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Politics of Community Empowerment in the Development of Ketapanrame Tourism Village, Mojokerto Regency

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ABSTRACT

This research examines the politics of community empowerment-based development in Ketapanrame Tourism Village, Trawas District, Mojokerto Regency. The main focus of the study is the analysis of the role of development actors, the impact of political empowerment, and the implications of the emergence of new elite capture in the development of tourist villages. A qualitative approach with a case study method was used to explore data through interviews, observation, and documentation. The results show that the development of Ketapanrame Tourism Village involves various community elements, such as local government, BUMDes, social groups, and economic groups that play a role in planning, implementing, and monitoring development. The impact of community empowerment includes financial, social, psychological, and political aspects. In addition, elite capture analysis reveals the potential for elite domination in managing development resources. This research contributes to the understanding of development politics at the local level by highlighting the importance of community participation in supporting the sustainability of tourism village development.

Contribution to Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs):

SDG 8: Decent Work and Economic Growth

SDG 10: Reduced Inequalities

SDG 11: Sustainable Cities and Communities

SDG 16: Peace, Justice, and Strong Institutions

SDG 17: Partnerships for the Goals

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Research Background

This research discusses the politics of community empowerment-based development in Ketapanrame Tourism Village, Trawas District, Mojokerto Regency. The enactment of Law No. 6/2014 on Villages gives more authority to village governments to plan and implement development for village communities, so villages have the principle of autonomy to

regulate and manage their territory, including rural development [1, 2]. Siagan (2005) proposes a definition of village development as the process performed by the government and the village community to improve the standard of living of the village community and enlarge welfare in the village [3] because rural development is the creation and symbol of the idiom “building villages” to “developing villages” [1, 4]. Since villages still have challenges such as poverty, less economic opportunities, and lack of access to public services [5], [6], [7]. The goals of village development often include improving the community's quality of life, increasing the village economy,



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developing local potential, empowerment, and sustainability [8], [9]. An innovative approach to village development is the development and construction of tourism villages by offering local potential that can be developed as a tourism attraction, such as agro-tourism that utilizes agricultural land, educational tourism that utilizes historical sites and cultural tourism that utilizes local culture or history [10], [11], [12]. Therefore, tourism village development not only focuses on increasing income through the tourism sector, but also aims to promote cultural and environmental conservation. This type of development also encourages the community to be involved in the management of local resources [13], with the aim that tourism village development can create new jobs and improve the skills of the community [14], [15]. As a result, tourism villages are expected to be one of the solutions to the village development model and bring benefits to the local community.

Several studies related to regional development show that powerlessness still exists in communities towards development. This powerlessness is generally triggered by the inability of local governments to facilitate community participation in the development process [7], [16] and the emptiness of community political representatives in an area, causing the community or society to have no political power to obtain development programs in their area [17]. In the case of tourism village development, community powerlessness is also caused by inadequate human resources to manage tourism in the village [18], low community participation in tourism planning and decision-making processes [19] and inequitable development in tourism areas, leaving gaps and causing social resentment among the community [4], [20]. Based on previous research, it can be concluded that development still leaves gaps and causes disempowerment of local communities, such as in the political aspect which is manifested in low community participation or in other aspects related to the unrepresentative politics, lack of adequate human resources and inequitable development. So the study of development still needs to do to conduct a more recent study of the case of development, especially in the development of tourist villages that should significantly impact local communities through various empowerment efforts.

Empowerment is an effort to recognize and utilize human resources using a holistic approach through various skills training programs, decision-making and strengthening local institutions [21]. Research related to community empowerment in tourist villages states that community groups are empowered as tourism actors or operators working as tourism workers in “Badan Usaha Milik Desa” (BUMDes) in the form of business partners or working partners [4], [22] and as local economic actors or businessmen in the tourist attraction area [23], [24], [25] to improve the community's economy through programs that are provided in tourism objects by involving local communities in their management. Based on previous research, it is found that the focus of the study of local community empowerment in tourist villages focuses on the analysis of economic aspects of empowerment, while research related to empowerment in the political aspect has not been done so there is still room and novelty studies that must be researched related to the form of political empowerment from the development of tourism in the village.

The village as the object of this research is Ketapanrame Village which is located in Trawas District, Mojokerto Regency, East Java; this village geographically has the potential to be

built as a tourist village because it is situated between highland areas precisely between two mountains that are Mount Penanggungan and Mount Welirang. Another aspect that supports this village to become a tourist village is the existence of a culture that is still maintained and continues to be implemented by the village community, such as sedekah bumi, bantengan art performances and other local cultures. [26]. Another interesting factor in this village is the various awards obtained by Ketapanrame Village, so this village is known in the district area and at the provincial to national levels. This can be seen from several awards obtained by Ketapanrame Village in 2023, which was designated as an industrial tourism village [27], the winner of Anugerah Desa Wisata Indonesia (ADWI) in the category of best tourist village [28] and became a winner in the Nusantara Tourism Village Competition in the category of developed villages and independent villages [29]. From several awards obtained by Ketapanrame Village, there is an assumption that this cannot be separated from political strategies that involve various actors in the process, so the village name can compete at the local to national level in award programs or competitions held by the government.

Based on the explanation in the research background, there is an interest in studying the political process in the development of the Ketapanrame Tourism Village and examining the impact of empowerment on the development of tourist villages on the actors involved. This research also assumes that development is always overshadowed by the emergence of elite groups so that this research will also examine the emergence of elites and their impact on the case of the development of the Ketapanrame Tourism Village.

1.2. Literature Review

Research on the politics of development based on community empowerment is still not widely done, because generally research related to tourist villages only explains descriptively about the form of community empowerment and innovations made by village governments to strengthen tourist villages, such as the determination of innovations in tourism development and tourism management models [15], [22], [23], [30], local government efforts in improving the community's economy through the availability of new jobs through the development of tourism objects in the village [15], [23], [24], [25]. Based on the previous research, it is known that studies related to the development of tourist villages generally only examine policy models or innovations set by local governments as an effort to improve the community's economy. However, researchers assume that the development of tourist villages is also inseparable from the political process, so the study of politics in the development of tourist villages is an interesting thing to study because the involvement of actors in development is the main key to reaching development goals [31, p. 54].

Village development is an activity the government and village communities perform to improve various aspects of community life to achieve village progress [3]. Research related to the political pattern of village development explains that the existence of village autonomy is a step in village development based on the potential of the region and involves the village community in the development process with the aim of poverty alleviation through community organizations in the village as an entity to monitor the participation and performance of the village government to increase the success of development

programs [32], [33], [34]. Based on the previous research, it is found that village development based on the development of local potential must also involve various elements of society such as stakeholders in the village as actors in development. So in this paper, will also explain about the actors involved in the development of tourism villages.

Research on actors in development argues that actors functionally play a role in improving organizational governance [35], policy makers, policy supervisors and development implementers at the regional level [36], [37] or actors in development can also act as political representatives of the community who serve as District/City Parliament Representatives [17]. Based on the previous research, it can be understood that actors in development are individuals or groups that are involved and can influence development [31, p. 116]. The difference between previous research and this research is in the object of research study because the actors studied in this research are actors from the village government involved in developing tourism villages.

The second issue in this study is the impact of development on community empowerment, the urgency of community empowerment in tourist villages is carried out to determine the effect of development on local communities. In research on community empowerment in tourist villages, it is stated that the community is empowered as actors or tourism managers, local entrepreneurs and culinary traders or souvenir traders typical of tourist areas [4], [15], [23], [25], [38], [39]. Based on the previous research, it can be understood that community empowerment in village tourism areas is generally studied in terms of economic empowerment, either in the availability of employment or in tourism operations that involve the community as a business or work partner. The research to be carried out focuses on political empowerment, where political empowerment is the main modal provided by the village government to the village community so that the village community can control the direction and type of development in their area [40].

The third discussion in this paper is the study of elite capture in the development of tourism villages, based on the development situation that has taken place. Hence, there is a possibility of the emergence of elite groups to control existing development resources [41]. In several studies on the phenomenon of elite capture of development cases, it is stated that generally, the capture of elite groups in development starts from differences in interests between the community and government officials, which often leads to misallocation of development funds to criminal corruption of development funds [42], [43]. In another case, it was also explained that elite groups can dominate natural resources [44] and perpetuate power backed by cultural or customary legitimacy [45]. Based on the previous research, it can be noted that the phenomenon of elite capture can cause a regression in development, starting with different interests in development. Elite capture can also have a bad future because certain groups only control natural resources. However, generally, elite capture is used as an analytical tool in cases of power struggle or in the distribution of power that is less democratic because it is influenced by legitimacy through culture and custom, so researchers argue that the study of elite capture in development cases is a relevant study to be carried out because the development phenomenon is the forerunner of

the emergence of elite groups in controlling resources and the results of development.

1.2.1. *Political Development*

Development in Indonesia is a key word for everything. In terms of the word, it is generally defined as an effort to improve people's lives to improve the economy [31]. Budi Winarno defines development as an effort to open the veil behind the various choices and orientations of development policies, so analysing actors becomes relevant because each particular value and belief has implications for how development projects are implemented [31]. United National Development Program (UNDP) in a human development report titled "Depening Democracy in a Fragmented World" said that political measures determine development, so poverty can be eliminated if politics is pro-poverty reduction. The development will go well if everyone has the right to decide on political direction. This also aligns with Masoed's definition of development as a political process that presents many actors and influences each other to strengthen their position in competing interests [31, p. 99]. So, the research on development also requires political studies to understand development in a more political aspect using the term development politics because in development politics, there are ideas, thoughts or ideas from either individuals or institutions that want to benefit from development [31].

The research on development politics must also explain the formulation of who, what, how and what to get. Who concerns every individual or group that is outwardly a political person involved in development to realize their existence or their wishes, so they are called political actors of development. What about the issues or topics related to the politics of development, such as bureaucracy, defence, environment, thinking, resources and political parties. How, concerning the means or strategies used in achieving sustainable development goals. The results achieved in implementing development politics by development actors can be completed in positions, economics, concessions, or power [31]. Political development is a strategy to achieve development goals; individuals, community groups, or the state can carry out this method or approach. So basically, development can be understood as the result of the political process conducted by actors [31]. So, variables in development politics are needed to determine how development politics is carried out because the existence of variables in development politics is mutually influencing, consisting of development actors, power, system, ideology and external or foreign intervention.

1.2.2. *Community Empowerment*

Empowerment is an effort made to provide power (empowerment) or strength (strengthening) to the community so community empowerment can be said to be an effort to empower, develop and maintain the political position of the community [46]. Empowerment aims to give society a sense of freedom, ownership and power that can lead to constructive social change [40]. Aghazamani and Hunt defined empowerment in tourism as a multidimensional process that depends on a dynamic context to provide opportunities for individuals or collectives to improve their abilities and capacities in improving the quality of life as a function of tourism involvement. The object of empowerment in tourism development is the local community because local communities

need to be empowered to determine the purpose of tourism development and the right activities to be developed so the community has control over tourism in their area [40].

The study of empowerment in this research uses the framework of determining empowerment in tourism development initiated by Scheyvens to measure the benefits of tourism to local communities, which contains several categories in economic, political, social and psychological empowerment used as an analytical tool in analyzing the form of community empowerment in tourist villages and strengthening the study of the form of political empowerment in rural communities after the development of tourist villages. Economic empowerment refers to the access of economic opportunities and benefits that can arise from tourism development, this can be in the form of employment opportunities or an increase in income earned. Psychological empowerment refers to the potential of tourism to increase the sense of ownership, pride and self-esteem of local residents towards the existence of tourism in the village, this can be in the form of intense cooperation with outside parties or opportunities to attend training to improve skills. Social empowerment refers to the ability of tourism to increase community interaction or collaboration, this can take the form of increased social activity or community organization in social life. Political empowerment implies that the voices and concerns of the community must guide development in the tourism development process from planning to implementation, this can take the form of opportunities to express opinions in forums, deliberations or discussions organized by the community [40, pp. 24–34].

1.2.3. *Elit Capture*

Elite capture is a concept that was used in the political economy approach [45]. Elite capture is a condition in which elites shape the development process according to their priorities or appropriate development resources for personal gain, so that there is a process by which powerful elites take resources intended for the lower classes and determine policies in a way that protects their interests [41], [42], [44], [45]. In the same term, elite capture is believed to occur when a group of elites, in many cases politically or economically “powerful” people, manipulate the decision-making of various agendas in their favour [45], and have superiority when compared to other groups or classes [47]. Elites or elite groups are defined in several ways. DiCaprio (2012) describes the elite as a distinct social group which enjoys privileged status and exercises decisive control over the organization of society through official title or wealth [41].

Elite dominate programs where the public good has to be created, implemented and managed by the community. Elites have access and control over various economic, social and organizational structures. The elites belong to the propertied and land-owning class with high-income levels, often from multiple sources. They typically come from the locally dominant caste groups and local families, are placed high in the social hierarchy and belong. They may have a political base and occupy essential party positions. They are usually members of civil society associations and have contacts with prominent politicians, MLAs and MPs. Possess large landholdings, traditional positions such as village head or caste leadership; persons with political connections, those who combine power, wealth and prestige, and those with dominant influence on village politics

[41]. Previous definitions of elites are contextually appropriate embedded in the literature on institutions, formal politics, class and caste analysis.

An article about “Knowledge Brief” titled “Understanding Elite Capture” by Fahd Zulfiqar and Abbas Moosvi proposed two options for the elite capture phenomenon, which have a positive and a negative impact. The positive impact suggests that there is a high level of satisfaction with projects where decision-making is dominated by elites based on several reasons: 1) elite involvement does not hinder the achievement of project goals because elites perform their functions transparently and are more inclined towards community participation, especially women and children. 2) elites can increase the value of the project by contributing expertise and mobilizing resources well. 3) There are positive impacts, including increased community ownership of projects [41].

1.3. *Research Objective*

This research aims to analyze the political variables of development which include actors, power, systems, ideologies or perspectives and the involvement of outside the village in the development process, analyze the benefits of development obtained by actors, define the role of actors in development and examine the phenomenon of village elites in the development of tourist villages.

2. MATERIALS AND METHODS

This research uses a case study type to understand the background of the problem or the interactions of individuals or groups in a holistic, intensive, and natural manner. [48, p. 339]. A case study is a research strategy conducted by researchers to meticulously investigate a program, event, activity, process, or a group of individuals. This case is limited by time and activity, allowing researchers to gather information comprehensively through data collection procedures based on the established timeline [49, p. 14]. Miles and Huberman explain that a case study investigates a phenomenon that occurs within a specific context [48]. Therefore, this research uses a case study type to understand the development process in the Ketapanrame Tourism Village, Trawas District, Mojokerto Regency. The problem boundaries established in this research are:

This research was conducted in the Ketapanrame Tourism Village, Mojokerto Regency, and focuses on the discussion of community empowerment-based development politics.

The purpose of community empowerment-based development politics in this research is to analyze the strategies or methods used in the process of developing the tourist village by involving actors outside the village government institution, namely the village community, as well as the forms of empowerment of these actors through their involvement in the development.

Elite Capture in this research is used as an analytical tool to examine the emergence of elite groups in the process of developing tourist villages and subsequently to analyze the impact of the emergence of elites on the control of development outcomes. This research was conducted in Ketapanrame Tourism Village, Mojokerto Regency and focused on discussing development politics based on community empowerment.

3. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

3.1. Demographic Conditions

Ketapanrame is a village in the Trawas District, Mojokerto Regency, East Java Province. Geographically, Ketapanrame Village is situated at an altitude of 800-1,000 meters above sea level, a mountainous area with an average air temperature between 18-20°C [50]. Ketapanrame Village is also known as a tourist village because its location is strategically positioned as a tourist destination. Other aspects supporting this village as a tourist village include the preservation of local culture, artificial tourism developed by the village government, and other supporting facilities [51].



Fig. 1. Map of Ketapanrame Village.

Source: Government Work Plan (RKP) of Ketapanrame Village 2024.

The history of the name Ketapanrame comes from the words “meditation” and “crowded”, as it is said that this village used to be a place for meditation conducted at the punden, making it frequently visited by many meditators for “topo” or meditation activities or other ritual activities [52]. Administratively, Ketapanrame Village has an area of approximately 345.462 Ha, consisting of 16 (sixteen) Neighborhood Associations (RW) and 43 (forty-three) Community Associations (RT). (RT). The boundaries of Ketapanrame Village directly border Trawas Village to the west, while to the east it borders Lumbangrejo Village in Pasuruan Regency, to the north, it borders Kesiman Village, and to the south, it borders the Perhutani area [50]. The total population in Ketapanrame Village is 5,595 people, consisting of 2,824 men and 2,771 women, recorded in 1,986 Family Cards (KK) based on the following population data:

Table 1. Population data by age

No.	Group	Count
1.	Toddler	313 population
2.	Children	961 population
3.	Adults	1.093 population
4.	Old	3.228 population
5.	Not filled in yet	0

Source: “Population data by age category”, updated November 22, 2024. Accessed on October 28, 2024 from <https://ketapanrame.desa.id/>.

Based on the table 3.1, the analysis of the population by age shows that the age distribution of the village population is divided into several groups: toddlers amounting to 313 individuals, children amounting to 961 individuals, adults (18-30 years) amounting to 1,093 individuals, and the elderly (31-150 years) amounting to 3,228 individuals. Meanwhile, the majority of the Ketapanrame Village community work as private employees and farmers or gardeners based on the following data:

Table 2. Population statistics by type of work

No.	Group	Count
1.	Unemployed	1.402 population
2.	Private employee	1.343 population
3.	Housekeeping	1.262 population
4.	Student	619 population
5.	Self-employed	337 population
6.	Farmer/gardener	276 population
7.	Trader	67 population
8.	Teacher	57 population
9.	Bricklayer	31 population
10.	Civil Servants (PNS)	36 population
11.	Retired	23 population
12.	Casual laborer	30 population

Source: “Population data by type of work”, updated November 22, 2024. Accessed on October 28, 2024 from <https://ketapanrame.desa.id/>.

Based on the table 3.2, it is known that a total of 1,402 people in Ketapanrame Village are still unemployed or not working, 1,343 are private employees, 1,262 are housewives, 619 are students or university students, 337 are self-employed, 276 are farmers or gardeners, 67 are traders, 57 are teachers, 31 are masons, 36 are civil servants, 30 are casual laborers, and 23 are retirees. From the population statistics based on occupation, it can be seen that the unemployment rate in Ketapanrame Village is quite dominant. Therefore, this can be the main reason for developing a tourism destination in the village: to provide job opportunities for the village community. Quoted from the Government Work Plan (RKP) of Ketapanrame Village in 2020, it is explained that as a village with adequate resource potential, it has also experienced several developments in its region, classified based on the leadership period of the Head of Ketapanrame Village:

Table 3. History of Village Development Based on the Period of Village Head Leadership

No	Name of the Village Head	Type of development
1.	Ibrahim	Village Road Construction
2.	Singomerto	Dusun Road Construction
3.	Nitihardjo	Construction of village/dusun roads, village hall building, MI Dwi Desa Warsa building, and water channel embankment.
4.	Sunarto Abd. Rochim	a. Rehabilitation of the village hall and the construction of SD Negeri Ketapanrame II. b. Management of clean water.
5.	Slamet Rahardjo	a. Rehabilitation of village hall construction, mosque construction, drinking water and tank water systems, terminal construction, rehabilitation and construction of village/sub-village

6.	Zainul Arifin	roads.
		b. Management of clean water (BUMDES)
		a. Rehabilitation of the construction of village/dusun road paving, mosque in Dusun Sukorame and Slep, rehabilitation of the construction of the Slep Dusun Hall, Pendopo Balai Desa Ketapanrame.
		b. Construction of village gates and parks, RA Asy-Syafiiyah II Building, PAUD Building, PONKESDES Building, kiosks in the TKD area, irrigation channel embankments, clean water networks or tendons, village road/TPT embankments, drainage, midwife/nurse houses, town square, and recreation park.
		c. Construction and paving of village roads and local roads.
		d. Development of BUMDES businesses.

Source: Government Work Plan (RKP) of Ketapanrame Village 2024

Based on the village development history table above, it is known that during Zainul Arifin's tenure as the Head of Ketapanrame Village, he focused more on various development activities for facilities and infrastructure. One of these was the construction of a square and recreational park, inaugurated in 2018 in the form of Ghanjaran Park, which marked the beginning of Ketapanrame Village being designated as a tourist village [52].

3.2. The Governance of Ketapanrame Village

The Ketapanrame Village Government is the organizer of government affairs in Ketapanrame Village, with the Ketapanrame Village Government Office located at Ki Ageng Tambakboy Street No. 59A, RT.016 RW.017, Ketapanrame hamlet, Ketapanrame Village, Trawas District, Mojokerto Regency, East Java. From the data on the website ketapanrame.desa.id, it is explained that Ketapanrame Village has been led by several Village Heads throughout its governance history [50], with the following data:

7. Ibrahim led the Dutch Colonial Period from 1924 to 1924.
8. Singomerto led the Dutch Colonial Period from 1927 to 1929.
9. The Transition Period from Dutch Administration to the Republic of Indonesia from 1930 to 1979 was led by Nitihardjo.
10. From 1979 to 1990, led by Sunarto Abd. Rochim.
11. From 1990 to 2007, led by Slamet Rahardjo.
12. From 2007 to 2013, led by Zainul Arifin.
13. From 2013 to 2019, led by Zainul Arifin.
14. From 2019 to the present, led by Zainul Arifin.

Based on the history of village heads serving in Ketapanrame Village, it is known that Zainul Arifin is the village head with a relatively long tenure of 3 (three) terms, starting from 2007 to 2013 in the first term, 2013 to 2018 in the second term, and 2018 to the present as the third term. In carrying out his leadership period, Zainul Arifin, as the village head is also

assisted by several staff or employees in the village government, with the following data:

Table 4. Organizational Structure of the Ketapanrame Village Government

No.	Position	Name
1.	Village Head	Zainul Arifin, S. E., NL. P.
2.	Village Secretary	Rokhmad Syafii, S. Pd. I.
3.	Kasi Pemerintahan	Indra Agung Pratama
4.	Kasi Kesra	Kartini Aprilia Sari
5.	Head of Finance	Warsinah
6.	Head of General Affairs and Administration	Tatik Sukarsih
7.	Head of Planning	Gita Seftiasari
8.	Ketapanrame Hamlet Head	Ahmad Fauzi
9.	Sukorame Hamlet Head	Rachmad
10.	Head of Slep Hamlet	Slamet Priyo Utomo
11.	Head of Service Section	Putri Komalasari
12.	Village Staff	Kamiluddin Bias Alandsi, S. T.

Source: "Ketapanrame Village Apparatus". Accessed on October 28, 2024 from <https://ketapanrame.desa.id/>.

3.3. Development of Ketapanrame Tourism Village



Fig. 2. Banner of Ketapanrame Tourism Village.

Source: Ketapanrame Village Government Document on Ketapanrame Tourism Village 2024

The first stage of Ketapanrame Village's development as a tourism village began in the second period of Zainul Arifin's leadership as village head. This was motivated by several problems such as the low income of the village community, limited access to health, low level of community education, uneven clean water services, garbage and environmental hygiene problems, high unemployment [53], [54], many residents choose to work outside the city and the Village Original Revenue (PAD) is relatively small [55]. This makes the stakeholders take the initiative to overcome the existing problems in the village and find ways to make Ketapanrame Village less dependent on village funds [56]. The initiative taken by stakeholders in overcoming the issues in Ketapanrame Village was to hold a village meeting to agree with the village community to discuss the conversion of the use of village treasury land (TKD) which previously functioned as agricultural land but was converted as an artificial tourist spot known as Ghanjaran Park [4], [57].

The first step in the construction of Ghanjaran Park began when the Ketapanrame Village Government received village financial assistance funds (BKD) from the Mojokerto Regency Government amounting to 5 billion rupiah as the initial development fund stipulated in the 2018 Ketapanrame Village

Budget (APBDes) [53]. The process of building Ghanjaran Park lasted for several months, starting in early 2018 until it was finally inaugurated in December 2018. After successfully building Ghanjaran Park as an artificial tourist attraction, the Ketapanrame Village Government continued the tourism destination development program in the village by building the Sumbergempong Agricultural Tourism object which began in 2021 through a tourism development program with funding sources derived from BUMDesa's business profits in the previous year. Sumbergempong Rice Field Tourism combines the habits of the community, namely farming, with the concept of tourism so that the village government can utilize community agricultural land as a tourist facility [58].

Another fact of the development of Ghanjaran Park as artificial tourism not only depends on the BKD provided by the Mojokerto Regency Government, but the Ketapanrame Village Government also runs a crowdfunding program or citizen investment as a form of citizen participation as a provider of funds for the development of Ghanjaran Park [57]. With the following program requirements:

Members of the crowdfunding program come from Ketapanrame villagers who are not yet business owners at the tourist sites and are declared as members of the investment group.

The form of crowdfunding is in the form of purchasing shares worth 1 (one) million rupiah per share, with the provision that each household may purchase a maximum of 10 (ten) valleys of shares.

Funds that have been invested may not be withdrawn for 3 (three) years after joining the investment group.

BUMDesa as a business group partner will guarantee that the invested funds will be developed and the investment group will benefit based on the agreed business analysis.

Business management is conducted by a group agreed upon during the village deliberation and is designated as a BUMDesa partner regulated by a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) valid for 15 (fifteen) years. [52], [57], [58].

As a result of the crowdfunding program for the construction of the Ghanjaran Park tourist attraction, 3.8 billion of funds were collected from 440 (four hundred and forty) families who are residents of Ketapanrame Village [52], [57]. The same program was also implemented for Sumbergempong Agricultural Tourism to attract community interest in providing development funds, and it was attended by 98 (ninety-eight) families from the Sukorame Hamlet community [58]. From the crowdfunding or citizen investment program implemented by the Ketapanrame Village Government, residents who invest will get profit sharing with a provision of 3%-10% every month from business results, while profit sharing for Sumbergempong Rice Field Tourism has a provision of 3%-15% every month from business results managed by BUMDesa Ketapanrame Mutiara Welirang with BUMDesa partners. BUMDesa partners are groups that run and manage each tourist attraction, in Ghanjaran Park it is managed by the Ghanjaran Park Joint Business Group (KUB), while Pokdarwis Rakasiwi manages Sumbergempong Agricultural Tourism [4], [57], [58], [59], [60].

3.4. Political Development Based on Community Empowerment

Political development based on community empowerment is a study of political strategies in development that involve

community participation to achieve development goals [17], [33], [35], [36], [61]. Political development examines several development variables: development actors, power, systems, ideologies or perspectives and foreign intervention [31]. Community empowerment studies are used to analyze the impact of development obtained by the actors, and this study uses a framework to determine empowerment in tourism development initiated by Scheyvens, which consists of political, economic, social, and psychological empowerment [40, pp. 23–34].

3.4.1. Development Actor

Development actor is an individual or group that takes a central role in determining the process and objectives of development; in playing their role actors are influenced by their respective political instincts and interests based on the actor's perspective on development. From this perspective, actors will use various ways or strategies to achieve development goals [31, p. 141]. Norman Long (2001) defines development actors as policy makers, researchers, agents, interveners or even those who influence the local level, either in terms of power or within a particular area that can affect development [31, p. 211]. In several researches related to development actors, it is explained that development actors are local governments, private institutions or organizations and communities [35], [62], [63]. From the results of the interview with Zainul Arifin as the Head of Ketapanrame Village explained,

“Before the implementation of tourism village development, there are also actors that we involve, including the elements that we present at the village meeting, this is more to stakeholders (for example, there are BPD institutions, LPM, Youth Organization, Village Government and other community elements such as RT and RW, women's groups, religious leaders and community leaders) are actors involved in the village deliberation forum. Then, during the implementation, we also not only involve stakeholders who were previously present at the village deliberation but also involve the community in general to participate, so that the community is not only a business actor or worker but they are also an actor who supervises the implementation of the results of the village deliberation in the tourism development process” [53].



Fig. 3. Ketapanrame Village Deliberation

Based on the explanation above, it can be understood that in the process of developing the Ketapanrame Tourism Village, various elements within the village or village stakeholders are involved, consisting of the village government, existing village institutions, and the village community. In the planning stage of development, various stakeholders are involved, including the Ketapanrame Village Government, the Ketapanrame Village Consultative Body (BPD), the Ketapanrame Village Community Empowerment Institute (LPM), the Youth Organization (Karang Taruna), the Family Welfare Program (PKK), and community leaders in village deliberation activities aimed at formulating a development plan. In the implementation stage, the Ketapanrame Village Government also involves various stakeholders in managing tourism destinations in the village. However, in the aspect of managing tourist attractions it is carried out by BUMDesa with the assistance of BUMDesa's partners as tourism actors, namely the Joint Business Group (KUB) which manages the Ghanjaran Park tourist attraction and the Tourism Awareness Group (Pokdarwis) which manages the Sumbergempong rice field tourist attraction [4], [64].

This research examines actors based on their roles in influencing development goals. From the research conducted, the researcher states that Zainul Arifin, as the Head of Ketapanrame Village, initiates tourism development in the village. Therefore, the Head of Ketapanrame Village can be considered the main actor with a central role in formulating development goals, assisted by Muhammad Taufiq as the BPD of Ketapanrame in the policy formulation process, and Herwanto as the Chairman of BUMDes Ketapanrame Mutiara Welirang in the implementation process. Meanwhile, other actors involved in helping to achieve development goals are KUB Taman Ghanjaran and Pokdarwis Rakasiwi as supporting groups for the capital of the tourism village, as well as PKK Desa Ketapanrame and Karang Taruna as mass mobilization groups in Desa Ketapanrame. To understand development actors more efficiently, the researcher uses the definition proposed by Norman Long (2001) in three perspectives based on the space and boundaries of their power to influence development, namely actors from political institutions, social groups, and economic groups [31, p. 116]. So that the results of the research that has been conducted can be concluded:

1. The actor from the political institution is the Head of Ketapanrame Village, assisted by the Village Consultative Body (BPD) of Ketapanrame and the Chairperson of the Village-Owned Enterprises (BUMDes) Ketapanrame Mutiara Welirang.
2. Actors from social groups consisting of the Tourism Awareness Group (Pokdarwis) Penggerak Aksi Wisata, the Family Welfare Empowerment Group (PKK), and the Karang Taruna of Ketapanrame Village.
3. Actors from the economic group consist of the Joint Business Group (KUB) Taman Ghanjaran.

3.4.2. Power

Power is a resource or what actors possess in influencing development goals, whether in hard or soft power [31], [62]. In several studies related to village development, it is mentioned that village governments often make various efforts in the implementation of village development, both in the form of using their authority or powers and in the form of persuasive approaches through village deliberation activities [65], [66],

[67]. The interview with Zainul Arifin, the Head of Ketapanrame Village, explained, "basically, these various elements or actors voluntarily participate to carry out their respective functions and responsibilities. When they attend the village deliberation and agree on what will be planned and executed, they are also committed to overseeing this development activity to ensure it aligns with the agreement. Thus, these actors are involved based on their functions or fulfilling social responsibilities as community members and village institutions" [53].

Based on the explanation above, it can be understood that the power used by the village head was initially initiated through village deliberation activities to discuss and agree on the plans and goals of development [4], which means the village head uses a soft power model at this stage to stimulate the community in initiating development goals. Furthermore, the results of the agreement at the village meeting related to the development of a tourist village are stipulated in the Village Head Regulation (Perdes) on the Village Government Work Plan (RKP) 2018 [56], which means that at this stage the village head also uses a complex power model in achieving development goals by implementing policies or regulations on the Village RKP and mobilizing institutions under the auspices of the Village Head in achieving development goals.

This research analyses power as capital owned by actors in their involvement in the development of tourist villages; from the previous explanation related to development actors, actors are studied from 3 (three) perspectives: political institutions, social groups and economic groups. The results of this study state that Zainul Arifin, as the Ketapanrame Village Head, uses political capital in the development of tourist villages, which means that the village head exercises his hegemony of power so that the development of tourist villages can be carried out with the assistance of BPD in the process of formulating development plans or policies and BUMDesa Ketapanrame in development implementation activities. Meanwhile, other actors, namely economic groups consisting of KUB Taman Ghanjaran and Pokdarwis, use financial capital to provide tourist attraction development capital obtained from crowdfunding or investment programs for villagers [52], [58]. Social groups, including the Family Empowerment and Welfare Group (PKK) and Youth Organization, use social capital to participate in developing tourist villages, considering that these two groups have social networks that include youth and women's groups in Ketapanrame Village.

3.4.3. System or Mechanism

Mechanisms are a way of organizing interactions between actors in the development process. The mechanism in question is who is in charge, the implementer, and the supervisor or supporter of the development [31], [62]. Research relevant to the management of tourist villages explains that BUMDes is the person in charge of managing tourist attractions with the assistance of BUMDes partners [68], [69], [70]; other research also explained that community groups [71] and traditional institutions [72] is the person in charge of managing tourist attractions. From the results of the interview with Zainul Arifin, as the Head of Ketapanrame Village explained,

"There is a structure that we have formed. Even though it is a management structure, it is also involved in the development process. But mechanically, they do not only run within that

scope, but include a broader function, namely as activators, be it from the PKK, BPD or Karang Taruna so that they are not limited to being supervisors or implementers but also as activators. So when they are at the village meeting, they represent their respective institutions, from LPM, Karang Taruna, PKK, BPD or other community leaders. Still, outside the forum, they will return as the community so they must also monitor and assist. So this is referred to as a driver, so that when things are not appropriate, an evaluation can be carried out, which they convey through the organization or community institution they are involved in. So that is the mechanism we run in developing tourist villages” [53].

Based on the explanation of the village head, it can be understood that there is a form of organizational structure for the management of tourism objects in Ketapanrame Village; this is in line with the explanation of Muhammad Taufiq as the Head of BPD who explained that,

“We as BPD have a function as supervisors to oversee how the village government and tourism in this village run. For the running of the village government, we supervise every agenda that is carried out, especially those related to the village regulations issued, starting from planning, implementation, and evaluation of the village regulations. For tourism in this village, we supervise almost the same starting from planning, implementation and evaluation, but the point is that in this tourism we refer to the implementation of BUMDes as the manager and the village head as the advisor of BUMDes itself” [56].

According to Herwanto, the Head of BUMDes Mutiara Welirang also explained the existence of a system in the management of tourism destinations in Ketapanrame Village, that “all development activities initiated by the village, the executor is in BUMDes because BUMDes is a business institution. Then the parties who cooperate in managing this tour are all synergized with BUMDes, for example, the stalls or booths or the rides that are here are all partners” [73].

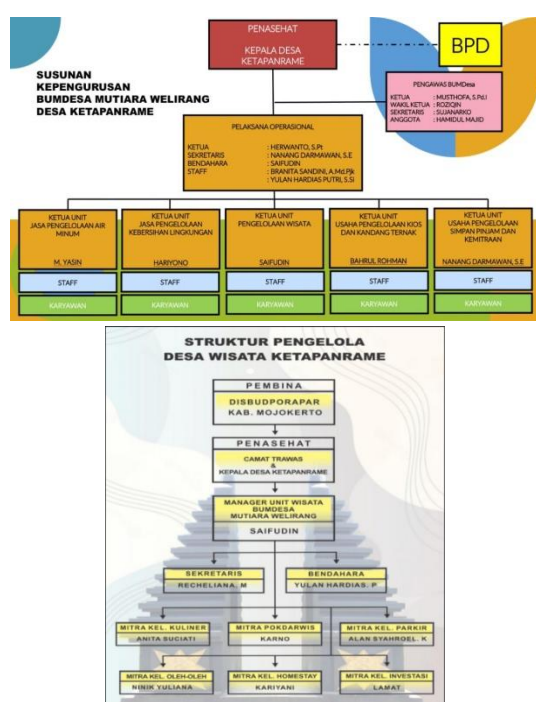


Fig. 4. Management Structure of BUMDes and Ketapanrame Tourism Village Management

Source: Ketapanrame Village Government Document on Ketapanrame Tourism Village 2024.

Based on the explanation above, it can be understood that in the process of developing a tourist village, the mechanism used is based on the institutional functions that exist in the village during the preparation of the development plan by involving village stakeholders consisting of the Village Government, village institutions and village communities. The results of this study state that the person in charge of the development of Ketapanrame Tourism Village is the Village Head as an institutional political institution in the village, while BUMDes is the executor in the process of development and management of tourist attractions in the village. Supporters in the process of tourism village development come from economic groups consisting of KUB Taman Ghanjaran and Pokdarwis as working partners of BUMDes and social groups consisting of Karang Taruna and PKK Ketapanrame Village as institutions that have social associations with youth or women's groups in Ketapanrame Village.

3.4.4. Perspective or Ideology

The perspective is the point of view that actors have towards the direction and purpose of development, the perspective in question is whether tourist villages are sustainable development, participatory development, economic development or social development. Several studies mention that the development of tourist villages aims to improve the welfare of the community in the economic field through the availability of new jobs [24], [25], [39], as well as in the form of community capacity building, through training activities in making souvenirs [74], mentoring village institutions in improving understanding of institutional functions and roles [75] and understanding related to digital literacy in promoting village tourism objects and products [76]. In an interview with Zainul Arifin as the Head of Ketapanrame Village explained that,

“If I see it as one of the things that needs to be explored and developed, because in the past I saw that in this village there was a lot of unemployment and many residents lost their jobs and many residents left the city and various other problems as well. So with this tourism I see that this is a solution for residents who are unemployed so that they can work as well as those who have lost their jobs including traders who have lost their jobs, then especially also for unemployed mothers who are also helped because with this tourism they can increase household income starting from participating in creativity or doing something that they can work on this tourism activity. Then there are other values that we also consider in village development, such as in areas that have low potential, namely our rice fields which used to be not very productive and only rely on harvests, but with the existence of tourism these rice fields have additional income” [53].

Based on the explanation above, it can be understood that the main objectives of the development of Ketapanrame Tourism Village are the development of local potential and overcoming the problems of poverty and unemployment in Ketapanrame Village. This is also in line with the explanation of another informant who stated that “the development of Ketapanrame Tourism Village can reduce the number of unemployed people in the village” [54], [77]. Meanwhile, Muhammad Taufiq, as the Head of BPD, has another opinion on

the initial village development plan: "initially, we had a desire or aspiration, so initially we wanted Ketapanrame Village to become an independent village. So, from 2018 to 2019, we thought about how to make this village not dependent on village funds" [56].

The Head of BPD in an interview related to the perspective on tourism village development considers that the tourism village development plan is the beginning of a form of independence of Ketapanrame Village so that it does not depend on the Village Fund (DD), but this opinion also still has an orientation on economic development to increase village income, reduce unemployment, make the village more economically independent and can increase the income of the village community through the development of Ketapanrame Tourism Village.

3.4.5. *Foreign Intervention or Involvement of Outside Village Factors*

Foreign intervention is the involvement of outsiders or non-local actors in the development of tourism villages [31]. The outsiders referred to in this discussion can come from the district government, individuals and organizations that are not from Ketapanrame Village. In several studies related to the involvement of external parties in the development of tourism villages, it is stated that the involvement of external parties in the development of tourism villages is carried out by the local government through agencies that have main tasks and functions as a role of the village government such as the tourism office [78] and community empowerment and village government offices or DPMD at the district and provincial levels [79]. Another research also explained that the private sector was also involved in the village development process through the provision of development support funds, provision of tourism support facilities and tourism management training [80]. From the results of research that has been conducted related to foreign intervention in the development of the Ketapanrame Tourism Village, Zainul Arifin as the Head of Ketapanrame Village explained,

"There is no intervention because we prioritize the interests of the village community. Although there is certainly involvement from outside parties, it is in the form of support, such as to assist in the standard of financial preparation or reporting, product sales, marketing in e-commerce, which involves many academics. This also includes KKN students who provide support and assistance, which means there is no intervention in policy formation but rather complementary. This is the same as the local government in providing support and assistance, this is also not in the form of intervention, only complementing and helping with what village needs are prioritized. This also includes the private sector, such as BRI and PT. Astra, they only complement what the village needs for things that do not yet exist" [56].

The explanation also has the same meaning as several other speakers' explanations, such as in an interview with Herwanto as Head of BUMDesa Ketapanrame explained,

"There are no interventions with bad connotations, except those with training connotations. Most come from related agencies and OPDs, which are more towards coaching and training. Then from outside the government agency, college institutions or educational institutions also teach us how to get CSR (corporate social responsibility) assistance from BRI bank.

From the private sector, PT Astra and several hotels and villas around here have collaborated with us" [73].

Based on the interviewees' opinions, it can be understood that external village involvement is in the form of support such as coaching, mentoring and training. This is also the same as the opinion of Muhammad Taufiq, as the Head of BPD explained,

"From the government side, there is certainly someone involved because the village is the protégé of the DMPD office in the Regency and Province, so of course there is the involvement of that office. Then the second one is also from the Regent because the macro program has a village deliberation concerning village-scale development programs planned by the Regency which are directed to the development of tourist villages, one of which is Ketapanrame; there is also intervention because the Regency is required to have a tourist village. After all, Mojokerto has launched a "golden triangle". This golden triangle includes Pacet, Trawas and Trowulan as tourist areas. If from the private sector or third parties, it is only community groups, such as those related to the fulfilment of the needs of tourist villages" [56].

Based on the previous explanation regarding the involvement of external factors or foreign intervention in the development of Ketapanrame Tourism Village, it is known that there are parties involved in the process of tourism village development to provide support, training and guidance. These parties include:

1. The local government, through the Office of Community Empowerment and Village Government (DPMP) at the East Java Province level and Mojokerto District level as the tourism village development program supervisor.
2. The private sector comes from Bank BRI as a coach in digital financial affairs on the payment system in the tourist area and PT Astra as a provider of training assistance and capital and infrastructure needed on tourist rides.
3. Academics from Bhayangkara University Surabaya (Ubayana) as a companion in policy and innovation in developing and managing tourism in Ketapanrame Village.

3.4.6. *Community Empowerment*

Community empowerment in this research is a study of the implications of tourism village development, the intended implications are the benefits obtained by actors from tourism village development. The actors who are the main focus of this empowerment study are actors involved by the Village Head in the process of tourism village development consisting of the Head of BPD, Head of BUMDesa, PKK, Pokdarwis, KUB Taman Ghanjaran and Youth Organization as actors involved in tourism village development both in the planning, implementation and evaluation stages. In research related to community empowerment in tourist villages, it is stated that the form of empowerment is seen in economic empowerment efforts as one aspect of the development objectives of tourist villages, this is seen in the development of Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises (UMKM) and the training program for women's groups [74], [81].

Empowerment can also be examined in an effort to increase the role and function of organizations in tourism management, so that groups or institutions that manage tourism have skills as tourism actors [82], [83], [84]. This research uses the framework

of determining empowerment in tourism development by Scheyvens to measure the benefits obtained by actors, which consists of economic, political, social and psychological empowerment [40, pp. 24–34]. The results of this research

found that the community empowerment model in Ketapanrame Tourism Village in the table below.

Table 5. Forms of Empowerment of Development Actor

Actor	Empowerment Type			
	Economy	Politic	Social	Psychology
Political Institution	Increased Village Original Revenue (PAD), new jobs for village communities, and increased income for village officials.	Facilitate policy-making on tourism development in the village.	Community solidarity is formed through Joint Business Groups and Tourism Awareness Groups	Increased sense of pride as the village becomes a tourist attraction, research location or “Kuliah Kerja Nyata” (KKN) and comparative study location between tourist villages.
Social Group	Empowered as workers in tourism areas	The community group's aspirations guide tourism development and management.	Community solidarity is formed through community participation in tourism implementation and management activities.	Increased sense of pride as a village community and a training program in developing their potential as tourism actors.
Economic Group	Empowered as workers in tourism areas	The community group's aspirations guide tourism development and management.	Community solidarity is formed through community participation in tourism implementation and management activities.	Increased sense of pride as a village community and a training program in developing their potential as tourism actors.

Source: Data processing of interview results on community empowerment to resource persons

Based on the results of interviews in table 3.1, it can be understood that the form of community empowerment in Ketapanrame Village is in the aspect of tourism management, where the type of economic empowerment has an impact on the availability of new jobs for the village community so that this can reduce unemployment, increase PAD and profit of BUMDesa Ketapanrame.

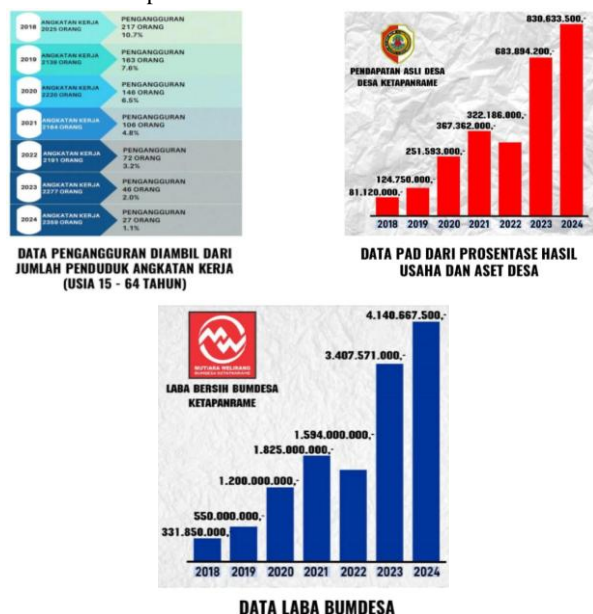


Fig. 5. Graph of Achievements of the Ketapanrame Tourism Village Development Program.

Source: Ketapanrame Village Government Document on Ketapanrame Tourism Village in 2024

Based on Figure 3.5 graph of the achievement of the Ketapanrame Tourism Village development program, it is known that there is a decrease in unemployment in the village, starting in 2018 with a workforce of 2,025 people there were 217 unemployed people, in 2019 with a workforce of 2,139 people there were 163 unemployed people, in 2020 with a workforce of 2,220 people there are 146 unemployed people, in 2021 with a labor force of 2,164 people there are 106 people who are unemployed, in 2022 with a labor force of 2,191 people there are 72 people who are unemployed, in 2023 with a labor force of 2,277 people there are 46 people who are unemployed and in 2024 with a labor force of 2,359 people there are 27 people who are unemployed. This also significantly affects the PAD of Ketapanrame Village and the net profit of BUMDes Ketapanrame which generally increased from 2018-2021, but the covid 19 pandemic caused a decrease in profits in 2022 and in 2023-2024 the profits from PAD and BUMDes profits rose significantly again. Another impact on the economic aspect is also found in community involvement in tourism management as investment groups, UMKM, homestay groups, farmer groups and tourism workers with the following data:

Table 6. Community involvement in tourism management

Tourism Location	Economy Empowerment
Ghanjaran Park	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Citizen investment participated by 435 households 2. UMKM participated by 107 households 3. Tourism workers employed 28 villagers.
Sumbergempong Agriculture Tourism	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Citizen investment participated by 98 households 2. UMKM participated by 41 households 3. Tourism workers employed 51 villagers 4. Homestay group participated by 11 households 5. Farmer group participated by 30 households

Source: Ketapanrame Village Government Document on Ketapanrame Tourism Village 2024

Social empowerment has an impact on the development of community solidarity in community groups, namely the Joint Business Group (KUB) Taman Ghanjaran and the Tourism Awareness Group (Pokdarwis) Tourism Action Drive (Rakasiwi) as a newly established group at the time of tourism village development, as well as the active women's group in the PKK group and village youth in the Youth Organization. The psychological empowerment of development actors impacts a sense of pride as a community or the Ketapanrame Village Government because it is considered a village that has undergone many changes and received several achievements and awards. Another aspect of psychological empowerment for development actors from social groups and economic groups is that there are skills improvement facilities for tourism actors or workers as tourism managers in the form of training and technical guidance (Bimtek) organized by the Ketapanrame Village Government and the Mojokerto Regency Government through the DPMD office, in training activities the Ketapanrame Village Government through BUMDesa also collaborates with private parties, namely BRI Bank, PT. Astra and Ubaya on aspects of tourism object management. [73] and cooperates with Vila Royal Ayana and educational institutions on activities to improve service quality and homestay management [85].

Political empowerment in the development of Ketapanrame Tourism Village provides benefits for political institution actors, namely the Ketapanrame Village Government, the Head of BPD and the Head of BUMDes Ketapanrame in making and determining policies and programs on tourism management, several tourism-related policies or programs set in the 2017-2023:

1. Ketapanrame Village Regulation No.2 of 2017 concerning Village Asset Management
2. Ketapanrame Village Regulation No.2 of 2022 on the Establishment of Village-Owned Enterprise Mutiara Welirang Ketapanrame Village
3. Ketapanrame Village Regulation No. 1 of 2023 concerning the Use of Village Assets in the Form of Village Property to BUM Desa Mutiara Welirang Ketapanrame Village
4. Ketapanrame Village Head Regulation No. 6 of 2022 on the Rate and Fee of BUMDesa Service and Use of Facilities for BUM Desa Businesses

5. Urun Dana program leads to happiness or citizen investment managed by BUMDesa Mutiara Welirang Desa Ketapanrame Village
6. Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) valid for 15 (fifteen) years issued by BUMDesa Ketapanrame in establishing a cooperative relationship with BUMDesa's partners, namely the Taman Ghanjaran Joint Business Group and Pokdarwis Rakasiwi in the implementation of tourism object management.

Political empowerment for actors outside political institutions or from economic groups and social groups in the form of prioritizing the aspirations conveyed by community groups related to tourism development and management. In an interview with Zainul Arifin as the Head of Ketapanrame Village explained,

“So the political impact is very influential, one of which is influencing the policies we issue. So, this political impact is more about how all these communities feel about the economic improvement of tourism development. Because this is based on the vision of Ketapanrame Village, where our vision is to make Ketapanrame Village more advanced, independent, prosperous and competitive. This is also related to our mission to empower the community to achieve our vision through activities such as BUMDes and community group activities.” [53].

Based on the explanation above, it can be understood that the form of political empowerment for the village government is the influence on policies made, especially related to village development and tourism village management. while Muhammad Taufiq as Head of BPD Ketapanrame explained,

“So the option is that we return it to BUMDes, so even though the scale is in the village, the first time we are directly involved with this community group is the BUMDes. The empowerment is in the tourism actors or we call them tourism groups, such as pokdarwis, which are the main actors who manage from upstream to downstream because they manage everything in this tourist attraction from cleanliness to finance” [56].

Based on the opinion of the Chairman of the BPD, it can be understood that the form of political empowerment in the development of tourism villages is the involvement of the community with BUMDes Mutiara Welirang in tourism management as tourism actors who are gathered in tourism groups such as KUB which manages Ghanjaran Park Tourism and Pokdarwis which manages Sumbergempong Rice Field Tourism. Karno Adi Sucipto as Head of Pokdarwis Rakasiwi explained,

“Politically, we as the management in Sumbergempong Agricultural Tourism have more prestige when there are activities such as village meetings or other activities because we are the area in Sumbergempong for management. So that when there are suggestions or criticisms related to tourism management here, such as what is lacking or this vehicle needs maintenance, it must be immediately given a follow-up, so that's how it is. More of a response and follow-up regarding what is lacking here and what must be addressed immediately” [85].

Based on the explanation of the Head of Pokdarwis, it can be understood that the form of political empowerment obtained by the tourism group is in priority to suggestions and criticism of tourism management, this is also in line with Nur Fadilah's explanation as the Head of the PKK explained, “because the role

of women is sharper when looking for information so that they will know what is needed, I will receive and collect it. So the complaints that I receive will be conveyed directly to the village head through musrembang, whatever is needed, whatever the potential is, the important thing is the potential. Because mothers want to grow and improve their families' welfare" [54].

Based on the explanation of the informants, it can be concluded that the political empowerment of actors outside political institutions is the prioritization of aspirations from community groups, such as community aspirations for tourism development conveyed to the head of the PKK and aspirations related to tourism management conveyed by Pokdarwis Rakasiwi in village deliberation activities or in village tourism management evaluation activities.

3.5. Actor Roles in Tourism Village Development

The role of actors in development is studied as an action or behavior based on the social status or authority of actors in influencing the process of tourism village development, this role is studied in 3 (three) perspectives: perspective of political institutions, the perspective of social groups and economic groups.

3.5.1. Political Institutions

The political institutions in this research are the Ketapanrame Village Government and village institutions under the auspices of the village government, such as BPD and BUMDes Ketapanrame. The Ketapanrame Village Government is an important subject in this research because it has a strategic position, Andrew Macintyre (2003) in his book "The Power of Institution Architecture and Governance" explains that political institutions play a major role in how the hegemony of power is played in the context of the state so that development can be implemented [31]. In several research studies related to the role of the village government in the development of tourist villages, it is explained that the village government acts as a regulator, facilitator, innovator and catalyst. The role of the regulator is in determining village government policies or regulations regarding the development of tourist villages. [9], The results of this research found that the Ketapanrame Village Government established several policies related to village asset management stipulated in Ketapanrame Village Regulation (Perdes) No. 2 of 2017 concerning Village Asset Management as the first step in the development of tourist destinations located on Village Cash Land (TKD) for the construction of Taman Ghanjaran tourist attraction [57], Perdes Ketapanrame No. 2 of 2022 concerning the Establishment of Village-Owned Enterprises Mutiara Welirang Ketapanrame Village as a village institution that manages village government business affairs, especially in the management of tourism destinations in Ketapanrame Village, Perdes Ketapanrame No. 1 of 2023 concerning the Use of Village Assets in the form of village property to BUMDesa Mutiara Welirang Ketapanrame Village and Perdes Ketapanrame No. 6 of 2022 concerning the Rates and Fees of BUMDesa Service and Use of Facilities for BUMDesa Business as a reference for BUMDesa in the management of tourist attractions.

The role of the facilitator is seen in the form of providing funds, goods and service improvements needed in tourism destinations or in the efforts made by the village government in improving human resources through training, socialization and

technical guidance activities [70], [74], [82]. The results of this research found that at the beginning of the development of the village government provided initial funds for the development of Taman Ghanjaran tourist destination which was further supported by Village Financial Assistance (BKD) from the Mojokerto Regency Government in supporting the development of Ketapanrame Tourism Village [52], [57]

The role of catalyst refers to the function carried out by the village government to accelerate, facilitate, and motivate various parties involved in the development and management of tourism villages, while the role of innovator includes various efforts to create tourist destinations that are unique, sustainable, and can benefit local communities [33], [86]. The results of this research found that in carrying out his role as an innovator and calculator, Zainul Arifin as the Head of Ketapanrame Village initiated village development ideas starting from the transfer of the use of TKD land owned by the village as a tourist attraction, namely Ghanjaran Park and subsequent village deliberation activities [53], [56], as the first step of village development planning with elements of the village community and the results of the village deliberation stated that Ghanjaran Park is a tourist destination that includes tourist rides, meeting halls and food courts [87].

3.5.2. Social Society

The social society in this research is Pokdarwis Rakasiwi, PKK and Youth Organization of Ketapanrame Village. Social groups are a forum for the community to convey their aspirations as a form of political participation in development [31, pp. 119–122]. In several research related to the role of social groups in the development of tourist villages, it is mentioned that social groups consisting of local communities are an important part of the development of tourist villages, especially in terms of understanding the potential of the village and the needs of the village, this is generally done in village deliberation activities with community groups and various elements in the village [88], [89], [90]. The results of this research found that social groups play a role in exploring the potential in the village as explained by Nur Fadilah as the Head of the PKK,

"Our job is to mobilize so we gather the community, direct, foster and assist. So the role is still the role of the community to support starting from the village government's policy, how, there must be mutual synergy, there must be mutual openness, even though PKK is not number two, because for PKK it must also be more vocal about what is needed in the community because we certainly know. For example, in schools, maybe in terms of social, educational, cultural aspects, PKK can infiltrate more because of that. Because the role of women is sharper when looking for information like this" [54].

Based on the explanation above, it can be understood that the role of the PKK in the development of tourist villages is as a mobilizing group that has the task of collecting information submitted by the community and then submitted in village deliberation activities. While the role played by Pokdarwis and Karang Taruna in the development of tourist villages is a role in tourism management or as tourism actors and partners of BUMDes Mutiara Welirang [77], [85].

3.5.3. Economy Society

The economy society in this research is the Taman Ghanjaran Joint Business Group (KUB). Economic groups are those who have the ability to capitalize in supporting the development

process, because economic groups generally see development as a vast field that can provide benefits [31, pp. 122–123]. In several studies related to the role of the economy society, it is pointed that the role of economic groups is related to cultural preservation and community involvement in the tourism economy through the provision of products and services owned by local economic groups [24], [91], [92]. The results of this research found that the role of KUB Taman Ghanjaran is to provide funds or capital for the development of tourist attractions in the form of investments made through the purchase of shares in the crowdfunding program or community investment from BUMDesa Ketapanrame [52], [57].

3.6. *Implications of Ketapanrame Tourism Village Development according to Elite Capture Study*

The implication of tourist village development in the study of elite capture is an analysis of the emergence of elite groups in the case of Ketapanrame Tourism Village development and the impact of development on the control of development resources.

3.6.1. *Village Elite*

The existence of elite groups in the context of development refers to a situation where local elite groups dominate decision-making or the distribution of benefits from development programs, this situation often ignores the interests of the community or the public interest [41]. In several studies related to the existence of elite groups in the village, it is explained that elite groups are the ranks of stakeholders themselves, consisting of the village government as the highest institution in the village with authority in village development [93]. In contrast, in the case of tourism villages, it is explained that the elite is the village head as the head of government in the villages [47], community groups that have an upper-middle economic background [94] and community groups that have a dominant role in social activities in the village [95]. From the results of research conducted in Ketapanrame Village, it was found that the elites who emerged in the case of the development of the Ketapanrame Tourism Village were Zainul Arifin as the Ketapanrame Village Head, Muhammad Taufiq as the Ketapanrame BPD Chairman and Herwanto as the Chairman of BUMDesa Mutiara Welirang. This is based on their positions and the period of office held by Zainul Arifin for 3 (three) periods or 18 (eighteen) years of tenure from 2007 until now or 2024.

The supporting assumption in the choice of these 3 (three) people as elites in the village is the dominance of village development policy-making carried out by the village head, in an interview with Muhammad Taufiq as the Ketapanrame Village BPD explained that “initially we had desires or ideals, so initially we wanted Ketapanrame Village to become an independent village. So at that time in 2018-2019 we thought about how to make this village not dependent on village funds, so we started designing the ideals starting in 2014 with the village head to build a tourist village” [56].

Based on the explanation above, it can be understood that Zainul Arifin as the Head of Ketapanrame Village is the person who initiated the tourist village development plan [4], this is also in line with the explanation of Nur Fadilah as the Head of the Ketapanrame Village PKK and Karno Adi Sucipto as the Head of the Pokdarwis said that “Zainul Arifin as the Head of

Ketapanrame Village is the person who has the idea and conveys the idea to the community regarding the development of the Ketapanrame Tourism Village” [54], [85]. However, Herwanto as Head of BUMDes and Muhammad Taufiq as Head of BPD are involved in determining and implementing the Ketapanrame Tourism Village development policy. As in Herwanto's explanation as the Head of BUMDes explained,

“In the case of this tour, all development activities initiated by the village, the executor is in BUMDes because BUMDes is a business institution. Then the parties who cooperate in the management of this tour all synergize with BUMDes, for example the stalls or booths that are here or the rides here are all partners, not employees. Why do we say, partners? Is it because there is an MoU with us? Their position is the same in cooperation, only the fields they handle are different according to the MoU of cooperation we agreed upon” [73].

Based on the explanation of the interviewees, it can be understood that BUMDes has a strategic position in tourism management in Ketapanrame Village, either in management activities or in tourism development in Ketapanrame Village. Meanwhile, the Chairman of the BPD has a role in assisting the village head in making and determining regulations in the village, including tourism management in Ketapanrame Village. The results of this study state that the village elite emerges because of the functional position held by actors so that they can dominate programs where the public interest must be created, implemented, and managed by the community carried out by the 3 (three) actors above, namely the Village Head, Head of BUMDes and Head of BPD Ketapanrame.

3.6.2. *Elite Impact on the Development of Ketapanrame Tourism Village*

The impact of elite existence on development is a study of the influences caused by the development process, which can be both positive and negative [41]. In several researches on the impact of elite groups on development, it is explained that elite groups often take or control development resources for group or individual interests so that people do not have the opportunity to benefit from development [96]; this is done through mastering the development program [42] and allocation of development funds by village elites [43]. In the research related to the development of tourist villages, it is stated that elite groups play a positive role in village development, such as in the socialization of development ideas to the community and involving the community in the development process and management of tourist attractions [47].

The results of the research conducted found that in the development of Ketapanrame Tourism Village there are several positive impacts found, namely: The existence of community participation in the village development deliberation activities in the development planning process involving various elements of the community to make an agreement related to the conversion of TKD Village land use as a tourist attraction Taman Ghanjaran [4], [52], [57]. This means that elite groups do not interfere with community participation in achieving development goals, because elite groups do mobilize resources properly. The resources in question are human resources in the process of development planning activities and management of tourist attractions involving the community as investment groups, tourism workers, umkm groups and homestay groups. As for natural resources, elite groups can integrate agricultural areas

such as rice fields with tourism activities like Agricultural Tourism Sumbergempong [58].

There is a community sense of ownership of the development project, and this is based on the crowdfunding program, or community investment carried out in the construction of tourism objects because this program involves the village community as a provider of development funds through a share planting system [52], [58], so the sustainability of tourism activities in Ketapanrame Village will also affect the benefits obtained by investors or villagers who have a stake in the development of tourist destinations.

4. CONCLUSION

The development of Ketapanrame Tourism Village involves various actors, including the village head, chairman of BPD, chairman of BUMDes, Pokdarwis, KUB Taman Ghanjaran, and youth organizations. Their involvement is based on political, economic, and social capital. The village head, BPD chair, and BUMDes chairperson hold political capital for policymaking, while KUB Taman Ghanjaran and Pokdarwis provide economic capital through crowdfunding. PKK and Karang Taruna hold social capital to strengthen community engagement.

Tourism village development aims to address economic issues, reduce unemployment, and increase Village Original Revenue (PAD). Its management follows the organizational structure of village tourism. Besides local actors, development is also supported by regional governments, financial institutions, and universities. The benefits gained include political, economic, social, and psychological advantages, such as increased village income, strengthened community solidarity, and enhanced pride in being part of a tourism village.

Actors' roles include regulation, innovation, facilitation, and capital provision. The village head and other elites oversee policy and program implementation, fostering greater community participation and a stronger sense of ownership over development projects. Community investment through crowdfunding managed by BUMDes also supports tourism development.

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