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The Dynasty Politics of The Queen Atut Family and its Influence on Political Ethics In Regional Head Elections In Banten

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Abstract: This study aims to analyze the influence of the dynasty politics of Ratu Atut's family on political ethics in regional head elections in Banten Province. The growing dynasty politics in this region have strengthened the dominance of family power in various sectors, limited public participation, and hampered the regeneration of healthy leadership. The research method used is a qualitative literature study approach, where data were collected through participant observation and analysis of historical and contemporary documents. The results show that dynasty politics in Banten worsens political ethics by ignoring the principles of justice, equality, and transparency in regional head elections. The practices of nepotism and collusion that occur reduce the effectiveness of democracy and worsen the quality of governance. This study suggests the need for regulations that limit the practice of political dynasties so that regional head elections can be carried out based on the competence and integrity of prospective leaders, rather than on family relationships.

Keyword: Dynastic Politics, Political Ethics, Regional Head Elections.

INTRODUCTION

Dynasty politics has become a growing phenomenon in various regions in Indonesia, including Banten. Family dynasty politics in Banten are now increasingly visible and influencing political ethics in regional head elections. Banten, with its rich history and culture, serves as an interesting example of how power can be concentrated in the hands of a few extended families. In this region, dynasty politics not only demonstrates how power can be passed down through generations within a single family but also how it influences the way politics is conducted at the regional level. Since ancient times, several elite families in Banten have held important positions in government, and their power is often passed down to the next generation. This undoubtedly impacts the democratic process, where family interests sometimes prevail over the interests of the wider community a particularly relevant issue in current regional head elections.

The definition of dynasty politics literally describes a strategy of maintaining "eternal" power through family networks, a practice that has existed since the era of kingdoms in Indonesia (Kallista Remanu et al., 2025). Etymologically, the term "dynasty" itself derives

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from the Latin word dynastia, which refers to a succession of rulers from the same family or clan, indicating that this concept has deep roots in world political history. In the modern context, a political dynasty refers to a series of political strategies aimed at maintaining power within the family, either through direct inheritance or by transferring some power to relatives (Bimantara & Harsasto, 2018).

The practice of dynastic politics, often associated with feudalism, highlights that the political recruitment process is based on familial sentiment rather than individual competence. This fundamentally contradicts the principle of political equality and narrows the space for public participation in the consolidation of local democracy. Consequently, the dominance of a single political clan has the potential to weaken the mechanisms of checks and balances of power, as key positions tend to be held by members of the same family. In the context of regional autonomy, this revitalization of local political power is often abused to perpetuate power, although legally, the practice of political dynasty is not necessarily illegal because it is achieved through democratic elections (Dona, 2022).

Although direct regional head elections aim to improve the quality of democracy and produce quality leaders, the practice of dynastic politics often creates unequal access to resources and political opportunities, hindering the development of a just system (Huda & Jamil, 2023; Bimantara & Harsasto, 2018). This indicates a problem with political ethics, as political dynasties often limit the distribution of power and fair political access. This phenomenon is often driven by a strong culture of feudalism and local patronage, which creates legal space for the practice of political dynasties, despite the potential to undermine political ethics in regional elections and hinder democracy (Rannie et al., 2023). A healthy democracy should provide an equal platform for all individuals to participate in the political process.

In the case of Banten Province, the practice of political dynasties has shown signs of proliferation beyond the executive and legislative branches of power. Several family members and relatives of Governor Ratu Atut Chosiyah hold positions in numerous associations and organizations outside the government. These include business associations, particularly the Chamber of Commerce and Industry (Kadin), political parties (in this case the Golkar Party), religious organizations, youth organizations, sports organizations, martial arts organizations, and socio-cultural organizations. This phenomenon creates injustice in the distribution of power and hinders the regeneration of healthy leadership (Rusmana et al., 2023; Rannie et al., 2023). Such practices, while often disguised under the guise of democracy and the right of every citizen to be elected, fundamentally undermine the essence of democracy itself and only reinforce oligarchic tendencies in the regions (Bimantara & Harsasto, 2018) (Sutisna, 2017). In this context, political decision-making shifts from instrumental rationality to the individual decisions of dynastic actors, ultimately hindering the institutionalization of political parties due to the subordination of meritocracy to blood and family ties (Sutisna, 2017).

Magnis Suseno (1897) argued that political ethics questions the responsibilities and obligations of humans as human beings, not merely as citizens, to applicable laws and other matters. This means that political ethics goes beyond formal citizenship but demands moral awareness and responsibility regarding justice, transparency, and human dignity. Globally, the phenomenon of political dynasties has been observed in various countries, where a leader's family or close relatives hold the same or different public offices continuously for significant periods, impacting a country's political stability and the quality of democracy. In Indonesia, this practice of dynastic politics has become a crucial issue negatively impacting democratization, weakening government oversight mechanisms such as checks and balances.

This practice allows for abuse of power due to a lack of effective social control, where individuals within the ruling circle protect each other to maintain their political dominance (Bimantara & Harsasto, 2018) (Khairi, 2022). This situation not only creates negative sentiment towards bureaucratic performance but also tends to produce public policies that

benefit certain political families (Haliim & Hakim, 2020). This phenomenon is rooted in the family's efforts to perpetuate power by placing its members in strategic positions, both in the formal and informal sectors, a phenomenon that has been a historical characteristic of Indonesian governance (Gadafi & Nelwati, 2024). This study aims to comprehensively analyze how family dynastic politics in Banten influence political ethics in regional head elections.

Previous research by Iqbal Hafsari in 2022 examined "The Role of Political Party Machines in the Formation of the Ratu Atut Chosiyah Dynasty in Banten Province." The researcher described the Golkar Party as the primary political vehicle for the Ratu Atut Dynasty, and it deployed close relatives to positions in the executive and legislative branches of government, thus ensuring the dynasty's continued existence. However, the researcher did not elaborate on its influence on political ethics, particularly in regional head elections in Banten.

This research offers a novelty in its in-depth analysis focused on the Banten region. This region has a history of dynastic politics in several regional government cases, making it highly relevant for analysis within the context of political dynasties, linking it to political ethics in regional head elections in Banten.

METHOD

The methodology used in this research is qualitative, with a literature review, focusing on an in-depth analysis of the political phenomenon of the Ratu Atut family dynasty and its influence on political ethics in Banten. Creswell (2014) states that qualitative research focuses on an in-depth understanding of individual experiences, achieved through structured interviews, observation, or documentation. This method involves data collection through participant observation and analysis of historical and contemporary documents to understand the complexity of power dynamics and their influence on local communities.

A desk study approach was applied to enrich the qualitative data by analyzing various relevant literature references that examine the phenomenon of political dynasties. The data collection process was carried out by reading, analyzing, and recording important information from various literature sources. The collected data were then systematically organized and interpreted to build a comprehensive understanding of political dynasties and their influence on political ethics. A qualitative approach was chosen because it allows for an in-depth exploration of the meanings and values contained within these ethics, as well as an analysis of the interconnected relationship between political dynasties and political ethics. This approach allows researchers to gain a holistic understanding of the implications of dynastic politics for accountability, public participation, and the legitimacy of the democratic system in Banten.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The definition of dynastic politics refers to a situation where public office is continuously held by family members or close relatives of an incumbent political leader, often limiting the participation and opportunities for other citizens to contribute to the political system (Rusmana et al., 2023; Huda & Jamil, 2023). This operational definition can be expanded to include not only direct family ties between regional head candidates and incumbents, but also relationships with other political officials such as the president, ministers, members of the Indonesian House of Representatives (DPR/DPD), and members of the Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD), as well as various levels of kinship such as father/mother, child, brother/sister, brother-in-law, uncle/nephew, and grandchild (Khairi, 2022). This practice involves the transfer of power to family members or close relatives of the previous office holder to ensure the same group's dominance within the government structure (Waruwu et al., 2024). However, dynastic politics is not an entirely new phenomenon; its

practice has been entrenched in Indonesian politics since the independence era and can even be found in modern Western societies such as the United States and the Philippines.

A case study in Banten shows the growing dominance of dynastic politics, demonstrating that this kinship pattern has become a powerful tool for consolidating power. This situation raises crucial questions about the integrity of democratic processes, citizen participation, and political accountability in the local government system (Hasibuan et al., 2023). In this context, dynastic political practices tend to narrow the space for public participation and negate the principle of political equality, a fundamental pillar of local democracy (Sutisna, 2017). Furthermore, family dominance in political office strengthens local oligarchies, hinders checks and balances, and weakens oversight of power (Kallista Remanu et al., 2025) (Sutisna, 2017). This occurs because family members tend to safeguard their collective interests rather than ensure public accountability.

Max Weber stated that Asians are incapable and immature in handling political and economic responsibilities, leading many to assume that entrusted political administration is a private right, part of their personal wealth, that can be exploited. Consequently, they are unable to distinguish between the rights of the general public, related to issues of responsibility and accountability, and personal rights. As a result, the practice of political and economic competition is considered less problematic.

In Indonesia, regulations regarding political dynasties were once regulated in Article 7 of Law Number 8 of 2015, which prohibited the nomination of regional heads with family ties to the incumbent. However, this provision was overturned by the Constitutional Court through Decision Number 33/PUU-XIII/2015 because it was deemed to conflict with citizens' political rights as stipulated in Article 28D paragraph (3) of the 1945 Constitution. The Court argued that this restriction was discriminatory and inconsistent with the principle of equality in democracy. The revocation opened the door for the development of an increasingly widespread political dynasty (Mukhlis et al., 2024).

Ratu Atut Chosiyah's political dynasty in Banten forged a new history. This dynasty was established following the division of Banten Province from West Java, led by Tubagus Chasan Shohib (a local strongman/local boss), the "Jawara Banten" (Banten Champion), who had long controlled Banten politics. He was a central figure with a strong influence in driving the division. During the New Order era, he had political connections with the military and Golkar elite. He also supported the logistical needs of the VI Siliwangi Military Command (Kodam VI Siliwangi) and its subordinates in Banten to maintain political stability. Chasan Shohib was thus granted privileges and government construction projects.

The phenomenon of political dynasties in Banten began when Ratu Atut Chosiyah rose from Deputy Governor to Acting Governor in 2005, replacing Djoko Munandar, the first permanent Governor of Banten after the province was dismissed due to corruption in housing funds for members of the Banten Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD). However, signs and potential for the formation of a political dynasty had actually been apparent since the first gubernatorial election in 2001. These signs and potential were evident, at least in the dominance of Tb. Chasan Sochib, Ratu Atut's father, is with his powerful network of champions dominating the election process.

Approximately a year after taking office as Acting Governor of Banten, the second Banten gubernatorial election, the first to be held directly, took place in 2006. Ratu Atut then ran as a gubernatorial candidate, accompanied by Masduki, and was elected. Since becoming the number one person in Banten, one by one, members of Ratu Atut's extended family have entered the political arena. Is, both in the executive and legislative branches, at various levels of representative institutions. In 2011, Heryani, Ratu Atut's stepmother, also made a name for herself. She ran for Deputy Regent of Pandeglang Regency for the 2011-2016 term, running alongside Erwan Kurtubi, and was elected. That same year, Ratu Atut again ran for Governor

of Banten, running alongside Rano Karno. For the second time, Ratu Atut was elected Governor of Banten for the 2012-2017 term, until disaster struck: Ratu Atut was sentenced to four years (later increased to seven years by the Supreme Court) for bribing Akil Mochtar to win the 2013 Lebak Regional Election dispute (PHPU). Wawan, along with Wawan, was sentenced to five years in prison by the Corruption Court (Sutisna, 2017).

This demonstrates that the concentration of power within a single family increases the risk of abuse of power, collusion, and corruption, while weakening public oversight, which is crucial for good governance. However, in reality, the imprisonment of Atut and her younger sibling for the corruption case did not affect her family's victory in the 2015 Banten simultaneous regional elections. Atut's family won the 2015 Banten regional elections, the 2017 gubernatorial election, and only lost in the 2018 regional elections.

The Atut family, who won in the 2015 Banten regional elections, were Airin Rachmi Diany (Atut's sister-in-law), who was paired with Benyamin Davnie in South Tangerang City; Tanto Warsono (Atut's son-in-law), who became the deputy for Irna Narulita in Pandeglang Regency; and Ratu Tatu Chasanah (Atut's sister), who was paired with Pandji Tirtayasa in Serang Regency. Of the four regions that participated in the simultaneous regional elections in Banten, three of them were won by Ratu Atut's family. Atut's family won again in the 2017 gubernatorial election with the rise of Atut's son, Andika Hazrumy, as Deputy Governor of Banten paired with Wahidin Halim. Only in the 2018 regional elections in Serang City did the Atut family suffer defeat; Vera Nurlaela Jaman, the wife of Atut's half-brother, failed to become mayor.

These victories by the Atut family demonstrate that the prediction that the Atut family's political dynasty would collapse after Ratu Atut's arrest by the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) was unfounded (Sukri, 2020). Within the Golkar Party, Ratu Atut's family continues to dominate the leadership in Banten. Tatu Chasanah, her biological sister, was elected Chairperson of the Golkar Party's Banten Province Regional Leadership Council (DPD I), replacing the previous Chairperson, Hikmat Tomet, Ratu Atut's husband, in 2014. Meanwhile, Haerul Jaman, Ratu Atut's half-brother, was elected Acting Chairperson of the Golkar Party's Serang City Regional Leadership Council (DPD II) in January 2015, replacing the previous Chairperson, Ratu Lilis Karyawati, also Ratu Atut's half-sister. It is very difficult to uncover the abuse of power by this type of closed group because each individual within a political dynasty tends to protect and safeguard each other's interests (Bimantara & Harsasto, 2018).

This then raises the issue of the lack of equitable leadership regeneration, as access to power is limited to certain family circles (Sutisna, 2017). This situation not only limits social mobilization but also leads to the cartelization of local forces that have the potential to monopolize power and resources (Huda & Jamil, 2023). The practice of political dynasties also encourages transactional politics and the abuse of power for personal or group interests, which in turn undermines the integrity of elections and the political process as a whole (Hasibuan et al., 2023). This aligns with the view that political dynasties often hinder the recruitment process of cadres within political parties, encouraging candidates with kinship ties to local forces for economic reasons, as was the case with the Atut dynasty in Banten (Hafsari et al., 2022).

The practice of political dynasties, as observed in the case of Ratu Atut in Banten, significantly erodes the principle of meritocracy, where strategic positions are often occupied based on family ties, rather than individual ability or integrity (Kallista Remanu et al., 2025) (Sutisna, 2017). According to Notonegoro (1980), the goals and duties of the state are not solely based on conflicting individual interests, so they are not only to maintain order and peace, but also to channel cooperation among social beings, namely to maintain and develop justice, prosperity, and human happiness. Thus, this practice endangers the quality of regional leadership and hinders the development of substantive democracy at the local level. Research

by John T. Sidel confirms that the oligarchy, personalism, and clientelism characteristic of political dynasties fundamentally hinder the consolidation of democracy at the local level (Sutisna, 2017). Consequently, this phenomenon not only reduces the diversity of potential leaders but also strengthens them.

Political oligarchy, where a group of families controls most of the political space and hinders public participation in regional head elections, inherently contradicts the principles of equal opportunity and accountability, which are at the heart of a democratic system (Waruwu et al., 2024). These negative impacts are exacerbated by the high potential for corruption, where relatives within political dynasties tend to protect each other's illegal practices, creating clientelistic capitalism (Effendi, 2018). This situation significantly limits the public's right to choose leaders based on quality and competence, often resulting in leadership that is less than capable and does not represent broader interests. This situation can also lead to the neglect of broader public interests in favor of the interests of specific families or groups, as well as manipulation.

This practice, often seen in the form of money politics, has become a dominant mechanism for maintaining and perpetuating dynastic power in Banten, as exemplified by the efforts to win the elections of Iti Octavia Jayabaya and Heryani through bribery in regional head elections (Gadafi & Nelwati, 2024). Such practices fundamentally erode the integrity of political ethics by ignoring meritocracy and promoting collusion and nepotism, thereby reducing the effectiveness of regional autonomy in improving public welfare (Dona, 2022; Rannie et al., 2023). As a result, decision-making is often based not on instrumental rationality but on the individual whims of ruling dynasties, which in turn hinders the institutionalization of political parties and subordinates meritocracy to blood relations. This results in decision-making that favors certain groups, ignoring the principle of political justice, which demands a fair distribution of power and equal participation for all citizens.

Political ethics is crucial, especially when a country's political situation is chaotic or declining. Under such conditions, political ethics becomes essential to ensure that government authority remains grounded in moral norms, laws, and applicable regulations. Without political ethics, the state will lose its purpose, as the attitudes and behavior of political elites can differ significantly from the nation's vision and mission. This discrepancy can lead to failure in realizing justice, welfare, and prosperity for the people (Rahmatika et al., 2024).

Thus, from a political ethics perspective, the political dynasty of Ratu Atut's family in Banten is considered unethical because it violates the principles of justice, equality, and freedom, often fostering an environment ripe for corruption and nepotism, where public resources can be diverted for personal gain. Political dynasties often create ethical dilemmas regarding potential conflicts of interest and abuse of power, ultimately undermining leaders' moral responsibility to serve the public welfare. This circumvents normative ethical standards for the management of power, weakening the ethical values that should underpin the political process and public decision-making. This erosion of ethical values is a critical concern because it directly impacts the legitimacy and effectiveness of governance. Etymologically, ethics comes from the Greek word ethos, meaning moral character, habits, or customs. Thus, depending on the etymology, "ethics" can mean the science of what is customary or the science of customs. According to Bekum (2004), ethics can be defined as a set of moral principles that distinguish between good and evil. Ethics is a normative discipline because it determines what individuals should or should not do.

Within ethical theory, there is normative ethics, which examines what should be formulated rationally and how ethical principles can be rationally justified and applied by humans (Sucipto et al., 2023). Normative ethics provides moral judgments, determining whether an action is morally right or wrong. According to Burhanuddin Salam, normative ethics seeks to establish various ideal attitudes and behavioral patterns that should be followed

by humans, or what is valuable in life. Within normative ethical theory, which focuses on standards for assessing the rightness and wrongness of an action, several branches of science are used, such as deontology.

Deontology, which refers to ethical decisions that must be made by considering one's duties and obligations along with the rights of others, or this ethic assesses the morality of an action based on compliance with regulations. This ethic is sometimes called duty-based ethics because the authorized regulations impose obligations on the individual. Of a person. The philosopher whose thinking is always associated with deontological ethics is Immanuel Kant (1724-1804). Kant stated that the only thing that is always good is goodwill. This means the willingness to do what is our moral obligation (duty) according to our judgment (reason).

Egoism, as an ethical theory that emphasizes actions that maximize personal gain, also has relevance in the context of political dynasties. In this case, individuals or members of political families who run for office or are involved in politics may pursue their own personal or family interests. In politics, egoism can mean that members of political families pursue positions of power for personal or family interests, rather than for the public interest or welfare of society as a whole (Sucipto et al., 2023).

Ethical norms in politics include honesty, responsibility, and commitment to the public interest. Without adherence to ethical norms, governments will fail to achieve the goals of welfare and social justice. Therefore, it is important for every politician to think not only about power, but also to maintain their moral integrity, so they can carry out their duties properly and lead to the progress of the country and the welfare of society (Rahmatika et al., 2024).

This is especially true in the case of family dynasty politics, as in the case of Ratu Atut in Banten. In dynastic politics, where power is often maintained by a single family, political ethics can be influenced by personal or family interests that dominate, thus sacrificing the interests of the wider community. The influence of dynastic politics in the regional head elections in Banten, particularly those involving Ratu Atut's family, demonstrates how inherited power can lead to political practices that do not prioritize moral integrity. Therefore, it is crucial for politicians, especially in dynastic politics, to maintain their ethics and moral integrity so they can carry out their duties properly, prioritize the interests of the people, and bring progress to the region and the welfare of society.

CONCLUSION

This research shows that the dynastic politics of Ratu Atut's family in Banten have undermined political ethics in regional head elections. Family dominance in key positions limits public participation and strengthens local oligarchies, leading to corruption and nepotism. This hampers the quality of democracy by reducing transparency, fairness, and equal opportunity for qualified leadership candidates. For improvement, regulations are needed to limit the influence of political dynasties and ensure that regional head elections are based on ability, not family ties.

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