

NEPOTISM IN INDONESIA: A LOOK AT RATU ATUT'S POLITICAL DYNASTY IN BANTEN**Karima Mahesa Suramahardini¹, I Ketut Putra Erawan², Piers Andreas Noak³,**
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ABSTRAK

Nepotism in Indonesia: the political footprint of Ratu Atut dynasty in Banten. Dynastic politics is an attempt to divide the office to relatives themselves, common among the elite who hold power, given to relatives in order to maintain power with a specific purpose. In a democratic country, of course dynastic politics is the enemy that must be staged. Dynastic politics emerged and existed due to the growth of neopatrimonialism in Indonesia. Julius Cesar Imperial Trajono, he said that the dynastic politics that occurred in the regions in Indonesia was due to the weak institutional system of the party. Ratu Atut's case in Banten. Starting from his father, Tubagus Chasan Sochib who is famous for his influence in Banten, he delivered Djoko Munandar and his son Ratu Atut as The Governors-Vice Governors of Banten in 2001 which in the end Ratu Atut succeeded in becoming the second Governor of Banten Province and became the first female governor in Indonesia. Since the establishment of Banten, Ratu Atut has been a deputy governor once, and twice as governor of Banten. Atut abused her authority, she made changes to the budget of APBD and APBDP related to the procurement of medical devices in Banten.

Keywords: *Nepotism, Dynastic Politics, Ratu Atut, Banten, Corruption*

PENDAHULUAN

Literally, political dynasties and political dynasties are different. Political dynasty is a common occurrence, usually in kingdoms that use a primitive system of reproduction of power where power is passed on from generation to generation relying on the blood and lineage of the leader to his son with the aim of maintaining exclusive power owned by the royal family. Dynastic politics is an attempt to divide positions to one's own relatives, common among elites who hold power, given to relatives in order to maintain power with certain goals (Susanti, 2017: 113).

The author raises the topic of dynastic politics, especially in Indonesia, because of the author's concern about the emergence of polemics and new problems that will arise if the dynastic politics that this nation has experienced. In a democratic country, dynastic politics is an enemy that must be eradicated. It becomes an enemy because this nation itself has felt the bitter sap of the effects of this dynastic politics. The bitter sap is not only felt when dynastic politics is happening, but the series flows into the following times. One example of a case whose legacy has not disappeared until now is the state debt that has accumulated due to massive corruption committed during the New Order era.

Dynastic politics emerged and exists because of the growth of neopatrimonialism in Indonesia. Various levels ranging from districts, cities, regions, even to the center. Primitive patrimonial thinking which relies on genealogical and lineage is still used as a way by power holders to carry out political activities, compared to methods such as looking at achievements or so on, inheriting or dividing positions, there are still those in Indonesia who do this forbidden thing by a handful of parties. Neopatrimonial is a new thing that comes from the old patrimonial where in the past positions were given directly by the power holder, now, the distribution of power is carried out in accordance with election procedures, but it does not rule out the possibility that there are still remnants of the old patrimonial in the government body both regional and central.

TINJAUAN PUSTAKA

According to a senior analyst from Nanyang Technological University, Singapore, Julius Cesar Imperial Trajono, he said that dynastic politics that occur in regions in Indonesia are due to the weak party institutional system. Family members of politicians can easily serve in party organizational structures in regional branches in a region. Or they can easily use money politics aimed at getting the party to support the perpetrators of money politics in an election. Therefore, it is not surprising if there are candidates for regional head leadership who on paper still lack political achievements but are still carried by the party because there are relatives who are currently serving in the area, and from the same party of course. (Julius Cesar: 2013) .

It is not uncommon to find such things in several regions in Indonesia, for example those centered on the case of corruption circles, one of which is the famous case of Ratu Atut in Banten. Starting from his father, Tubagus Chasan Sochib who was famous for his influence in Banten, he delivered Djoko Munandar and his son Ratu Atut as Governor-Deputy Governor of Banten in 2001, which in the end Ratu Atut succeeded in becoming the second Governor of Banten Province and became the first female governor in Indonesia. The Tutut dynasty did not only exist in the regional executive, but spread to the Regional Legislature. Tutut's son served as DPD member of Banten and 2009-2014 while his wife served as DPRD member of Serang City 2009-2014. Mr. Atut also served as Deputy Regent of Serang Regency in 2010-2015. He eventually became a suspect in bribery of Constitutional Court judges and corruption in medical equipment procurement in Banten. One example of the above cases has been very detrimental to the people, especially the people of the region concerned.

Since becoming an independent province and separating from West Java Province, the Banten Provincial government has been filled by Banten's political elite, namely from the family of the respected Banten champion, Tubagus Chasan Sochib. The jawara's ambition to control Banten's socio-economy was further exposed by three (3) main factors: financial (wealth) obtained from the jawara's business on government projects, then from the tradition of patronage, and control over the major party, Golkar, which was dominated by his family and relatives. Since the establishment of Banten, Ratu Atut has been the deputy governor once, and twice the governor of Banten for 2 periods.

Sure enough, dynastic politics always brings disaster. Atut was proven to have violated Article 3 jo, Article 18 jo, Article 12 letter E of Law 31 jo Article 55 paragraph 1 to 1 jo, Article 64 paragraph 1 of the Criminal Code for her case of medical equipment corruption in Banten which cost the state up to 79 billion rupiah. Atut misused her authority, she made changes to the APBD and APBDP budgets related to the procurement of medical equipment in Banten. She enriched herself and her younger brother Tubagus Chaeri Wardhana. This brought the governor to prison for 5.5 years.

Dynastic politics or nepotism is the enemy of democracy. Negative impacts will arise from these illicit activities. Humans who are actually able to carry out their authority properly as representatives of the people can lose to the perpetrators of dynastic political elite families. Returning to the community, do not be silent, must be a friend of dynastic politics in wise ways.

METODE PENELITIAN

This research uses a case study approach with Ratu Atut as the main subject. Primary data was collected through an in-depth literature study with Ratu Atut that focused on the topic of nepotism, including the reasons behind the appointment of her family members in political and administrative positions. In addition, secondary data was collected through document analysis related to Ratu Atut's political career, such as speeches, policy decisions, and media coverage. Direct observations were also made of her political activities, including campaigns,

political meetings and party activities, to gain first-hand insight into the political dynamics associated with the practice of nepotism.

HASIL DAN PEMBAHASAN

Ratu Atut's Political Dynasty

The causes of the creation of dynastic politics founded by Ratu Atut cannot be separated from three (3) factors, the first of which is bureaucratic control through the process and movement of officials within the Banten Provincial Government. Under the leadership of Governor Ratu Atut, the recruitment process within the bureaucracy was actually based more on the closeness and loyalty of related officials rather than the principles and achievements of people who did not "put" face to Atut. People around Atut who succeeded in making Atut rise to the throne of her kingdom would get positions in their respective working areas. This can make Atut's plans run smoothly.

Secondly, Atut's extended family is in control of various organizations in Banten such as KONI, PMI, Himpaudi, Karang Taruna, and others that make these organizations easy to mobilize with the aim of propagandizing Banten society. In addition to community organizations, the Atut family also entered academic organizations such as campus organizations. Although not many, but there are a handful. The Atut family was able to do this because the Atut family provided funding to these organizations so that the organizations could easily submit to the Atut family.

The third is the power of money or family finances that can buy people's votes or so-called money politics. Because many organizations have been controlled by the Atut family, it is easier to spread this money politics. In terms of the workforce, for example teachers, a team has been formed to distribute envelopes to teachers through the Himpaudi organization, for example. To the community, the village head plays an important role in this. The kyai and jawara also took part in distributing this money politics to the community. People were tempted by the money or basic necessities given by Ratu Atut's team, so that their votes and trust would lean towards Atut and her family during the general election.

The above reasons are what made the Atut family able to easily win the hearts of the people of Banten. With all the financial perfection and popularity of the Atut family, they can easily take the votes of the people of Banten, plus the Atut family has won many development projects in Banten with fantastic numbers.

We need to know together, who are the members of the "kingdom" of Ratu Atut's dynasty in Banten. As is known, of course, it is Atut's own relatives and relatives. Of course, those who are members of the kingdom are those who have helped Atut rise to become Governor of Banten with all the power in terms of finance and popularity. This political kingdom is managed by the family so that their family name remains and can run Banten politics.

From the regional executive side, the first is Tubagus Khaerul Jaman who serves as Deputy Mayor of Serang and the younger brother of Ratu Atut. Then there is Airin Rachmi Djani who serves as Mayor of South Tangerang and Ratu Atut's sister-in-law. Tatu Chasanah who serves as Deputy Regent of Serang and Ratu Atut's younger sister. Heryani who serves as Deputy Regent of Pandeglang and Ratu Atut's stepmother. It can be seen that the Atut family occupies a fairly important position in the Banten regional executive.

From the legislative side, there is Hikmat Tomet (deceased) as a member of the DPR RI who was elected in the Banten II electoral district consisting of Serang Regency, Cilegon City, and Serang City and he is the husband of Ratu Atut. Andika Hazrumy served as a member of DPD RI and DPR RI and he is the son of Ratu Atut. Ade Rossi Chosiyah serves as a member of the Serang City DPRD and a member of the Banten DPRD, she is Ratu Atut's daughter-in-law. Ratna Komalasari serves as a member of the Serang City DPRD, she is Ratu Atut's

stepmother. Aden A. Kholik serves as a member of the Banten DPRD and he is Ratu Atut's brother-in-law. Finally, Ratu Ria Maryana, who is Atut's half-sister, serves as Deputy Chairperson of the Serang City DPRD. The Atut family who succeeded in occupying legislative seats both at the central and regional levels were promoted by the Golongan Karya party, which is the dominant political party in Banten.

Next is the dominance of the Atut family in Kadin Banten Province. Tubagus Chaerul Wardana as chairman, he is Atutu's younger brother. Hikmat Tomet as Chairman of the Board (Atut's husband, deceased). There are three advisory board members from the Atut family, namely Ratu Tatu Chasanah (Atut's younger brother), Tubagus Khaerul Jaman (Atut's younger brother), and Aden Abdul Khalik (Atut's younger brother). Ratu Lilis Karyawati (Atut's half-sister) serves as deputy chairperson for fisheries and marine affairs. Ratu Ella Syatibi (Atut's cousin) serves as deputy chairman for plantations and forestry. Ratu Wawat Cherawati (Atut's half-sister) served as chairman of the standing committee on processing and utilizing mining industry waste. Finally, Ratu Heni Chendrayani serves as chairman of the vehicle insurance standing committee.

Not only in the regional government seats, the Atut family also dominates in important organizations in Banten, they are Tubagus Chaeri Wardana as Chairman of Pengprov Taekwondo Banten. Tubagus Khaerul Jaman as Chairman of IMI Banten. Ratu Tatu Chasanah as Chairperson of PMI Banten, Chairperson of the Indonesian Agribusiness and Agroindustry Society of Banten, Chairperson of GWKS, Chairperson of Dekopinda, Chairperson of the Banten United Communities Forum, and Chairperson of the Banten Coalition of Indonesian Women Politicians. Ade Rossi Chosiyah as Chair of Himpaudi Banten, Chair of P2TP2A Banten, Chair of KONI Serang City, and Chair of PMI Serang City. Hikmat Tomet (deceased) as Chairperson of Dekranasda. Aden A. Kholik as Chairman of DPD KNPI Banten and Chairman of Perbasi Kota Serang. Ratna Komalasari (Atut's stepmother) as chairman of PARFI Banten. Tanto W. Arban (Atut's son-in-law) as Chairman of HIPMI Banten and Chairman of GP Anshor South Tangerang City. These important positions in these organizations strongly support dynastic politics, as they can be easily operated for the political interests of the Atut family.

There is the political party environment, and of course the Golkar Party as the media for the Atutu family to act. There is Ratu Atut Chosiyah herself as Deputy General Treasurer of the DPP Golkar Party. Hikmat Tomet (deceased) as Chairman of DPD Golkar Party Banten. Ratu Tatu Chasanah as Chairman of DPD Golkar Party Pandeglang Regency. Ratu Lilis Karyawati as Chairman of DPD Golkar Party Serang City. Ratu Ria Maryana (Atut's half-sister) as Chairman of DPD Golkar Serang City,. The last is Tubagus Chaeri Wardana as Chairman of the Banten Province Golkar Party Youth Force. With the strategic positions of the Golkar Party occupied by the Atut family, it is not surprising that the party, which is identical to the banyan tree, has always dominated Banten Province several times in regional elections or legislative elections.

The Atut family has spread to various executive and legislative seats in Banten and Banten organizations. With this, the possibility of criminal acts of corruption is even greater. This is evidenced by the existence of various corruptions that have cost the state billions and even trillions of rupiah. Corruption was not only committed by Atut but also by some of her relatives who received seats.

The national losses caused by this dynastic corruption are no joke. For example, the total assets seized in the Vavan corruption case reached IDR 500 billion. Wawan's case surpassed the corruption case of former Democratic Party Chairman Anas Urbaningrum (Anas Urbaningrum), which was worth more than 117 billion rupiah and 5.5 million US dollars. Wawan's corruption also surpassed the SIM card simulator case of police chief Djoko Susilo. According to estimates, Djoko's fraud and corruption during 2003-2010 reached Rp 54.6 billion

and US\$60,000. Wawan's corruption proceeds are also higher than the money laundering case of former Kutai Kertanegara Regent Rita Widyasari. In the TPPU case, Rita is suspected of laundering Rp 436 billion. However, Wawan's case is not as big as that of former Democratic Party Finance Minister N. Nazaruddin. Nazar was accused of money laundering up to 600 billion rupiah, but not all of his assets were confiscated by the state. The judge ruled that some of Nazar's assets were set to be returned to him, such as an oil palm plantation in the Mandau area, a number of insurance claims, a house in Alam Sutera and a high-end luxury watch branded Patek Phillips from Switzerland.

KESIMPULAN

Nepotism is the root of evil intentions such as corruption and collusion. The existence of dynastic politics where relatives hold various important positions in a region will make it difficult for the family to be removed so that they feel they have no enemies. Ratu Atut's political dynasty in Banten, which began when Atut became Governor of Banten in 2005, was the root of Banten's underdevelopment as a new province at that time. Many roads in Banten were damaged and never repaired, and worse, Banten became the province with the highest number of unemployed people in Java and Bali.

People should be aware as soon as possible if there is a possibility that nepotism will occur in their area. Sweet are their political words, they will advance the community initially. As Atut said at the beginning of her tenure as Governor of Banten, she would alleviate corruption in Banten after the previous governor was caught in a corruption case. The author hopes that the public will be wise in deciding, because if this incident is repeated, the negative impact will be on the community.

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