

The Rise of Political Dynasty in Indonesian Local Government: Improvement for Public Services or Threat to Local Democracy?

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Abstract

Since the country's liberty from authoritarian ruler in 1998, Indonesia faced 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 of used tools for rulers to oppress the people. For the last sixteen years Indonesia undergo a rapid alterations, from centralize autocracy towards effectiveness and efficiency in political and bureaucratic system. The transformation of public service paradigm, from serving only the rulers (bureaucrats) into costumer (people) total services, practices democracy at its best. Also, everyone has the opportunity to implement their civil and political rights in order to be elected for 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 are Marcos's family in the Philippines, Shinawatra's family in Thailand, and Lee Kuan Yeuw's family in Singapore. In Indonesia, the first President was President Soekarno, continued by his daughter Megawati Soekarnoputri in 2001-2004, and Megawati's daughter Puan Maharani is already member of the parliament, will also run for presidency in next year elections. This paper will not focus on the national level political dynasty, however will examine the political dynasty happens in lower level, which is the local government, equivalent to Governor (Province), Regent and Mayor (Regency and City).

Due to the democratic freedom, everyone has the opportunity to run for public offices. The new mechanism in conducting direct election for local government bring forth family business conglomeration into political contestation. Soon, after winning local election, "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 has relatives in seven regencies and municipalities all across Banten, including national scale. Moreover, they control more than 50% of businesses in that province.

This paper are about to answer two questions and reveal some close facts reluctant to discuss in Indonesia related to political dynasty. First, does this hereditary systems 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 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.

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

Introduction

Since the country's liberty from authoritarian ruler (President Soeharto) in 1998, Indonesia faced 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 of use as tools to oppress people. For the last sixteen years Indonesia undergo a rapid alterations from

centralize autocracy, towards effectiveness and efficiency in political and bureaucratic system. The transformation of public service paradigm has altered from serving authority (bureaucrats), into customer (people) services. Everyone also has the opportunity to implement their civil and political rights in order to be elected for 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 are 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 already member of the parliament.

Next is the Suharto's family. Suharto was the second President of Indonesia, who ruled the country as a military dictator for 31 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 2000, Tommy was convicted with graft. Tommy also failed to qualify for the 2014 legislative elections through the National Republican Party he established. The once powerful "Cendana clan" is now facing tough times surviving in Indonesia's political scene.

And 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 president 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 footsteps in running for presidency in coming years.

This paper are about to answer two questions and reveal some close facts reluctant to discuss in Indonesia related to political dynasty. First, does this hereditary systems 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 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.

Indonesian Political Dynasty

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 bring forth family business conglomeration into political contestation. Soon, after winning local election, "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 include 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.

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. There was outrage over the pervasiveness of the dynasty, headed by Banten Governor Ratu Atut Chosiyah. Family members were deputy regents, mayors, held seats in Parliament and headed a company which controlled development projects. They are:

1. Andika Hazrumy, Atut's son, member of Regional Representative Council (DPD) from Banten 2009 – 2014
2. Hikmat Tomet, Atut's husband, DPR lawmaker from Golkar party 2009 – 2014
3. Ade Rossi Chaerunnisa, Atut's daughter-in-law, member of Serang Legislatives Council (DPRD Serang)
4. Ratu Tatu Chasanah, Atut's daughter, deputy mayor of Serang, 2010-2015

5. Airin Rachmy Diani, Atut's sister-in-law, South Tangerang Mayor
6. Tubagus Haerul Jaman, Atut's brother, Serang mayor
7. Ratu Lilis Karyawati, Atut's sister, member of Golkar Party Serang chapter (DPD Golkar Serang)
8. Aden Abdul Khaliq, Atut's brother-in-law, member of Banten Legislative Council (DPRD Serang), 2009– 2014
9. Heryani Yuhana, Atut's step mother, member of Pandeglang Legislative Council (DPRD Serang), 2009 – 2014
10. Ratna Komalasari, Atut's step mother, member of Serang Legislative Council (DPRD Serang), 2009 – 2014
11. Ratu Ella Syatibi, Atut's cousin, member of Banten Legislative Council (DPRD Banten), 2009 – 2014.



Ratu Atut's relatives on the Banten political stage

Name	Position	Term
Ratu Atut Chosiyah	Banten Governor	2011-2016
Tb. Haerul Jaman (brother)	Serang Mayor	2011-2016
Ratu Tatu (sister)	Serang Deputy Regent	2010-2015
Heryani (stepmother)	Pandeglang Deputy Regent	2011-2016
Airin Rachmi Diary (sister-in-law)	South Tangerang Mayor	2011-2016
Hikmat Tomet (husband)	Golkar Party lawmaker in the House of Representatives	2009-2014
Andika Hazrumy (eldest son)	Represents Banten at the Regional Representatives Council	2009-2014
Adde Rosi Khoerunnisa (daughter in law/Andika's wife)	Deputy speaker of Serang Council	2009-2014
Andiara Aprilia Hikmat (daughter)	Running for a seat at the Regional Legislative Council	

JP/PJ. Leo
Ratu Atut Chosiyah

Source: The Jakarta Post

Ratu Atut was able to use her position to cement her family's hold over politics in Banten in just 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.

Beside Atut, there are many local officials in Indonesia with leadership models such as her. According to the Ministry of Interior, there are 57 local officials all over Indonesia creating political dynasty in their own region. One of them is The Yasin Limpos in South Sulawesi. Former Regent of Gowa, Muhammad Yasin Limpo, formed a political dynasty in South Sulawesi with his children holding various positions in the province. They are:

1. Syahrul Yasin Limpo, Yasin's son, the governor of South Sulawesi. Currently in his second term, Syahrul previously served two tenures as Regent in Gowa
2. Ichsan Yasin Limpo, Yasin's son, succeeded his brother Syahrul and is now serving his second-term as Regent of Gowa
3. Haris Yasin Limpo, Yasin's son, Member of Makassar Legislative Council (DPRD Makassar)
4. Tenri Olle Yasin Limpo, Yasin's son, Member of Gowa Legislative Council (DPRD Gowa)
5. Adnan Purichta Ichsan Yasin Limpo, Yasin's grandson, Member of South Sulawesi Legislative Council
6. Indira Chunda Thita Syahrul Yasin Limpo, Yasin's granddaughter, Member of the House of Representatives (DPR) in Jakarta.

Beside Atut and Limpo, the Sjachroedins in Lampung is also, slowly but sure, creating their own political dynasty. In Lampung province, Governor Sjachroedin Zainal Pagaralam has already in office for his second terms. His two sons Rycko Menoza and Handitya Narapati have been elected as regional leaders. Rycko in 2010 won the Regent post in South Lampung. His brother, Handitya, was appointed Pringsewu Deputy Regent. Further, we will discuss the definition of political dynasty.

What is 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. We find very rare information that leaders comes 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 newspapers in Indonesia.

After 2014 election, many people are concerned about the regrow of political dynasty post Soeharto regime in Indonesia. According to political analyst from Indonesian Institute of Science (LIPI), Siti Zuhro, currently there are two elements that affect government, which are role model and political dynasty. Further, Siti agree 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.

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 from the people, 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, politician from Golkar Party, Indra Jaya Piliang, mentions 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 in politics.¹

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 do more harm than give benefit. Their respondent expresses their unsympathetic tendency towards politicians from certain dynasty. Voters appreciate politicians who appear in the political stage that comes not from the generation of famous or well-known people.² Other findings indicate that the longer politicians stands in political arena, they have a strong tendency to build a political dynasty of their own or continue the political dynasty that they already had. In James M. Snyder research, many U.S. politicians comes from political dynasty have poor experience in office before. Their intention to serve the public in this case is very much questionable.³

It is very interesting actually for people 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 effectivity, 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 Indonesian public policy expert, Riant Nugroho, the direction of a good policy decisions is a policy that provides benefits for public majority, rather than small fraction of it. However, such policy is easy in the paper, but the implementation is very difficult.⁴ Political elites are the decision maker, and their policy are usually benefits them only, instead public majority. Political dynasty is a small fraction of public, benefitted from the misuse of democracy.

¹ Sindotrijaya, 12 November 2013. “Politik Dinasti Di Negeri Demokrasi,” <http://www.sindotrijaya.com/polemik/detail/19/politik-dinasti-di-negeri-demokrasi#UxBj64VJTMw> (Accessed 20 April 2014).

² James M. Snyder, Stephen Ansolabehere, Erik Snowberg. “Television and the Incumbency Advantage in U.S. Elections.” *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 31(4) (2006), p. 469.

³ *Ibid*, p. 474.

⁴ Riant Nugroho. 2009. “Public Policy.” Jakarta: PT Elex Media Komputindo, p. 321

The number of political dynasty in Indonesia would definitely endanger the lives of local democracy. Most common people only have intellectuality, but not hereditary advantages. Intellectual people should have an equal opportunity to be a leader. That is the essence of local autonomy when everyones full potential is expanded to a certain degree, allowing them to participate in a fair political process. Civil society can only be born in a community that is able to actively participate in a political process. According to Amitai Etzioni, participation is related with 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.⁵

Public Service in Banten

Our first example is Banten Province. 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, 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 research 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*.⁶ 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.

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. 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,

⁵ Amitai Etzioni. "Mixed-Scanning: A Third Approach to Decision-Making." *Public Administration Review*, Vol. 27, No. 5 (December 1967), p. 389.

⁶ Dinas Kesehatan Kabupaten Pandeglang, 7 Januari 2013. "Bidan dan Paraji, Pendamping Setia Ibu Saat Hamil dan Melahirkan," <http://dinkespandeglang.blogspot.com/2013/01/bidan-dan-paraji-pendamping-setia-ibu.html> (Accessed 5 May 2014).

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.⁷

Insufficient information about their pregnancy and limited access to maternal 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.

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.⁸ According to Pandeglang Head of Health Service, Iskandar, 90% of maternal deaths is due to childbirth. This is because most of them can not afford birth with proper medical care.⁹ 85% of women in the regency received help from trained health workers during childbirth 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.¹⁰ 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.¹¹

To date, 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

⁷ The Jakarta Post, 6 November 2013. "Women, Children in Banten yet to Benefit from Regional Autonomy," <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2013/11/06/women-children-banten-yet-benefit-regional-autonomy.html> (Accessed 2 March 2014).

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Republika, 21 September 2012. "Angka Kematian Ibu karena Persalinan Masih Tinggi," <http://www.republika.co.id/berita/nasional/umum/12/09/21/mapgp4-angka-kematian-ibu-karena-persalinan-masih-tinggi> (Accessed 6 May 2014).

¹⁰ Dinas Kesehatan Kabupaten Pandeglang, 9 Januari 2013. "Bidan dan Paraji Mitra Kerja Pelayanan Kesehatan Ibu dan Anak," <http://dinkesPandeglang.blogspot.com/2013/01/bidan-dan-paraji-mitra-kerja-pelayanan.html> (Accessed 5 May 2014).

¹¹ Bulletin of the World Health Organization, June 2009. "Professional Assistance During Birth and Maternal Mortality in Two Indonesian Districts," <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC2686212/> (Accessed 6 May 2014).

Administration School (STIA), said it was a pity to see Banten having such poor quality of healthcare 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. Although the allocated budget is below 10 percent as mandated in Act. No. 36/2009 on health, Banten's health budget has surpassed the national average of 2.1 percent.¹² 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 health sector.

A recent investigation conducted by the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK), found irregularities in the procurement of medical equipment directly involving Banten Governor Ratu Atut Chosiyah. This findings has also revealed Banten's corrupt health sector and 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, and in the end create a dynasty of their own.

After discussing on public service in Banten, in general (Indonesia), after a decade of decentralization (1999-2009), 235 new autonomous regions (DOB) has 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 on the central government for resources because of the former's poor management and lack of skills.¹³

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

¹² Ibid.

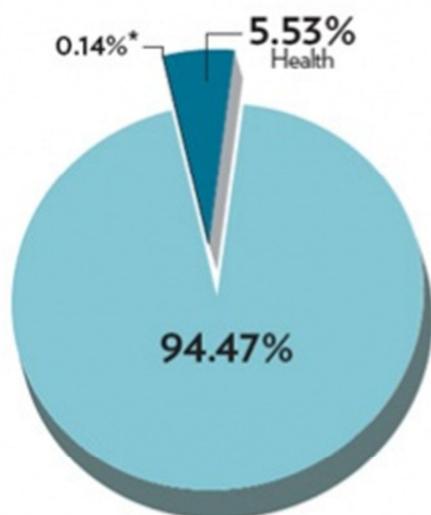
¹³ Arif Nurdiansah and Hindijani Novita, 23 January 2014. "Making Regional Autonomy Work," <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2014/01/23/making-regional-autonomy-work.html> (Accessed 2 May 2014).

resources. One of the causes is the formation of political dynasty throughout those regions. Democratic atmosphere opens up great opportunity for every citizen to participate in public sectors, including creating their own family dynasty once they're in power.

Data from United Nation Development Program (UNDP) for Provincial Governance Strengthening Program (PGSP) shows that local government only received one third of state budget, while based on Act No. 32/2004 on Local Government, 31 government affairs, including health care, have been handed over to local governments. Although decentralization went into effect in 2001, up to now two-thirds of the budget allocation is still circulating in the central government.

Different priority between local and central government, also data differentiation, hamper state budget allocation to local government. The data include discrepancy over which region requires more budget to overcome children malnutrition, infant and maternal health, education, etc, for example. Coordination between local and central government is still a big issue in Indonesia.

**Banten province:
Allocation for health, 2012**

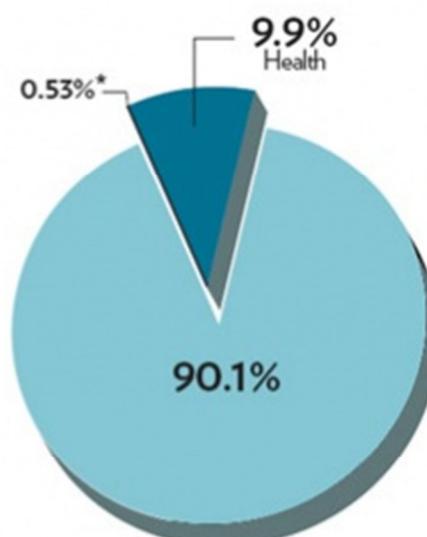


- Banten budget, 2012: Rp 4.13 trillion
- Health: Rp 228.65 billion
- Infant and maternal health: Rp 321.6 million

* Allocation for infant and maternal health

Source: Banten provincial budget 2012, reports

**Pandeglang regency:
Allocation for health, 2012**



- Pandeglang budget, 2012: Rp 1,3 trillion
- Health: Rp 116.4 billion
- Infant and maternal health: Rp 623.31 million

In 1999, decentralization and local autonomy was introduced in Indonesia to enhanced public services and improve local government accountability and transparency. After more than a decade, people (mostly poor) live just outside the capital, like in Banten

province, still finds it difficult to acquire access to health service and equal education opportunities, although large budget allocation is given by the central government to develop local revenue.

Banten is one of the 20 provinces with high number of maternal and infant mortality rates, according to Ministry of Health. Banten receive 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%, compare to 6.25% of national average.

Quality health service 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. In 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%.

It shows that local government in Banten has great dependency to central government fiscal transfer. During 2010 to 2013, funds transfer to Banten was also increased to the number 15.7% per year.¹⁴ 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.

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 official 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 service, 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*).¹⁵

¹⁴ Pattirol Banten, 18 November 2013. "Desentralisasi yang Belum Terselesaikan Menyebabkan Pelayanan Publik Memburuk," <http://banten.pattirol.org/desentralisasi-yang-belum-terselesaikan-menyebabkan-pelayanan-publik-memburuk/> (Accessed 21 April 2014).

¹⁵ Ibid.

Spending for local officials contribute 40% of total local budget, and always increases every year, at least according to our findings, until last year. Eventhough the rise of spending for local officials happens every year, the ratio usually not more than 5%. This condition show 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 our opinion, she brought minimum changes for public service, we can see it by the number of budget allocated to health sector in her regency.

In terms of welfare, Based on the evaluation conducted by the Ministry of Internal Affairs, of seven autonomous regions from 1999-2009, the level of people welfare in Banten are in the sixthplace, in other word, the second worst. Most of the autonomous regions, expanded since 1999 till today, are far from satisfaction. From seven new provinces, expanded since 1999, the highest index points received by Maluku Province, with the score of 55.88, continued by Gorontalo (51.31), Bangka Belitung (49.64), West Sulawesi (46.73), Riau Island (46.64), Banten (44.57), and West Papua (24.99).

Expert Staff for Internal Affairs Minister, Ahmad Zubaidi, explain on how the seven autonomous regions were evaluated. There are four criteria, which are Improving People's Welfare, Good Governance, Public Services, and Strengthening Regional Competitiveness. In Improving People's Welfare, Banten is in the sixth place with an index value of 18.23, Good Governance in fifth place, Public Services is in third place (index value of 12), and in Strengthening Regional Competitiveness is in fifth place (index value of 7,48).¹⁶

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 priority 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 2013. During this period, poor public services dominate public complaints sent to Ombudsman. Head of Ombudsman Banten Office, Ranthy Pancasasti, said that, "the reports include illegal fees, service protracted, suspected fraud, to abuse of authority. Suspicion of

¹⁶ Suara Pembaruan, 5 Oktober 2012. "Kesejahteraan Banten Terburuk Kedua dari Tujuh Provinsi," <http://www.suarapembaruan.com/home/kesejahteraan-banten-terburuk-kedua-dari-tujuh-provinsi/25469> (Accessed 2 March 2014).

maladministration occurred in number of institutions, such as hospitals, State Power Company (PLN), Regional Working Units (SKPD), Local Parliament, to Regional Police (Polda).” Ranthy added, “although only ten reports, but one report often represent many people, and many public interests as well.”¹⁷

Improvement or Threat to Democracy?

In a broader context, corruption and lack of budget are identified as the main cause of slow progress in public service. One of the examples, is that on November 2013, Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) declared Tubagus Chaeri Warfana, 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.

South Tangerang is where his 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. They use their power to fix the budget for their own interest and only leave small portion to the people.

After winning local election, “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, the Governor of Banten Province has relatives in seven regencies and municipalities all across Banten, including national scale. Moreover, they control more than 50% of businesses in that province.

If this condition continues, and above explanation about how Banten Province run their public services, political dynasty will be a threat for ongoing Indonesian democratic practices, especially bureaucratic reform efforts. Good governance program in Indonesia rely 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”, we can actually set a parameter to assess the implementation of democracy in a single country. Similar methods are use in terms of measuring economic development of world countries. A

¹⁷ Kabar Banten, 2 January 2014. “Pelayanan Publik Banyak Dikeluhkan,” <http://kabar-banten.com/news/detail/17100> (Accessed 21 April 2014).

high reputation international agency, based in Stockholm, namely International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA) classify six frameworks to assess democracy.¹⁸ 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. 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 Ratu Atut's family makes bureaucratic reforms runs ineffectively. Above, we already present data of how Banten considered to be unsuccessful in terms of bureaucratic reforms, related to political dynasty. Therefore, we can 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 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.¹⁹

First of all, we have to question which people (*demos*) has the ability to control the power. Does *demos* only based on religion, ethnic, political identity, or family? Secondly, we also need to ask what can be classify 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 local dynasty. Beetham added, the following are included as intrinsic elements: right and capability to participate and accepted as representatives, and

¹⁸ David Beetham, Edzia Carvalho, Todd Landman, and Stuart Weir. 2008. "Assessing the Quality of Democracy: A practical Guide." Stockholm: International IDEA, p. 49-52.

¹⁹ David Beetham. 1999. "Democracy and Human Rights." Oxford: Polity Press, p. 61.

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.²⁰ Without public transparency, Atut's family political dynasty is a serious threat to the development and practices of local democracy in Banten.

Interesting to view Willy Purna Samadhi's opinion, a researcher from 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 certain place or culture, even to religious background of the candidates themselves, are considered to be decisive for voters to determine their preferences, rather than nation-state concept as basis for political choice.²¹

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, localisms, 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 hold accountable by their voters.

Political dynasty in Indonesia is a paradox. On one hand, democracy has been fully practiced, but on the other hand democracy also foster political dynasty. Indonesian political life can not be separated from political culture. Meanwhile, Indonesian culture is very much patronage. Not just in bureaucratic system, but also in political party. It is very difficult to improve public service, governance reform, and local democracy if Indonesian political system, at all level, still undergone such practices.

Actually, political dynasty has been practice in Indonesia from a very long time a go. Therefore, the dynasty has become cultural among the people. However, it is very imperative to prevent it of being structurally embedded inside our political system. We also have to prevent dynasties political contestation from influencing the society in improper manner.

²⁰ Olle Tornquist. "Understanding Democracy: Some Preliminary Notes on Concept and Method," in Willy Purna Samadhi and Nicolaas Warouw (ed). 2009. Building Democracy on The Sand: Advances and Setbacks in Indonesia. Jakarta: PCD Press and DEMOS, p. 28-29

²¹ Willy Purna Samadhi. "Towards Political Citizenship: Under the Shadow of Local Communalism," in Willy Purna Samadhi and Nicolaas Warouw (ed). 2009. Building Democracy on The Sand: Advances and Setbacks in Indonesia. Jakarta: PCD Press and DEMOS, p. 77.

Nevertheless, the existence of this dynasty should not have a negative impact in today's politics, especially harming the people and the state.

The idea of a prohibition against the rise of political dynasties is essentially to prevent one family from controlling political power as against the democratic idea that political power should be dispersed as much as possible among everyone. It can widen the political base or the political opportunities on the part of poor but deserving candidates to run for public office with a better chance of winning. If this happens, improvements will be possible.

Nevertheless, we 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 has the rights to give votes and be elected in local election, no matter the person has a family connection with the previous local officials.

Conclusion

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. For example, Governor of Banten Province, Ratu Atut Chosiyah, has relatives in all ten regencies and municipalities all across Banten, including in national scale. Political dynasty do more harm than give benefit.

The number of political dynasty in Indonesia would definitely endanger the lives of local democracy. Most common people only have intellectuality, 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 in a community that is able to actively participate in a political process

That is why the rise of political dynasty in Indonesia is very interesting to be discussed, especially related to public service and local democracy. This research concluded that political dynasty in Banten Province does not have significant impact on the improvement of public service, nor local democracy. On the contrary, Atut's dynasty poses quite a threat for governance and democracy.

In theory, democratic atmosphere should open up great opportunity for every citizen to participate in public sectors. Unfortunately, it is also able to create a family dynasty once

someone's is in power. Therefore, such dynasty has become cultural among Indonesian people, of course, also in Banten. However, it is very imperative to prevent it of being structurally embedded inside our political system. We also have to prevent dynasties political contestation from influencing the society in improper manner. Nevertheless, the existence of this dynasty should not have a negative impact in today's politics, especially harming the people and the state.

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Biography

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