

Village Elite Role on The Productive Migrant Village Program in Banyumas Indonesia

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Abstract

Within social structure inside society, there is a group called the elite group consists of small number of people who are at the top of the stratum of the community. The group has a big role in various activities in the community. Banyumas is one of the regencies that receive a Productive Migrant Village Program (PMVP) whose implementation is related to the group of village elite. The purpose of this paper is to show how the role of the village elite in the village community empowerment, especially in the implementation of the programs. The method of the research is a critical qualitative research method. The data are obtained by interview, observation, and documentation. An analysis of the study was conducted interactively. The results of the study are; 1) The implementation of the programs are driven by village elites, 2) village political elites are responsible for the success since the beginning of the program, 3) political elites and economic elites ally in the implementation of the productive migrant village program. Such pattern of village elite alliances can be used as a useful model for the success of development programs or the empowerment of rural communities, not only in the programs, but also in other community empowerment programs.

Keywords

village elite, role, migrant worker, empowerment, Banyumas.

INTRODUCTION

The Ministry of Manpower and Transmigration of the Republic of Indonesia has been holding a productive migrant village program (PMVP) since 2017. The program is intended for villages with a large amount of Indonesian Migrant Workers (IMW). The purpose of the PMVP is to empower migrant workers' families, both those who have been left overseas as well as families who have returned or ex-migrant workers. Banyumas

Regency is one of the regencies that are classified as the object of PMVP because of its amount of migrant workers. In the first phase, the objects of the program are Cihonje village of Gumelar District and Losari village of Rawalo District. In the 2018 Cilangkap Village of Gumelar District and Pekaja Village of Kalibagor District are added as the

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object of the program.

The productive migrant village program is carried out by the government based on the fact that the activity of sending labors abroad has no impact on the economic growth of the village. The earnings of the migrant workers tend to be used on consumptive purposes rather than investments. Thus when migrant workers return to the village become unemployed and have nothing that can be developed for productive ventures. This shows that developing villages that have potential is not easy. This is in line with the study of Sadeghi et al. (2017); there is no significant difference in agricultural development for three types of rural areas. Agricultural development among three types of rural areas has not been different from the dam construction made available through dam construction with the objective, sustainable development, tourism is the optimal choice. Still, the results indicated that the dam construction has not affected to improve it.

The purpose of the government in providing the productive migrant village program is for villages with a large amount of migrant workers who work overseas to become economically developed villages. The government hopes that the earnings of the migrant workers can be utilized as a capital for productive business activities that are based on the potency of local village communities, thus the migrant workers will have a positive impact on the economy of rural communities. As studied by Lukic et al. (2017), By using the demographic, socio-economic, and geographic indicators, we have shown the specific role of the determinants in the interrelations between migration and development while broadening the regional focus of migration development nexus in transition economies on the Republic of Serbia.

Gumelar District, as the biggest migrant workers supplier in Banyumas Regency, has two of its villages Cihonje Village and Cilangkap Village as the object of productive migrant village program. Cihonje Village is the largest supplier, while Cilangkap Village is the third-largest supplier in Gumelar

District, which also means Banyumas Regency. The second biggest supplier is Gumelar village; however, the Gumelar village was not considered as the object of the PMVP because it was supposed to be the capital village of the district that was relatively more advanced than the village of Cilangkap. Cilangkap was chosen as the object of the PMVP because it was classified as a backward village.

The PMVP consists of four program pillars that are: 1). Information services for migrant workers candidates and migrant workers data collection in their villages. 2). Community parenting, migrant workers child care by the community. 3). Development of productive businesses for Indonesia Migrant Workers (IMW) families, both active and returnees. 4). Creation of financial institutions to support migrant workers' family business and economic management.

In the implementation of the four PMVP pillars in Banyumas Regency, Muslihudin et al. (2019, 2020) stated that the productive business development program was the program most sought after by the community. The least successful plan is the one for creating financial institutions or cooperatives. Productive business development, a primary program in all villages implementing PMVP is also a program that is the most suitable for the potential resources and the environment in which the communities. Susanto (1995) concluded that natural resources sourced from land in general experienced a narrowing along with population growth. Such agricultural involution makes the population enthusiastic about programs that offer productive activities as an addition or alternative to reduced income from agriculture.

The PMVP is a government program, so the implementation path at the village level is also through the village government channel. The existence of elite groups in a society has an important role according to some researchers. According to Evers (1990) strategic elite groups are groups that have an important position in society. His position has an influence on society, such as state apparatus, both civilian and military, inclu-

ding teachers, are part of a strategic group. Usman (1991) states that rural communities tend to depend on their elite groups.

Mika et al. (2016) even recommends that it is very important for local economic elites/entrepreneurs to be involved in village community development efforts. Rasyid (2017) also concludes that elite groups are people who are good at establishing relationships with the center of power, therefore they are important in a program that requires assistance from above. Amin (2017) adds that elites are groups of people who have power, dominance, networks and economic power and have greater opportunities in various social organizations. Likewise, Habibi (2018) study informs that a small number of elites in the village accumulate economic, social and political means to dominate the rural economy.

Based on the previous studies above, this study aims to determine whether the village elites in the 4 villages implementing the PMVP in Banyumas Regency have a role. In addition, what areas of village elite groups also play a role in empowering the community. Because even in the village, the elite group can vary, such as political elites, religious elites, economic elites, education elites / civil servants, agricultural elites, etc.

METHODS

The study was carried out gradually since 2018. The locations of the first stage of the research are Cihonje Village of Gumelar District and Losari Village of Rawalo District as the first locations of the PMVP in 2017. The second research locations are the Cilangkap Village of Gumelar District and Pekaja Village of Kalibagor District where the PMVP had been running since 2018. The choice of location is based on the consideration that the Immigration Program has been implemented in 4 (four) villages. In accordance with the provisions stipulated by the Ministry of Manpower and Cooperatives, the four villages represent the villages in Banyumas Regency. The four villages are pilot projects in the programs in Banyumas Regency. Thus the results of this study can

be used as a pilot in other villages that are implementing the PMVP.

The study uses qualitative methods with a constructivist paradigm, which is the antithesis of the notion of observation and objectivity in finding a social reality. The constructivist paradigm states that the understanding of positivism and post-positivism is not quite right, particularly in revealing the reality of the social world (Salim, 2001). Data collection methods used in-depth interviews (in-depth interviews), observation, and focus group discussions (FGD). The object of the research are; 1). Program members who are family and former IMW; 2). PMVP management/staffs, 3). The village chief and officials; 4). Employment and transmigration office staff; 5). Village community leaders, and 6). Community members not involved with the productive migrant village program. The object being observed is the process of program activities and the results obtained from the program. Data analysis was carried out both in the field and after the data was collected. Data that has been collected then processed, starting from writing the results of interviews, observations, editing, classifying, reducing, presenting data, and concluding data (Miles, 2014; Muslihudin et al., 2018).

Cilangkap Village has an area of 644.91 hectares. The total population is 3,281 people, 1,685 men, while women are 1,596 people. The number of households is 1,093 so that on average there are three members per family. Cihonje Village has an area of 14.90 km². The total population is 6,908 people, 3,562 men, while women are 3,346 people. The number of households is 2,175 households so that on average each family consists of 3.2 people. Losari village has an area of 645.28 hectares. The number of inhabitants is 6,728 people, consisting of 3,356 men and 3,372 women. The number of households is 1,899, so that the average family member is 3.5. Pekaja Village has an area of 326.95 hectares. The total population of 5,673 inhabitants consisting of 2,890 men and 2,783 women. The number of households is 1,582, so that the average household member is 3.6 inhabitants.

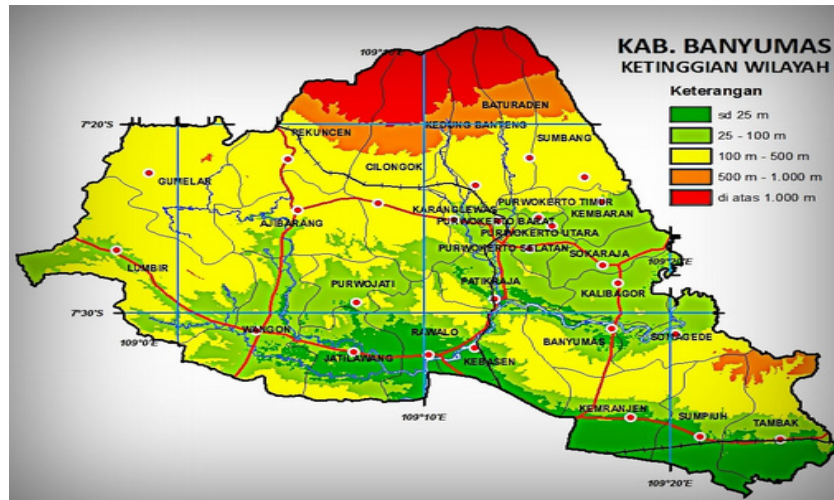


Figure 1. Banyumas Regency and research location

The location of the research area is in Gumelar District, Rawalo District, and Kalibagor District. The three districts can be seen in Figure 1.

The Gumelar District position is the most distant from the city, which is 45 km from Purwokerto, the capital of the Banyumas Regency. The location of Rawalo District is around 25 km from Purwokerto. Kalibagor District is the closest to the city, which is about 6 km from the town of Purwokerto.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Description of Migrant Worker and the PMVP

Indonesia, as the 4th most populous country in the world, with a population of 270 million, also needs vast employment opportunities. Domestic employment opportunities cannot absorb all job seekers, so becoming an overseas migrant worker is an alternative. An illustration of how large the Indonesian population who become migrant workers abroad is 3,582,000 inhabitants. The amount is spread across all continents. BN-P2TKI data (2019) presents information on

the placement of Indonesian migrant workers in a span of 3 months in 2019;

The distribution of Indonesian migrant workers, consisting of 514 regency/cities in 2019 within three months, was 70,258 people. Banyumas Regency is one of the big contributors of the migrant workers with 1,094 migrant workers (1.56%) from national. The destination countries of Indonesian migrant workers spread to almost all countries. However, some countries are in high demand by the IMW at present are Taiwan and Malaysia.

Taiwan and Malaysia became the destination countries for the highest IMW, reaching more than 20,000 in 2019. Followed by Hong Kong with more than 16,000, Singapore with more than 5000, and South Korea with around 2000. There are several reasons why these countries are considered attractive by most of the IMW. According to Rochaniyah's study (2019), most of the villagers who became migrant workers chose Hong Kong with consideration of salaries, remittances, invitations that came from relatives/friends, and also the guaranteed weekly holidays. The reasons which make the destination countries are attractive to the migrant workers are salary, remittance,

Table 1. Indonesian migrant worker placement in April-June 2019

No.	Region	April	Mei	June	Number
1	Indonesia	25,442	28,870	15,946	70.258
2	Banyumas Regency	346	491	257	1.094

Source: Manpower and Transmigration Office, Banyumas 2019.

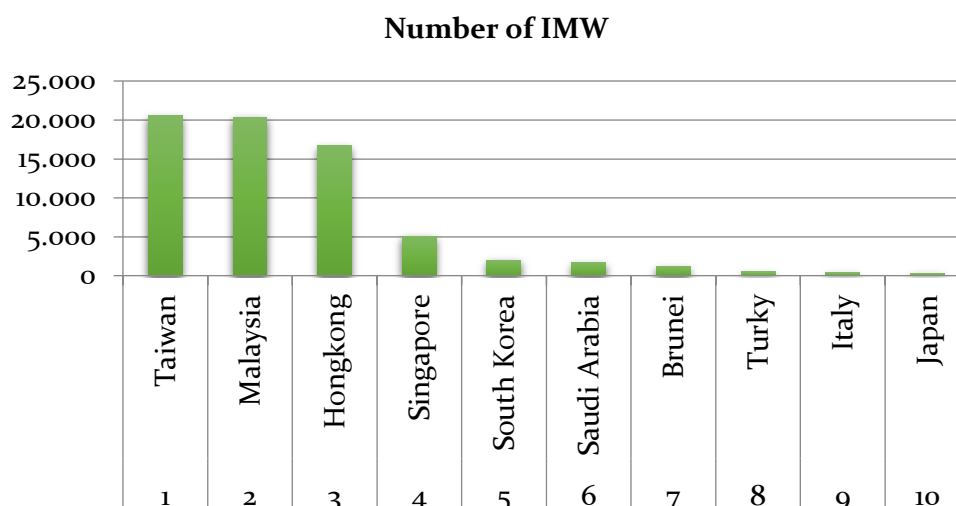


Figure 2. Destination Countries for Indonesian Migrant Workers 2019
Source: BNP2TKI, 2019

impressions from people they know, freedom of worship, the distance from home country, the language, and strict legal guarantees. The following picture is shows destination countries of Indonesian migrant workers.

Susilo (2015), who researched the destination country of the IMW, also concluded that the spread of the Aryojeding community-destination countries who became migrant workers, mostly working in Taiwan, because the country provides security for foreign workers especially for women labors. Women migrant workers feel safe to work in the country; moreover, the country has high salary standards.

Countries that are favorite destinations for IMW are always changing. According to Sukamdi (2007) besides that the destination of the IMW is always changing, a fact that cannot be denied is that there is no accurate data quantitatively related to the IMW and where they work. Undocumented IMW is an important part of the phenomenon of labor migration abroad. The study shows the number of undocumented migrants, especially to Malaysia, is quite large. Even the undocumented can be more than 50 percent.

The type of work that exists in each village reflects the characteristics of the village community that is dominated by ag-

Table 2. Employment of the population 15 years and over in the villages of Cilangkap, Cihonje, Losari, and Pekaja

No.	Occupation	Cilangkap	Cihonje	Losari	Pekaja
1	Agriculture	1.521	2871	3.705	1.034
2	Mining	13	336	49	9
3	Industry	294	384	303	798
4	Electricity	6	15	9	9
5	Construction	105	274	98	229
6	Trading	310	848	384	779
7	Transportation	80	198	61	267
8	Financial institutions	10	50	3	22
9	Services	244	482	295	291
	amount	2.583	5.422	4.907	3.438

Source: Banyumas Regency Statistic Bureau 2018.

Table 3. Education of the population five years and over in the villages of Cilangkap, Cihonje, Losari, and Pekaja

No.	Education	Cilangkap	Cihonje	Losari	Pekaja
1	Under Elementary School	357	1.098	1.105	1.059
2	Elementary School	942	3.153	2.455	1.267
3	Junior High School	1.030	1.125	1.534	1.128
4	Senior High School	565	750	981	1.030
5	Academy/University	158	287	61	34
	Amount	3.052	6.413	6.136	4.498

Source: Statistic Biro of Banyumas Regency 2018.

ricultural works. However, there are variations in the four villages that are objects of the PMVP. Employment data for population groups above 15 years are shown in the following Table 2.

The majority of people's occupation of the four object villages of productive migrant village program is in the agricultural sector. It shows that the origin of most migrant workers is the rural area. On the other hand, the population working in the industrial industry is relatively small except for the Pekaja village. In Pekaja village, the proportion of the people working in the industrial sector is relatively large because of its location which close to the city. Even Pekaja village is classified as a suburban area.

The implementation of PMVP in the Pekaja village was considered the most unsuccessful, while the Cilangkap village which location is rather far from the city is the most successful in carrying out the PMVP. Thus, it can be concluded that there is a correlation between location of the villages in implementing the PMVP. The farther the villages from the city, the more enthusiastic the community in getting the PMVP which results in the greater the chance of success in carrying out the program.

The education level of the village population receiving the PMVP shows that the majority are still poorly educated. The villages of Cilangkap, Cihonje, and Losari which are far from the city, the majority of the population has only elementary and junior high school education. On the other hand, Pekaja Village which is close to the city has a higher education level compared to 3 other villages.

Role of Village Elite

The existence of elite groups especially local elites, are strongly influenced by structural and organizational factors (Bottomoro, 1985; Amin, 2017). The existence of the local elites includes those who are in the government bureaucracy (governing elite), those who are involved as the elite group because they are occupying important positions in the village government organizations (formal). Such elites have influence and power because they gain legitimacy from the government above them (Supra-local). Besides that, in the developing community, there are also elite groups outside it (Non-governing elite), such as aristocrats, traditional and religious leaders who get legitimacy from the custom and religion, rich people, and public servants (Usman, 1991; Varma, 2010). They are categorized as elite because of their personal capacities, abilities, and knowledge of customs and religion as well as their wealth, so they are considered to have strengths and become the role models for society.

Merger (1981) explains that the masses or non-elites are those who comprise a large part of the population, whose power, wealth and prestige are limited. There are significant differences in power, wealth, and influence among non-elites, furthermore, in deciding the fundamental problems of the political and economic system. The important difference is basically between the few at the very top (the elite) and the rest of the population. Whereas Usman (1991) in his study of the elite states that society is divided into two major groups, the elite, and the masses, the elite is a minority, powerful and dominant, on the other hand, the mass

is the majority, controlled and dormant. In this study, there are two approaches. First, the elite group is considered born from a natural process. They are the chosen people who are gifted with more intelligence, abilities, and skills. In other words, they have the personal capacity that is more potent than the masses. Second, the elite group is considered to be born from the consequences of the complexity of social organizations, especially in answering the challenges of heterogeneity in economic and political problems.

In the empirical level, the elite group in the village community can grow naturally and as a result of social organization. The head of the village and their apparatus are village elites created from social, political organizations. Landlords or capital owners in the village economic elite are closer to the concept of a naturally growing village elite. Religious leaders such as Priests are also social elites who become religious, social organizations. Elite groups because, as a group in the upper level of society, the pattern of their relationship with the masses is a form of leadership. This means that as a consequence, as an elite group, making them as leaders for the community at large. Because of that, the elite groups become good at establishing relationships and developing themselves better. Rasyid (2017) concludes that it is in this context that elites who are good at building relationships with the center of power can grow and develop. Elites who have access to the network and economic power have more significant opportunities.

Djoeroemana (1989) stated that the majority of village elites who are high in the ranks of village government positions of aristocratic descent tend to make directive leadership patterns; while the majority of village elites who are low in the classes of village government positions from non-aristocratic descendants tend to make consultative and participatory leadership patterns. The majority of village elites who depend on elites above the village tend to adopt a directive leadership pattern, while the majority of village elites who are not dependent on elites above communities tend to engage in consultative and participatory leader-

ship patterns. The majority of village elites who are old enough tend to adopt directive leadership patterns, while the majority of young village elites tend to engage in consultative and participatory leadership patterns. The majority of village elites with formal education from Junior High School and above tend to engage in consultative and participatory leadership patterns, while the majority of village elites with formal primary school education and below tend to adopt a directive leadership pattern. The majority of village elites who control agricultural land (paddy fields and fields) of more than 2 hectares tend to take directive leadership patterns; while the majority of village elites who control agricultural land (paddy fields and fields) of 2 hectares / less manage to make consultative and participatory leadership patterns.

Elite groups in the villages implementing the PMVP seen at least have three elite sub-groups. 1) political elite, which consists of the village head and his apparatus. 2) economic elite, consisting of landowners such as rice fields, gardens, and production factors in the village, including the capital. 3) social elite, religious leaders such as the Priests in the town, are social elite groups respected by the majority of people who are well-religious. Rasyid (2017) even participation of political elites and religious elites since the days of independence had existed. If the era of autonomy of religious elites such as Priests had been involved in practical politics, they shouted for independence through their Pesantren. In this era, they went into politics through political parties. This can be seen in the first election in 1955 until the last election in 2004. The national political stage is always enlivened by political elites and religious elites.

Village elite in the Productive Migrant Village Program

The Productive Migrant Village program, which is all carried out in rural areas, is almost the same in addressing the problems and potential of existing resources. The quality of human resources tends to be low and natural resources tend to link up with

agriculture. Thus, the program, especially in the productive business sector, is always related to the field of production from agricultural products. Such productive efforts are often related to the village elite, especially the village economic elite. To be able to succeed in productive business that is initiated by the PMVP, it should be collaborative with them, not compete with them. Habibi (2018) reminded that for those who are quite familiar with critical rural agrarian studies. It would not be difficult to find that a small elites in the village are accumulating economic, social, and political power to dominate the rural economy (both through land tenure and off-farm business) and control political office.

The conditions in the four villages of the PMVP in the Banyumas Regency are also closely related to the respective elite groups of the communities. One of the productive business programs in the village of Cilangkap, one of which is the manufacture of packaged ground coffee to be sold to the market. The reason for choosing coffee manufacture because there is quite a lot of agricultural product in the form of coffee beans from residents who own land. When coffee production is developed, it is expected to increase the yield of coffee, which is not directly sold in coffee beans but is processed into coffee powder and packaged for sale to consumers. With this kind of coffee powder production, it adds value because it provides employment opportunities for residents who need jobs. However, it should be noted that the owners of the coffee plantations can also be said to be the village economy elite, so the development of productive coffee businesses require the role of the village economic elite. As stated by one of the informants that:

The most developed coffee businesses are supported by groups of landowners and many rich farmers in this village already have coffee. In addition to the village government elites, they have a coffee plantation business. Before there were descriptive activities, coffee was sold raw / in the form of beans. Once there is a productive effort, the coffee is processed into packa-

ged powder like this and it is more profitable.

The productive business program in Losari Village also needs the role of the economic elite in their village. For example are papaya and dragon fruit farm, require land for planting these fruit trees. Village economic elites also provide their land to be used as business program land. Other than that, Cihonje Village has a productive business of breeding rabbits to meet the needs of the rabbit meat market. The role of the village economy elites is needed to support the effort.

On the other hand, productive efforts in Pekaja Village can be said to be unsuccessful. The unsuccessful of productive businesses that are not running because, in addition to the program managers who are not serious, the conditions of productive businesses are already numerous in the village. The village economic elite is already busy with their respective companies, so they are not interested in the business program initiated by the PMVP.

According to the formal elite and informal elite terminology, the legal elite is the village head and all village officials, while the informal elite is the economic elite and the social elite. The conditions in the four villages of the PMVP have similarities in the formal elite and the informal elite. According to Iberamsyah (1988), several factors influence the role of the village's informal elite are (a) Social relations with the village head and the village's top level. The better the relationship, the more effective the role of the informal elite in making village development decisions. The social relations are motivated by family relations, business/trade relations, social relations and education, fellow native villagers, religious affiliation, relationships in political organizations, and close friends. Likewise, the connection to the village (sub-district, mayor, and district) has a background in the relationship that preceded it. To the top level of the town, relations are based on relationships in social, political, and business/trade organizations. (b) The social elite's informal economic abi-

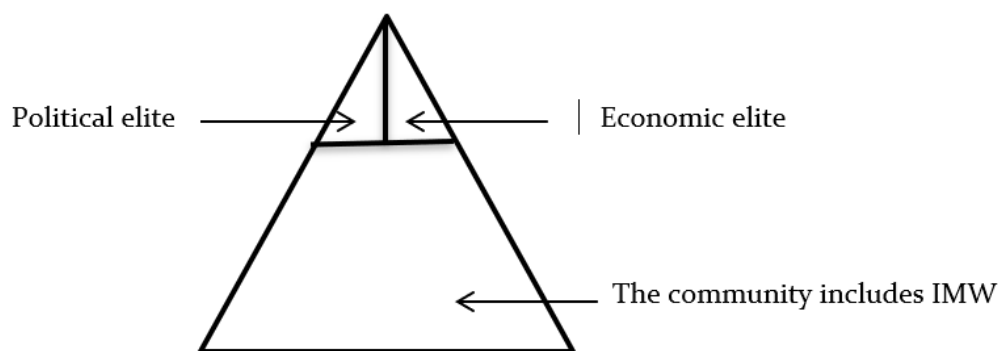


Figure 3. Position of village elites in the PMVP

lities. This ability is seen from the level of education and employment and economic ability. The higher the level of education and the availability of permanent employment and sufficient income, the more effective the role of the informal elite in making village development decisions.

In terms of the strength of influence between the formal village elite and the informal village elite in the four villages implementing of PMVP shows that the formal elite has more influence on its citizens than the influence of the informal elite. This was reinforced when the formal elite also became the informal elite. There are many cases in various villages that the people elected as village heads are those who are economically stable and even socially strong. Such cases usually refer to the elite as being hired by people or groups of people. That kind of elite position is powerful and like a little king in his village. As for the conditions in the four communities implementing PMVP, this is not the case. The village head does not buy into the economic elite or social elite. Like the statement of an informant in the village that:

The productive business includes making coffee, ginger syrup, and banana chips. There are 40 members who are divided into two groups, mostly women. The head of the coffee business group is the village head; the village secretary is also in. The most advanced coffee business is supported by land resources and coffee growing owned by vast landowners. Land and capital owners are helping the productive program in productive migrant

village programs. If without their participation, it will be difficult for this business.

In Pekaja village, PMVP official also acknowledged as an entrepreneur in his village. He had owned a convection company had helped assist productive business programs for the families of Indonesian migrant workers because one of the productive business programs is to make lace for fabrics that are already established before the program.

The same thing also happened in Losari village, where one of the productive efforts was one group planting dragon fruit, and another group planting papaya fruit. Planting the two types of fruit requires extensive land. For supporting the programs, there are rich people here who donate their property to plant the papaya. We see the facts in the field that the actual program is relying on the political elite, to support that productive effort succeeded in needing support from local elites engaged in the economy. In the language of Mika et al. (2016) that a local entrepreneur / economy needs to be involved in business development in the village.

The position of the village elite in the four villages that have a program mainly related to the implementation of productive business programs is the political and the economic elite. The political elite of the village is the head and village officials, while the economic elite is the owners of land and capital. To support the PMVP, participation from the economic elite is needed so that the program planned can run. The elite position can be configured in Figure 3.

The community includes IMW

The position of the community, which is a large part of the population above, is classified as a mass group, the majority with limited capacity. The families of Indonesian migrant workers, even though they have finished migrating from overseas to become foreign diggers, are still in the position of the masses.

Before going abroad, IMW was indeed departing from the unfavorable socioeconomic conditions, even their economic is developed after returning from abroad it is not enough to become a part of the elite group in their village. However, by becoming Indonesian migrant workers, they slightly grow their social ladder in the community.

CONCLUSION

The implementation of the productive migrant village program in Banyumas regency, which is located in four villages in three districts, is quite varied. Although the implementation of the program varies, all of them have one similarity that is its dependence on the role of local elite groups in each village. The village political elite, consisting of the village head and other village officials, determined the course of the program. These happen because the productive migrant village program is a top-down planning program so that its success and sustainability also depends on the village political elite as an extension of the provincial and national levels of government.

In addition to the political elite as a village apparatus that has official authority in his village and is responsible for the implementation of the program. The village economic elite is critical in helping to carry out the plan. Productive business programs in all villages need production factors such as land, networks, and business capital for their development, so the contribution and participation of the village economic elite are significant. Thus, the alliance between the village political elite and the village economic elite becomes a group that can have a big role in the implementation of productive migrant village programs. This reality can

also be a kind of model for the implementation of community empowerment programs in other villages.

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DECLARATION OF CONFLICTING INTERESTS

The author(s) declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

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