Research article

Plural Society: Interaction Between the Local Community and Foreign Workers in Bayah, Lebak Regency, Indonesia

Anis Fuad, Ika Arinia Indriyany, and Mahpudin Mahpudin*
Department of Government Science, University of Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa, Banten, Indonesia

Abstract. This article analyzes the interaction of local communities with foreign workers in the Lebak Regency, especially in the Bayah District. Bayah was chosen as the locus of the study because it is the location of several large companies that employ foreigners. The implication is that diverse identities in the socio-political institutions coexist, namely residents and foreign workers. This research considers whether the relationships built are conducive to forming social integration or can trigger friction between communities so that the relationships are conflictual. To answer this, the concepts of plural society and multiculturalism and several conflict theories were used as analytical tools. The results showed that the interaction patterns of local communities and foreign workers exist exclusively for each other. It is difficult to create spaces for interaction between communities with different identities, so this can trigger conflict and negative sentiments towards foreign workers, the majority of whom are from China. The consequence is that the interactions that are formed show ‘mixed but not combined’ – to borrow the phrasing of J.S Furnivall, which is a condition of people with diverse identities living side by side but not blending into one socio-political unit, leading to the potential for conflict.

Keywords: plural society, conflict, foreign workers, local community

1. Introduction

The development of globalization and industrialization has blurred national boundaries. The state’s demands to carry out various free-market-oriented economic development projects have created high human mobility as the main subject of economic resources. The implication is that the presence of foreign workers in various countries is a necessity. The migration of population from one country to another is part of the development process that impacts countries that import and export foreign workers (1). In many countries, importing foreign workers has become an important strategy in responding to an increasingly competitive global economic structure. Foreign workers are brought in to meet production needs (2). For example, in Singapore, as many as 36 percent of the total population are immigrants (3). In Korea, the national workforce is filled with foreign...
workers (legal and illegal), which amounts to 50 percent (4). In Taiwan and Malaysia, importing foreign workers is part of the strategic plan to increase the workforce, mainly to cover the shortage of unskilled labor (1,2). Meanwhile, in Indonesia, foreign workers were deliberately brought in to respond to the low quality of local workers.

However, the presence of foreign workers is considered to bring problems in various fields such as economic, social, political, and cultural. The influx of foreign workers in large and unstoppable numbers has caused concerns about threats and state security (5,6). Potential conflicts can occur between foreign workers and residents because of the assumption that the presence of foreign workers has led to unemployment and low wages for local workers (1). Conflicts can also arise due to differences in values and culture between foreign workers and residents (4,7,8). On the other hand, foreign workers often receive discrimination, exploitation, and marginalization from companies, the government, and residents. Unequal relations have left foreign workers in a vulnerable and powerless subject position. There is a negative sentiment and unfair treatment in many countries that foreign workers are seen as dirty and weak. Foreign workers are paid low wages, do not have the flexibility to change places of work because they must be loyal to only one employer, and do heavy work with high risks without protection from companies and government regulations (3).

This description emphasizes that the issue of foreign workers is a dilemma. On the one hand, it has a positive impact because it correlates with the development state strategy, but on the other hand, it negatively impacts the receiving country and foreign workers themselves (9). The existence of foreign workers forms a variety of interactions, both interactions with fellow foreign workers from different countries, interactions with local workers in the company environment, and interactions with residents. The interactions created between them can lead to things that are integrative or discriminatory-exploitative.

Many studies on the interaction of foreign workers with the environment faced in the country concerned have been carried out. Li’s study (2) explains the unfair treatment of foreign workers compared to local workers in Taiwan, leading to the systematic deprivation of foreign workers’ rights by companies and the government. Foreign workers do not receive adequate housing and food, receive physical and verbal abuse, are paid low wages, and have no security guarantees while working. Foreign workers must be subject to the control of agents and employers. Research by Krjukova et al. (10) states that foreign workers in the Netherlands are still often perceived as a threat rather than a subject that contributes to the development of the local citizen’s state.
Choi (7) and Kim (4) show that the way foreign workers in Korea interact affects the motivation of foreign workers to leave the company where they work. The formed interaction gives rise to the dominance and discrimination of local Korean workers against foreign workers. Foreign workers are given jobs that are high risk but not commensurate with the incentives received. Cultural conflicts between the two are also not well managed by the government and companies. Meanwhile, there is a different treatment for foreign workers who come from Chinese and Mongolian countries. They get special treatment because of their ethnicity and skills.

Meanwhile, foreign workers from other countries are treated badly. Meanwhile, in Singapore, as in the work of Ruby & McKay (3), residents have negative sentiments towards foreign workers, leading to an anti-immigrant discourse. Studies by Waluyo et al. (5) and Wahyudi et al. (6) explain that the interaction between foreign workers and local communities in Cilegon City, Indonesia, tend to have the potential to cause conflict even though it has not become an open conflict so that it can threaten national security and defense.

Based on the review of several kinds of literature above, it appears that the issue of foreign workers uses a structural and security approach. This article seeks to enrich existing studies related to the issue of foreign workers in the Indonesian context by emphasizing a plural society and multiculturalism approach. This research is important to do because Indonesia has a different context compared to other countries. First, foreign workers in other countries work more as manual laborers and occupy less strategic positions in companies. The implication is that foreign workers are in a lower position than local workers or residents. The use of foreign workers in the country aims to meet labor needs (especially unskilled labor) but with low wages.

On the other hand, Indonesia’s policy states that using foreign workers is to transfer technology and expertise to Indonesian workers so that they have the skills required by the company. Therefore, foreign workers must have high skills and occupy strategic positions in companies that local workers cannot fill. So it can be said that foreign workers have a calculated position. The positioning of foreign workers affects the pattern of relations and interactions created with local workers and residents.

Second, Indonesians still have negative sentiments on the issue of foreigners, especially those from China. This negative sentiment is formed from a very long historical process. The Chinese controlled the economic and trade sectors in Indonesia, causing the indigenous population to be marginalized in their own country. The economic sector that has been taken over and controlled by China is very visible during the New Order era when Chinese businesses received various privileges from the state intending to
smooth out state development projects (11,12). Negative sentiment towards foreigners is also often used by political elites to win the sympathy of voters, as happened in the recent elections (13). Thus, the portrait of the interaction between foreign workers and residents in Indonesia becomes interesting for further research.

Specifically, this article analyzes the portrait of the interaction of residents with foreign workers in the Lebak Regency, especially the Bayah District. Bayah was chosen as the locus of the study because it is the location for establishing several large companies that employ foreigners, the majority from China. The implication is that there are diverse identities in socio-political institutions that coexist, namely residents and foreigners. The latest data obtained from the Banten Provincial Manpower Office shows that in 2021 there will be 120 foreign workers spread across 14 companies. Most foreign workers are at PT Cemindo Gemilang and PT Sinoma Engineering. Both companies are in Bayah District, Lebak Regency. Although in terms of quantity, the number of foreign workers is not the majority compared to local workers, the presence of foreign workers also influences the pattern of interaction created between foreign and local workers.

Since the beginning of the arrival of foreign workers in Bayah, residents have felt restless. In 2015 around 700 foreign workers from China were brought in to work at PT Cemindo Gemilang. This company is engaged in the cement industry. The number of local workers in the company in the same year was 1500 employees (14). It means that the ratio of foreign and local workers in this company is one foreign worker compared to two local workers. Residents show an antipathy attitude towards the presence of foreign workers for fear of seizing job opportunities. Moreover, in some cases, residents know that some foreign workers do not have skills, such as not communicating in English and Indonesian. In contrast, government policies regarding the use of foreign workers must have special skills that residents do not own.

Local people’s anxiety is getting stronger due to the finding of several illegal foreign workers from China. Residents are worried about the arrival of foreign workers in their area because they are afraid that foreign workers will dominate and cause residents to lose their jobs. In addition, based on information from residents, these foreign workers from China have very different cultures and behaviors. Residents admitted that foreign workers practice open defecation. The behavior of foreign workers regarding environmental cleanliness makes residents feel uncomfortable. This condition often creates friction between foreign workers and residents that occurred from 2014 to 2015.

Foreign workers and residents became a new social reality that emerged in Bayah. Bayah is an area with rural, traditional, and relatively homogeneous characteristics.
However, since large industrial companies were founded, residents inevitably must accept that they live side by side with foreign workers who have different identities, cultures, and interests. This research aims to answer how the interaction between foreign workers and residents is formed, developed, and managed. Does the relationship form integration and run conducive, or does it lead to adverse interactions that lead to acts of exclusion, discrimination, and deprivation of human rights?

The interaction between foreign workers and residents confirms that the social reality in Bayah, Lebak, as a condition of a plural society, is that different community groups live side-by-side in one socio-political order. The idea of a plural society departs from Furnivall’s work (15) which describes the condition of society in Asia with the characteristics of different identities. Furnivall explained that these different conditions of society coexist but do not become a single unit in a political unit but mix but not combine. This society can generate conflict between these different community groups, and there is no will to live together. Therefore, to minimize conflict, it is necessary to have a marketplace (15).

The marketplace needs to be created to bring together these different community groups to enable communication and interaction between them. From this interaction, community groups can get to know each other. The marketplace is a market mechanism that brings together many people for economic activity. From the marketplace, it is hoped that the will to live together is created. When this marketplace is disrupted or lost, different groups of people get into friction because nothing causes them to interact (15).

The idea of a plural society inspired the birth of various conflict theories (16,17). Conflicts occur between these different community groups because the interactions created between them lead to the dominance of certain groups, and at the same time, other groups experience discrimination, marginalization, and exclusion. The use of social categories to limit and separate interactions and relationships between different groups is called “the politics of ethnicity”(18). Conflicts based on differences in social identity have become an important issue in this century. Even Huntington (19) has predicted that the contemporary world is no longer concerned with the ideological poles split between adherents of communism and liberalism, but clashes of civilizations drive conflicts.

One approach that can be taken to overcome this kind of conflict is introducing a multiculturalism model (16). Multiculturalism means respect and acknowledgment of diversity. That difference as a political category is necessary by ensuring equality and justice between different groups. The existence of respect and recognition is expected
to prevent domination and discrimination (20). Multiculturalism means being willing to accept differences so that interactions created between groups are inclusive, conducive and prioritize human rights so that individuals or groups can express themselves freely, culturally, and politically. Multiculturalism is believed to be able to dissolve the dichotomy of "majority-minority," "we as in-group and they as outgroup (the others)," which has been the root cause of friction. According to Lan (18), multiculturalism is completely different from assimilation, which promotes similarity and homogeneity to force different groups to be uniformed to be compatible with the majority’s wishes. Assimilation shows the existence of "unequal power" so that at the same time, there is the practice of depriving human rights. Efforts to bring multiculturalism amid group differences can be made through government policies that are inclusive and accommodating so that it benefits all parties.

2. Methods and Equipment

The study of the interaction between foreign workers and residents was carried out through a mix of quantitative and qualitative methods. Quantitative research is used as an instrument to obtain a comprehensive description of residents’ perception in Bayah, Lebak Regency on the presence of foreign workers in their area. A total of 70 residents were selected as respondents. The selected respondents live in the area closest to the company arena so that there is a chance for interaction between foreign workers and residents. Furthermore, respondents were faced with several questions to map the patterns of interaction and relationships between them. The collected data is then processed and presented in a description and analysis using a plural society, conflict, and multiculturalism approach. This article also uses qualitative research to explore data and information in more depth. The data were obtained through a review of several kinds of literature and purposive in-depth interviews with relevant informants such as company leaders, government, and local community leaders. Data analysis was performed using the triangulation method.

3. Results

3.1. Portrait of Lebak Regency Employment

Lebak Regency is in the southern part of Banten Province with an area of 3,305.07 km², or 35.46% of the total area of Banten Province. As the Regency with the largest area,
Lebak Regency leaves several problems that demand to be resolved. Lebak Regency is categorized as an Empowered Disadvantaged Region, an underdeveloped area that has succeeded in meeting the set composite index but still needs guidance from the relevant Ministries/Institutions for three years. In Banten Province, two regencies were originally categorized as Disadvantaged Regions but are now Disadvantaged Regions, namely Lebak Regency and Pandeglang Regency.

Lebak Regency consists of 28 sub-districts and 345 villages. Serang Regency borders Lebak Regency in the north; Indonesian Ocean in the south; Pandeglang Regency in the west; Tangerang Regency, Bogor Regency, and Sukabumi Regency in the east. In Banten Province, an imaginary line stretches from west to east, which seems to divide the region into northern and southern regions. The northern region is identical to the industrial area with a more developed economy than the southern region, identified with the agricultural area.

It seems that this dichotomy can be seen through the distribution of the District Minimum Wages in Banten Province. In the north, this minimum wage is in the range of 3 – 3 million per month. While in the south, the Minimum Wage in Lebak Regency is IDR 2,710,654, although it is higher than the Minimum Wage of Banten Province but is the lowest even when compared to its neighboring Regency, Pandeglang Regency. This indirectly shows the economic condition in Lebak Regency, which is much different.
from other Regencies/Cities in the northern region because the focus is in the agrarian sector, not the industrial sector.

The population of Lebak Regency in 2020 is 1,386,793 people, which is divided into 714,054 men and 672,741 women. The population growth rate in Lebak Regency is 1.38, with a population percentage of 11.65 of the total population of Banten Province. Meanwhile, the population density per km2 in Lebak Regency is the lowest in Banten Province at 405 people per km2. Of the total population, as many as 659,906 people are in the workforce. According to BPS data from Lebak Regency, 596,379 people have jobs, meaning 63,527 or 4.5% are unemployed. This figure is dominated by men, with 46,215 people.

Table 1: Number of populations aged 15 years and over by the type of activity during the past week and gender in Lebak Regency in 2020

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MAIN ACTIVITY</th>
<th>GENDER</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Man</td>
<td>Woman</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workspace</td>
<td>415.112</td>
<td>244.784</td>
<td>659.906</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Work</td>
<td>368.907</td>
<td>227.472</td>
<td>596.379</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Open unemployment</td>
<td>46.215</td>
<td>17.312</td>
<td>63.527</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not the Labor Force</td>
<td>67.556</td>
<td>215.719</td>
<td>283.275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. School and Housekeeping</td>
<td>38.046</td>
<td>197.489</td>
<td>235.535</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Others</td>
<td>29.510</td>
<td>18.230</td>
<td>47.740</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>482.678</td>
<td>460.503</td>
<td>943.181</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Another ironic thing is that the Human Development Index in Lebak Regency is the lowest compared to other Regencies/Cities in Banten Province, 63.91. The development index explains how the population in an area can access development through education, health, and employment. Although in Lebak Regency the Human Development Index figures show an increasing trend from year to year as shown in the following diagram, development in Lebak Regency is still far behind compared to other districts.

Figure 2: Human Development Index of Lebak Regency.
Unemployment in Lebak Regency is not helped by industry, which is indeed not too much in number. Because people are more likely to make a living in the agrarian sector than in the industry. In 2020, there will be around 17,000 industries in Lebak Regency. Some companies that cause labor absorption in the industrial sector prefer hiring foreign workers compared to local workers. The distribution of foreign workers in the company can be seen in the following diagram:

![Figure 3](image1)

**Figure 3:** Top five companies in Lebak Regency employing Foreign Workers in 2021.

![Figure 4](image2)

**Figure 4:** Origin Country of Foreign Workers working in Lebak Regency in 2021.

Figure 3 shows that the company that employs the most foreign workers is PT Sinoma Engineering Indonesia. The company has a Cooperation contract with PT Sinoma, a company in China specializing in constructing cement plants in at least 50 countries. Foreign workers, especially in China, were intended to build a Red and White Cement Factory in Bayah, Lebak. According to CNN Indonesia, the number of foreign workers employed at the beginning of factory construction was 700 people. They are imported from China according to different qualifications and capacities. Currently, the number of foreign workers owned by PT Sinoma Engineering Indonesia in Bayah is only 70 people, according to data from the Lebak Regency Manpower and Transmigration Office. One of the reasons for the lack of foreign workers is the COVID-19 pandemic, so they choose to be sent back to their respective countries. China dominates foreign workers in Lebak
Regency (Figure 4). Due to the large influx of foreign workers from China brought in by PT Sinoma to construct a cement factory in Bayah.

### 3.2. Respondent Profile

This research focuses on photographing the interaction pattern between local communities and foreign workers in Bayah District, Lebak Regency. Bayah Sub-district was chosen as the research location because, in this District, there is a Red and White Cement Factory, which in its construction presents a dilemmatic situation. After all, it brings in many foreign workers instead of using local workers. The study was conducted on 70 people in the Bayah District, with 81% in Darmasari Village and 19% in West Bayah (Figure 5). Darmasari and Bayah Barat were chosen as the focus of research in the Lebak Regency because, based on initial observations made by the research team, the domiciles of foreign workers, local workers, and the community were found in this location. It becomes important in the focus of research because, to photograph the interactions between foreign and local workers and the community, there needs to be a representation of the public space where the three interact openly and naturally without intervention from any party. Of the 70 respondents taken, 33 were male, and 37 were female (Figure 6). The distribution of this profile can be seen through the following diagram:

![Figure 5: Distribution of respondents’ domicile addresses.](image)

The parties selected as respondents in this study must have a minimum age of 15 years or are married. It is done for several reasons. First, BPS uses a minimum age limit of 15 years as the age of the workforce so that respondents’ perceptions will be obtained regarding the presence of foreign workers, especially in the world of employment.
Second, those aged 15 years or already married are considered capable of having their
arguments without any intervention from any party. So that the answers given during the research process are personal statements that can be accounted for in scientific ethics.

Based on Figure 7, the age range of most respondents is in the 36–45-year group as many as 19 people, followed by 18 people for 26-35 years and 15-25 years and 46-55 years with ten people.

While the Banten ethnic group dominates the ethnicity of the respondents (Figure 8) as many as 35 people, the Sundanese ethnic group as many as 34 people, and the Javanese ethnic group as many as one person, it is important to photograph the ethnic origin of the respondents because the socio-cultural setting is one of the factors that shape a person’s character. So that when the respondent’s ethnic origin is known, a person’s thinking picture will also be obtained.

![Figure 9: Respondent's occupation.](image-url)

![Figure 10: Respondent's education.](image-url)

The respondent’s occupation is dominated by 25 housewives (Figure 9) because the researcher tries to include gender representation in the respondents. Men and women must be photographed equally in the selection of respondents. The second occupation
is self-employed as many as 17 people, followed by fishermen and farmers as many as five people, and civil servants as many as four people. The entrepreneurial sector is filled by people who do work in the non-formal sector.

Regarding education, most respondents are high school graduates as much as 27%, followed by junior high school graduates as much as 22%, and the third is elementary school graduates with 21% (Figure 10). Only 14% of D4/S1 graduates, while 13% of respondents did not graduate from elementary school. Respondents occupy the smallest percentage with an educational background of S2 graduates, which is only 3%

The respondent profiles described above are expected to provide an initial overview of the research. A total of 70 local people will provide their perceptions regarding the presence of foreign workers in the Bayah District, whether it can cause conflict or not.

4. Discussion

This study aims to analyze the portrait of the interaction of local communities with foreign workers in the Lebak Regency, especially the Bayah District. The research begins by identifying whether the community knows and agrees with foreign workers around them. As many as 40% of respondents stated that they did not agree with the existence of foreign workers, 31% said they did not agree, 29% said they agreed, and 0% said they strongly agreed.

If we look more closely, foreign workers in the Bayah District are not approved by the community because most respondents (71%) do not want their existence during the community. Conditions in the field based on observations made also show that it turns out that these foreign workers do not live to mingle with the community. They were given dormitories and isolated by the company on the pretext of reducing the spread
of COVID-19. A designated party will carry out the needs that require them to leave the dormitory and have limited access in and out of the company. The researcher then elaborated further on the reasons for the rejection of the existence of these foreign workers in the Bayah District. Researchers use three entrances to analyze the presence of the First foreign worker related to the availability of job opportunities and second, related to the number of wages that local workers will receive. Moreover, third, related to opportunities between local and foreign workers who occupy strategic positions in the company.

![Diagram 1: Work Opportunity](image1)

**Figure 12:** The presence of foreign workers affects the availability of job opportunities.

![Diagram 2: Wage](image2)

**Figure 13:** The existence of foreign workers affects the number of wages received by local workers.

The results showed that related to the first factor, namely the availability of employment opportunities, as many as 46% of respondents agreed that the presence of foreign workers would affect the availability of employment opportunities. Those who agree argue that foreign workers entering Bayah will narrow job opportunities for job seekers in Bayah itself. However, interestingly, on the opposite side, as many as 36% of
respondents stated that they did not agree that foreign workers affect the availability of job opportunities. Because for them, the process of diversification, specialization, and work competence between local and foreign workers is different. So no need to worry.

This split view is also seen in the second-factor research, which is related to wages. As many as 47% of respondents stated that they do not agree if the presence of foreign workers affects the number of wages received by local workers. It is because local workers already have a clear salary basis regulated in local government regulations in the Regency Minimum Wage. On the other hand, 42% of respondents stated that they agree that the presence of foreign workers has an impact on the wages received by local workers. For example, in the same position, foreign workers will receive higher wages than local workers simply because they are foreigners.

Related to the third factor, namely the assumption that the presence of foreign workers will fill strategic positions, it shows the opposite fact on the ground that most (52%) respondents stated that they did not agree with the statement. Because it is not uncommon for foreign workers to also occupy menial job positions just like local workers.

The researcher then gave further questions related to the briefings that need to be given to foreign workers before working in Indonesia.

Respondents 100% agreed that before foreign workers work in Indonesia, they need to introduce Indonesia first. Like a foreigner who enters a foreign country, this introduction is given to reduce friction between foreign workers, both with local workers and the community. The introductions that need to be given include those related to the Indonesian language (54%), Indonesian cultures such as the values of Pancasila, Bhineka Tunggal Ika, etc. (20%), Local Wisdom (17%), and universal humanism values such as mutual respect for differences, tolerance, etc. (9%).
Language occupies the highest position because the phenomenon that has often been encountered is that foreign workers cannot speak Indonesian, even they are not able to speak English. They rely on communication using their native language. When communicating with Indonesians, they rely on translators. It, of course, has the potential to create friction due to poor communication between foreign workers and the local community. Introductions related to Indonesian culture also need to be given, especially when some foreign cultures are contrary to Indonesian cultures, such as drinking liquor, partying, etc. This introduction is intended to minimize friction.

The researcher then asked the respondents whether they had ever known about conflicts between foreign workers and local people. As many as 57% of respondents
answered they did not know, while 43% answered they knew. Researchers suspect that respondents who answered there was no conflict because there was no conflict in the last year. It was confirmed by interviews with village officials that from 2020 to 2021, there were no conflicts between foreign workers and the community. Nevertheless, in 2014-2015 there was friction related to the environment.

The researcher then tried to determine what forms of friction or conflict had occurred before in Bayah District. Respondents gave various answers ranging from raids, quarrels between neighbors, ostracism, work conflicts, etc. The causes of conflict vary, but the
biggest trigger for conflict is differences in values and identities that foreign workers and the community believe. For example, in interpreting drinking liquor. For foreign workers, alcohol is a common thing at parties or to unwind after work. However, for people with strong Islamic values, this is contrary to the values they believe in. Once again, this confirms previous findings that in order to minimize friction, foreign workers need to be introduced to Indonesian culture, which may conflict, so as not to cause problems with driving.

![Figure 19: Causes of Conflict of Foreign Workers with Local Communities.](image)

Both conflicts and frictions that occur between foreign workers and the community have an unfavorable impact. Most of the respondents agreed that conflicts that have occurred had disrupted the comfort of living and working. In addition, they also saw that the existing relationship between foreign workers, local workers, and the community was disrupted due to this conflict. Ironically, the community blamed the foreign workers for the conflict. Whereas conflict is unlikely to occur if there is no tension created between 2 or more actors. As many as 58% of respondents stated that in the future, to avoid conflict again, foreign workers need to adapt to the socio-cultural conditions that exist in the local community. In fact, from the community side, there is also a need to minimize friction by understanding the culture and values brought by foreign workers, not only demanding foreign workers to study Indonesian culture alone.

The researcher then asked the respondents for the resolution of conflicts that had occurred in the past. Research data shows that the actor who plays a role in resolving conflicts is not the government (10%), but more of this role is played by the company (59%) and the community (31%). The conflict resolution method is also very humane, namely through deliberation (82%), although there is also an omission process (15%).

The dominant role of the company and the community in taking a role when there is a conflict is a side effect of the community’s distrust of the government institution itself.
Opinions in the community are divided into 2, namely between people who feel that the government is less able to provide solutions (49%) due to not having policy products related to conflict management in the community (57%, and also, on the other hand, there is a group of people who feel that the government is considered capable provide solutions (46%), because they already have standard operational policies, even though they are considered less effective in minimizing conflicts.

It is an important note for the local government that there needs to be a massive effort to socialize policy products related to conflict management, starting from preventive efforts to curative efforts if a conflict occurs. Even if this product already exists, it needs
Figure 22: Parties resolving the conflict.

Figure 23: How conflicts are resolved.

Figure 24: The government is considered capable of providing solutions in the event of a conflict.

to be implemented properly to restore their trust in the government as an institution that can be trusted if there is friction in the community. Thus, the assumption of the Weberian bureaucracy, which has been well-known so far, puts forward the formal legal
aspect and upholds a hierarchical structure that makes handling problems slow and complicated.

5. Conclusion

What happened in Bayah, Lebak by Furnivall is called a mixed but not combined community characteristic. Foreign workers and local people live side by side with their characteristics but do not blend in, creating a new identity. Foreign workers live in a closed structure, so that it is not possible to have socialization efforts between foreign workers and the community. This phenomenon, of course, has the potential to create labels and stereotypes that lead to friction.

The Lebak Regency Government needs to consider a public sphere that ensures free and equal interaction between foreign workers, local workers, and the community. The public sphere, or Furnivall, calls it a marketplace to ensure that communication and socialization can be created between actors to reduce the potential for conflict. With this public space, the process of respect and recognition will also undoubtedly occur so that it is hoped that equality and justice will be created between them. It becomes homework for the local government to design an inclusive legal product where all parties are treated equally according to their rights and obligations, including the government must also accommodate the differences possessed by certain parties.

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Conflict of Interest

This research received a grant from the Ministry of Research, Technology and Higher Education. Even so, the researcher does not have a conflict of interest on this matter. This research is purely carried out for scientific development. If there is a conflict of interest in the future, the researcher will be fully responsible.

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