better life thanks to her remittance. Her parent no longer need to work and older brother was just finished university. She and her younger brother have been working and supporting all the family members. The facility manager was invited to J's parent house when he visited Manila for recruiting new batch in July 2018.

*FM: In contrast to S, J's family invited me to her parent house in the Philippines, their living standard looked quite higher. They looked rich...EPA programme is **beneficial** for single workers but once they want to have family in Japan, it will be hard.*

Within the same institution of a practitioner, two contrasting social phenomena have been constructed; one is increasing risks if being migrant precariat in the destination country, and another is climbing up the living standard back in the original country. Overall, in reality, depending on the local stakeholders and practitioners, the migrants' social vulnerabilities might fluctuate.

## Chapter 6 Conclusions

The problem the guideline makes explicit is the surplus unskilled labour in the designated economies, so the programme trains them to be Japan-proof professionals in elderly caregiving. The shortage of labour in elderly care sectors in Japan due to unpopularity of the jobs as well as world-fastest ageing society is silenced. More concern and sentiment are given to negative aspects of accepting foreign unskilled labour on domestic labour market. Considered from the **neglected** migrants' qualifications and prospected antagonism between unskilled foreign participants and Japanese "youth, female and senior", skill hierarchy and social classification have been constructed in the discourse. In the local practices, accordingly, more attentive ruling schema binds migrants, and that does not really function for **protection** of their rights. Furthermore, since the material impacts are not clearly described, the narratives sound those facility accept them dedicate to the international economic cooperative programme for the foreign participants' sake though, the facilities will hire a certain number of labour power on regular employment basis, meaning they would have more labour powers. In the guideline, the possible **benefits**, material impacts and existing issue around shortage of labour which those facilities might experience are **missing**. Pretending doing good things for other, they might benefits more from the programme arena.

The voices of the practitioner and three participants support the critical views on the problem representations in the program guideline. **Deskilling** is taking place, because the program does not regulate the facility to degrade the qualified foreign nurses depending on the practical contributions to their jobs. The guideline only mentions that the facility have to employ them regular full employment basis; therefore, for the reasons of their incapability in contribution to cultural tasks and their difficulties in language communication, their salary ranks fall into 'high school graduates of Japan' even though their background academic entitlements were higher education graduates at least. Such unequal judgement in their 'value of human resources', have not been apparent in the previous studies on the similar topic. Besides, since the OJT and the contents of the exam are very specific and sectoral matters, these specific human capital training might have ruined some of the original skills and knowledge which the participants had in entering into Japan. Such **reskilling** them with Japanese language acquisition and elderly caregiving embedded in Japanese cultural contexts, at the end, narrow the participants' career choices particularly focusing on Japan related markets. Moreover, when the migrant caregivers have family within the program setting, due to bargained wages which have been kept lower for their 'lower contribution to some specific jobs', they might experience precarious working

and living conditions in Japan. As far as the scope of the research paper reached, there was not any impending risk for suffering from their immigration conditions. However, depending on how the employers are supportive and attentive when it comes to preventing the caregivers from being precarious existences.

Migrants' 'value of labour power' or productivity is designated subordinating to the counterpart national citizens based on the measurements offered by the accepting organizations and the governments (Standing 2011: & Folbre 2012: 282). The state takes the roles of standardising the required care skills for meeting the satisfactory level of the service quality in the country (Yeates 2012: 139). The employers in the stronger economies demand expansion of cheaper labour force in order to maximise benefits while minimise the human resource costs; and the activities marginalise worker's rights (Standing 2011 & Siegmann and Schiphorst 2016). Around studying migrant care chain nexus, Japan imports qualified nurses from developing countries with cheaper wages. Compensated, the participants are training and will take the exam for the national certificate specialising in elderly caregiving in Japan. The EPA programme would promote and rationalise unequal development between Japan and the counterparts' economies. Alongside of the features of care work which is 'feminised' labour, that the preferences of female workers lead them to accept lower pecuniary rewards (Hochschild 2000, Folbre 2012: 282, Yeates 2012: 144).

## Appendices

### Appendix A: "What's the Problem Represented to be?" on the Programme

#### Guideline

1. What's the problem represented to be?	<p>-There is an unskilled labour surplus in sending countries.</p> <p>- Economic bonds and cooperation between Japan and the countries are weak.</p> <p>-Accepting unskilled migrant workers would negatively influence on domestic labour particularly on youth, female and senior employment.</p>
2. What presuppositions or assumptions underlie this representation of the problem?	<p>-The Japanese national certificate for the elderly caregiving is supposed to be beneficial for the designated foreign candidates (from Indonesia, the Philippines, and Viet Nam).</p> <p>-The Japanese elderly care certificate is advantageous to the participants</p> <p>-The efficacy of EPA (i.e. economic bonds) would be multiplied by keeping the rules among the stakeholders.</p> <p>-There is no intention for Japan to accept unskilled migrant workers legally into other sectors.</p> <p>-Indonesia, the Philippines, and Viet Nam are part of strong economies in ASEAN, the relations between Japan and ASEAN should be closer.</p>
3. How has the representation of the problem come about?	<p>-Economic powers: Japan-ASEAN relations refer to the investor and the developing economies.</p> <p>-Trade ties as EPA (Economic Partnership Agreement) is important among the stakeholders.</p> <p>-Feminised and unskilled care labour</p>
4. What is left unproblematic in this problem representation? Can the problem be 'thought' differently?	<p>-The bracketing out of immigration to Japan</p>

**Commented [KAS20]:** They need it in order to work in Japan or because the certificate is beneficial for their careers? You might want to distinguish/clarify which one you refer to.

**Commented [KAS21]:** Issues that we discussed in the very beginning, namely to me is something left unproblematic in the way the EPA is presented. This is related to the other points you list, but goes beyond them.

	<p>-The domestic shortage of labour force is not made explicit by the policy maker.</p> <p>-The domestic demand and motivations for acceptance of foreign workers into the sector through this programme.</p> <p>-The actual job tasks are caregiving</p> <p>[Alternative representations]: Whether the youth, female and senior really concentrate on the unskilled labour market as narrated?</p>
<p>5. What effects are produced by this representation of the problem?</p>	<p>-Legitimation reframing care workers as trainees in the OJT basis</p> <p>[Material impacts]:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- It would be increasing the number of foreign care workers in Japan</li> <li>-It stimulates the working place by accepting new faces and changing environments.</li> <li>-Intercultural communication should be promoted.</li> <li>-It would also be stimulating related industries (i.e. language schools, culture interaction centres, insurance and property companies etc).</li> </ul>

<p>6. How/ Where is this representation of the problem produced, disseminated and defended? How could it be questioned, disputed, disrupted?</p>	<p><b>-Institutional culture:</b> Japanese governmental body regulates the meaning of the programme. Other organs follow the stream because they also benefit from it to some degree. The Japanese immigration policies do not accept unskilled labour from overseas. Negotiations among governments do not always match with the local law and order.</p> <p><b>-Agencies</b> JICWELS, Government of Japan, the governments of sending countries and operational organs (National Board of Indonesia, POEA of the Philippines, and DOLAB of Viet Nam). Instructors and language teachers follow this new stream simply because they are employed and earn worthy wage. Foreign participants also benefit from the traineeship by earning wages</p> <p><b>-Criticism</b> about two contradictions in the expression, the motives for the hosting facility to accept trainees and the written purposes of the programme on the guideline.</p> <p>-Japan no longer sustain economic growth without supports from foreign labour market. Besides, how this experimental acceptance of migrant care workers motives the society to open more spaces for them as part of TTIP (Technical Intern Training Programme in 2017).</p> <p><b>-Questionable</b> Is the programme beneficial for the candidates in terms of future increase of profitability and employability? Do the rules really protect the participants? How are the particular group of people in the domestic market (youth, senior, female) affected by accepting foreigners into the sector?</p>
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(Source: Own elaboration instructed by the WPR approach, Goodwin 2011)

**Appendix B: Extracted Topical Premises from the Programme Guideline**

<b><u>I. Premises related to the matter of quality of training</u></b>
1. [OJT environment] Effective OJY would be conducted in an appropriate facility in which more than 30 regular workers are employed and more than 40 % of them bear the concerning certificate.
2. [Self-study] Study by themselves (i.e with e-learning materials, additional schooling at private specialising school/ care centres and community training centres).
3. [Instructors] The certificate-holders who have worked more than five years would be appropriate.
4. [Plausible planning] Planning and preparing for scheduling, hiring language teachers, assigning instructors, educational materials and arranging working and studying hours.
5. [Participants' conditions] Qualified nurses from the designated countries with basic Japanese proficiency can join this training programme.
6. [Translated textbooks] Given textbooks translated into each language would support them progress in elderly nursing care and Japanese acquisition.
7. [Paid-training] The exam preparation course has to be paid when the training is conducted during their working time.
8. [Wage setting] The salary should be equal or more than the one of the Japanese colleagues with the same salary rank.
9. [Promotion] Judgement is based on the Japanese promotion criteria. Migrant workers are not privileged in promotion.
<b><u>II. Premises related to the matter of labour rights protection</u></b>
10. [Guideline] Following the guideline would prevent the hosting facility from yielding illegal immigration.
11. [Observation] Intermittent observations and assessment by JICWELS would dedicate to an effective implementation and protection of the candidates.
12. [Recommended number of acceptance] Regarding the mental health and quality of training concerns, more than one and less than 6 candidates are supposed to be accepted to a facility per year. Note, it is not legally binding, but it is a recommendation.
13. [Matching] Diligent face-to-face guidance, meeting and matching between the accepting organisations and the candidates through administration by JICWELS will reduce uncertainties.

14. [Registration by JICWELS] Verification and official registration by JICWELS are assumed to ascertain the guideline.
15. [They are guilty until they are proven to be innocent] Blocking any candidate who is suspicious to be lent money by brokers or any other organisations except the officially verified by both governments would reduce the risks of missing/ disappearance during the training period.
16. [Transparency and Consistency] Prohibiting accepting facility to change the contents of employment contracts, working conditions, wage rules and facility information would be for participants' legal protection.
17. [Compliance with Japanese laws] Agreement by the participants on sharing their personal information by the administrative organisations of Japan for the purpose for facilitating implementation. But monitoring?
18. [Recruitment and Attendance] Only those who are managerial level of accepting organisations can recruit and attend them to the working and living place for safety reason, but monitored?
19. [M&E] Monitoring and evaluation by JICWELS, and regular reports from hosting facility would protect participants from being violated in the programme arena.
20. [No changing working places until obtaining the certificate] It is assumed that the constant relations with an employer would amplify efficacy of training. But monitored?
<b>III. Other interesting premises</b>
21. [Worries about Domestic Labour Market] 300 new batches per year is set the maximum number of acceptance. Exceeding the number would negatively influence on the domestic labour market. Accepting excessive number of foreign labour antagonises to some groups of domestic labour such as youth, female, and senior.
22. [Give & Take] Subsidies from MHLW, JICWELS and prefectural offices compensate the costs the accepting facility owe. Note: it is not clearly mentioned.

(Source: Own elaboration instructed by the Leeuw et al. logic analysis approach 1999 & JICWELS 2018)

**Appendix C: Schematic Representation of the Programme Logic**

Logic Analysis Questions	From premises, which 'logic' and 'theory' could be applied?	Assumptions and how could it be questioned?
<p>1. On what assumptions ('logic' or 'theory') is the programme based?</p>	<p>A. Quality of training and measurement of value of human resources → Human Capital</p> <p>B. Labour protection and legal regulations → Being 'the Precariat' or not</p> <p>C. Concerns about influences on domestic labour market by accepting foreign candidates &amp; Costs and subsidies by the government</p>	<p><b>Underlying Assumptions;</b></p> <p>-The programme contributes on human capital accumulation for the selected foreign candidates at the designated facility in Japan through On-the-Job-Training. -For implementation, candidates are not being 'the precariat' as far as practitioners and candidates keep rules and regulations given by JICWELS</p> <p><b>Questionable;</b></p> <p>-Is the programme beneficial for the candidates in terms of future increase of profitability and employability? -Do the rules really protect the participants? Or does it monitor migrant workers for the purposes of immigration controls? -No detailed explanation is given to costs, subsidies, and wages. -how does this programme influence on the domestic labour market in the sector (elderly nursing care)? -how are the particular group of people in the domestic market (youth, senior, female) affected by accepting foreigners into the sector? Or are these people in trouble if the sector accept foreigners?</p>

<p>2. Why is it believed that the programme instruments will be effective tools?</p>	<p>Presuppositions, which the skills and knowledge about elderly nursing care in Japan are worth transfer to other countries and the certificates are useful, are underpinned in the programme instruments.</p> <p>Learning Japanese facilitates the candidates' daily lives and it is necessary for studying elderly care.</p> <p>Rules and regulations are essential for smooth implementation. They shape what the successful or unsuccessful cases are. That also rationalises selection and exclusion of participants and practitioners.</p>
<p>3. What are the impacts of these activities?</p>	<p>These activities would amplify the efficacy of EPA by strengthening economic ties among the economies through human capital training in Japan.</p> <p>Note: it is sceptical that human resources movements and training in the sector stimulates economy. Understood reasonably, economic migrants and skill transition might stimulate economic efficacy.</p> <p>Overall, in the guideline, the human capital accumulation in the sector is regarded as economic promoter in EPA bilateral agreements.</p>

*(Source: Own elaboration based on logic analysis Leenw et al. 1999)*

**Appendix D-1: Extracted Codes from S's Story**

Types of codes	Extracted codes
<p><b>Conceptual code</b> Key elements, domains and dimensions of the study phenomenon connected to the elaborated framework regarding;</p> <p><i>A. Human Capital related premises</i> <i>B. Vulnerability being 'The Precariat'</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Master degree in nursing care in Indonesia, but her salary rank started at the bottom in Japan (same as high school graduate in Japan).</li> <li>➤ Certificate of Elderly Caregiver in Japan which assures longer employment at any elderly care facility in Japan.</li> <li>➤ Japanese proficiency</li> <li>➤ Driver's license of Japan</li> <li>➤ Two year work experience as a nurse (including elderly care) in Indonesia and her career in Japan is only Elderly care, because of difference of job categorisation between the two countries. She follows Japanese rules.</li> <li>➤ Transferability of her career experiences to an interpreter at hospitals or a university professor in Indonesia</li> <li>➤ Her working visa in Japan is constantly extendable (Elderly caregiver).</li> <li>➤ Practical knowledge on the Japanese immigration system and rights as foreign residents.</li> <li>➤ To whom consult when necessary?: everyone (husband, family, colleagues, the employer etc.)</li> <li>➤ The current salary, is not enough for raising two babies and support her husbands' tuition fee.</li> <li>➤ Lending money from the facility fortunately</li> <li>➤ Financial supports from the facility and family back in Indonesia.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Participant perspective code:</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Positive attitudes towards working and raising children in Japan.</li> <li>➤ Concerns about the lack of Muslim educational opportunity for children, but she might build a Mosque together with the existing Indonesian community.</li> <li>➤ Hope to expand children's employability in Japan</li> </ul>

Commented [KAS22]: It matters whose perspective this is. In a flow text highlight who is speaking: S, T, J? Their perspectives are shaped by their particular background, the research relationship to you etc.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ The access rights to higher medical treatment for children is not in Indonesia but in Japan</li> <li>➤ Strict manner in business scenario/daily life in Japan is understandable and preferable.</li> <li>➤ Feels comfortable at the working place with generous employer and colleagues.</li> </ul>
<b>Participant characteristic code:</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Friendship greatly influences on her decision-making.</li> <li>➤ Open-minded, talkative, patient, higher level of adaptability and flexibility</li> <li>➤ Ability of utilising their knowledge of certificate, visa/nationality, and educational attainments in the care chain.</li> <li>➤ Informally, her reliable characteristic achieve informal financial support from the facility.</li> <li>➤ Her house-holds management is not very good and the employer gives advices</li> </ul>
<b>Setting code:</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Good and close relation with the employers and colleagues of the accepting organisation in terms of advice for living, households, and <b>friendships</b></li> <li>➤ Access higher medical standard and insurance, and adequate financial support.</li> <li>➤ The future stable income is promised at the current working place, and her husband also starts working as regular worker in different company nearby.</li> </ul>

(Source: Own elaboration instructed by Vaismoradi et al. (2016) and based on the interview 2018)

**Appendix D-2: Extracted Codes from T's Story**

Types of codes	Extracted codes
<b>Conceptual code:</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Junior college in Nursing care in Viet Nam but her salary rank started at the bottom in Japan (same as high school graduate in Japan).</li> <li>➤ Japanese Proficiency</li> <li>➤ One year work experience as a Gynaecological nurse in Viet Nam,</li> </ul>

	<p>but her job in Japan is Elderly caregiver.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Knowledge on establishment of elderly nursing sections in Viet Nam in the coming future, where the Japanese certificate would be advantage for her to be hired in Viet Nam upon returning.</li> <li>➤ Careful about the <b>loss and gain</b> in working in Japan as an elderly care worker</li> <li>➤ The salary is more than enough for remitting, and the employment relation is stable at this moment.</li> <li>➤ The employment will expire in a year if she fails the exam, so she is studying hard.</li> <li>➤ To whom consult when troubling?: boss and colleagues</li> </ul>
<b>Participant perspective code:</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Positive towards working in Japan for a while</li> <li>➤ Negative towards raising children for financial concerns and for family back in Viet Nam</li> <li>➤ Feel lonely being away from family and having a very small number of Vietnamese colleagues</li> <li>➤ Negative about the lack of Vietnamese community nearby.</li> <li>➤ Working in Japan as trainee is reasonable even when they return to Viet Nam with Japanese certificate, and also stay in Japan for working.</li> <li>➤ More salary than previous career is attractive.</li> </ul>
<b>Participant characteristic code:</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Polite, talkative, smart and putting an importance on closeness with family</li> <li>➤ Diligently check her working hours and conditions by herself (no claim to her employer so far)</li> <li>➤ Studying very hard</li> </ul>
<b>Setting code:</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ <b>Secured contract</b> as regular workers with given Japanese classes, exam preparation classes, furniture and equipment at financially supported house by the accepting facility. (Insurance and overtime payment etc.)</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ The gap of costs of living among the countries set the twice more wages</li> <li>➤ Japan-Viet Nam governmental agreement on expanding investment on elderly caregiver training facility in Viet Nam under the terms of Developmental cooperation from Japan.</li> </ul>
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(Source: Own elaboration instructed by Vaismoradi et al. (2016) and based on the interview 2018)

**Appendix D-3: Extracted Codes from J's Story**

Types of codes	Extracted codes
<b>Conceptual code:</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Bachelor in nursing care in the Philippines, but the salary rank in Japan starts at the bottom line (high school graduate in Japan)</li> <li>➤ Japanese proficiency</li> <li>➤ Two year working experience as a respiratory in the Philippines, but the career in Japan is Elderly care</li> <li>➤ Being a nurse is a strategic choice because this job more assures higher employability globally.</li> <li>➤ Practical understanding of working in Japan as trainee would narrow her career paths in the third country due to Japan-specific human capital training.</li> <li>➤ Catholic is relatively known in Japan but the working shift does not always allow her to go to church weekly, also the information where she can join mission is limited.</li> <li>➤ Working in Japan is safer and less tiring job compared to the original job in the Philippines.</li> <li>➤ A claim to strict cultural working rules, yet the salary is compensable.</li> <li>➤ To whom consult when troubling?: family and friends</li> </ul>
<b>Participant perspective code</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Positive towards working in Japan, and possibly, marriage and raising children are also be able to take place in her life in Japan.</li> <li>➤ Raising children in Japan is also part of her possibilities.</li> </ul>

<b>Participant characteristics code</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Cheerful, fun, independent, higher adaptability and flexibility</li> <li>➤ Dreaming to live various places in Japan upon passing the exam.</li> <li>➤ Excited to receive and remit the salary every month.</li> <li>➤ Climbing up social status in the Philippines.</li> </ul>
<b>Setting code:</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Safe working and living place with <b>satisfactory</b> level of welfare.</li> <li>➤ The gap of costs of living among the countries set the twice more wages.</li> <li>➤ Her mobility is backed by the governmental policy of which export labour from the Philippines.</li> </ul>

*(Source: Own elaboration instructed by Vaismoradi et al. (2016) and based on the interview 2018)*

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