

# **THE PROLIFERATION SYMPTOMS OF POLITICAL DYNASTIES IN BANTEN UNDER THE ERA OF GOVERNOR RATU ATUT CHOSIYAH'S**

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## ***Abstract***

*Since forming into independent provinces, apart from West Java, Banten political life was marked by the strengthening of the symptoms of a political dynasty, both at the provincial and district and city. At the provincial level, the dominance of the local strongmen, Tb. Chasan Sochib in political of Banten very prominent and managed to put his son, Ratu Atut Chosiyah the governorship for almost two periods (2006-2011 and 2011-2014). Post success in occupying the post of governor, hypothetically Ratu Atut successfully build and develop a political dynasty to the various arenas of public life. This research was carried out on the object of governance and practices of government power governor of Banten province, with the aim to identify and explain how the practice of political dynasties or political kinship in Banten province in the era of the leadership of Governor Ratu Atut Chosiyah proliferate (distribution, diasporic) in various arenas of public life. This study used a qualitative approach, the method of collecting data and information through interviews, triangulation, literature and documents. The results showed that the practice of political dynasties in the era of the leadership of Governor Ratu Atut Chosiyah in Banten show any symptoms of the spread (proliferation, diasporic), not only in the realm of executive and legislative power, but also spread in many arenas of life of society, such as the arena business life, socio-cultural, educational, and organizational.*

*Keywords: political dynasties, governance power, proliferation, local strongmen, Banten province*

## **1. Introduction**

After almost a decade, the political change After Suharto's resignation as President of the Republic of Indonesia on May 21, 1998, that bring many messages and hope for change and the spirit of democracy to be earned in the neighborhood have shown not to be fully understood. The situation, according to Haryanto (2009), has changed the political system and gave birth to reforms that provide opportunities for the ongoing democratization in Indonesia. In the context of the scope of actors in the organizing of power, Djafar (2008) sees a significant change, in which the actors involved in the power process are increasingly pluralistic.

However, the road to democracy aspired through the 1998 reform event after the fall of the New Order's authoritarian regime was not always easy to achieve. The transition of a centralized and undemocratic model of power sharing to a truly democratic government and political life proves that it is not easy to achieve. Various obstacles and distortions, coloring the landscape of

political life and the agenda of democratic consolidation in Indonesia. One of the problematic constraints is the phenomenon of political dynasties in various regions.

Political dynasty, generally interpreted as a model of power dominated by one family and or relatives, built through certain mechanisms and strategies that allow the process of inheritance of power takes place for generations or circles in the family or relatives Family interests often become the basis for the growth, development, and expansion of political dynasties in a democratic political system.

Theoretically, the political dynasty poses various problematic threats in political life at the local level. In the framework of consolidation of local democracy, political dynasties narrow the sphere of public participation as well as negate one of the basic principles of democracy, political equality. In addition, political dynasties will also only strengthen oligarchic symptoms in areas that bear the potential to weaken the check and balance mechanism because most of the political positions are controlled by one family.

The phenomenon of the presence of political dynasties in the paradoxical landscape of consolidation and the development of democracy in Indonesia, referring to data released by the Ministry of Home Affairs (Kemendagri) proved to be quite massive, namely that by the end of 2013 there were 57 Heads of Regions are part of political dynastic. This data increased in early 2016 and then became more than 65 areas as disclosed Siti Zuhro in seminar Corruption and Political Dynasty at the office of PP Muhammadiyah Jakarta, September 19, 2016 (Saleh, 2016). Then, more than the data released by the Ministry of Home Affairs, only show the political dynasties in the executive area, in fact the phenomenon of political dynasty spreading and expanding (proliferation) to the arena of power and political positions in the legislative area, both central and regional, one of the case is the phenomena of political dynasty in Banten Province. The phenomenon of political dynasty in Banten Province in the context of the issues that preceded it , the decentralization in Indonesia after the fall of the Soeharto regime that has transformed the authoritarian centralized political system into a democratic decentralist.

The initial symptom of the formation or revival of political dynasty or kinship politics began since Governor Election in 2001. The first governor election of Banten province, after being separated from West Java and becoming its own province. In the case of Banten Province, the phenomena of political dynasties shows the proliferation of symptoms beyond the arena of executive and legislative power.

Based on the above description, the focus of the problem in this study is how the political dynasty built by Chasan Sohib, experiencing proliferation (spreading and expanding) in many arenas of community life during the era of the leadership of Ratu Atut Chosiyah (2005-2013)?

Thus, the purpose of this study is to explore and explore how the political dynasty in Banten during the leadership of the Governor Ratu Atut experienced proliferation in such a way as to penetrate into many arena of Banten community life.

## **2. Literature Study**

The study of political dynasty in Banten has been done by some scholars. Pablo Querubin (2016) defines political dynasties as a small number of families who dominate the distribution of power within a given geographical area. Mark Thompson (2012) describes political dynasties only as another type of transition of political power, directly or indirectly, involving the family members. Yasushi Asako et al (2015) defines simply the political dynasty as a group of politicians who inherit as public officer from one of their family members.

The rise of political dynasties, as demonstrated by many studies conducted by experts in various countries, has a very close relationship with family interests or kinship politics. Family interests often become the basis for the growth, development, and expansion of political dynasties in a democratic political system. In the family tradition of kinship politics, family members who have become rulers or as a public officer in general will do nepotism by giving special treatment to family members or relatives, not to prosper the people and promote the region, but in order to build and strengthen their network of power. Because of that phenomenon, then the embryo of the political dynasty has emerged.

Eisenstadt and Roniger (1984) was argued that giving priority to family members and relatives in political life was based on 4 (four) arguments: (1) Trust, meaning that family or relative is more trustworthy and impossible to betray as commonly practiced by power-hunting politicians; (2) Loyalty, relatives will have a high degree of loyalty in the context of carrying out all political duties especially in respect of the dignity and honor of the great relative rather than others; (3) Solidarity, relatives certainly have a strong level of solidarity, especially in helping family clans from bankruptcy of power and wealth than those who are not from family or relatives; (4) Protection, this is related to the interests of maintaining the prestige and honor of the extended family. Those who belong to the same clan will tend to be able to keep what the family has rather than given to others.

In the view of Amich Alhumami (2012), a social researcher at the University of Sussex England, political kinship or political dynasty is not in accordance with the principle of meritocracy. A phenomenon based on research on the political dynasty above, indirectly explains the mastery of sources of power by only one family. This can be seen from the political phenomenon of the dynasty that occurred in Banten.

The study of political dynasty in Banten has been done by some scholars (Agustino, 2010) (Hamid, 2010) (Agustino, 2014) (Kenawas, 2015) . However, they did not specifically address the implication of political dynasty to the development of democracy. Leo Agustino (2010), mainly examines two important points of phenomena concerning the emergence of a political dynasty in Banten that is, the emergence of the dynasty and its impact in political-economict. His study concludes that the emergence of political dynasties in Banten is inseparable from the role of Chasan Sochib (Ratu Atut's father) as a local elite.

Meanwhile, in the article "The Rise of Political Dynasty in a Democratic Society" (Kenawas, 2015) in generaly concluded, that the critical success factor in building a political dynasty is the support of the power of informal family networks and the accumulation of material wealth (financial). In the case of Banten, Yoes (2015) concluded that the emergence of political dynasties is inseparable from the figure of Chasan Sochib as one of the most influential figures in the formation of Banten Province. Chasan Sochib built the early foundations of political dynasty in Banten with the support of three resources, (1) financial resources derived from the exclusive access to government projects, (2) coercive (by force) of the Jawara, which is bound by patronage tradition, and (3) The control of political parties, in this case the Golkar Party which since the New Order era has been dominated together by family members and relatives.

A different perspective with Agustino and Yoes, Hamid (2010) discussed the phenomenon of political dynasty in Banten Province in the context of the issues that preceded it , the decentralization in Indonesia after the fall of the Soeharto regime that has transformed the authoritarian centralized political system into a democratic decentralist. The decentralization, has given birth to two typologies of leadership and the management of local power that diametrically paradoxical, which the called as dynasties and populism. Dynasty symptoms grew in a number of areas, one of which is relatively strong in Banten province, during the leadership of the Governor Ratu Atut Chosiyah. Meanwhile, the symptoms of populism grew, among others, in

DKI Jakarta which surfaced during the election event of Jakarta governor in 2012 and more or less during the two years of Jokowi's leadership in Jakarta.

Hamid (2010) also concluded that the history of the emergence and formation of political dynasties in Banten boils down to the figure and political behavior of Tb. Chasan Sochib (father of Ratu Atut) who took advantage in the momentum of the implementation of regional autonomy and the first election of the governor, relying on violence to achieve and maintain his political power. After the political power was under his control, Sochib then used his family and his relatives' network to expand and develop his domination, until he finally managed to control the local politics arena in Banten. However, again, the three authors do not discuss specifically how the political dynasty, which had been built by Ratu Atut Chosiyah, gave rise to bad implications for the development of democracy in Banten, especially in terms of electoral democracy events (Direct local election).

### **3. Research Method and Materials**

This research uses Qualitative approach. This method is chosen considering the wide scope of the problem and has a multidimensional phenomenological linkage between the issues, data / information, facts and empirical events. With this method it is expected that the subject matter and scope of the research problem can be explored and understood in a comprehensive, comprehensive and in-depth manner.

The data in this study is explored and collected (data collection) with various techniques commonly used in qualitative research, While for various primary data will be used semi-structured interview technique (semistructure interview); And conducted with direct face to face with research resources. The informant and the number of informants in this study were selected based on the characteristics commonly used in qualitative approach. The informant in this study are people who have deep and extensive involvement with the issue of local political dynamics (Banten); Understand the context and substance of the subject matter; and can be expected to be objective in providing views and attitude to every aspect of the research issues asked.

### **4. Result and Discussion**

#### **4.1. Proliferation in the Executive and Legislative Arenas**

Starting point of the emergence of the phenomenon of political dynasty in Banten began since Ratu Atut Chosiyah rose from the Vice Governor's position to Governor in 2005, replacing

Djoko Munandar, the first Governor of Banten, which was then dismissed for corruption case of housing fund of members of DPRD Banten. Nevertheless, the signal and potential toward the formation of political dynasties actually began to appear since the first Pilgub in 2001. Signals and potentials at least, seen in the dominance of Tb. Chasan Sohib, the father of Ratu Atut, with the strength of his network that dominated the process of Pilgub event at that time.

Approximately a year after serving as the Governor of Banten, in 2006 the second election of the governor of Banten, which for the first time was implemented through a direct election mechanism. Ratu Atut then advanced as a candidate for governor accompanied by Masduki, and elected. Since becoming the number one person in Banten, one by one the members of Ratu Atut's extended family enter into the practical political arena, both in the executive and legislative branches at various levels of representative institutions.

Beginning by Airin Rachmi Diany who advanced in the Election of Tangerang Regency in 2008 as a candidate for Vice Regent to accompany Jazuli Juwaini (PKS politician). Airin is Ratu Atut's brother-in-law; Wife of Tb. Chaeri Wardana. At that time their partner was defeated by incumbent candidate, Ismet Iskandar-Rano Karno. At the same time Atut's step brother, Tubagus Haerul Jaman, advanced as a candidate for Vice Mayor Serang in pairs with Bunyamin and won. Not until three years later, Jaman rose to become Mayor of Serang, replacing Bunyamin who died. At the elections of Serang City in 2013, Jaman came back and won.

In 2010, the turn of the younger sister of Ratu Atut, Ratu Tatu Chasanah, following Serang Regional Election as candidate for Vice Regent Serang 2010-2015 accompany Taufik Nuriman and elected. In 2010, Airin, who got elected as Mayor of South Tangerang 2011-2015.

In 2011, Heryani, stepmother of Ratu Atut, also not behind. She advanced as a candidate for Vice Regent of Pandeglang Regency for period 2011-2016, accompanying Erwan Kurtubi and got elected. In that year, Ratu Atut also re-run as the Governor of Banten accompanied by Rano Karno, was elected as Governor of Banten for the period of 2012-2017.

In the political arena, Ratu Atut also successfully deliver other family members on the legislative stage. In the 2009 elections, Ratu Atut's husband, Hikmat Tomet, was elected as a member of the Indonesia House of Representatives (DPR) from the Golkar Party. In the same elections, Andika Hazrumy (son) was elected to the Regional Representative Council (DPD), representing the Province of Banten; and his wife, Ade Rossi Khairunnisa was elected to the Serang City Legislative Assembly (DPRD).

**Table 4.1**  
**Proliferation of Dynasties at the Executive and Legislative Arenas**  
**Under the Era of Governor Ratu Atut Chosiyah, 2006-2013**

No	Name	Executive Office	Position Legislative	Family Relation
1	Tb. Khaerul Jaman	Vice Mayor, Mayor of Serang	-	Brother
2	Airin Rachmi Diani	Mayor of South Tangerang	-	
3	Tatu Chasanah	Vice Regent of Serang	-	Sister
4	Heryani	Vice Regent of Pandeglang	-	Step Mother
5	Hikmat Tomet	-	Member of DPR RI	Husband
6	Andika Hazrumy	-	Member of DPD RI, Member of DPR RI	Son
7	Ade Rossi Ch	-	Member of DPRD Kota Serang, Member of DPRD Banten Province	Daughter in Law
8	Ratna Komalasari	-	Member of DPRD Kota Serang	Step Mother
9	Aden A. Kholik	-	Member of DPRD Banten Province	Step Sister

*Data is processed from various sources*

The results of 2014 Election more solidified the position of the dynasty Ratu Atut in the legislature, with the success of sending two sons / daughters to Senayan: Andika Hazrumy elected to the Indonesia House of Representatives (DPR) from the Golkar Party, and Andiara Aprialia Hikmat elected as the member of the Regional Representative Council (DPD) for representing Banten Province. Meanwhile, two daughters-in-law, each Ade Rossi Khoerunnisa (Andika Hazrumy's wife) and Tanto Warsono Arban (husband of Andiara Aprilia Hikmat) were also elected to the Banten Province Legislative Assembly (DPRD).

#### **4.2. Proliferation in Non-State Arena.**

The dynasties of Ratu Atut Chosiyah has also succeeded in expanding in Banten by placing a number of members of his family in various community organizations, and of course dominating the Golkar Party's Banten province. According to its characteristics as the model of octopussy dynasties (Djati, 2013), the findings of this study show the political dynasty of Ratu Atut extends and penetrates into many aspects of life in Banten. Starting from business associations, especially the Chamber of Commerce and Industry (Kadin) (**Table 4.2**), political

parties (in this case Golkar Party) (Table 4.3), religious organizations, youth organizations, sports organizations, warrior organizations (Jawara), and even socio-cultural organizations.

**Table 4.2**  
**The Domination of Ratu Atut Family in The Chamber of Commerce and Industry (Kadin) of Banten Province Period 2006-2013**

No	Name	Position	Family Relation With Ratu Atut
1	Tb. Chaeri Wardana	Chairperson	Brother
2	Hikmat Tomet	Chairperson of The Advisory Board	Husband
3	Ratu Tatu Chasanah	Member of The Advisory Board	Sister
4	Tb. Khaerul Jaman	Member of The Advisory Board	Brother
5	Aden Abdul Khalik	Member of The Advisory Board	Brother In-Law
6	Ratu Lilis Karyawati	Vice Chairperson of Fisheries and Marine Affairs	Step Sister
7	Ratu Ella Syatibi	Vice Chairperson Field of Plantation and Forestry	Cousin
8	Ratu Wawat Cherawati	Chairperson of the Standing Committee on Processing and Utilization of Mining Industrial Waste	Step Sister
9	Ratu Heni Chendrayani	Chairperson of the Standing Committee Vehicle Insurance	Step Sister

*Source: Gatra, No.52 Year XIX, 31 October-6 November 2013*

Chamber of Commerce and Industry (Kadin) for example, since its establishment in December 2000, directly led by Tb. Chasan Sochib until 2012, then continued by Tb. Chaeri Wardana, Ratu Atut's brother until (duly) until 2017. In addition to the top leadership, the family of Ratu Atut also many who entered into the stewardship structure Kadin Banten Province. Chasan Sochib himself, besides as a leader of Kadin also a leader of warrior organization such as Persatuan Pendekar Persilatan dan Seni Budaya Banten (PPPSBB), also led the The Central Executive Board (DPP) of the Satuan Karya Ulama (for two periods), until death ends his action on 30 June 2011.

In the Golkar Party, Ratu Atut's family still dominates the leadership in Banten. Tatu Chasanah to this day, his younger sister was elected Chairperson of the Regional Representative Council (DPD) Golkar Party of Banten Province, replacing the previous Chairperson, Hikmat Tomet which is none other than Ratu Atut's husband in 2014. Meanwhile, Haerul Jaman, Ratu



Atut's step brother Since January 2015 was elected as Plt Chairperson of DPD II Golkar Party of Serang City, replacing the previous Chairperson Ratu Lilis Karyawati who is also step sister of Ratu Atut.

**Table 4.3**  
**The Domination and Networking of Ratu Atut**  
**in Golkar Party period 2006-2013**

No	Name	Position
1	Ratu Atut Chosiyah	Deputy General Treasurer of DPP Golkar Party Banten Province
2	Hikmat Tomet	The Chairperson of DPP Golkar Party Banten Province
3	Ratu Tatu Chasanah	The Chairperson of DPP Golkar Party Pandeglang Regency
4	Ratu Lilis Karyawati	The Chairperson of DPP Golkar Party of Serang
5	Tb. Chaeri Wardana	The Chairperson of Young Generation Golkar Party Banten Province

*Data is processed from various sources*

The dominance of Ratu Atut's family outside the executive, legislative and political domains, based on data until 2011, among others, as follows: Aden Abdul Kholiq, (husband of Ratu Lilis Karyawati, step sister of Ratu Atut) becomes Chairperson of National Youth Committee of Indonesia (KNPI) Banten Province until 2013, then replaced by Tanto W. Arban (son-in-law); Andika Hazrumy (son of Ratu Atut) becomes Chairperson of Tagana Banten, Vice Chairperson of GP. Anshor Banten, and the Treasurer of Karang Taruna Banten; Ade Rossi Khaerunnisa (daughter-in-law of Ratu Atut) became Chairperson of the National Sports Committee of Indonesia (KONI) Serang and Chairperson of The Professional Early Childhood Educators Association (Himpaudi) Banten; Tatu Chasanah (sister of Ratu Atut) becomes Chairperson of Indonesian Red Cross (PMI) Banten; Ratna Komalasari (step mother in law) becomes Chairperson of Indonesian Artist Film Association of Banten.

**Table 4.4**  
**Proliferation of the Ratu Atut Family Dynasty**  
**at the Non-State Arena**

No	Name	Organization/Association and Position	Family Relation With Ratu Atut
1	Tb. Chaeri Wardana	Chairperson of Kadin Banten, Chairperson of Taekwondo Banten Provincial Board	Brother
2	Tb. Khaerul Jaman	Indonesian Motorcycle Association (IMI)	Brother

		Banten (Chairperson)	
3	Ratu Tatu Chasanah	Indonesian Red Cross (PMI) Banten, Agribusiness Society and Agroindustry Indonesia Banten (Chairperson), Family Welfare Entrepreneurship Movement (GWKS), Indonesian Cooperative Council (Dekopinda) , Forum Paguyuban Banten Bersatu (Chairperson), Coalition of Indonesian Women Politic of Banten (Chairperson)	Sister
4	Andika Hazrumy	Local Youth Organization Banten (Chairperson), Disaster Preparedness Youth (Tagana) (Chairperson), Regional Committee of Ansor Youth Movement (Treasurer)	Son
5	Ade Rossi Ch	The Professional Early Childhood Educators Association (Himpaudi) (Chairperson), Integrated Services Center of Women and Children (P2TP2A) Banten (Chairperson), National Sports Committee of Indonesia (KONI) Serang (Chairperson), dan Indonesian Red Cross (PMI) of Serang (Chairperson)	Daughter in Law
6	Hikmat Tomet	National Craft Council, Banten office (Dekranasda) (Chairperson)	Husband
7	Aden A. Kholik	National Youth Committee of Indonesia (KNPI) (Chairperson), Indonesia Basketball Association (Perbasi) of Serang (Chairperson)	Brother in Law
8	Ratna Komalasari	Chairperson of Indonesian Artist Film Association (PARFI) Banten (Chairperson)	Step Mother
9	Tanto W. Arban	Indonesian Young Entrepreneurs Association (HIPMI) Banten (Chairperson), Regional Committee of Ansor Youth Movement of South Tangerang (Chairperson),	Son in Law

*Data is processed from various sources*

Following the typology of Djati (2013), the proliferation of the Ratu Atut dynasty as described above (**Table 4.4**), clearly shows the model of *octopus dynasties*. Like an octopus, its tentacles spread in various directions to place their family or cronies in various public office positions in Banten.

#### **4.3. Political Strategy and Capital Material of the Dynasty**

Ratu Atut's success in developing her political dynasty in various aspects. The following are some of Atut's political strategies to nurture public support and network loyalty in defending and expanding her dynastic powers:

(1) *Control over bureaucracy*, through process and mutation of officials in Banten Provincial Government. During the era of leadership of Ratu Atut, the recruitment process in the bureaucratic environment was more based on closeness and loyalty than meritocracy and professionalism. One of the benchmarks of closeness and loyalty is mapped during election or election events. Officials who are loyal and assist in the process of winning contestation will get priority. Another benchmark is the absolute obedience of an official to Ratu Atut; Even to some extent adherence to family members of the dynasty (interview with Ali Nurdin, lecturer at Mathlaul Anwar Pandeglang University).

According to Boyke Pribadi (lecturer of the University of Tirtayasa), almost all echelon officials 2,3 and 4, especially those in the appointment, need permission from the governor and have a strategic role, when they are about to be sworn in to ask for the governor and his family (November 1, 2016).

(2) *Mastering business associations* (KADIN and GAPENSI), social and educational organizations (PMI, Tagana, Himpaudi and etc), sports and youth organizations (KONI, KNPI, Karang Taruna). This method is done by placing family members as heads or administrators at the organizations and / or business associations (**Table 3.2.1 and 3.2.3**) (Interview with Maksuni Husen, Journalist from Kabar Banten). In practice, the placement of family members in these mass organizations and business associations is indeed a stepping stone for Ratu Atut members and cronies to occupy important positions in the legislative and executive bodies. Having succeeded in securing legislative positions, they have reinforced themselves in positions at mass organizations and business associations.

Technically the way the mastery of mass organizations and business associations is undertaken, among other things, by helping to fund the election of leadership (regional congress) and "buying votes" of participants who have the voting rights to support and select candidates offered by Ratu Atut's family. This strategy, according to Boyke, is also done in contestation of leadership in several political parties in Banten, with the consequences of financial aid (debt service) that later must be paid when the big family needs political support. Under the control of family members, these mass organizations and business associations together become the political machinery in mobilizing public support and vote acquisition at every election.

(3) *Co-opting other elements* of civil society such as political parties, mass organizations, educational associations, NGOs, press, campus, pesantren, etc.) by providing funding (APBD grants and private funds) and social assistance for the activities and operations of the head/board organization, including funding the hajj and umroh trips of a number of scholars and community leaders of Banten. Irawan et al (2016: 78) stated that Ratu Atut has poured grant and social assistance, in the period of fiscal year 2009 amounted to 74 billion rupiah, in 2010 amounted to 290 billion rupiah, and in 2011 amounted to 391 billion rupiah. In the report of *Majalah Teras* (2011). This grant and social assistance fund, in addition to allegedly used for the cost for winning the gubernatorial election in 2011, is also intended as a mode of Ratu Atut to maintain the loyalty and political support of various elements of civil society. (Interview with Uday Suhada 16 October 2016 and Ali Nurdin). Referring to the article Hamid (2010), this co-optative pattern has been done by Ratu Atut at the time before the 2006 Gubernatorial election.

Another co-optation strategy is done by dividing government projects funded by local government funds (APBD). In this context entrepreneurs who obtain projects through Ratu Atut's policies executed by Chaeri Wardana (Wawan) are required to provide financial assistance to cronies in need for strategic activities in order to maintain the interests of the extended family.

(4) *Buying voters' votes at every election*, through the successful teams and networks it builds in all areas of Banten. Money politics is done in various ways and through various networks that are successfully coopted and even controlled, in addition of course through a successful team and organization formed specifically to win the candidates from the family environment Ratu Atut on every election or election.

There is one important organ that became the voter's machine for money politics strategy, *Relawan Banten Bersatu (RBB)* formed by the late Chasan Socihb (father of Ratu Atut) in May 2006. According to Suhada, RBB was originally formed with a special purpose to offset Tryana Syam'un (competitor of Atut Chosiyah-Masduki pair in Pilgub 2006. Since Atut succeeded in winning the election on 2006, RBB then expanded and strengthened its existence; and becomes a very important political machine in carrying out money politics strategy in every elections.

The Dynastie of Ratu Atut family step by step still remain strenght and even more expanding and develop, until finally came the catastrophe: Ratu Atut was sentenced to 4 years prison (then aggravated to 7 years by Supreme Court (MA)) for proven bribery to win the lawsuit Dispute over Election Result (PHPU) Lebak elections in 2013 with his Brother Wawan who was sentenced to 5 years in prison. At that time, many people suspected - or rather probably

hoped - that the Atut family's political dynasty would soon collapse and end. At least it will experience tremendous shock.

That expectations or forecasts are missed. Only ten days after the determination of the status of the suspect, precisely dated December 27, 2013, Tatu Chasanah, he younger sister was successfully elected as chairman of the DPD Golkar Party of Banten. This fact explains very plainly, that the power of Ratu Atut's political dynasty is still solid and not necessarily easily shaken. Then about two months later, on 21 February 2014, Tanto Warsono Arban, Ratu Atut's son-in-law is also inaugurated as Chairman of the DPD KNPI Banten Province, continuing the leadership of Aden Abdul Kholiq, the husband of Ratu Lilis Karyawati, the step sister of Ratu Atut.

The latest facts that can explain with a straightforward, how still solid and strong political dynasty Ratu Atut is the success of three members of his family won the simultaneous local head election on December 9, 2015 ago. They are Tatu Chasanah (younger sister), who was elected as Regent of Serang Regency; Airin Rachmy Diani (sister-in-law,) who was elected Mayor of South Tangerang; And Tanto Warsono Arban (son-in-law), who was elected to be Pandeglang Vice Regent. The dominance of Ratu Atut's family in this stage of electoral democracy was then completed with the success of Andhika (son as Vice Governor) accompanying Wahidin Halim as in the second round of the simultaneous local head election, which won the contestation of Banten Gubernatorial election.

Beside the ability to synergize the political support of the masses, the networks, and political strategies as described above, the success of Ratu Atut to expands, and develops her political dynasty also by the availability of material capital (financial resources). The following (**Table 3.3.1**) is the summary and development of the data of Ratu Atut's assets and several members of her extended family who occupy public office (Regional Head, Deputy Regional Head and Member of DPR / DPRD) based on the State Official Asset Reports (LHKPN) documents released by various media in 2013 during the process of investigation of Ratu Atut related to electoral bribery cases on 2013 (kompas.com., Detik.com., Viva.co.id) and it already confirmed in the database of the General Elections Commission (KPU) Banten.

**Table 4.5**  
**Summary of Data for Assets Developments of Ratu Atut Chosiyah Dynasty**  
**Based on LHKPN Document (In Billion Rupiah)**

No	Name	LHKPN 2006	LHKPN 2008	LHKPN 2009	LHKPN 2010	LHKPN 2011	LHKPN 2013
1	Atut Chosiyah	41,93	-	-	-	37,73	-
2	Hikmat Tomet	-	-	33,85	-	-	-
3	Andika Hazrumy	-	-	19.60	-	-	-
4	Tatu Chasanah	-	-	-	9.08	-	-
5	Tb. Khaerul Jaman	-	000	-	-	-	000
6	Airin Rachmi D	-	-	-	103, 94	-	-
7	Heryani	-	-	-	26,51	-	-

*Data is processed from various sources*

## **5. Conclusion and Recommendation**

### **5.1. Conclusion**

Based on the above descriptions and discussions, it can be concluded that the rise of political dynasties in Banten had begun since this region became an independent province, separated from West Java in 2000, when the powerful man of Banten, Chasan Sochib successfully posed his daughter, Ratu Atut Chosiyah as Vice Governor accompanied Governor Djoko Munandar in the Gubernatorial Election in 2001. However, the process of consolidating and strengthening the political dynasties, start after Ratu Atut replaced the position of Djoko Munandar as governor who was dismissed from his position in 2005 because of corruption cases.

The consolidation of the dynasty strengthened and even expanded, spread, and growth (proliferation) after Ratu Atut succeeded in winning the 2006 Gubernatorial Election. The proliferation of the dynasty took place not only in the arena of political life, but also spread in the arena of non-political life of the community, such as In the arena of business, social culture, youth, even religious organizations. In addition to successfully placing his family / relatives in political positions both the executive (Regional Head) and the legislative (Members of DPR and DPRD), Ratu Atut also successfully spread and placed her family and relatives in positions of political parties, business associations, Social, and youth organization in Banten Province.

Ratu Atut's success in consolidating and extending her dynastic power network is

supported by various political strategies. Some of these strategies, among others, take care of the loyalty of its supporters through various forms of grant aid facilities, projects etc; Exercising full control over the bureaucracy through the process of recruitment and transfer of officials within the Provincial Government of Banten; Mastering business associations, social and educational organizations, sports, and youth organizations; Co-opting elements of other civil society such as political parties, mass organizations, educational associations, NGOs, press, campuses, school, etc. by providing funds (APBD grants and private funds; and buy voters' votes in every election.

## **5.2. Recommendation**

Some important suggestions to be recommended regarding the study of the proliferation phenomenon of political dynasty in Banten are as follows:

*Firstly*, to reduce and / or impede the process of expanding dynastic practices in the area with serious, comprehensive, systematic, and of course, legal, either through legislative instruments or through public political education processes that are expected to foster awareness of potential adverse impacts of the dynastic in socio-political life in the region and the importance of civilian control over the power of local government.

*Secondly*, to hamper the rise of political dynasties and its proliferation symptoms in the regions also need to be done on the upstream side of the electoral process, by strengthening the institutionalization of political parties in the regions and enhancing the integrity of its elites in such a way that it is not easy to get caught in transactional political with local capitalmen (local strongmen, local bossis) who have practically controlled the process of candidacy and election event for the benefit of family and oligarchh own group.

*Third*, to map more sharply and comprehensively related to the dynastic proliferation symptoms, further research and study is important and necessary, especially in order to detect and map the negative impacts of dynastic practice and its proliferation in different regions.

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