

POLITICAL DYNASTY IN BANTEN: IMPROVEMENT OR THREAT TO DEMOCRACY *

Jerry Indrawan¹, Hermina S², M. Prakoso Aji³

^{1,2,3} Universitas Pembangunan Nasional Veteran, Jakarta
Email: jerry.indrawan@upnvj.ac.id

Abstract

In many developing countries, namely in South East Asia, political leaderships are marked by numerous hereditary systems, also include Indonesia. Banten is the writers selected region as a research subject in this writing. The former Governor of Banten, Ratu Atut Chosiyah, has relatives in seven regencies and cities all across Banten, including national scale, in such creates her own political dynasty. This paper are about to answer two questions and reveal some close facts to discuss in Indonesia related to political dynasty. Does this hereditary systems works well in serving the people's need? Does political dynasty close other people opportunity to run for public offices as well? If this so, political dynasty will be a threat for ongoing Indonesian democratic practices, especially bureaucratic reform efforts. Research method is done through qualitative descriptive with literature study to gain data and information required. The conclusion of this writing is that political dynasty do more harm than give benefit and it would definitely endanger the lives of local democracy. In terms of public service, little advantages received from this sort of practices.

Keywords: Political Dynasty, Public Service, Governance Reform, and Local Democracy

Abstrak

Di banyak negara-negara berkembang, terutama di Asia Tenggara, kepemimpinan politik ditandai dengan cukup banyaknya sistem keturunan, termasuk di Indonesia. Banten menjadi daerah yang penulis pilih sebagai subjek kajian dalam tulisan ini. Mantan Gubernur Banten, Ratu Atut Chosiyah, memiliki keluarga di dalam tujuh kabupaten dan kota di seluruh Banten, termasuk juga di tingkat nasional, sehingga menciptakan dinasti politiknya sendiri. Tulisan ini akan menjawab dua pertanyaan dan mengungkapkan fakta-fakta terkait dinasti politik yang jarang dibahas di Indonesia. Pertama, apakah sistem keturunan dalam politik mampu bekerja dengan baik dalam melayani kebutuhan masyarakat? Kedua, apakah dinasti politik menutup kesempatan masyarakat biasa untuk mencalonkan diri dalam jabatan-jabatan publik? Apabila iya, dinasti politik akan menjadi ancaman bagi praktik-praktik demokrasi yang sedang berjalan di Indonesia, khususnya usaha-usaha reformasi birokrasi. Metode penelitian dilakukan secara kualitatif deskriptif dengan studi pustaka untuk mendapatkan data dan informasi yang dibutuhkan. Kesimpulan dari tulisan ini adalah dinasti politik lebih banyak menghasilkan kerugian dibandingkan keuntungan, serta pastinya mengancam kelangsungan hidup dari demokrasi lokal. Dalam konteks pelayanan publik, keuntungan yang didapatkan sangat kecil dari praktek-praktek seperti ini.

Kata Kunci: Dinasti Politik, Pelayanan Publik, Reformasi Birokrasi, dan Demokrasi Lokal

* This article has been revised and updated from the previous article, "The Rise of Political Dynasty in Indonesian Local Government: Improvement for Public Services or Threat to Local Democracy", that was presented at the World Conference for Public Administration (WCPA) of the Korea Association for Public Administration (KAPA), on June 25th to 27th. 2014, in Daegu, Korea.

I. INTRODUCTION

Since the country's liberty from authoritarian ruler (President Soeharto) in 1998, Indonesia faces more democratic ways of living. Changes made in every sector, including two most important, political and bureaucratic systems. Election procedures were changed, and bureaucracy has been reformed in a manner of serving people, instead, to use as a tool to oppress people. For the last sixteen years, Indonesia has undergone a rapid alteration from centralize autocracy, towards effectiveness and efficiency in political and bureaucratic system. The transformation of the public service paradigm has altered from serving authority (bureaucrats), into costumer (people) services. Everyone also has the opportunity to implement their civil and political rights in order to be elected to public offices, locally or nationally. Such atmosphere delivers hope and great expectations for the country's future, especially after Soeharto's thirty-two years of terrifying authoritarian regime that nearly brought this country to its doom.

In developing countries, namely in South East Asia, political leaderships are marked by numerous hereditary systems, also include Indonesia. For example, there is a Marcos's family in the Philippines, Shinawatra's family in Thailand, and Lee Kuan Yew's family in Singapore. In Indonesia, the first President was President Soekarno, who fought against the Dutch colonial forces. Sukarno's daughter, Megawati Sukarnoputri, was the fifth President of Indonesia. She is also credited to be the country's only female president and the first Indonesian leader to be born after Indonesia got their independence. Megawati's sisters, Rachmawati and Sukmawati have tried their luck in stepping into politics as well. The current, Megawati's daughter Puan Maharani is now taking the role as Chairman of the House of Representatives (DPR).

Next is the Suharto's family. Suharto was the second President of Indonesia, who ruled the country as a military dictator for 32 years. Siti Hardiyanti Rukmana, the eldest daughter of Suharto and commonly known as Tutut, has served as the deputy chairperson of the Golkar party, as a Social Affairs Minister in 1998 and was a 2004 candidate for the presidential election. For decades, the Golkar party was Suharto's political vehicle, but after his death, his youngest son Hutomo Tommy Mandala Putra failed to win the bid for being the party's chairperson. In 2019, Tommy runs for president through Berkarya Party, but failed. The party does not even able to reach the parliamentary threshold required. The once powerful "Cendana clan" is now facing tough times, surviving in Indonesia's political scene.

The last, is the Wahid's Family. Abudrahman "Gus Dur" Wahid was the fourth President of

Indonesia, a leader of Nahdlatul Ulama, the founder of the National Awakening Party (PKB) and the first elected president of Indonesia. Salahuddin Wahid from the Wahid family also ran in the 2004 presidential election as vice-presidential candidate. His daughter, Yenny Wahid, is one of the most promising young leaders in Indonesia, and presumably will join his father's footsteps in running for presidency in coming years. His nephew, current Chairman of PKB, Muhaimin Iskandar, is also acting as Vice Chairman of DPR.

Following Soeharto's downfall in May 1998, political reformers moved to end the "Soeharto's dynasty" by imposing a two-term limit on the presidency and divesting power from Jakarta to the regions under a decentralization program. Ironically, the reforms also paved the way for the rise of political dynasties in the regions. Due to the democratic freedom, everyone has the opportunity to run for public offices.

The new mechanism in conducting direct election for local government brings forth family business conglomeration into political contestation. Soon, after winning local elections, "the family business" has spread to occupy every public sector of the local government. In some cases, this hereditary family business, expand their influence to another region, although usually still in the same province. For example, the Governor of Banten Province, Ratu Atut Chosiyah, has relatives in all ten regencies and municipalities all across Banten. This includes in national scale, for example her late husband that was a member of the House of Representatives (DPR) from 2009-2014. Moreover, the family was estimated to have control over more than 50% of businesses in that province (Kumpanan, 2018).

The Chosiyahs are the family members of late Chasan Sochib, a business entrepreneur and community leader in Banten. Ratu Atut Chosiyah, Chasan's daughter and the current governor of Banten, is the most prominent in this family. The writers manage to compile from various sources, data regarding family members that were able to sit in public offices, they are:

1. Andika Hazrumy, Atut's son, member of Regional Representative Council (DPD) from Banten, 2009 - 2014 and current Vice Governor of Banten.
2. Hikmat Tomet, Atut's husband, Member of DPR from Golkar party, from 2009-2014. Tomet died in 2013.
3. Ade Rosi Chaerunnisa, Atut's daughter-in-law, member of Serang Legislatives Council (DPRD Serang) and Vice Chairman of Banten Province Legislative Council (DPRD Banten). Current Member of DPR from 2019-2024, serve in Commission III.

4. Ratu Tatu Chasanah, Atut's daughter, Regent of Serang, from 2016-2021.
5. Airin Rachmy Diani, Atut's sister-in-law, Mayor of South Tangerang.
6. Tubagus Haerul Jaman, Atut's brother, former Mayor of Serang and currently serves as a Member of DPR from Golkar party from 2019-2024.
7. Aden Abdul Khaliq, Atut's brother-in-law, former member of Banten Legislative Council (DPRD Banten), from 2009-2013.
8. Heryani Yuhana, Atut's step mother, former member of Pandeglang Legislative Council (DPRD Pandeglang), from 2009-2014.
9. Ratna Komalasari, Atut's step mother, former member of Serang Legislative Council (DPRD Serang), from 2009-2014.
10. Ratu Ella Syatibi, Atut's cousin, former member of Banten Legislative Council (DPRD Banten), from 2009-2014.
11. Andiara Aprilia Hikmat, Atut's daughter, Member of Regional Representative Council (DPD) from Banten, 2019-2024.
12. Tanto Warsono Arban, Andiara husband, Vice Regent of Pandeglang, from 2016-2021.

Ratu Atut had been able to use her position to cement her family's hold over politics in Banten in just around 10 years. According to local newspaper reports, she mobilized government department heads, sub-district heads, village heads and teachers to support the candidacy of family members in the run-up to the elections (Detiknews, 2018).



Picture 1
Map of Banten Province

In terms of bureaucracy, the implementation of public service in Banten has been impaired due to Atut's dynasty. Her leadership proven to be an obstacle for local democracy in Banten, not to mention public administration.

Leadership really does matter in shaping the character and quality of public services. Leaders

give meaning to the people within the organizations they lead, and are role models for coping with particular circumstances and creating a dynamic environment. Unfortunately, although policymakers speak of its importance, leadership discourse and development is eclipsed by political and legal hysteria in Indonesia. Key policy and decision makers in this country still maintain a paradigm that leadership is about power, formal or legal authority, status, and position (Nugroho, 2011: 132).

Leadership is about making a difference, spreading influence through inspiration, having and sharing visions, promoting goals and values that shape character as well as spirit, and about learning and growing in sustainable ways. Neither the public nor government officials seem to embrace such meaning. Government officials need strategic minds to respond to vigorous change in their environment. In many cases they are simply unready, unwilling or incapable. The paradigm, in place for decades, is absolute compliance to regulations, decrees and bureaucratic procedures that they themselves have set up. The bureaucratic system in the country has directly or indirectly built a comfort zone for their working style (Nugroho, 2011: 132).

Meanwhile, the understanding of public administration within the meaning of bureaucracy has become a traditional view of understanding public administration. Bureaucracy only meant as a civil servant. The study of bureaucracy is not only focused on the behavior, but rather to a formal order, considering the direction of the studies is to understand bureaucratic formal structure rather than bureaucratic behavior (Nugroho, 2011: 132-133).

Bureaucracy is a very strong institution with the ability to increase the potential capacities towards good or bad things in its existence as a neutral instrument of rational administration on a large scale. In modern society, where there are so many routine and regular administrative businesses, bureaucracy in practice is described as civil servants (Nugroho, 2011: 132-133).

Leaders role in public policy are vital, so it can be said that without a leader, and good leadership, public policy will be in vain. Unfortunately, such leadership cannot be found in Banten during Atut's regime.

George Frederickson added, that new public administration seeks not only to carry out legislative mandates as efficiency and economically possible, but to both influence and execute policies which more generally improve the quality of life for all (Frederickson, 1971: 314). the quality of life could also mean an equal chance to compete for public offices. The practices of political dynasty definitely withhold that opportunity.

This writing is about to answer two questions and reveal some close facts reluctant to discuss in Indonesia related to political dynasty. First, does this hereditary system works well in serving the people's need? Nevertheless, they are public officials, required to provide public services, instead of controlling only local businesses to enrich themselves. Second, does political dynasty hamper the opportunity to run for public office for ordinary citizens? If yes, then political dynasty will be a threat to ongoing Indonesian democratic practices, especially bureaucratic reform efforts.

II. RESEARCH METHOD

This study uses qualitative methods, namely research procedures that produce descriptive data in the form of written or oral words of the person being observed. The research design is done descriptively to explain the problem in this study because this method is a research that makes a picture of events to describe systematically, factually, and accurately about the fact, nature, and the relation between the studied phenomena. (Moelong, 2001: 3). In this case, is the relation is a whether political dynasty in Banten brought progress to public services and whether political dynasty itself is a threat to local democracy.

Descriptive research designs can also be interpreted as problem solving procedures that are investigated by describing the state of the research subject, namely the political dynasty in Banten, based on facts that appear or as they are (Nawawi, 1997: 63). The author conducted the literature study process by visiting various libraries (library research) and collecting primary data through written materials in various forms, which are expected to facilitate the authors in conducting this research.

III. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Definition of Political Dynasty

In short, political dynasty could mean family or group that maintains power for several generations. The problem with political dynasty is that the leader is always from the same family. The writers founds very rare information that leaders come from political dynasty can be a good role model for their people. Usually, they tend to misuse their power, for example Governor's Atut corruption scandal, used to be a major headline in almost every newspaper in Indonesia, even abroad (Berita 2 Bahasa, 2013).

After twenty-two years of reformation, people are concerned about the resurface of political dynasty post-Soeharto regime in Indonesia. According to political analyst from the Indonesian Institute of Science (LIPI), Siti Zuhro, currently

there are two elements that affect government, which are the role model and political dynasty. Further, Siti agrees that Indonesian leadership must base on role model elements. Leaders with outstanding personality like Indonesian first president, Soekarno, must be a role model for others to follow (Tempo, 2013).

A somewhat different view was delivered by politicians. First, from Indonesian Democratic Party Struggle (PDIP), Firman Jaya Daeli, stating that political dynasty is not a crime, but must be under strict control, to be run as it should. He added, not all Indonesian are aware of political openness, that is why we need more time to develop our way of democracy. Second, the opinion from Golkar Party politicians, Indra Jaya Piliang, mention that political dynasty should not be debated because political dynasty is a part of Indonesia from a very long time ago, since the time of the empire. However, the existence of the dynasty should not have a negative impact on politics (MNC Trijaya, 2013).

In the United States, The Washington Post once called, the word "dynasty" in U.S. politics in equal terms with the word "dirty". A survey research in the U.S. shows that political dynasty does more harm than give benefit. Their respondent expresses their unsympathetic tendency towards politicians from certain dynasty. Voters appreciate politicians who appear on the political stage that comes not from the generation of famous or well-known people (Snyder, Ansolabehere, & Snowberg, 2006: 469). Other findings indicate that the longer a politician stands in the political arena, they have strong tendency to build a political dynasty of their own or continue the political dynasty that they already had. In James Snyder research, many U.S. politicians comes from political dynasty have a poor experience in office before. Their intention to serve the public in this case is very much questionable (Snyder, Ansolabehere, & Snowberg, 2006: 474).

It is very interesting actually to have a deeper observation regarding to the effects of this hereditary system in terms of improving public services. Is the domination of public sectors, whom they control, will increase the effectiveness, or slowly torn them to pieces? People usually do not give much attention to this issue, because typical Indonesian people who are less active in fighting for their rights. According to the writers, there are still many Indonesian, especially living in rural areas like Banten for instance, has been passive when it comes to political issues.

According to Indonesian public policy expert, Riant Nugroho, the direction of a good policy decision is a policy that provides benefits for public majority, rather than a small fraction of it. However, such policy is easy on the paper, but the implementation is very difficult. Political elites are

the decision maker, and their policy are usually benefits them only, instead public majority (Nugroho, 2009: 321).

The number of political dynasties in Indonesia would definitely endanger the lives of democracy. Most people only have intelligence, but not hereditary advantages. Intellectual people should have an equal opportunity to be a leader. That is the essence of local autonomy when everyone's full potential is expanded to a certain degree, allowing them to participate in a fair political process. Civil society can only be born into a community that is able to actively participate in a political process. According to Amitai Etzioni, participation is related to the process of human liberations. If democracy faced limitations, so that only those who have the power feudalistic who can fight, then democracy honestly have lost its dignity (Etzioni, 1967: 389).

Public Service in Banten

In this section we will see how public service being managed by the local government, and whether it operates in perfect manner. As we mentioned above, former Governor of Banten, Ratu Atut Chosiyah, has relatives in almost all regions within the province, even in national level. She established a political dynasty in Banten by putting her families to be in charge of most local government offices throughout Banten. That is why this writing will focus more on her dynasty in Banten and the effects to public services and local democracy. We will first take a look at the two most important sectors in public service, which are health and welfare.

With poor access to primary care and health centers, people, particularly living in remote areas still tend to have home delivery with attendance from traditional birth helpers or *paraji*. In many cases, local communities considered a traditional birth attendant as an inseparable part of the social and cultural life of the community they belonged to. Ongoing employment of traditional birth attendants has led to a high rate of maternal deaths due to their hazardous and unhygienic traditional practices and the absence of a referral system (Dinas Kesehatan Kabupaten Pandeglang, 2013).

Pandeglang is one of eight regencies and municipalities in Banten, which was separated from West Java and became an autonomous province in 2000. After more than 10 years in an autonomy era, many Banten residents still live under the poverty line. Pandeglang represent such condition. Physical infrastructure and public service are relatively underdeveloped. According to Banten Statistics Agency, the number of poor people in the province reached 656.243 as of March, up 7.989 people from that was officially reported in September 2012. Banten is one of 20 provinces that have the highest number of infant

and maternal deaths, according to the Health Ministry (The Jakarta Post, 2013).

Insufficient information about their pregnancy and limited access to maternity care in health facilities due to economic difficulties is blamed for the greater risks of pregnancy-associated deaths among women in Banten. Poor coverage of comprehensive prenatal counseling is, in particular, deemed responsible for high maternal deaths in the province. Over the 474 maternal deaths that occurred in Banten in 2006, 45 percent resulted from delays in deciding to seek medical help when complications developed (The Jakarta Post, 2013).

Pandeglang, together with Lebak, are known as two of the poorest regencies in Banten and highly contributes to the high maternal rate in the province. According to official data, 45 women in Pandeglang died during and following pregnancy and childbirth in 2012 while 262 babies died on the day of birth in the same year (The Jakarta Post, 2013). According to Pandeglang Head of Health Service, Iskandar, 90% of maternal deaths is due to child birth. This is because most of them can not afford birth with proper medical care 85% of women in the regency received help from trained health workers during child birth last year, while the remainder still gave birth at home with the help of traditional birth attendants. Traditional birth attendants are still favored by many people in Pandeglang although they often lack the right skills needed for helping deliveries (Dinas Kesehatan Kabupaten Pandeglang, 2013). With home births, 20% of obstetric emergencies could not be handled properly. Moreover, many traditional birth attendants did not know or realize that their birthing practices are harmful to health, saying that they have practiced them for generations (Bulletin of the World Health Organization, 2009).

There are 163 out of 763 traditional birth attendants have still refused to participate in the Midwives-Traditional Birth Attendants Collaboration Program, which was rolled out by the Pandeglang administration to reduce health implications of traditional birthing practices in 2007. Agus Lukman Hakim, a lecturer of public administration at the Banten Public Administration School (STIA), said it was a pity to see Banten having such poor quality of health care services as under the regional autonomy; the local administrations had been supported by huge funding to improve their people's quality of life. "There's no excuse for the Banten administration not be able to provide safe and quality health care. This isn't about money. It's more about how they spend the budget properly," said Agus. Banten has allocated 6 percent of its provincial budget to the health sector annually (Dinas Kesehatan Kabupaten Pandeglang, 2013).

Although the allocated budget is below 10 percent as mandated in the Act. No. 36/2009 on health, Banten's health budget has surpassed the national average of 2.1 percent. Only Rp 620.79 million (US\$54,671) was allocated for infant and maternal health in Pandeglang last year, down from Rp 623.31 million in 2012. It's quite a small amount of money concerning to the fact that we have 35 districts and 36 community health centers. Inefficient and inappropriate spending, which is caused by weak budgetary processes has dogged progress in the health sector (Bulletin of the World Health Organization, 2009).

Furthermore, the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) found irregularities in the procurement of medical equipment directly involving Banten Governor Ratu Atut Chosiyah. This finding has also revealed Banten's corrupt health sector, and also another evidence that political dynasty is not in line with public service improvement in Banten. It is very frustrating to see people are lacking access to health care services, while some individuals with power find it so easy to access funds for their own personal interests. In the end, create a dynasty of their own. Atut herself was sentenced to five and a half years prison in 2017.

After discussing on public service in Banten, in general (Indonesia), after a decade of decentralization (1999-2009), 235 new autonomous regions (DOB) have been created, namely seven provinces (including Banten), 194 regencies and 34 municipalities. In contrast, during 54 years of the pre-regional autonomy period, only 319 autonomous regions were formed. If the central objective of regional autonomy was to accelerate development and improve the welfare of local people, then it has been a failure. The policy has led to more dependence on the part of new regions to the central government for resources because of the former's poor management and lack of skills (The Jakarta Post, 2014).

According to the writers, Regional autonomy has also failed to streamline the bureaucratic and administrative process because many operational matters remain under the control of the central government. It has become quite obvious that, in many cases, short-term interests have hijacked regional autonomy and have (mis)used it to boost their power and, hence, access to resources. One of the causes is the formation of a political dynasty throughout those regions. Democratic atmosphere opens up a great opportunity for every citizen to participate in public sectors, including creating their own family dynasty once they're in power.

Furthermore, in 1999, decentralization and local autonomy were introduced in Indonesia to enhance public services and improve local government accountability and transparency. After more than two decades, people (mostly poor) live

just outside the capital, like in Banten, still finds it difficult to acquire access to health service and equal education opportunities, although the larger budget allocation is given by the central government to develop local revenue.

Banten is one of the 20 provinces with the highest number of maternal and infant mortality rates, according to the Ministry of Health. Banten receives average ratings by the National Development Planning Agency (Bappenas) in 2012, based on the Human Development Index, which measures progress in health, education, and income in the entire 33 provinces in Indonesia. Banten advancement is up to 5.85%, compared to 6.25% of national average (Pattiro Banten, 2013).

Quality health services is considered luxurious in most part in Banten. This is a bad irony, because in fact the central government has a policy to increase the regional transfer funds (*Dana Transfer Daerah*) every year. According to the National Development Planning Agency, fiscal transfer to local government to reduce regional and national fiscal imbalance, known as Balancing Funds, comprised mostly of local revenue or average of 74.15% from 2007-2012 provincial budgets. At the provincial level, the local revenue reached 36.1% from total provincial budgets in 2012. Meanwhile, in cities and regencies level, the local revenue only contributed an average of 7.6% (Pattiro Banten, 2013).

It shows that local government in Banten is very dependent to central government fiscal transfer. During 2010 to 2013, funds transfer to Banten was also increased to 15.7% per year. Public service, particularly health care, does not reflect the significant increase in budget allocation. This is because most of the spending is allocated to official expenditure, such as salary, allowance, and welfare (Pattiro Banten, 2013).

There are only 0.14% of Banten's local health budgets allocated to maternal and infant health. Last year, about 620 million rupiahs from total 116 billion rupiahs, was allocated to maternal and infant health in Pandeglang Regency. Local health officials said that this amount of funds is definitely far from adequate for Pandeglang. Even worse, this minimum budget also happens in infrastructure sector, which is running very slow. Damaged roads, especially in rainy season, shows how badly transportation access is considered as one of the most vital public services, supposed to be well provided by the local government. Poor qualities of road impede people's access to health services. Many women died in childbirth before reaching the clinic (*Puskesmas*) (Pattiro Banten, 2013).

Spending for local officials contribute 40% of the total local budget, and always increases every year, at least according to our findings, until last year. Even though the rise in spending for local officials happens every year, the ratio usually not

more than 5%. This condition shows that local government bureaucratic policy still benefits themselves, not the people they supposed to serve. To conclude, Pandeglang's Deputy Regent, Heryani, is Ratu Atut stepmother. She is in charge since 2011, and according to my opinion, she brought minimum changes for public service, we can see it by the number of budgets allocated to the health sector in her regency (Pattiro Banten, 2013).

Banten provincial government must improve their performance in government management, by implementing government reform in all sectors. In the area of financial management, they need to put forward the principles of transparency and accountability, put priorities on local spending, increase the professionalism of personnel and bureaucracy, also working closely together with other provinces for the sake of improvement.

According to Indonesian Ombudsman, Banten Office, there are ten reports came from various cities/regencies in Banten related to maladministration practices throughout 2018. During this period, poor public services dominate public complaints sent to Ombudsman office. Head of Ombudsman Banten Office, Ranthy Pancasasti, said that, "the reports include illegal fees, service protracted, suspected fraud, to abuse of authority. Suspicion of maladministration occurred in a number of institutions, such as hospitals, State Power Company (PLN), Regional Working Units (SKPD), Local Parliament, to the Regional Police (*Polda*)." Ranthy added, "although only ten reports, but one report often represents many people, and many public interests as well" (The Jakarta Post, 2018).

Overall, the data presented here regarding to public service in Banten supports the research purpose. The research result indicate that lack of public service are in line with the ongoing practices of political dynasty. Therefore, has become a threat to democracy, especially in Banten.

Improvement or Threat for Democracy

After observing on several cases of public service in Banten, the problem lies in whether Atut's political dynasty brought improvement in her province, or instead becomes threat for local democracy. Since 2013, Atut's family must deal with legal problems on several occasions. One of the examples, that on November 2013, the KPK declared Tubagus Chaeri Wardana, who is a businessman and Governor Banten Ratu Atut younger brother, as one of three corruption suspect accused of corruption in the procurement of medical equipment for South Tangerang City Community Health Centers (*Puskesmas*). The project itself worths 23 billion rupiahs. Eventually, in the end of last year, Governor Atut follows her younger brother's footsteps as a suspect for money

laundering and corruption in Banten General Hospital health equipment (Republika, 2014).

South Tangerang is where Tubagus's wife, Airin Rachmi Diany, served as mayor. This is another evidence of Atut's family control over money circulation in Banten and the use of local businesses to enrich themselves. They often use local government projects, usually related to public services because that is where funding are mostly substantial (Kontan, 2013). They use their power to fix the budget for their own interest and only leave a small portion for the people. If this so, of course, there is only minimum improvement happens in Banten in terms of public service.

Moreover, after winning local elections, "the family businesses" has spread to occupy every public sector of the local government. In some cases, this hereditary family business, expand their influence to another region, although usually still in the same province. For example, Atut has relatives in seven regencies and municipalities all across Banten, including national scale. Moreover, they control more than 50% of businesses in that province (Kumparan, 2015).

If this condition continues, and above explanation about how Banten runs their public services, political dynasty will be a threat to ongoing Indonesian democratic practices, especially bureaucratic reform efforts. Good governance program in Indonesia relies on strong democratic culture build through equality in terms of political treatment. Political monopoly is not allowed, especially using power to manipulate the implementation of local democracy.

In general terms, as a responds to this so called "threat to democracy", there are parameter to assess the implementation of democracy in a single country. Similar methods are used in terms of measuring economic development of world countries. A high reputation international agency, based in Stockholm, namely the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA) classify six frameworks to assess democracy. The first framework focuses on how profound and comprehensive human rights enforcement was being conducted. This is mostly done by the United States and institutions come from that country. The second framework puts priority on governance, including elections, but especially in law enforcement (rule of law) and accountability (Beetham, Carvalho, Landman, & Weir, 2008: 49).

Such studies in Indonesia are often sponsored by government agencies and colleagues, such as the Indonesian Partnership for Governance Reform, in order to evaluate institutional development. In the case of Banten Province, the political dynasty of Atut's family makes bureaucratic reforms run ineffectively. The data on how Banten considered to be unsuccessful in terms

of bureaucratic reforms, related to political dynasty, has already presented. Therefore, the writers conclude that political dynasty is definitely a threat to local democracy, especially their implementation. Monopoly happened in Banten, in almost every sector, proves to be a stumbling block for ordinary Banten citizens to run for public offices.

The third framework refers to the democracy index related to democratic rights and independent factors, such as development and conflict. The fourth framework, consist of democratic audit model conducted by government agencies, scholars, non-government organization to evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of various dimensions of democracy. And the fifth framework is an assessment of the government economic and social conditions and international organizations to evaluate the achievement of democracy. Similar to some democratic audit methods and IDEA frameworks, one crucial thing is the separation between democratic aims democratic means. As expressed by David Beetham, disagreements about democracy are primarily concerned with means, while there is general agreement on the goals of democracy, which is the people's control over public affairs, on the basis of political equality (Beetham, 1999: 61).

First of all, we have to question which people (*demos*) have the ability to control the power. Does *demos* only based on religion, ethnicity, political identity, or family? Secondly, we also need to ask what can be classified as public affairs, by so must be controlled by the people. In addition, from the context of local government, one family could monopolize public offices, and in the end creating a local dynasty. Beetham added, the following are included as intrinsic elements: right and capability to participate and accepted as representatives, and executives; two state institutions (legislative and executive) represent the people's interest and fair composition; and responsive to people's need, which all requires good public transparency (Tornquist, 2009: 28-29). Without public transparency, Atut's family political dynasty is a serious threat to the development and practices of local democracy in Banten, and we cannot rely on improvement then.

Interesting to view Willy Purna Samadhi's opinion, a researcher from the Institute of Democracy and Human Rights Studies (Demos), related to local democracy. It says that in local election, people in Indonesia tend to have vote based on identity, such as same origin, tribes, religion, and also represent non-nationalist sentiments. Voters are more interested in primordial self-identification rather than national identity. Issues on native candidates, refers to the genealogical relationship to a certain place or culture, even to the religious background of the

candidates themselves, are considered to be decisive for voters to determine their preferences, rather than nation-state concept as a basis for political choice (Samadhi, 2009: 77).

Politics based on nationality is not yet formed as a base for advance democracy in Indonesia. People still affiliate themselves in cultural entity based on religious, tribal, local, kinship, and communitarian relations. Such practices nourish one family dominations in local democracy, making Atut's dynasty continue to grow. We think that people in Banten are not too enthusiastic with democratic programs or agenda. Primordial bond has always a preference for them, whereas through their programs that public office candidate holds accountable by their voters. In this case, political dynasty will definitely not give an improvement for public service, instead it will only make it worst. Moreover, they become a threat to democracy because local politics are done not through transparency, but hereditary.

In a broader context, corruption and lack of budget are identified as the main cause of slow progress in public service. However, public services in all over the country are being carried out by local governments. No matter how efficient Jakarta's programs for bureaucratic reform are, local governments are the implementors. The reality gives us that fact, especially after the commencement of the local autonomy era.

After the enactment of Act No. 32, 2004 on Local Government (previously Act. No. 22, 1999), local governments at provincial, regency and city level has the authority to arrange and determine their own government affairs, and also to appoint local bureaucratic officials (Thoha, 2009: 47). Local governments are the spearhead of public policy. If the practice of public policy is like we have seen in Banten, the new president must come up with strategies to deal with it.

According to the writers, local political dynasty will be an obstacle for that strategy. Improvement in public service that goes alongside bureaucratic reform will certainly threat their existence. There will be no more connivance, collusion, corruption, even conspiracy among local officials, especially in the same family, to play around with public funds for their own interest. Like we all have witnessed through media broadcasting, one by one local official must face KPK for their crime in misusing their authority.

Also, political dynasty in local context, has grown in a way threatening democratic values, that this country trying for the last 22 years, to embrace it fully. That is why in our opinion, political dynasty in Indonesia is a paradox. On one hand, Indonesia has practiced democracy, but on the other hand democracy has also fostered political dynasty. Indonesian political life cannot be separated from political culture. Meanwhile, Indonesian culture is

very much patronage. Not just in bureaucratic system, but also in a political party. It is very difficult to improve public service, governance reform, and democracy if the Indonesian political system, at all levels, still undergone such practices.

According to the writers experience, political dynasty has been practiced in Indonesia for a very long time. Therefore, the dynasty has become cultural among the people. That is why it is imperative to prevent it from being structurally embedded inside our political system. We also have to prevent political dynasties from influencing people in an improper manner. For that matter, the idea of a prohibition against political dynasties is essential to prevent one family from controlling political power. Based on democratic ideals, political power should be dispersed as much as possible among everyone. It can widen the political base or the political opportunities for everyone to run for public offices with a better chance of winning. If this happens, improvements will be possible. Comprehensive alteration of our local election act will be a good solution to practice it.

Nevertheless, the writers believe the ultimate objective in cleaning the local election process, especially in Banten, is to make sure that an elective office is accessible to all, whether rich or poor. However, if we are going to say that in order to democratize we will have to disqualify someone, of course it does not sound right. Everyone have the rights to give votes and be elected in local election, no matter the person has a family connection with the previous local officials.

Their must also be policy control mechanism from the central government, conducted directly from the president or by the Ministry of Home Affairs. Policy evaluation is a post-action after the policy implementation. In developing countries like here, policy is advised to controlled rather than being monitored and evaluated, as the political turbulence, inconsistency of the administration, and the challenge towards discipline and integrity of the policy actors tend to make any policy to become derailed policy. This policy actors refers to local officials comes from political dynasty, because their policy making process is usually poor and tend to create bad policy.

Policy controlling consists of three dimensions. The first is policy monitoring. Monitoring is to observe, supervise, and look-over with certain kind and level of valuation to oversee that the implementation is concurrent to the formulated policy. The second is policy evaluation regarding to the valuation of performance to the intended or planned objectives after it was fully implemented. And the third is policy rewarding (or punishment) is to provide reward and punishment on policy performance or failure as the result of policy evaluation. Changes in our policy regarding to local election act are essential to put into effect

prohibition towards political dynasty (Nugroho, 2012: 216).

Monitoring is to “watch and to check over a period of time”. The objective is to prevent the implementation from deviation, mistake, and delay. Policy monitoring also aims to ensure that implementation is in accordance with the formula, design, objective of the policy, and to achieve the intended performance. The other aim of policy monitoring is to create “early warning system” to pledge that the implementation is carried out as it was intended (Nugroho, 2012: 218). Beside monitoring, the Home Affairs must also conduct policy evaluation. Policy evaluation is a comprehensive valuation toward overall policy processes and context. The objective of policy evaluation is to value the gap of difference between hope and performance, and then finding a way to close the gap (Nugroho, 2012: 222-223).

This is very important because public policy is dangerous to become “a taste of the regime” than to be accountable to public life. In his case, it might also happen in local government, especially with political dynasty in power. Public policy presents the living context. Changing society requires changing policy.

Policy evaluation is an instrument to review whether a policy shall be continued, revised, or terminated. Policy evaluation will provide the guiding compass to where the policy direction shall go. Hence, policy evaluation will tell our leaders on what sort of policy change action they need to take in the short, medium, and long run. Therefore, the writers conclude that political dynasty is a threat to democracy.

IV. CONCLUSION

Governor of Banten, Ratu Atut Chosiyah, has relatives in almost all regions within the province, even in national level. She established a political dynasty in Banten by putting her families to be in charge of most local government offices throughout Banten. Political dynasty could mean family or group that maintains power for several generations. The problem with political dynasty is that the leader is always from the same family. Political dynasty does more harm than gives benefit because based on the writer research in Banten, public service is still a big issue there.

The number of political dynasties in Indonesia would definitely endanger the lives of local democracy. Most people only have brains, but not hereditary advantages. Intellectual people should have an equal opportunity to be a leader. That is the essence of local autonomy, when everyone’s full potential is expanded to a certain degree, allowing them to participate in a fair political process. Civil society can only be born into a

community that is able to actively participate in a political process.

This research concluded that political dynasty in Banten Province does not have a significant impact on the improvement of public service, nor local democracy. On the contrary, Atut's dynasty poses a threat to the practices of good governance and democracy. In theory, democratic atmosphere should open up a great opportunity for every citizen to participate in public sectors. Unfortunately, it's also able to form a family dynasty once someone already in power. There must be a quick and effective solution in order to prevent such dynasty to take full control of local government in Indonesia, and use it for their own interest, instead of the people.

The research shortcomings are lack of sufficient data, mainly on the implementation of public service in Banten. The writers also finds it difficult to conduct an interview to public officials in Banten, mostly due to the sensitive issue about political dynasty. Future research areas should be in various provinces, cities, or regencies throughout Indonesia. Based on general observations, political dynasty also occurring in many places in Indonesia. Hence, further research about this topic is recommended.

V. REFERENCES

- Beetham, D., Carvalho, E., Landman, T., & Weir, S. (2008). *Assessing the Quality of Democracy: A practical Guide*. Stockholm: International IDEA.
- Beetham, D. (1999). *Democracy and Human Rights*. Oxford: Polity Press.
- Berita 2 Bahasa. (21 December 2013). Ratu Atut Chosiyah Jadi Berita Utama di Mancanegara. Online: <http://berita2bahasa.com/berita/7/16112112-ratu-atut-chosiyah-jadi-berita-utama-di-mancanegara> accessed 23 November 2019.
- Bulletin of the World Health Organization. (June 2009). *Professional Assistance During Birth and Maternal Mortality in Two Indonesian Districts*. Online: <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC2686212/> Accessed 2 December 2019.
- Detiknews. (18 July 2018). *Mencengangkan! Ini Trah Ratu Atut di Birokrasi: Anak, Adik, Mantu*. Online: <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-4120938/mencengangkan-ini-trah-ratu-atut-di-birokrasi-anak-adik-mantu> accessed 1 November 2019.
- Dinas Kesehatan Kabupaten Pandeglang. (9 Januari 2013). *Bidan dan Paraji Mitra Kerja Pelayanan Kesehatan Ibu dan Anak*. Online: <http://dinkespandeglang.blogspot.com/2013/01/bidan-dan-paraji-mitra-kerja-pelayanan.html> diakses 2 Desember 2019.
- Etzioni, A. (1967). *Mixed-Scanning: A Third Approach to Decision-Making*. *Public Administration Review*, 27 (5), 385-392.
- Frederickson, G. (1971). *Toward a New Public Administration*. Scranton: PA. Chandler.
- Kontan. (18 December 2013). *Dinasti Politik Ratu Atut Setelah 8 tahun Berkuasa*. Online: <https://nasional.kontan.co.id/news/dinasti-politik-ratu-atut-setelah-8-tahun-berkuasa> accessed 2 December 2019.
- Kumparan. (15 Februari 2018). *Menilik Kembali Gurita Dinasti Politik Banten*. Online: <https://kumparan.com/kumparannews/menilik-kembali-gurita-dinasti-politik-banten> accessed 3 December 2019.
- Nugroho, R. (2009). *Public Policy*. Jakarta: PT Elex Media Komputindo.
- Nugroho, R. (2011). *Kebijakan Publik*. Jakarta: Elex Media Komputindo
- Nugroho, R. (2012). *Public Policy for the Developing Countries*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.
- The Jakarta Post. (23 January 2014). *Making Regional Autonomy Work*. Online: <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2014/01/23/making-regional-autonomy-work.html> accessed 3 December 2019.
- Pattiro Banten. (18 November 2013). *Desentralisasi yang Belum Terselesaikan Menyebabkan Pelayanan Publik Memburuk*. Online: <http://banten.pattiro.org/desentralisasi-yang-belum-terselesaikan-menyebabkan-pelayanan-publik-memburuk/> accessed 21 November 2019.
- Purna, S. W. (2009). *Towards Political Citizenship: Under the Shadow of Local Communalism*, in Willy Purna Samadhi and Nicolaas Warouw (ed). *Building Democracy on the Sand: Advances and Setbacks in Indonesia*. Jakarta: PCD Press and DEMOS.
- Republika. (21 September 2012). *Angka Kematian Ibu karena Persalinan Masih Tinggi*. Online: <http://www.republika.co.id/berita/nasional/umum/12/09/21/mapgp4-angka-kematian-ibu-karena-persalinan-masih-tinggi> accessed 6 December 2019.
- Republika. (22 August 2014). *Six Suspect Named in Health Center Corruption Case In Tangerang*. Online: <https://www.republika.co.id/berita/en/national-politics/14/08/22/napvw5-six-suspect-named-in-health-center-corruption-case-in-tangerang> accessed 14 December 2019.
- Mncrijaya. (30 November 2013). *Politik Dinasti Di Negeri Demokrasi*. Online: <http://mncrijaya.com/polemik/detail/19/politik-dinasti-di-negeri-demokrasi> accessed 20 December 2019.

- Moelong, L. J. (2001). *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif*. Bandung: Remaja Rosdakarya.
- Nawawi, H. (1997). *Metode Penelitian Bidang Sosial*. Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press.
- Snyder, J. M., Ansolabehere, S., & Snowberg, E. (2006). Television and the Incumbency Advantage in U.S. Elections. *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 31 (4), 469-490.
- Tempo. (22 October 2013). Political Dynasties Blossom in Regions, <http://www.tempo.co/read/news/2013/10/22/055523570/Political-Dynasties-Blossom-in-Regions> accessed 2 December 2019.
- The Jakarta Post. (6 November 2013). Women, Children in Banten yet to Benefit from Regional Autonomy. Online: <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2013/11/06/women-children-banten-yet-benefit-regional-autonomy.html> accessed 23 November 2019.
- The Jakarta Post. (1 February 2019). Maladministration Rife in Jakarta, Ombudsman Finds. Online: <https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2019/02/01/maladministration-rife-jakarta-ombudsman-finds.html> accessed 23 November 2019.
- Thoha, M. (2009). *Birokrasi Pemerintah Indonesia di Era Reformasi*. Jakarta: Kencana.
- Tornquist, O. (2009). Understanding Democracy: Some Preliminary Notes on Concept and Method, in Willy Purna Samadhi and Nicolaas Warouw (ed). *Building Democracy on The Sand: Advances and Setbacks in Indonesia*. Jakarta: PCD Press and DEMOS.