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## The Strength of the Kinship Politics Network and Modalities of Pilar Saga in the 2020 South Tangerang Regional Head Election

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**Abstract:** The issue of kinship politics networks and modalities Pilar Saga is built on the Ratu Atut Chosiyah's dynastic politics. Interestingly, the dynastic political network in Banten contributed to Pilar Saga's victory. Even the various corruption cases that ensnared Ratu Atut's family could not undermine her political network. For example, the corruption case of Ratu Atut for alleged bribery of the Constitutional Court and the trading of positions, T Chaeri Wardana for the corruption case of medical equipment, and Ratu Lilis Karyawati for the Cibenuangen River bypass case in Lebak, Banten. The purpose of this study was to analyze the extent to which Pilar Saga's kinship politics network and modalities influenced his victory in the 2020 South Tangerang Regional Head Election. This study used a qualitative approach with a descriptive method in South Tangerang. The research data was taken through observation and library research to strengthen the conclusion. The results show that the Pilar Saga political network and modalities, apart from being built from the Atut dynasty, were also boosted by the performance achievements of the incumbent Pilar Saga pair. The incumbent in the previous period with Airin Rachmi Diany (Atut's sister-in-law) was able to bring South Tangerang City to be the best Regency/City area in Banten in HDI (Human Development Index) numbers. On this basis, the rational behavior of voters in South Tangerang was not fooled by the various cases that ensnared their relatives in the corruption of the Ratu Atut Chosiyah dynasty.

**Keywords:** capital; political network; kinship politics

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## I. Introduction

The practice of power through dynastic politics in Indonesia is nothing new. Data from the Ministry of Home Affairs shows that in the 2015 Simultaneous Regional Head Elections held by 269 Regional Head Elections organizing regions throughout Indonesia, at least 61 regions or 11% of the total regions indicated by the practice of dynastic politics (Sukri, 2020). This figure rose significantly in 2020. Based on data analysis in the KPU's Recapitulation Information System in the Simultaneous Regional Head Elections on December 9, 2020, 158 candidates were indicated to be part of the practice of dynastic politics, and 67 of them had the potential to win. The tendency to strengthen the practice of dynastic politics increasingly shows that the roots of feudalism and the nature of monarchy have not been transformed. As a manifestation of democracy that should have been built based on meritocracy, Regional Head Elections actually persist based on collusion and nepotism (Hidayati, 2014). As a result, the practice of dynastic politics has significantly limited other people's opportunities in political contests. Instead, the rotation of leadership changes will revolve at the top of the leadership based on kinship only.

Many cases of dynastic politics practice have taken root in several regions in Indonesia. For example, the Sri Mulyani dynastic politics case in Klaten, the Joko Widodo family's dynastic politics in which his son and son-in-law were elected mayors of Surakarta and Medan, the Sri Purnomo dynasty in Sleman, the Idham Samawi dynasty in Bantul, the Yasin Limpo dynasty in West Sulawesi, the Ratu Atut Chosiyah dynasty in Banten. Interestingly, some of the cases above occurred in South Tangerang, where Pilar Saga, who is still related to Ratu Atut Chosiyah, was elected as Vice Mayor of South Tangerang in the 2020 Pilkada accompanying Benyamin Davnie. Whereas previously, the Ratu Atut Chosiyah dynasty network stumbled on several corruption cases that harmed the state. Ratu Atut herself stumbled on the Constitutional Court bribery case and the trading of positions, T Chaeri Wardana stumbled on the medical equipment corruption case, and Ratu Lilis Karyawati stumbled on the Cibenuangen River bypass corruption case in Lebak Banten.

The dynastic politics network built by Atut in Banten is a miniature portrait of local *cendanaisasi*. This is oriented to the Cendana family dynasty in the Suharto era, where this phenomenon has taken root and spread in various regions (Effendi, 2018). The Atut strong kinship

politics network has indirectly built the Pilar Saga political network as capital for contesting in South Tangerang. The network that Atut has built has proven successful by placing many of her relatives in various strategic political positions both locally and nationally, such as Regional Representative Board of the Republic of Indonesia member, House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia member, and various regency/city regional heads in Banten. The city of South Tangerang itself became the Pilar Saga boat that wanted to show that the Atut dynasty would continue to triumph in Banten.

Atut's success cannot be separated from the role of her father, Chasan Sochib. The rise of Ratu Atut Chosiyah at the instigation of her father became the first step in how the Banten dynastic politics was growing, and the political network that formed was powerful, as shown in Table 1.

**Table 1.** Family Politics Domination in Banten Province Local Government

Region	Name	Position	Relatives
Banten Province	Ratu Atut Chosiyah	Former Governor	Chasan S's daughter
Serang City	Khaerul Jaman	Mayor	Atut's Step Brother
Serang Regency	Tatu Chasanah	Mayor	Atut's Sister
South Tangerang City	Airin Rachmi Diany	Mayor	Atut's Sister
Pandeglang Regency	Tanto W Arban	Vice Mayor	Atut's Son-in-law

Source: Processed by the authors

It doesn't just end there. This can be traced from the number of family members of Ratu Atut Chosiyah who are distributed in strategic positions, both political and other administrative positions. For example, Atut's husband, Hikmat Tomet, became a member of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia 2014–2019, Andika Hazrumy, Atut's son, who became a member of the 2009–2014 Regional Representative Board of the Republic of Indonesia and became a member of the 2014–2019 House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia, Ade Rossi Khaerunisa as the son-in-law of Atut who served as a member of the Serang Regional House of Representatives 2009–2014, Ratu Tatu Chasanah as Atut's younger sister who was a member of the Banten Regional House of Representatives and Serang Deputy Governor for 2010–2015 and the Regent of Serang 2016–2021, Tubagus Chaerul Jaman, Atut's step brother as

Vice Mayor of Serang 2008–2013, Ratna Komalasari as Atut's stepmother who became a member of the Serang City Regional House of Representatives 2009–2014, Heryani who is also Atut's stepmother as Deputy Regent of Pandeglang 2010–2015, Airin Rachmi Diany as Mayor of South Tangerang 2011–2016 (Sukri, 2020), and Pilar Saga as Vice Mayor of South Tangerang 2020–2025.

The election of the incumbent Benyamin Davnie, who is paired with Pilar Saga, cannot be separated from the role of the political network that has been neatly entrenched and maintained by Atut Chosiyah in Banten. In the 2020 Simultaneous Regional Head Elections in South Tangerang, three pairs of candidates played a role in dynastic politics. The first pair is Muhammad who is paired with Rahayu Saraswati Djojohadikusumo. The first candidate pair, Rahayu Saraswati, is the niece of Defense Minister Prabowo Subianto (Joko Widodo's rival in the 2014 and 2019 presidential elections). The second pair is Siti Nur Azizah and Ruhamaben. Siti herself is the daughter of the current Vice President of the Republic of Indonesia, namely KH Ma'ruf Amin (NU figure). In comparison, the third pair is Davnie and Pilar Saga. Pilar is the nephew of Ratu Atut Chosiyah. Even though the three pairs came from a very influential dynastic politics, for example, the number one and two pairs from the national dynasty, in reality, they could still be defeated by the regional dynasty in Banten. Rationally, voters, of course, the first and second candidate pairs, have a greater chance than the Davnie-Pilar pair because both are at the level of the national dynasty. Unfortunately, both of them were not strong enough to face Atut's network in Banten, which had been built for years.

In the context of South Tangerang City itself, Pilar Saga actually has a clear political capital and network. Pilar's political capital was obtained from his position as the nephew of Ratu Atut, who already had a name in her territory, especially Banten Province. The popularity of Ratu Atut and the political dynasty she built will make it easier for Pilar to get constituent votes. Meanwhile, if viewed from the network owned by Pilar himself, it comes from three militant groups who are loyal in guarding and supporting him. The three groups are *Jawara*, Communication Forum for Betawi People (Forkabi), and Millennial Youth. Support from *Jawara* to Pilar flows because Pilar and his partner have clear visions and missions compared to their rivals. Meanwhile, according to Communication Forum for Betawi People (Forkabi)

and Millennial Youth, Pilar is a figure who can continue the success achieved by his aunt Airin Rachmi Diany when she led the South Tangerang City (KabarBanten.com, 2020). Previously, the Mayor of South Tangerang was held by Atut Chosiyah's sister-in-law, namely Airin Rachmi Diany 2016–2021, paired with Benyamin Davnie. However, in the South Tangerang City Regional Head Election, the Vice Mayor of South Tangerang, Benyamin Davnie, as the incumbent, ran again as a candidate for Mayor of South Tangerang in pairs with Atut's nephew, Pilar Saga. The family network relationship between Atut in Banten, Airin as the previous ruler of Tangerang City, had implied that Pilar Saga already had all the capital and networks of several militant voter groups considering Pilar's background as a businessman so that he was known to many parties. Therefore, only voter mobilization was left. Even though Pilar Saga's victory was very ironic, the reason was that at least three of Atut's relatives, including Atut himself, were accused of corruption cases and even now have been sentenced to court. Tubagus Chaeri Wardana, who stumbled on corruption in medical equipment, and Ratu Lilis Karyawati, who was involved in the Cibenuangen River bypass corruption case in Lebak, Banten.

Departing from the problems described above, it becomes very interesting to analyze how the network strength and political capital of Pilar Saga are played in the face of the 2020 Simultaneous Regional Head Election in South Tangerang. In addition, it is also interesting to analyze how the influence of the network and modalities of the Atut Chosiyah dynasty in Banten in stimulating the victory of her nephew, Pilar Saga. Therefore, in the formulation of this research, there are two things to be solved related to this case. First, how did Pilar Saga's network and political capital affect his victory in the 2020 South Tangerang Regional Head Election? Second, how is the relationship between Pilar Saga's victory and the political capital and network that Atut Chosiyah had built long ago in Banten? Through these two problem formulations, the problem of networking and political modalities in the relationship between Pilar Saga in South Tangerang and the Atut dynasty will be tried to solve the problem.

Several researchers have researched the Banten Atut dynasty. The first is Sutisna (2017), where he thinks that the strength of the Ratu Atut Chosiyah dynasty cannot be separated from the dominance of her father, Chasan Sochib, as an influential local figure in Banten. Chasan managed

to push his daughter forward in the election of the Governor of Banten twice for the period 2006–2011 and 2011–2014. Since Atut has led many of Atut's relatives who have held strategic political positions in Banten and have expanded. Meanwhile, [Haboddin's research \(2017\)](#) shows how familial politics works in Simultaneous Regional Head Elections in Indonesia, where their presence is due to having networks, connections, and capital, all of which are political capital used in contesting for political office. However, Haboddin is still researching nationally, so it is too general and may not apply to certain regions. Finally, based on the latest research conducted by [Haliim and Hakim \(2020\)](#) on dynastic politics and the basis of public satisfaction, it shows that the Sutrisno dynastic politics in Kediri Regency can create a high level of public satisfaction in the fields of economy, health, and education. This cannot be separated from the family's social network-based role, which mobilizes the public to support the bureaucratic program it implements.

Therefore, it is different from previous research. This research focuses on the family network and the political modalities of Pilar Saga in South Tangerang and the extent to which the Atut dynasty network contributed to its victory in South Tangerang in 2020. This is important to study considering that Ratu Atut's family network has been ingrained, coupled with the support from the social group "Jawara network" in South Tangerang City. This paper will at least reveal how Pilar Saga's influence as Atut Chosiyah's nephew in mobilizing the masses to exercise their political rights and looking at the Pilar Saga pair's strategy in boosting Pilar Saga's electability in South Tangerang 2020.

## II. Methods

This type of research uses a qualitative approach. The reason the author uses this approach is that a phenomenon can be explained in detail and in-depth. In addition, it is also able to collect the required data in a complex manner. The data obtained is important in the analysis process so that, in the end, it produces specific results. The method used is descriptive with the aim that the author can systematically describe the facts and characteristics of the object under study appropriately. In general, this research depends on the ability of researchers to make observations on the object of research. This is related to the final result that can present its own uniqueness and distinguish it from previous research ([Rahmat, 2009](#)).

This study uses the literature study method in obtaining relevant data from journals, books, scientific articles, and other references related to the topic. The data collection process is carried out systematically so that the analyzed data can provide answers to the problem formulation and produce conclusions. The purpose of using literature studies in the data collection process in this study is because reference sources are not limited to time and space. This makes it easier for the author to know the phenomena that occurred in the past. The qualitative approach has four stages: data collection, data reduction, data presentation, and concluding ([Dull & Reinhardt, 2014](#)).

The first stage makes the authors look for data from several sources, either writing or images. Furthermore, in the second stage, the authors must select and sort the data into special categories or according to the theme raised. Then proceed with the process of presenting the data to produce conclusions. The last stage allows the authors to conclude continuously ([Rijali, 2018](#)). The research locus chosen by the authors is South Tangerang City. There are two reasons South Tangerang City was used as the research locus. First, judging from the geographical aspect, the area of South Tangerang City is close to the capital city of Indonesia, namely Jakarta. No wonder many candidate pairs run to measure their electability if they advance to a larger political stage. Second, from an economic point of view, the existence of a development plan by a giant company such as Apple in this city opens up great investment opportunities to later affect the economy of South Tangerang. This research was conducted from December 2020 to February 2021.

## III. Results and Discussion

Various studies state that dynastic politics and in this discussion will be called kinship politics is not healthy for the democratic climate. Dynastic politics will injure the essence of the meaning of freedom in a truly democratic system ([Gunanto, 2020](#)). The same thing was revealed by [Susanti \(2017\)](#) if kinship politics is an effort to direct and regenerate power for certain groups such as elite families, which is considered an enemy of democracy. Susanti's statement confirms the opinion ([Mietzner, 2009](#)) with an article called Indonesia's 2009 Elections: Populism, Dynasties and the Consolidation of the Party System, which sees that the development of dynastic politics in the contemporary era of Indonesia is getting

stronger and has implications for the weakness of the checks and balances system. What Mietzner conveyed is proven that kinship politics is not only nested at the national level, but at the regional level, this issue is ingrained. The establishment of a political kinship network does not just happen.

As stated by Bourdieu (2020) that capital is an important part. Especially in the context of kinship politics, modality is something that must be prioritized in supporting success in political parties. According to him, capital is the accumulation of work, whether valued materially or symbolically, carried out by an agent, either individually or collectively, in order to create social power. Bourdieu divides the capital into four, namely economic capital, social capital, symbolic capital, and cultural capital, and this paper is elaborated again with political capital from Casey (2005). However, this paper will not discuss symbolic capital because it is not relevant to the research problem raised.

## A. Relations and Political Capital

Casey (2005) reveals that political capital accumulates all other capital as a basis for political action. In addition, all other capital, as referred to by Bourdieu (social, economic, cultural, and symbolic capital), is mobilized and produced for political purposes and activities. How these capitals produce political results, both as a source to encourage the success of candidates and mobilize the masses to win the targeted political contestation. The entire capital does not run separately but is actualized into a network that leads to the orientation of the existing political power.

The thick battle of political contestation with the smell of kinship politics in South Tangerang at the 2020 Regional Head Election grand event became a unique phenomenon that did not occur in other regions. This is because the three candidates each have kinship networks with national and local elites. They are fighting for the South Tangerang Mayor's seat with the number of voters according to the South Tangerang Regional General Election Commission's Permanent Voter List data in 2020 as many as 976,019 voters. The first pair of candidate number 1 is Muhamad-Rahayu Saraswati Djojohadikusumo (Sara), candidate pair number 2 is Siti Nur Azizah-Ruhamaben, and pair number 3 is Benyamin Davnie-Pilar Saga Ichsan. The first candidate, Muhamad, is a former South Tangerang Regional Secretariat, and Rahayu Saraswati Djojohadikusumo is the niece of the General

Chairperson of the Gerindra Party (Prabowo Subianto). Rahayu Saraswati is the daughter of Prabowo Subianto's brother. Meanwhile, the number two pair, Siti Nur Azizah, is the daughter of Indonesian Vice President KH Ma'ruf Amin. The number three pair, Pilar Saga Ichsan, is the son of Ratu Tatu Chasanah and the nephew of the former Governor of Banten, Ratu Atut Chosiyah. The kinship pattern of each candidate in the South Tangerang City Regional Head Election can be seen in Table 2.

**Table 2.** Candidate Kinship Patterns in the 2020 South Tangerang Regional Head Election Government

Candidate Pair	Kinship	Carrier Party	Political Gait
Muhamad-Rahayu Saraswati Djojohadikusumo	Former South Tangerang Regional Secretariat	PDI-P, Gerindra Party, PAN, PSI dan Hanura	South Tangerang Regional Secretariat 2017-2020
	Niece of Prabowo Subianto		Deputy Chairperson of the Central Executive Board of the Gerindra Party Member of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia 2014-2019
Siti Nur Azizah-Ruhamaben	Daughter of Vice President KH Ma'ruf Amin	Demokrat Party, PKS and PKB	Deputy Secretary General of the Democratic Party
	-		PKS cadre
Benyamin Davnie-Pilar Saga Ichsan	Incumbent (Vice Mayor of South Tangerang)	Golkar Party, PPP, PBB and Gelora Party	Incumbent Vice Mayor of South Tangerang
	Nephew of Ratu Atut Chosiyah		Golkar Party Cadre

Source: processed from various sources

In addition to the strong kinship politics of the three candidates above, political capital can be seen from the electability of candidates from various surveys. Various survey institutions carried out candidate electability mapping, including SMRC (Saiful Mujani Research and Consulting), Konsepindo Research and Consulting, Indonesian Political Indicators, and Romeo Strategic Research and Consulting. Based on the mapping of various survey institutions, the pair Benyamin Davnie-Pilar Saga Ichsan dominates for the superior electability results. This can be seen from the four survey institutions with the same conclusion that pair number 3 always wins and is followed by the candidate pair number 1. And the last position is occupied by candidate pair number 2. This means that from the various electability mappings, there is a great opportunity and opportunity for the election of the Benyamin Davnie-Pilar Saga Ichsan pair to walk and occupy the seat of Mayor of South Tangerang in the 2020 Regional Head Election. Both directly and

indirectly, Pilar already has political capital as a political engine (Purwaningsih, 2015), inherited by the Atut dynasty. Therefore, the electability of the Pillar pairs can be taken into account. Thus, the political capital of pair number 3 is predicted to be sufficient to defeat their political rivals in the existing political contestation. The dominance of the Pilar Saga pair electability in various surveys can be observed in Table 3.

**Table 3.** 2020 South Tangerang Regional Head Election Candidate Electability

Candidate	SMRC	KRC	IPI	RSRC
Muhamad-Saraswati	20.8%	19.44%	26.7%	20.9%
Nur Azizah-Ruhamaben	10.5%	10.9%	13.1%	17%
Davnie-Pilar Saga	39.3%	40.96%	33.9%	28.7%

Source: Taken from *Republika* December 7, 2020

The results of the electability survey above show how strong the political capital of each candidate competing in the 2020 South Tangerang Regional Head Election is. This is following the findings (Pasan, 2013) related to political modalities in the 2018 Maluku Regional Head Election, which found that the electability of candidates was strongly influenced by experience and previous political work so that their political track record has been tested. After all, the Davnie-Pilar pair is a perfect match considering that Davnie, as the incumbent, already has good political experience. Therefore, the election of Pilar became a steppingstone to win the seat of Mayor of South Tangerang City in the future period.

**B. Economic Network**

Bourdieu (2020) argues that economic capital is the root of all types of capital. Economic capital can be converted into money and can even be institutionalized in the form of property rights. In the context of the political battle in South Tangerang, it can be seen whether the personal wealth of the candidate candidates and the number of campaign funds can affect the victory of each candidate pair. Rationally think of economic capital. The bigger the economic capital, the easier it will be to win the existing political battle. On the other hand, candidates with limited economic capital will find it difficult to reach and mobilize many masses. This is based on thinking that the greater the economic capital in political contestation, the easier and lighter it will

be to mobilize resources, whether mobilizing the masses, the media, or others that support the victory of the candidate concerned (Wance & Djae, 2019). But what happened in the Regional Head Election in South Tangerang was not like that. Candidate pairs whose economic capital is much larger (allocation of campaign funds) are in fact not sufficient to mobilize the masses and other resources. Interestingly, the 2020 South Tangerang Regional Head Election contestation was won by the pair Benyamin Davnie-Pilar Saga Ichsan. In fact, in terms of economic capital, the Benyamin Davnie-Pilar Saga Ichsan pair has less economic capital in allocating it to campaign funds when compared to other candidate pairs. The wealth of each candidate and the number of campaign donations can be seen in Table 4.

**Table 4.** Candidate Personal Wealth and Campaign Donations in the 2020 South Tangerang Regional Head Election

Candidate	Personal Wealth	Campaign Donation Fund
Muhamad	Rp5,194,398,261	Rp13,666,500,000
Rahayu Saraswati Djojohadikusumo	Rp23.7 billion	
Siti Nur Azizah	Rp17 billion	Rp1.3 billion
Ruhamaben	Rp19.7 billion	
Benyamin Davnie	Rp3,484,525,626	Rp1.05 billion
Pilar Saga Ichsan	Rp28,063,872,562	

Source: processed from State Administrator Wealth Report (LHKPN) and General Election Commission (KPU) data, 2020

The data above shows that candidate number 3, Pilar Saga Ichsan, has the most personal wealth compared to the others. However, in the allocation of campaign donations, pair number 3 is the least in nominal amount compared to pair number 1 and 2. Meanwhile, candidate pair number 1 allocated campaign funds slightly superior to number 2 campaign allocation funds. But in fact, with a large campaign allocation fund, it is not enough to be able to walk into the South Tangerang Mayor's seat in 2020.

Interestingly, the Davnie-Pilar pair managed to walk into the seat of Mayor of South Tangerang City, whose campaign fund allocation was less. Power can survive if it has large resources and is not fixated on economic capital alone (Bimantara, 2018). Davnie-Pilar's capital has spread across all lines. Although the economic capital in campaign funds is small, it does not become an obstacle in gaining votes in the South Tangerang Regional Head Election. The capital in question comes from

the candidates, where the incumbent has provided an excellent track record in managing the South Tangerang City before. While at the same time, Pilar Saga is also supported by the militancy of the previous voters who won Airin Rachmi Diany (the Atut dynasty network).

### C. Candidate Social Capital

Putnam explained that social capital refers to the main aspects of social organization, such as trust, norms, and networks that can increase efficiency in the public through the facilities for coordinated actions (Mulyadi, 2011). This is enough to show how big the social capital in Pilar Saga's victory is. It is undeniable that the three candidates in the 2020 South Tangerang Regional Head Election political contestation have well-established social networks. Even their position and social status have a prominent group.

Sukri (2020) revealed that the social status of "local strongman" contributed enough to accumulate voter votes so that what happened in Banten became a real political fact. This status can indirectly lead public opinion to be oriented towards voting behavior (Prianto, 2016). The simple thing that can be understood is how obedient society is in serving someone considered more capable, more authoritative, and has a strong enough influence in their environment. In the context of the 2020 South Tangerang Regional Head Election, for example, Rahayu Saraswati Djojohadikusumo. She is a former House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia member 2014–2019 and the niece of Defense Minister Prabowo Subianto. Prabowo himself is Jokowi's rival in the 2014 and 2019 presidential election contestations twice in a row.

Even though he competed twice and failed, Prabowo himself has a fairly strong influence in the public's eyes, considering that Prabowo's figure is already known. This means that the moment of the presidential election will indirectly become a place for him to introduce himself to the public and shine in the future, considering that Jokowi cannot run for re-election because of existing regulations. Therefore, this situation has raised the social status of his relatives so that Rahayu Saraswati Djojohadikusumo's social network cannot be doubted. Moreover, in the Gerindra party, Rahayu Saraswati Djojohadikusumo was lined up as Deputy Chairperson of the Central Executive Board of the Gerindra Party. However, the social network that has been built has not been able to make the

people vote for her to walk into the seat of the Mayor of South Tangerang.

In addition, there is Siti Nur Azizah, who is also the daughter of Vice President KH Ma'ruf Amin. Although the social network can be quite clear, it turns out that the network that he built could not create a moment in winning the 2020 South Tangerang Regional Head Election. In fact, Siti Nur Azizah as a daughter of an NU figure would be very easy if the majority of South Tangerang residents, the Nahdliyin, voted for her. It also remembers NU as the largest Islamic organization in Indonesia. As a reflection of Jokowi-Ma'ruf's victory, which could mobilize NU members to vote for him, this pair finally stepped into the seat of RI 1. However, in this South Tangerang Regional Head Election, Siti Nur Azizah lost her moment even in various electability surveys, and her vote was always in the last position. The last one, Benyamin Davnie-Pilar Saga Ichsan's pair, won the political contestation who occupied the South Tangerang number 1 seat. In terms of social position, this couple has had a place in society. This is confirmed by the dominance of this pair from various surveys and valid votes in the 2020 Regional Head Election. Indirectly, the promotion of Davnie from Vice Mayor of South Tangerang to Mayor side by side with Pilar Saga has shown a political strategy by attracting Pilar Saga. This is based on political reality, where Pilar Saga has a political and social network built on the Ratu Atut family. This is certainly very influential considering Pilar Saga is still Ratu Atut's nephew.

From the two pairs of candidates above, it seems that the social network owned by candidate pair number 3 is quite strong and very broad compared to the two. Although candidate pair number 1, namely Saraswati, has a social network and was built because of her contribution as the niece of the Minister of Defense Prabowo and candidate pair number 2, namely Siti Nur Azizah, who has a social capital network due to contributions from her father as Vice President of the Republic of Indonesia, the fact is that she cannot destroy the social network owned by candidate pair number 3. This is because the social network of candidate pair number 3 has been entrenched under the people as well, as the network is spread evenly and naturally built up in the Banten Province, considering the track record of kinship politics in Banten has been firmly entrenched and very difficult to overthrow (Gunanto, 2020). The network includes *Jawara* in South Tangerang, previous incumbent militant voters who were paired with Pilar Saga relatives,

the millennial network, the South Tangerang Young Businessman Brigade, Betawi Rempug Forum, and also 4000 South Tangerang City Communication Forum for Betawi People (Forkabi) personnel. Even the various problems of corruption, bribery, and others were not enough to end the Atut dynasty, which had been regenerated in Banten to her relatives.

The “local bossism” or “local strongman” platform adequately describes how social capital is very close to economic capital (Suaib & Zuada, 2015). In fact, there are many people whose social status has increased and is charismatic because of their large source of economic capital. This follows what happened in the Philippines, where social class greatly influences dynastic politics situations (Pasan, 2013). Although in the midst of its journey, economic capital becomes a dynamic factor and does not have to be certain. As in the context of the Davnie-Pilar Saga pair that if traced, it will definitely be clearer. It must be known that the establishment of kinship politics in Banten cannot be separated from the economic capital embedded by Tubagus Chasan Sochib. Her father, a reliable businessman and played big projects in Banten, was enough to trigger his daughter to sit in Banten's political office. Such a large economic capital became a stimulus to carry his daughter to become the Deputy Governor of Banten (Sutisna, 2017).

Of course, this is an early start and a steppingstone to creating kinship politics in the Banten region for further regeneration. This kinship politics will continue to be maintained along with the many strategic positions in Banten to the Regency/City occupied by the family of Ratu Atut Chosiyah. Even this dynastic politics will last a long time because of the support of the supporting political parties and the public's trust in their performance achievements. Data on the results of the vote recapitulation between each candidate in the 2020 South Tangerang City Regional Head Election following the release of the South Tangerang City Regional General Election Commission can be seen in Table 5.

Recapitulation of votes from the 2020 South Tangerang City Regional General Election Commission showed that there was intense competition between candidate pair 1 and candidate pair 3 so that candidate pair 2 was kicked out because they were far behind in terms of both vote acquisition and electability surveys. In the data above, the Benyamin Davnie-Pilar Saga Ihsan's pair won in four districts while the candidate pair number 1, namely Muhamad-

**Table 5.** The Vote Recapitulation Results of the 2020 South Tangerang City Regional Head Election

District	CP 1	CP 2	CP 3
Serpong	23588	14215	26939
Serpong Utara	22524	8938	22305
Pondok Aren	38272	30716	52875
Ciputat	37542	22167	30956
Ciputat Timur	26485	16247	29797
Pamulang	44672	34273	57874
Setu	12226	8126	18988

Source: Tangerang City Regional General Election Commission 2020

Rahayu Saraswati Djojohadikusumo, only won in three districts. The results of the recapitulation were finally won by candidate pair number 3.

#### D. Cultural Capital

Cultural capital can be derived from the legality of the program (Purwaningsih, 2015). This means that the more the quality of the incumbent program, the greater the chance of winning. Sujarwoto (2015) reveals that dynastic politics can hinder poverty alleviation. This did not happen in South Tangerang because although Central Bureau of Statistics poverty data showed that South Tangerang was an increase in the poverty rate, this was not able to undermine Pilar Saga's vote acquisition. Data released by South Tangerang Central Bureau of Statistics in 2020 poverty increased by 40%. The number of poverties in 2020 is 40,190 people. Whereas previously in 2019 only 29,190 people. The poverty indicator does not seem strong enough to prevent candidate pair number three from being failed halfway. In fact, this pair managed to achieve success in the 2020 South Tangerang Regional Head Election. This is inseparable from the reputation of the incumbent's track record in the human development index (HDI) data, even South Tangerang City, under his leadership, South Tangerang became the city with the highest HDI number among regencies/cities in Banten Province. Furthermore, this becomes a lucky space to deliver Pilar Saga Ihsan in becoming the number one person in the city of South Tangerang, Banten. South Tangerang City HDI data for 2018, 2019, and 2020 can be seen in Table 6.

Therefore, the various positive track records left by the incumbent become public consumption and a strong reason why the people of South Tangerang should choose him. This was used as



**Table 6.** South Tangerang City Human Development Index Data

Regency/City	Banten Province HDI Data		
	2020	2019	2018
Pandeglang Regency	65.00	64.91	64.34
Lebak Regency	63.91	63.88	63.37
Tangerang Regency	71.92	71.93	71.59
Serang Regency	66.70	66.38	65.93
Tangerang City	78.25	78.43	77.92
Cilegon City	73.05	73.01	72.65
Serang City	72.16	72.10	71.68
South Tangerang City	81.36	81.48	81.17
Banten Province	72.45	72.44	71.95

Source: South Tangerang Central Bureau of Statistics, 2020

an excuse by pair number three to be precise, namely Benyamin Davnie as the incumbent who had brought the City of South Tangerang to achievements in managing the city under his leadership. This cultural network actually gave a very big contribution in creating the victory for candidate pair number 3 as well as this cultural network being able to form strong and bind public trust. In addition, Davnie's appointment of Pilar Saga as his vice is the right momentum for a steppingstone to occupy South Tangerang 1 and this is half the process to get there. These precise moments are actually the arena for the existence of kinship politics which will gradually gain the center of society, even though this actually closes healthy political competition.

### E. Ratu Atut Network in Winning Benyamin Davnie and Pilar Saga Ichsan

Ratu Atut's political network in Banten cannot be separated from the history of the formation of Banten Province, where there is a role for youth and *Jawara*. Interestingly, in the dynamics of its history in the establishment of Banten Province, an elite cultural group strongly supported every candidate it championed, namely *Kyai* and *Jawara*. *Jawara* itself is also known as the Banten Warrior, who dominates local politics more than the *Kyai*. The main character in this group of *Jawara* is Chasan Sochib, Ratu Atut's father.

Atut's father's ability to play the role of a central figure in Banten resulted in the rise of Ratu Atut to become the Governor of Banten. In fact, this capital has become a hereditary strategy in placing Chasan Sochib's relatives in control and creating a political dynasty there.

The strong political influence of the Ratu Atut Chosiyah dynasty in Banten Province represents a strong political network and organization. Political closeness will have a relationship with political networks. The closer a person is to politics (family or relatives), the stronger the political network he forms (Masyitha, 2015). The dynastic politics that was built like in Banten is an ongoing process, not just a coincidence. This is actually the advantage of the Atut Chosiyah dynasty in Banten Province. Starting from Tubagus Chasan Sochib, the father of Atut Chosiyah, to the descendants of Ratu Atut Chosiyah to children, children-in-law, husbands, nephews, nieces, even all other relatives scattered in strategic posts in Banten starting from Pandeglang, Serang, Lebak, and other strategic areas in Banten became an easy instrument to mobilize the masses and left a fairly strong influence in the case of this political dynasty in Banten. In the end, kinship politics will grasp the resources of economic, social, political, and other power.

Even the various bribery and corruption cases surrounding her are not enough to make the face of Ratu Atut Chosiyah's political dynasty fade away. However, network strengths such as economic, political, social, other cultural capital, and public trust make it easier for them to gain public votes in general elections (Purwanti & Alfirdaus, 2020). The strong network of the Atut dynasty is not affected by corruption cases. Even though the Atut dynasty corruption data has claimed three names. The following is Table 7 as a list of corruption cases involving the Atut dynasty in Banten.

**Table 7.** The Corruption and Bribery Case of Ratu Atut Chosiyah's Dynasty

Name	Case	Punishment
Atut Chosiyah	Constitutional Court bribes and trading of positions	5.5 years
T Chaeri Wardana	Medical Equipment Corruption	7 years
Ratu Lilis Karyawati	Corruption of the Cibenuangen River bypass project in Lebak Banten	8.5 years

Source: processed by the authors from TribunNews and detik.com

From the explanation of the cases of corruption or bribery involving the relatives and families of Ratu Atut Chosiyah above, at least it caused state losses of more than 500 billion rupiah. In some of these corruption cases involving relatives of Pilar Saga, rational voting

behavior can reverse the vote acquisition as an implication. Corruption and bribery will create and embed a bad image for candidates whose relatives are involved in bribery or corruption cases. And this should be able to erode the majority vote that had previously been built. But in fact, what happened in Banten was not that smooth. Some of the public thought that Atut Chosiyah's kinship politics would collapse due to the corruption case. Still, what happened? It seems that the corruption case did not really affect the electoral votes produced.

There are still many relatives of Ratu Atut Chosiyah who still hold political leadership positions ranging from Pandeglang (Tanto Warsono Arban as deputy regent since 2016), Serang City (Haerul Jaman), South Tangerang (Airin Rachmi Diany as South Tangerang mayor 2011–2021), Serang Regency (Ratu Tatu Chasanah as Regent of Serang 2016–2022) and even the most recent victory of Pilar Saga Ichsan is a historical fact of how immune the kinship politics built on Atut Chosiyah's lineage is. Even the nephew of the Indonesian Minister of Defense (Rahayu Saraswati) and the daughter of the Vice President of the Republic of Indonesia (KH Ma'ruf Amin) did not have the fangs and spurs to subvert Atut Chosiyah's kinship politics. The strong kinship politics network spread across Banten's strategic posts has created an unpredictable public way of thinking. The loyal attitude of voters towards Atut's family seems to close their eyes and ears to the exposure to corruption and bribery cases that cost hundreds of billions of state money.

It must be admitted that the traces of kinship politics in Banten are obvious. [Effendi \(2018\)](#) revealed that Ratu Atut Chosiyah, the former Governor of Banten from 2007–2012, had at least nine relatives, husbands, and siblings, who held strategic positions in Banten. For example, Ratu Atut Chosiyah, who rules over Banten Province, Ratu Atut's husband who is a member of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia, her son who is a member of the Regional Representative Board of the Republic of Indonesia, her half-sister becomes Vice Mayor of Serang, her stepmother becomes a member of the Pandeglang Regency Regional House of Representatives, the other stepmother becomes a member of the Serang City Regional House of Representatives, and her sister-in-law Airin who holds the post of Mayor of South Tangerang. And most recently, Pilar Saga Ichsan, who still has a relative relationship with Ratu Atut Chosiyah, was elected as Vice Mayor of South Tangerang to

accompany Benyamin Davnie in the 2020 South Tangerang Regional Head Election. This was inseparable from the strategic posts occupied by the Atut dynasty so that the Pilar Saga area became one of the strategic posts. The strategic posts of the Atut dynasty in Banten can be seen in [Table 8](#).

**Table 8.** Strategic Position of Ratu Atut Chosiyah Dynasty in Banten

Name	Family Status	Position
Ratu Atut Chosiyah	Chasan Sochib's daughter	Businessman/entrepreneur
Andika Hazrumy	Atut's son	Member of House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia 2014–2016 Deputy Governor of Banten 2017–2022
Andiara Aprilia	Atut's daughter	Member of Regional Representative Board of the Republic of Indonesia from Banten 2014–2019 Deputy Chairman of the Banten Regional House of Representatives
Haerul Jaman	Atut's stepbrother	Member of House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia 2019–2024 Vice Mayor of Serang 2008–2011 Mayor of Serang 2013–2018
Airin Rachmi Diany	Atut's sister-in-law	Mayor South Tangerang 2011–2021
Ratu Tatu Chasanah	Atut's sister	Deputy Regent of Serang 2010–2015 Regent of Serang 2016–2021
Tanto W Arban	Atut's son-in-law	Deputy Regent of Pandeglang 2015–2020
Ade Rossi Cherunnisa	Atut's daughter-in-law	Deputy Chairman of the Banten Regional House of Representatives
Pilar Saga Ichsan	Atut's nephew	Vice Mayor of South Tangerang 2020–2025

Source: Processed from various sources

#### IV. Conclusion

Based on the study results above, it can be concluded that the network of power and political capital of the Pilar Saga pair in the 2020 South Tangerang Regional Head Election was strongly influenced by the Atut Chosiyah dynasty. Ratu Atut Chosiyah's nephew, Pilar Saga, contributed to his victory in the 2020 South Tangerang Regional Head Election. The network of various very militant and very central groups in Banten, such as Jawara, Kyai, Communication Forum for Betawi People (Forkabi), and Millennial Youth, showed

their political support for Pilar's victory. This means that the mobilization of the mass political network that was previously loyal and supported the Atut Chosiyah network was mobilized to vote for her nephew in South Tangerang. This shows that Pilar Saga's political capital has grown and spread across various grassroots. At the same time, grassroots networks such as Jawara have become central figures and local elites who are very influential in political contestation. Pilar Saga does not need to build and create public voice mobility from scratch but only needs to play the Atut Chosiyah's strategy in Banten. This strategy has been used for generations and has proven to lead the Ratu Atut family to occupy strategic positions in various regencies/cities in Banten Province.

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