



RESEARCH ARTICLE

# The Influence of the International Labour Organization (ILO) in the Formulation of Migrant Worker Protection Policies in East Java

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## Abstract

This article examines the influence of the International Labor Organization (ILO) in the drafting of East Java Provincial Regulation No. 2 of 2022 on the Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers. This topic is important because subnational governments are required to play a role in migrant worker protection, yet the pathways through which global labor norms enter local regulations remain understudied. Using a qualitative approach through interviews and document analysis, the study traces how international principles, particularly the 1990 International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families (ICRMW) were incorporated into regional policymaking. The findings show that although no formal collaboration existed between the ILO and the East Java Provincial Parliament, the ILO's influence emerged through the diffusion of global standards on safe migration, fair recruitment, and legal protection, which became substantive references during the drafting process. These results demonstrate that the diffusion of international norms can occur through multi-level governance mechanisms, where international actors shape subnational legislation indirectly through knowledge production and policy advocacy.

**Keyword:** ILO, migrant workers, norm diffusion, East Java Parliament, ICRMW

## Introduction

Globalization has made cross-border labor mobility a complex phenomenon worldwide. Migrant worker protection has become a priority issue among the international community as the number of migrant workers crossing national borders increases. The International Labour Organization (ILO), a United Nations agency, advocates for decent working conditions and the protection of migrant workers. The ILO achieves this by formulating international standards on safe migration, fair recruitment, and legal protection, in line with the 1990 International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families (ICRMW). These norms will shape how national and subnational governments effectively implement migrant worker protection (Prabowo, 2020).

This is a highly complex political environment that requires a precise interpretation of legislative processes and political diplomacy. This research focuses on interstate relations and global issues, but also emphasizes local and national societal policies. The East Java Provincial People's Representative Council (DPRD), the legislative body that influences policies that impact society, shapes the policy agenda. One effort undertaken is the ratification of the Regional Regulation (Perda) on the Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers (PMI), which targets providing integrated protection for PMI, one of Indonesia's largest sources of migrants, in East Java.

On a global scale, the content of the regulation is not fully consistent with the principles set out in the 1990 International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families (ICRMW) (ICRMW, 1990). Social, economic, legal, and family protection are mandated by the convention and guarantee non-discrimination and equal rights for all migrant workers regardless of immigration status. In contrast, Law No. 18 of 2017 focuses more on the administrative process of worker placement and the responsibilities of

recruitment agencies, without detailing specific protections for migrant workers' families or gender equality. This gap between international standards and national regulations leaves many migrant workers vulnerable to violations of their fundamental human rights at home and abroad (Elviandri, 2022).

Indonesia's migrant worker population is second only to West Java, with large clusters of migrant workers found in East Java, particularly in Blitar, Tulungagung, Ponorogo, Jember, Malang, and Banyuwangi. Their remittances contribute to the local economy, but cases of violence, fraud, human trafficking, wage withholding, and worker deaths are increasing annually. Regional protection systems remain weak, particularly in terms of recruitment controls, assistance to workers' families, and worker return services. Therefore, the East Java Provincial People's Representative Council (DPRD) formulated Regional Regulation No. 2 of 2022 to protect the protection of Indonesian migrant workers at the provincial level. This new regulation replaces Regional Regulation No. 4 of 2016, which was previously inconsistent with Law No. 18 of 2017. This regulation establishes the rights of migrant workers and their families, as well as the responsibilities of local governments to support and supervise workers, enforce the One-Stop Integrated Service (PTSP), mandate certified training, provide legal aid, and assist with repatriation and reintegration.

Multi-level governance is evident in Regional Regulation No. 2 of 2022, drafted by the ILO. The central government is only involved in shaping domestic policy, but international and subnational actors collaborate to do so (Marks & Hooghe, 2004). Exchanges between the ILO and the East Java Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD) also demonstrate the diffusion of transnational norms, as international values and standards are introduced into local standards through consultation, technical assistance, and advocacy (Faizah, 2023). Thus, Regional Regulation No. 2 of 2022 is the result of a complex combination of local demands and international forces shaped by the ILO. This article is important because very few studies have examined the influence of international organizations on regional law in Indonesia. The influence of national policies or the executive branch of the state constitutes the bulk of migration studies, but little is known about the influence of organizations like the ILO on law at the subnational level. However, understanding these interconnections is crucial to understanding current international relations, which increasingly involve cross-level and non-state actors in policymaking.

A clear research gap lies in how international norms on safe migration, fair recruitment, and legal protection can be translated into regional law by

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international actors. This absence is significant because the protection of migrant workers is based not only on national laws but also on the capacity of local governments to integrate international standards into community-based policies. It is in this context that this article identifies the role of the International Labour Organization (ILO) in influencing policies protecting migrant workers' rights in East Java, for example through Regional Regulation No. 2 of 2022. The paper provides a conceptual overview of the process of disseminating international norms at the subnational level and proposes feasible ideas on how to create more comprehensive migration governance that respects human rights principles.

## Method

This article uses a qualitative approach to understand how the International Labour Organization (ILO) can be considered an international actor in the drafting of Regional Regulation No. 2 of 2022, which protects Indonesian migrant workers in East Java. This approach is chosen because the influence of international actors on law in the region is an ambiguous socio-political phenomenon that cannot be measured solely numerically. Qualitative research allows us to explore the process of international norm dissemination, the ILO as a norm actor, and the interactions between actors at various organizational levels within a multi-level governance system.

In-depth interviews with members of the East Java Provincial People's Representative Council (DPRD) involved in the drafting of regulations, DPRD secretariat staff, and other stakeholders involved in the joint technical assistance process served as sources of data collection. Interviewees were purposely selected based on their direct experiences, providing detailed information on support, consultation processes, and interaction spaces within the DPRD. The research was conducted in Surabaya and lasted over six months; meeting agendas, interview schedules, and access to legislative documents were adjusted as needed.

In addition to interviews, document analysis was used to examine the incorporation of international norms into regional policies. This study analyzed the text of Regional Regulation No. 2, minutes of DPRD meetings, ILO program reports, international guidelines on the protection of migrant workers, and other official publications. This analysis is important because the substance of the regulation is closely based on the 1990 International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and the ILO's principles of fair recruitment.

The qualitative descriptive content analysis was conducted in three steps. First, the information was narrowed down using other criteria, namely selecting and categorizing data related to the ILO's role, normative advocacy, and policy negotiations, and observing evidence of norm diffusion in regulatory texts. Second, the findings were presented in a thematic narrative linking actors, norms, and policy content. Third, a conclusion was drawn explaining the findings using the framework of multi-level governance, norm entrepreneurship, and transnational norm diffusion presented in the introduction.

This analytical method places the study within its theoretical framework. It investigates the interaction of the Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD) at the sub-national level with international organizations. This discussion reveals the nature of the processing, negotiation, and integration of ILO norms into regional policies and the interaction between global and local actors during the drafting of Regional Regulation No. 2 of 2022.

## Results and Discussion

### The ILO as an International Actor in the Diffusion of Norms on Migrant Worker Issues

The International Labour Organization (ILO) was founded in 1919 as part of the Treaty of Versailles that ended World War I. Its formation was driven by the belief that world peace could only be sustained if it was built on social justice. In its early days, the ILO focused on developing international standards to improve working conditions in post-war industrialized countries, such as limiting working hours, protecting women and children, and organizing rights. In 1946, the ILO became the first international organization to be granted the status of a specialized agency of the United Nations. This status strengthened the ILO's normative mandate in developing international labor standards and overseeing their implementation by member states. Throughout the 20th century, the ILO played a key role in developing the concept of decent work, a labor protection framework encompassing safe working conditions, decent employment opportunities, social protection, and social dialogue. This framework evolved into a global agenda through the Decent Work Agenda

(1999) and later became an integral part of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), particularly SDG 8.

In the issue of labor migration, the ILO began expanding its mandate in the 1990s by developing international standards on the protection of migrant workers. This was marked by the ILO's involvement in the drafting of several international instruments, including the Convention on Domestic Workers, fair recruitment guidelines, and support for the implementation of the 1990 International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families (ICRMW). The ILO's involvement in migration issues stemmed from the increasing global migration flows and the vulnerability of migrant workers to exploitation, discrimination, and labor rights violations. Therefore, since the beginning of the 21st century, the ILO has actively encouraged member states to adopt international standards on safe migration, the prevention of human trafficking, and protection mechanisms for migrant workers and their families. Currently, the ILO operates through a unique tripartite structure involving governments, employers' associations, and trade unions, making it the only international organization to adhere to this type of governance.

As an agency under the United Nations, the ILO plays a role as a producer of knowledge, a global standard-setter, and a provider of technical assistance to member states. In the issue of labor migration, the ILO promotes the implementation of the principles of decent work, safe migration, and fair recruitment, which are then formalized in various international instruments. One of the most comprehensive instruments is the 1990 International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families (ICRMW), which contains global standards on migrant rights, protection from exploitation, access to justice, support for migrant families, and reintegration mechanisms. These instruments serve as the primary foundation for the ILO's dissemination through international norm diffusion mechanisms. The ILO facilitates the dissemination of norms through the production of policy guidelines, technical consultations, capacity-building programs, and evidence-based advocacy. Although Indonesia has not ratified the 1990 ICRMW, its principles have been incorporated into several national policies, including Law No. 18 of 2017 concerning the Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers. This movement of norms from the global to the national level then flows to the regional level and influences the subnational policy-making process, including in East Java.

The process of drafting Regional Regulation No. 2 of 2022 concerning the Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers in East Java cannot be understood solely as an administrative legislative activity, but as a series of social interactions involving various actors, knowledge, and international norms. Research findings indicate that the International Labour Organization (ILO) played an indirect but significant role in shaping the orientation and substance of the regulation, particularly through the flow of technical knowledge, international guidelines, and capacity-building programs involving national and regional actors. As stated by a member of the East Java Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD) in an interview, "We don't work directly with the ILO, but the international principles have already been introduced through ministries and technical institutions. So when drafting the regulation, we follow standards that actually originate from the ILO." (Interview, Member of Commission E of the East Java DPRD) This statement demonstrates that the ILO's influence does not operate through direct collaboration, but rather through normative diffusion mechanisms that move across the national level to the regions. This aligns with the concept of multi-level governance, where global actors can influence subnational policies without formal hierarchical relationships.

In the context of international relations, the ILO operates as a norm entrepreneur, actively promoting the adoption of global values and principles at various levels of government. This aligns with the norm diffusion theory developed by Finnemore and Sikkink, which explains that international norms spread through three main stages: norm emergence, norm cascade, and norm internalization (Martha, 1998). In the norm emergence stage, the ILO produces and champions universal values related to the protection of migrant workers, such as decent work, non-discrimination, protection of the rights of vulnerable workers, and access to remediation mechanisms. These values are formalized in several international instruments, including the 1990 International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families (ICRMW), as well as a number of ILO recommendations and technical guidelines on safe migration. The ILO positions these instruments as global standards that should serve as references for countries and local governments in developing employment and migration policies.

norm cascade stage, the ILO disseminated norms to domestic actors, including the East Java Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD),

through a series of activities such as technical consultations , policy development workshops, policy briefs , and technical assistance in formulating the substance of regional regulations. Interview data shows that the ILO delivered recommendations directly to the DPRD regarding the integration of the 1990 ICRMW principles and migrant worker protection standards into regional regulations. The ILO's technical input covered issues such as the right to pre-departure information, the importance of accessible complaint mechanisms, and protection from exploitative recruitment practices.

The norm internalization stage occurs when global norms are no longer viewed as external values but become part of local institutional practices. In the case of East Java, this process is evident in how the Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD) adopted these international principles into Regional Regulation Number 2 of 2022, including provisions regarding pre-departure training, integrated migrant services, supervision of placement agencies, and reintegration services for retired migrant workers. Although Indonesia has not ratified the 1990 ICRMW, much of the substance of the convention has been embedded in the Regional Regulation, demonstrating the ILO's success in encouraging the internalization of international norms at the subnational level (Pemerintah Provinsi Jawa Timur, 2022).

**Table 1. ICRMW 1990 Mapping Table and Regional Regulation No. 2 of 2022**

Principles / Articles in ICRMW 1990	International Content / Substance	The Linkage in Regional Regulation No. 2/2022	Analytical Description
Article 25 of the ICRMW  Fair and safe working conditions	Migrant workers have the right to fair and safe working conditions, reasonable working hours and protection from exploitation.	Regional Regulation Articles 12-14 concerning the rights of Indonesian migrant workers to information, training, and protection from unfair practices including excessive costs.	The regulation adopts the principle of protection from exploitation through P3MI supervision and pre-departure protection.
Article 37  Pre-departure information	Migrants have the right to receive complete information regarding contracts, work conditions, rights and obligations.	Regional Regulation Articles 8-9 concerning the regional government's obligation to provide complete information before departure.	Direct integration occurs: regional regulations require information services in regions/districts/cities
Articles 16-20  Access to legal protection	Migrants have the right to legal protection and assistance if they face criminal/civil problems.	Regional Regulation Articles 15-16 concerning complaint services, legal assistance for Indonesian migrant workers and their families.	Implementation of the principle of <i>access to justice</i> through regional service centers.
Article 23  Protection from violence and fraud	The state is obliged to protect migrants from physical violence and fraud during	Regional Regulation Article 11 concerning prevention of illegal placement	The ILO is pushing this issue because there are many cases of East Java PMI related to violence and agent fraud.

	the migration process.	and protection from violence/fraud.	
Article 30  Migrant family rights	Migrant families have the right to information, basic protection and social services.	Regional Regulation Article 18 concerning services for PMI families in villages/sub-districts.	The regulation adopts the concept of <i>family support services</i> in accordance with the ICRMW principles.
Article 33  Fair recruitment	Recruitment must not be discriminatory, fees must be transparent, and there must be no extortion practices.	Regional Regulation Article 10 concerning supervision of P3MI and prohibition of unreasonable placement fees.	Aligned with the <i>ILO Fair Recruitment Guidelines</i> .
Article 54  Support after return (reintegration )	Migrants are entitled to reintegration assistance upon returning to their country of origin.	Regional Regulation Article 19 concerning the social and economic reintegration of retired Indonesian migrant workers.	The regulation includes the principle of reintegration in accordance with ILO-IOM international standards.
Articles 68-70  Inter-agency coordination	The state needs cross-agency coordination for migrant protection.	Regional Regulation Chapter VI concerning the coordination mechanism between regional governments, villages, P3MI, and related agencies.	Adoption of the principles of coordinated migration <i>governance</i> .

Document analysis reveals substantial alignment between the principles of the 1990 ICRMW and the contents of regional regulations, even though Indonesia has not ratified the convention. For example, Article 37 of the ICRMW, concerning the right to pre-departure information, is reflected in Articles 8-9 of the Regional Regulation, which oblige local governments to provide safe migration information services. The principle of fair recruitment, as outlined in Article 33 of the ICRMW, is adopted in the provisions on P3MI supervision and the prohibition of unreasonable placement fees. Articles 16-20 of the ICRMW, concerning access to legal protection, align with Articles 15-16 of the Regional Regulation concerning complaints services and legal aid. Furthermore, the principles regarding family protection and migrant reintegration, as outlined in Articles 30 and 54 of the ICRMW, are internalized through Articles 18-19 of the Regional Regulation. (Sundrijo, 2023)

This level of alignment demonstrates the ILO's success in promoting the internalization of international norms without formal pressure. The East Java Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD) adopted these global standards because they were deemed credible, relevant, and capable of addressing the protection needs of migrant workers in the region. Thus, the drafting of Regional Regulation No. 2 of 2022 exemplifies how international norms can shape subnational legislation through a combination of epistemic authority, indirect technical assistance, and the appropriateness of norms to local contexts.

Overall, this research's findings confirm that the effectiveness of norm diffusion in the East Java case hinges not on formal inter-institutional cooperation, but rather on the ILO's ability to construct global standards accepted by regional actors as a legitimate framework for protecting migrant workers. Regional Regulation No. 2 of 2022 is thus a progressive regional legislative product and reflects the success of cross-level interactions in migration governance.

#### **The ILO's Influence on the Diffusion of Global Standards on Safe Migration, Fair Recruitment, and Legal Protection into Regional Policies in East Java**

The International Labour Organization's (ILO) influence in the drafting of Regional Regulation No. 2 of 2022 did not come through formal collaboration or direct assistance to the East Java Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD), but rather through more subtle mechanisms. This mechanism operates through the dissemination of knowledge, international standards, and a national policy architecture that has already absorbed global principles. In the context of migrant worker policy, the ILO has long produced various normative standards such as the General Principles and Operational Guidelines for Fair Recruitment, safe migration guidelines, non-discrimination principles, and protection of migrant domestic workers. These standards serve as the primary reference for ministries, the Indonesian Migrant Workers Protection Agency (BP2MI), and regional technical agencies in formulating migration policies that align with global values of decent work (Janie, 2023). To clarify this diffusion mechanism, the norms disseminated by the ILO on migrant worker issues encompass several key principles that serve as global references. The safe migration principle emphasizes that the migration process must be informed, legal, and protected from the pre-departure stage to return. These norms stipulate the state's obligation to provide access to information, formal training, prevent illegal placement, and protect against the risks of violence, fraud, and human trafficking. Accordingly, the principle of fair recruitment stipulates that the entire recruitment process must be transparent, free from excessive costs, non-deceptive, and subject to strict supervision, as outlined in the ILO General Principles and Operational Guidelines for Fair Recruitment.

The ILO also promotes the norm of non-discrimination, which ensures that migrant workers are treated equally without distinction based on gender, migration status, ethnicity, religion, or social conditions, including equal pay and special protection for migrant women. Furthermore, the workers' rights norm affirms that migrant workers have the same employment rights as domestic workers, including a valid employment contract, decent working conditions, social protection, occupational health and safety services, and in some jurisdictions, the right to organize. The ILO also prioritizes the principle of access to justice, namely the fulfillment of complaint mechanisms, legal aid, assistance in cases of violence or labor disputes, and access to diplomatic representatives to prevent unfair criminalization.

On the other hand, the protection of migrant families is an essential part of international norms through the provision of social services, financial education, assistance for children and spouses left behind, and mitigation of economic vulnerability—an aspect that is particularly relevant in East Java given the high proportion of female migrant workers. All of these principles are reinforced by the 1990 International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families (ICRMW), which contains comprehensive standards on the right to information, protection from violence, access to legal aid, family protection, decent working conditions, and reintegration upon return. Although Indonesia has not ratified this convention, many of its norms have influenced the national policy architecture. Furthermore, the ILO Guidelines for Fair Recruitment serve as technical standards that regulate detailed recruitment governance, including the prohibition of fees charged to workers, contract verification, the responsibilities of placement agencies, and recruitment-related complaint mechanisms. All of these norms form a global framework that serves as a primary reference source for national and regional policies, including East Java Regional Regulation No. 2 of 2022 (Yatani, 2023).

When the East Java Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD) drafted the Draft Regional Regulation and ultimately ratified Regional Regulation No. 2 of 2022, all technical institutions involved in the consultation, from the Manpower Office, the Regional Representative of the Indonesian Migrant Workers Association (BP2MI), to migrant village officials, worked within a policy framework influenced by these international standards. Therefore, even though there was no direct consultation forum between the ILO and the DPRD, the substance used by the DPRD was based on a knowledge infrastructure deeply rooted in international norms. The ILO's influence also flows through the national legal framework, particularly

since the enactment of Law No. 18 of 2017, which aligns with international principles regarding pre-departure information, certified training, supervision of migrant workers (P3MI), and protection of migrant workers' families. When the East Java DPRD revised Regional Regulation No. 4 of 2016, their primary reference was the national regulatory framework that had incorporated ILO advocacy, thus moving the direction of regional policy towards global standards through top-down norm diffusion (Santoso, 2024).

Furthermore, the ILO's influence extends to the regional level through safe migration and fair recruitment programs involving subnational actors, particularly through gender-responsive fair recruitment training, strengthening migration information services, and supporting migrant workers' families. East Java is a key region in this program due to its high number of female migrant workers. Through interactions with the labor office, integrated service institutions, and civil society organizations, ILO normative principles, such as the prohibition on excessive recruitment fees, contract transparency, and access to complaint services, serve as a framework for developing protection instruments. Regional bureaucrats bring this knowledge to the legislative table when the Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD) requests input and supporting data during the regional regulation deliberation process.

The local context of East Java also reinforces the need for regulatory alignment with international standards. High rates of violence, agency fraud, wage withholding, and even migrant worker deaths have prompted the Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD) to revise outdated regulations deemed inadequate. This was evident in a KanallIndonesia report when Regional Regulation No. 2 of 2022 was ratified during the East Java DPRD Plenary Session, where Governor Khofifah emphasized that regulatory changes were necessary to ensure the protection of migrant workers "from upstream to downstream," including protection for migrant workers' families, mandatory training, strengthening the LTSA (Land and Workers' Assistance Program), and facilitating repatriation and resolving legal issues (Febrianti, 2019). This statement demonstrates that the DPRD's policy direction aligns with the ILO's global agenda on comprehensive protection and safe migration services. Therefore, the substance of the regulation, which addresses the structural issues of migrant workers, demonstrates that international norms have resonated in the local context.

At this stage, it is clear that Regional Regulation No. 2 of 2022 substantially integrates the main principles of the 1990 International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families (ICRMW), although Indonesia has not yet ratified it. Provisions regarding pre-departure information, protection from exploitative recruitment practices, complaint mechanisms and legal assistance, protection of migrant families, and reintegration of retired migrant workers demonstrate consistency with ICRMW standards and ILO guidelines on safe migration. The East Java Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD) considers this aspect crucial given the numerous cases of migrant workers from East Java facing legal issues abroad. The principle of protection for migrant workers' families is also reflected in provisions for social assistance, financial education, and family development. In a plenary session, Governor Khofifah referred to this aspect as "strengthening that was not regulated in previous regulations," particularly to improve the welfare of migrant workers' families during their placement period.

The results of an interview with a member of Commission E of the East Java Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD), Dr. H. Pugh Wiji Pamungkas, MM, showed that the regional legislative process follows the principle of a linear national legal hierarchy and must not conflict with international law. He stated that, "Regional regulations must not conflict with international law, the Constitution, laws, presidential regulations, and ministerial regulations. This means that in the preparation of regional regulations, every substance is bound by an international norm (although not always through ratification)." (DPRD, 2022) This statement confirms that the DPRD understands the process of drafting regional regulations as part of a normative chain that starts from global instruments, is adopted in national laws, and then is passed down to regional regulations.

The drafting of East Java Regional Regulation Number 2 of 2022 takes into account several points, namely, (a) that Indonesian Migrant Workers and their families have the right to guaranteed protection from the state to obtain security, services, and fulfillment of rights before and after work; (b) that East Java Provincial Regulation Number 4 of 2016 concerning Placement Services and Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers Abroad is no longer in accordance with developments and legal needs, so it needs to be replaced; (c) that based on the considerations referred to in letters a and b, it is necessary to establish a Regional Regulation concerning the Implementation of Migrant Worker Protection. With joint approval, the Regional People's

Representative Council and the Governor of East Java decided and established a Regional Regulation concerning the Implementation of Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers containing comprehensive regulations regarding the protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers (PMI) from the pre-departure stage, the placement period, to post-placement. At the pre-departure stage, the Regional Regulation regulates the obligations of regional governments in providing migration information services, document verification, job education and training, and competency certification for prospective PMI. Regional governments are also required to supervise placement companies (P3MI) to prevent illegal recruitment practices and exploitation. This provision reflects the adoption of the principles of safe migration and fair recruitment, which are the main standards of the ILO.

With this regulatory scope, Regional Regulation No. 2 of 2022 positions local governments not only as regulators but also as facilitators and protectors throughout the labor migration cycle. The integration of the principles of safe migration, fair recruitment, legal protection, and family protection demonstrates that the substance of this Regional Regulation aligns with global standards promoted by the ILO, while also addressing the specific protection needs of migrant workers in the East Java context. Thus, Regional Regulation No. 2 of 2022 is a concrete example of multi-level governance, where global standards promoted by the ILO are transformed into regional policies through a combination of local needs, the influence of national regulations, and the epistemic legitimacy of international actors. This regulation also demonstrates that international organizations can play a significant role in subnational policy reform without formal involvement, but rather through the process of norm diffusion, knowledge transfer, and the internalization of international standards into regional legislative practices.

### Conclusions and Recommendations

This study reveals that East Java Regional Regulation No. 2 of 2022 is heavily influenced by international standards promulgated by the International Labour Organization (ILO). Although the ILO does not officially collaborate with the East Java Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD), it has implemented international standards on safe migration, fair recruitment, access to justice, and the protection of migrant families at the national level. These standards have been incorporated into national legislation through Law No. 18 of 2017 and ILO technical regulations. The national regulatory system at that time served as the primary basis for drafting regional regulations.

As analyzed, key aspects of the regulation such as the right to pre-departure information, prevention of exploitative recruitment, access to complaint mechanisms, legal aid, and support for retired migrant workers are in full compliance with the 1990 International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families (ICRMW). Through these provisions, the ILO strengthens its position as a normative advocate by influencing subnational policies regarding knowledge sharing, technical assistance, and credibility, rather than using coercion.

The results of this study confirm the hypothesis that the formation of regional regulations is part of a multi-layered governance system. Global dynamics and international actors are absorbed by local policies as they

translate these norms at various levels. Thus, Regulation No. 2 of 2022 not only meets the needs of local migrant workers but also demonstrates how external standards can be effectively internalized into regional regulations in a gradual, indirect, yet effective manner.

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