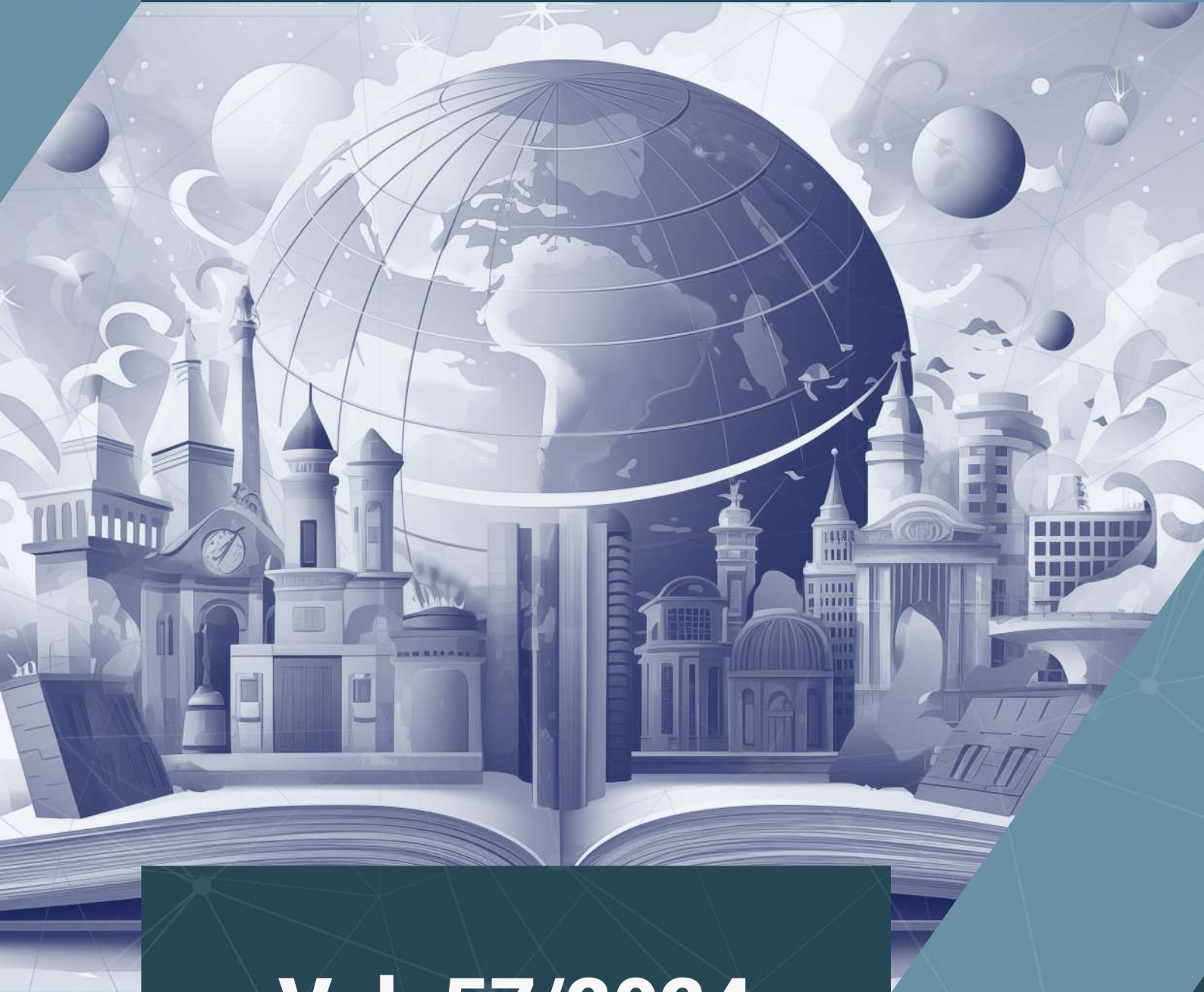




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The Emergence and Stability of Political Family Networks (PFNs) in Banten Province, Indonesia

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Abstract. The emergence of political family networks (PFNs) is an anomaly in Indonesian democracy post-New Order authoritarianism. This article discusses the emergence of political family networks in Banten Province, Indonesia, and how they maintained stability and stayed in power for over two decades. The research data, crucial for our comprehensive understanding, were collected through rigorous, in-depth interviews with key informants in Banten. Observation and study of documents were also carried out during the process of collecting data in the field. The result of the study shows that in the two decades since the 1998 democratic transition, as many as five PFNs emerged and existed in Banten Province. However, the role of local strongman Tubagus Chasan Shohib, who leveraged his social and political influence, became the most intriguing aspect of this study. His influence was critical in this region's emergence and consolidation of PFNs. Stability in the political arena was built through the strengthening of social bonds and transactional, as well as the spread of institutions in a mimetic, normative, and coercive manner.

Keywords. Political family networks, political fields, institutions

1. Introduction

The emergence of political family networks (PFNs) is a significant and relatively new phenomenon in Indonesia's democratic era since the collapse of the New Order authoritarian regime in 1998. While the democratic era was expected to strengthen liberal democracy by implementing free and fair elections, protecting freedom of speech [1], and public participation [2], it has also seen a resurgence of family, patronage, nepotism, and dynasty in politics [3]. This article delves into this intriguing and understudied aspect of Indonesian politics, focusing on the emergence and stability of political family networks in Banten Province. Our research sheds light on this relatively unexplored area, offering fresh perspectives and insights.

Since the 1998 political transition, political family networks (PFNs) have been emerging in various regions in Indonesia. In 2013, as many as 57 regional heads were political family networks, which increased to 65 regional heads in 2016 [4]. In the 2020 regional election, as many as 52 regional head candidates had kinship relations with incumbent regional heads, political party leaders, and the president and vice president [5]. President Joko Widodo's family (son and son-in-law) were elected regional heads in the 2020 regional elections. In the 2024

presidential election, President Joko Widodo's son, Gibran Rakabuming Raka, was elected vice president in the 2024 election.

Banten Province, the locus of this research, is also in the grip of political family networks. Almost all districts/cities in Banten Province are controlled by political family networks. At the Banten Province level, Ratu Atut Chosiah's political family network (PFN) is a large PFN that has been in power for over two decades since 2002. In addition, several smaller networks have power at the district/city level, namely Ahmad Dimiyati Natakusumah's PFN in Pandeglang Regency, Tubagus Aat Syafaat's PFN in Cilegon City, Mulyadi Jayabaya's PFN in Lebak Regency, and Ismed Iskandar's PFN in Tangerang Regency. Tangerang City is The only region not controlled by any political family network in Banten.

To understand and limit the notion of *political family networks*, this article uses the concept developed by Aspinall and As'ad [6] that "*a political family consists of a family where more than one family member gains elected political positions in a particular geographic unit*" (p. 422). Referring to this concept, this article translates the term *political family networks (PFNs)* as "*a network of relationships between actors, both between actors within the political family and between political family actors and actors outside the political family, which form a certain social network to achieve and maintain political power.*"

This article argues that since the collapse of New Order authoritarian rule in 1998, political family networks have emerged massively in Indonesia, especially in Banten Province, by utilizing and manipulating democratic procedures. In addition, this article contributes to analyzing how the emergence and map of political family networks in Banten Province and what kind of network patterns make them able to survive for more than two decades. This analysis will help better understand the emergence and development of political family networks in Indonesia.

2. Literature review

Several studies tend to use different terminology to explain *political family networks*, including *political family* [6], *political dynasty* [7-10], *political clan* [6, 11], *politician family networks* [12], and *family ties* [13]. Although they use different terminology, they all refer to the involvement of family networks in politics.

Aspinall and As'ad [6] distinguish the meaning of *political family*, *political dynasty*, and *political clan*. A political family is a family with more than one family member who gets an elected political position in a particular geographical unit. A political family will become a *political dynasty* only if it can temporarily extend its power so that once the dynasty's founder loses his position, he is replaced by another family member. A *political clan* is a family usually embedded in the broader kinship network, most of whose members are not political office holders but can be mobilized to support the political family.

Cesar [11] argues that the development of political family networks is due to political clans, a phenomenon in developing societies that emerges due to the strong legacy of feudalism in society. Feudalism, which supports the development of these family political networks, is a metamorphosis of the old feudalism, a combination of landlords and political lords. Purdey [8] adds that these political clans need legitimacy and moral authority through historical narratives to build and maintain their power in the political arena.

Before the concept of political clans, Migdal [14] researched weak states and strong societies, arguing that the political arena in developing countries tends to be controlled by a small group of people as *local strongmen*. The idea of local strongmen was further developed by Sidel [15] with the concept of *local bossism*. This concept was further developed by McCoy

[16] and Asako [17], where a small group of people who control the political arena in developing countries act as political *predators* through collusion between political power and businesses controlled by family networks.

These political family networks only sometimes succeed in monopolizing political and economic resources because the *power* obtained by political family networks changes over time [7]. Masaaki and Hamid's [18] research on jawara in Banten also shows how *local strongmen* use jawara to strengthen family political networks by taking advantage of the democratic transition at the regional level. Sutisna's research [4] shows that this political family network has expanded in the executive and legislative domains and spread in many arenas of community life, such as in the business, sociocultural, youth, and even religious mass organizations.

3. Research method

Qualitative research with a case study approach is used to understand the emergence of political family networks in Banten and how they maintain stability. The qualitative approach explores and understands the *meaning of* individuals or social groups related to the social problems under study [19]. For this reason, fieldwork is required to interview sources of information in depth [20].

Case studies help understand the complexity of the emergence and development of political family networks in Banten through an in-depth field research process. Field research was conducted between March to December 2023. A total of 30 informants who understand and master information about the emergence and development of Banten's political family network were interviewed to obtain accurate information and data. The informants were actors who had worked together and were part of the Banten political family networks, academics, researchers, NGO activists, student activists, Banten Provincial Election Commission (KPU) members, Banten business people, and bureaucrats.

In addition to in-depth interviews, field observations, documentation analysis, and online and conventional media analysis were conducted to enrich data and perspectives on the emergence and development of Banten's political family networks. Data analysis was performed by extracting themes from the evidence of field findings, and data was organized to ensure coherence and consistency [21]. The results were interpreted and described in the research findings contained in this article.

4. Results

4.1 Tubagus Chasan Shohib as Local Strongman

Banten's social and political changes after the collapse of the authoritarian power of the New Order were driven by the ulama and then taken over by the Jawara. Tubagus Chasan Shohib was a vital actor who influenced Banten's social and political transition process. He controlled Banten's jawara groups as Chairman of PPPSBBI (Persatuan Pendekar Persilatan Seni Budaya Banten Indonesia).

During the New Order era, PPPSBBI was used by Tubagus Chasan Shohib as a bridge to connect to the New Order government and obtain various infrastructure development projects in the Banten region. Tubagus Chasan Shohib's position as a jawara elite was also used to facilitate him in running businesses that required violence, such as land acquisition projects. Tubagus Chasan Shohib claimed that he had three thousand jawara [18].

During the election process for the Governor and Deputy Governor of Banten in 2002, several Golkar (Golongan Karya Party) elites chose Banten figure H.M. Ali Yahya to be Golkar's candidate for deputy governor. Tubagus Chasan Shohib disagreed and proposed his

daughter (Ratu Atut Chosiah) as Golkar's candidate for deputy governor. Tubagus Chasan Shohib's request created opposition within the Banten Golkar Party. Some Golkar elites argued that appointing Ratu Atut Chosiah was inappropriate as she needed a track record in Banten's political arena. However, Tubagus Chasan Shohib continued to impose his ambition by eliminating dissenting Banten Golkar figures.

After successfully eliminating his political opponents, Tubagus Chasan Shohib broke up the PPP (United Development Party) and PDIP (Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle) coalition that had already endorsed Joko Munandar (Chairman of PPP Banten) as Governor and a figure from PDIP as deputy. Tubagus Chasan Shohib succeeded in forming a new coalition consisting of Golkar, PPP, and some other parties without PDIP. With this new coalition, Tubagus Chasan Shohib endorsed his daughter Ratu Atut Chosiah as a candidate for vice governor to accompany Djoko Munandar as a candidate for Governor to be elected at the Banten House of Representatives meeting. The Djoko Munandar-Ratu Atut Chosiah pair successfully won the contestation at the Banten DPRD and were inaugurated as the Governor and Deputy Governor of Banten for the 2002-2007 period.

Tubagus Chasan Shohib's success in consolidating politics was followed by several of his men in the Banten jawara network. Of his many subordinates, some of them succeeded in building political power. Those who succeeded were Ahmad Dimiyati Natakusumah in Pandeglang Regency, Tubagus Aat Syafaat in Cilegon City, and Mulyadi Jayabaya in Lebak Regency. In addition, Ismed Iskandar, unrelated to Tubagus Chasan Shohib, managed to come to power in the Tangerang Regency.

The figure below shows a map of Banten's political family networks that have been in power for more than two decades since the 1998 democratic transition until today.

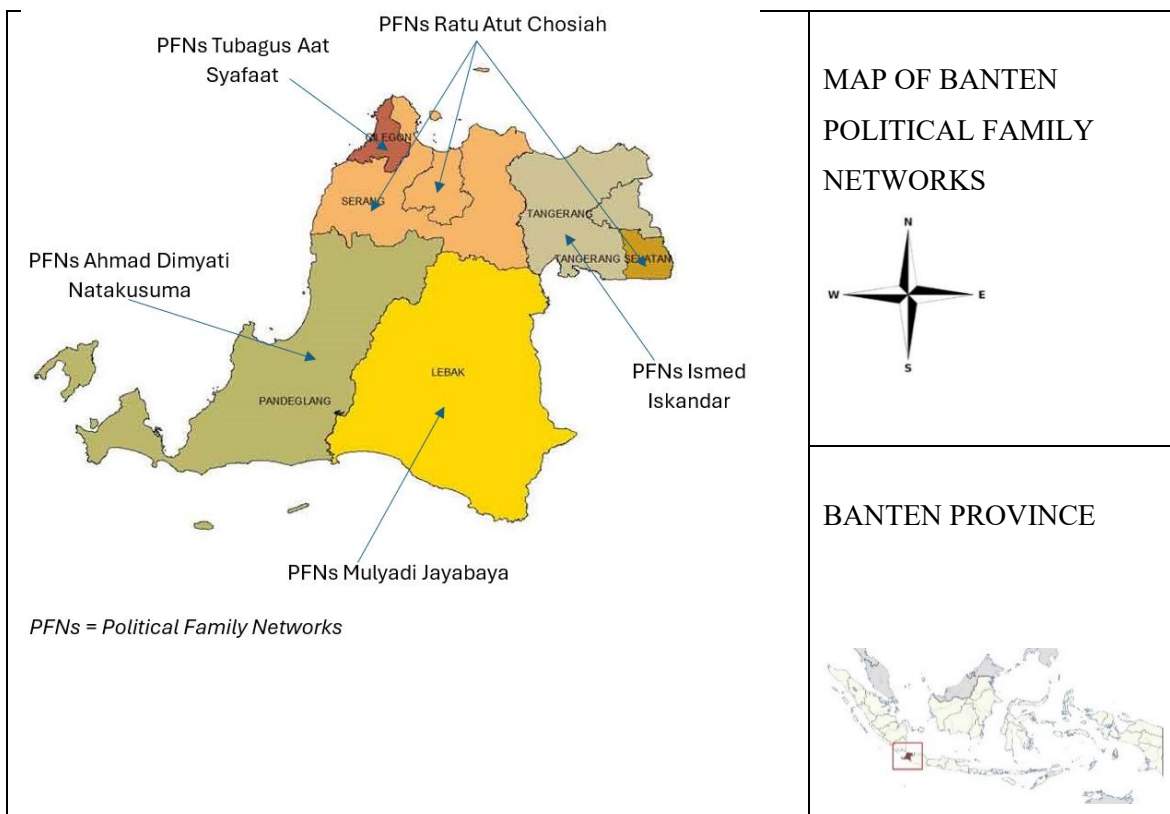




Figure 1. Map of Banten Political Family Networks

4.2 Five Banten Political Family Networks (PFNs)

4.2.1 Ratu Atut Chosiah's Political Family Network (2022-2024)

Ratu Atut Chosiah's PFN is the most prominent political family network in Banten Province. The main actors in this PFN are Ratu Atut Chosiah and his father, Tubagus Chasan Shohib, who was Banten's *local strongman*. This PFN emerged when Ratu Atut Chosiah was elected as Deputy Governor of Banten for the 2002-2007 period. As deputy governor, Ratu Atut Chosiah, supported by her father, began to build and develop a political family network by distributing family members to legislative positions at the regional and national levels and executive positions in various districts/cities in Banten Province.

Ratu Atut Chosiah was increasingly free to develop a political family network after being appointed Acting Governor of Banten to replace Djoko Munandar, who was dismissed from his position due to a corruption case in 2005. The position as Acting Governor of Banten gave Ratu Atut Chosiah sole power to continue political consolidation and strengthen the existence of the family network. The expansion and strengthening of political networks became more massive when Ratu Atut Chosiah was re-elected as Governor of Banten for 2007-2012 and 2012-2019.

Ratu Atut Chosiah's political network was strengthened by the election of Hikmat Tomet (Ratu Atut Chosiah's husband) as Chairman of the Banten Golkar Party for 2009-2014. In the 2009 elections, he was successfully elected as a member of the House of Representatives (DPR RI) for 2009-2014. In the 2014 election, Hikmat Tomet again became a DPR RI candidate, but he died in 2013 before the election was held.

During Hikmat Tomet's leadership of the Banten Golkar Party, he and Ratu Atut Chosiah distributed members of his family network to executive and legislative government positions. In the 2008 regional election, Tubagus Haerul Jaman (Ratu Atut Chosiah's half-brother) was elected Deputy Mayor of Serang from 2008-2013. In 2011, Tubagus Haerul Jaman was sworn in as Mayor of Serang, replacing the Mayor who died on March 1, 2011. In the 2013 Serang City Election, Tubagus Haerul Jaman was elected and became Mayor of Serang for the period 2013-2018. He was then elected as a member of the House of Representatives from the Golkar Party for the 2019-2024 period. Meanwhile, Airin Rahmi Diani (Ratu Atut Chosiah's sister-in-law) was elected Mayor of South Tangerang from 2011 to 2016 and re-elected from 2015 to 2020.

In 2010, Ratu Tatu Chasanah (younger brother of Ratu Atut Chosiah) was elected as the Deputy Regent of Serang for the 2010-2015 period. After completing her term as deputy regent, she was elected the Regent of Serang for the 2015-2020 and 2020-2024 periods. Around the same time, Ratu Atut Chosiah's stepmother, Heryani, won the Pandeglang Regency election and was elected as Deputy Regent of Pandeglang for the 2011-2016 period. The youngest family member to enter politics is Pilar Saga Ichsan (Ratu et al.'s niece/son of Pandeglang Regent Ratu Tatu Chasanah). Pilar Saga Ichsan was only 29 when she was elected Deputy Mayor of South Tangerang for 2020-2024.

Apart from the executive, Ratu Atut Chosiah's PFNs also placed their actors in legislative positions. In the 2009 legislative elections, several members of Ratu Atut Chosiah's PFNs gained power seats in the legislature. They are Andika Hazrumi (Ratu Atut Chosiah's biological son), who was elected as a member of the Regional Representative Council (DPD

RI) from Banten, Ade Rossi (Ratu Atut Chosiah's son-in-law), who was elected as a member of the Banten House of Representative (DPRD), Ratna Komalasari (Ratu Atut Chosiah's stepmother) was elected as a member of the Serang City House of Representative (DPRD). Aden Abdul Kholiq (Ratu Atut Chosiah's brother-in-law) was elected as a member of the Banten House of Representatives (DPRD).

In the 2014 legislative elections, Ratu Atut Chosiah's PFNs succeeded in placing several of its actors in the legislature. They were Andiara Aprilia (Ratu et al.'s biological daughter), elected as a member of the Regional Representative Council (DPD RI), Andika Hazrumi (Ratu Atut Chosiah's biological son), elected as a member of the House of Representatives (DPR RI) from the Golkar Party, Tanto Warsono Arban (Ratu Atut Chosiah's son-in-law) elected as a member of Banten House of Representatives, and Ratu Ria Maryana (Ratu Atut Chosiah's half-sister) elected as a member of Serang City House of Representatives.

After a period of being a member of DPD RI (2009-2014) and being elected to the DPR RI for the 2014-2019 period, the progress and political influence of Andika Hazrumi (Ratu Atut Chosiah's son) has strengthened in Banten Province. Andika Hazrumi then contested the Banten Provincial Election in 2017 and was elected as Deputy Governor of Banten for 2017-2022. Meanwhile, Tanto Warsono Arban (Ratu Atut Chosiah's son-in-law) was elected as Deputy Regent of Pandeglang for the 2016-2021 and 2020-2024 periods.

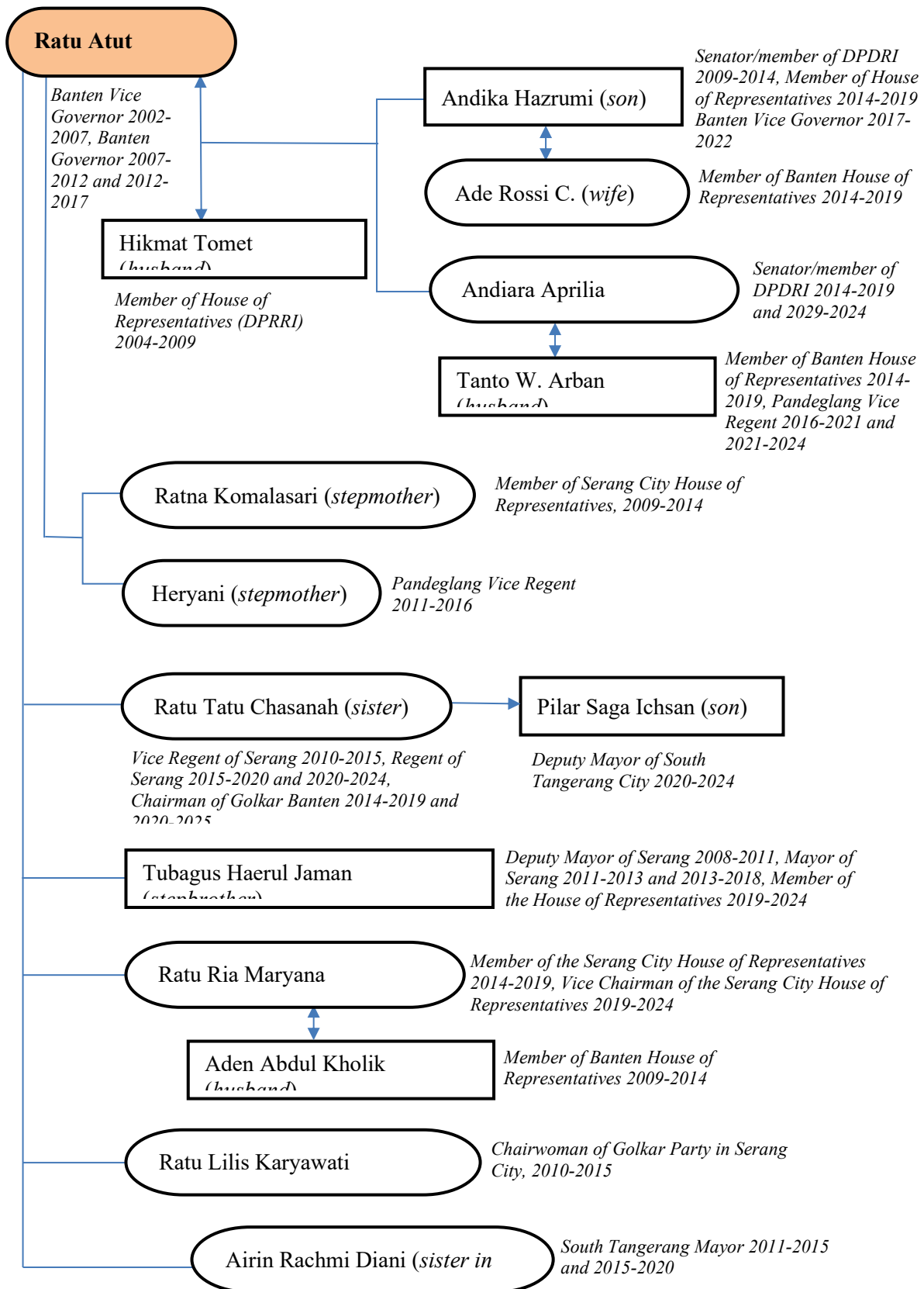


Figure 2. PFNs of Ratu Atut Chosiah

In the 2019 legislative elections, Andiara Aprilia (Ratu Atut Chosiah's daughter) was re-elected to the Regional Representative Council for the second term. Meanwhile, Ratu Ria Maryana (Ratu Atut Chosiah's half-sister) was also re-elected to the Serang City House of Representatives.

Outside the government, Tubagus Chaeri Wardana (Ratu Atut Chosiah's younger brother) is an essential actor in this family network. He plays a strategic role outside the system by running the family business and controlling various arenas outside the government. He played a significant role in organizing strategies to control multiple political positions in Banten for his family network. During his dominant role in 2013, he stumbled into a corruption case with his sister, Banten Governor Ratu Atut Chosiah.

4.2.2 Ahmad Dimiyati Natakusumah's Political Family Network (2000-2024)

PFN's Ahmad Dimiyati Natakusuma has been in power for over two decades in Pandeglang Regency since 2000. Ahmad Dimiyati Natakusuma is one of Tubagus Chasan Shohib's men in Banten's jawara network who stands out in the political arena. Ahmad Dimiyati Natakusuma made his political debut by contesting the Pandeglang Regent election 2000. He was elected Pandeglang Regent for 2000-2005 at age 34 and re-elected as Pandeglang Regent for 2005-2010.

Ahmad Dimiyati Natakusuma was then elected a member of the House of Representatives from the PPP (United Development Party) for the 2009-2014 period. In the 2014 legislative elections, he was re-elected as a member of the House of Representatives for the 2014-2019 period through the PPP party. In the 2019 legislative elections, he was re-elected as a member of the House of Representatives for the 2019-2024 period from the PKS (Prosperous Justice Party) party.

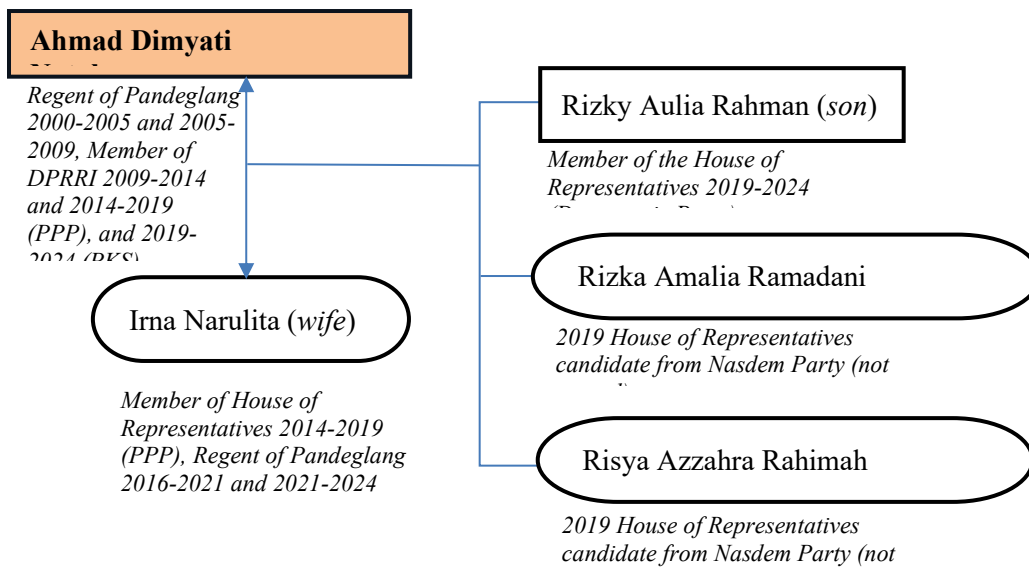


Figure 3. PFNs of Ahmad Dimiyati Natakusuma

Ahmad Dimiyati Natakusuma placed his family members in the executive and legislative branches at various levels to build a family political network. He encouraged Irna Narulita (his wife) to run in the 2010 Pandeglang Regency election, but she failed. Irna Narulita was then elected as a member of the House of Representatives for the 2014-2019 period. Irna

Narulita was elected as Pandeglang Regent 2016-2021 in pair with Tanto Warsono Arban (Ratu Atut Chosiah's son-in-law). The pair will lead Pandeglang Regency again for the 2020-2024 period.

Apart from his wife, Ahmad Dimiyati Natakusuma also placed his three children in the political arena. Unlike Ratu Atut Chosiah's network, which controls one political party to build a political network, Ahmad Dimiyati Natakusuma distributes his family members to different political parties. In the 2019 legislative elections, Ahmad Dimiyati Natakusuma placed his son, Rizky Aulia Rahman, in the Democratic Party and two daughters, Rizka Aulia Ramadani and Risya Azzahra Rahimah, in the Nasdem Party. Rizky Aulia Rahman (25 years old) was elected to the House of Representatives for 2019-2024, while his two daughters failed to win seats.

4.2.3 Tubagus Aat Syafaat's Political Family Network (2000-2021)

Tubagus Aat Syafaat's Political Family Network (PFN) is one of the earliest robust political family networks in Banten Province since 2000. Tubagus Aat Syafaat was one of Tubagus Chasan Shohib's prominent subordinates and succeeded in building political power in Cilegon City. With the blessing of Tubagus Chasan Shohib, Tubagus Aat Syafaat made his political debut by running for Mayor of Cilegon in 2000. He was elected Mayor of Cilegon from 2000 to 2005 and re-elected from 2005 to 2010.

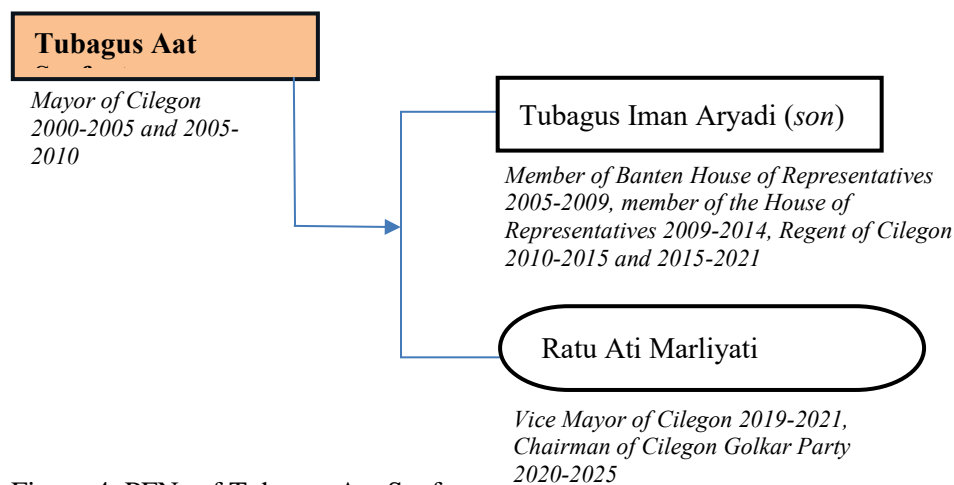


Figure 4. PFNs of Tubagus Aat Syafaat

Ruling for two periods in Cilegon City strengthened Tubagus Aat Syafaat's political position. He then pulled his family members into the political arena of Cilegon City. Before being caught in a corruption case and arrested by the KPK in 2010, Tubagus Aat Syafaat had prepared his son, Tubagus Iman Aryadi, as his successor in Cilegon politics. In the 2010 Cilegon City Election, Tubagus Iman Aryadi was elected as Mayor of Cilegon for the 2010-2015 period and re-elected for the 2015-2020 period. Tubagus Iman Aryadi's victory strengthened Tubagus Aat Syafaat's family's grip on Cilegon's political arena.

Tubagus Iman Aryadi stumbled upon a corruption case and was arrested by the KPK (Corruption Eradication Commission) on December 22, 2017. This arrest ended Tubagus Iman Aryadi's political career after being sentenced to 6 years. The detention of Tubagus Aat Syafaat (who died in 2016) and Tubagus Iman Aryadi in corruption cases does not mean an end to the work of this political family network.

Ratu Ati Marliyati (Tubagus Aat Syafaat's daughter) took over this political family network. With the family's political influence, Ratu Ati Marliati was appointed Deputy Mayor of Cilegon for the remainder of the term left by his younger brother, Tubagus Iman Aryadi. Unfortunately, Ratu Ati Marliati failed in the 2020 Cilegon regional election. However, the acclamation elected her as the Cilegon City Golkar Party Chairperson for 2020-2025. This shows that PFN's Tubagus Aat Syafaat still firmly controls his political vehicle, the Golkar Party, in the region.

4.2.4 Political Family Network of Mulyadi Jayabaya (2003-2024)

PFN's Mulyadi Jayabaya has been in power in Lebak Regency since 2003. He received Tubagus Chasan Shohib's approval to start his political career in Lebak Regency. With this blessing, he was successfully elected Regent of Lebak for 2003-2008 and re-elected for 2008-2013 through PDIP.

Like other PFNs, Mulyadi Jayabaya built a political family network by placing his family members in the legislature and executive. In the 2009 elections, he succeeded in placing Iti Octavia Jayabaya (daughter) as a member of the House of Representatives for the 2009-2014 period through the Democratic Party. In the 2013 Lebak regional election, Mulyadi Jayabaya won Iti Octavia Jayabaya to become the Regent of Lebak for two periods, 2014-2019 and 2018-2023. In the 2018 regional election, Mulyadi Jayabaya attracted all political parties to support Iti Octavia Jayabaya, leaving no chance for her political opponents.

In the 2014 elections, Mulyadi Jayabaya also succeeded in placing Vivi Sumantri Jayabaya (niece) in the House of Representatives for the 2014-2019 period from the Democratic Party. In the 2019 legislative election, M. Hasbi Assiddiqi Jayabaya (son) was elected to the House of Representatives through PDI Perjuangan for 2019-2024.

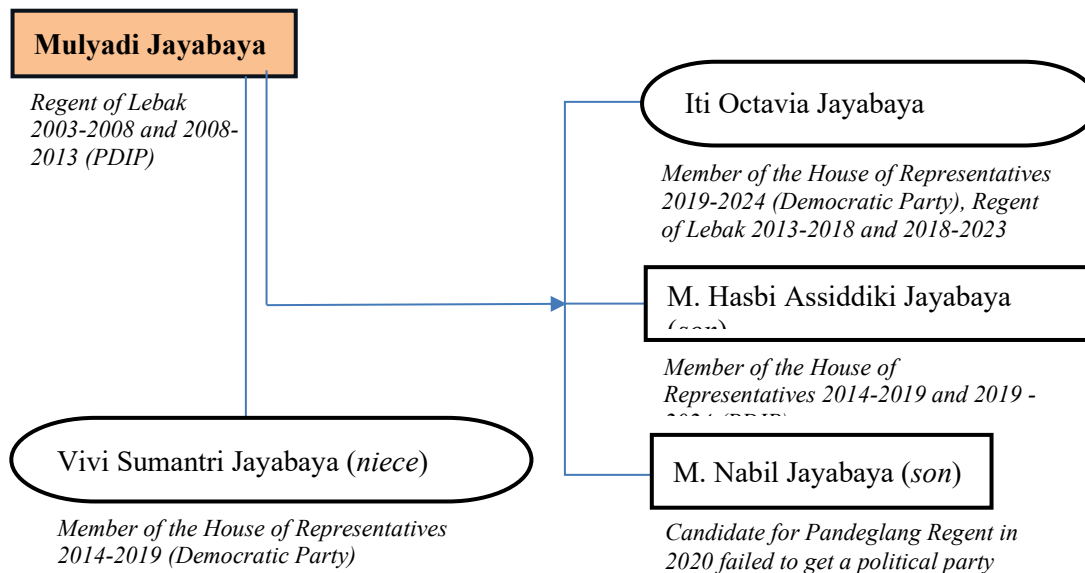


Figure 5. PFNs of Mulyadi Jayabaya

4.2.5 Ismed Iskandar's Political Family Network (2003-2023)

Ismed Iskandar's PFN is the only political family network in Banten Province with no historical connection to the jawara network and Tubagus Chasan Shohib. Ismed Iskandar built

a political family network since he succeeded in becoming the Regent of Tangerang in 2003, during the period 2003-2008, through election by the Tangerang Regency House of Representatives. He was re-elected as Tangerang Regent for the 2008-2013 period. During his decade as Regent of Tangerang, Ismed Iskandar's political position became more robust, and he built a political family network in the district.

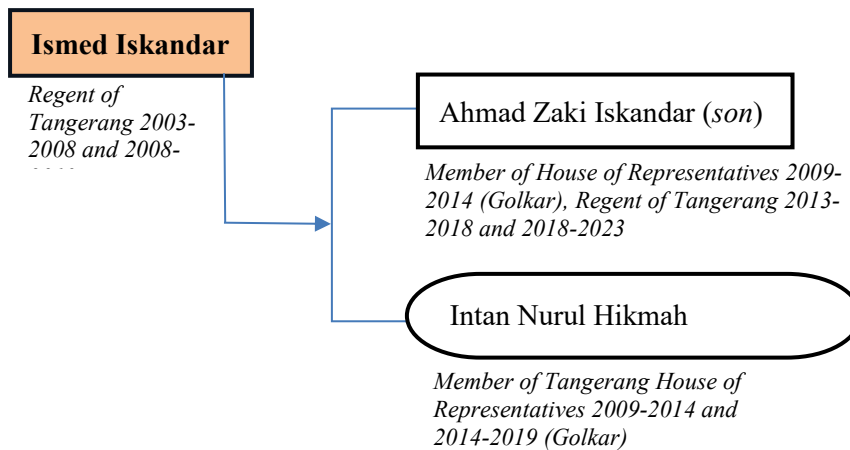


Figure 6. PFNs of Ismed Iskandar

In building a political family network, Ismed Iskandar prepares his children to enter politics. The two prepared children were Ahmad Zaki Iskandar and Intan Nurul Hikmah. While still serving as Regent of Tangerang, Ismed Iskandar placed Ahmad Zaki Iskandar as a member of the House of Representatives for 2009-2014. He also distributed Intan Nurul Hikmah as a Tangerang Regency House of Representatives (DPRD) member for 2009-2014 and 2014-2019.

To replace his position as Tangerang Regent, which will end in 2013, Ismed Iskandar nominated Ahmad Zaki Iskandar (son) and was successfully elected Tangerang Regent for 2013-2018. Ahmad Zaki Iskandar was re-elected as Tangerang Regent for 2018-2023 as a single candidate.

5. DISCUSSION

The emergence of Political Family Networks (PFNs) in Banten Province cannot be separated from the success of Banten's political elites in consolidating politics after New Order authoritarianism. One of the most prominent political elites in Banten's political arena was Tubagus Chasan Shahib, a local strongman [14]. He and his network of jawara and supporting Banten elites succeeded in taking over the role of the ulama (Islamic cleric) in the process of forming Banten Province in 2000. Then, he encouraged some of his men in the jawara network to control the political fields. Among those who succeeded were Tubagus Aat Syafaat as Mayor of Cilegon in 2000, Ahmad Dimiyati Natakusuma as Regent of Pandeglang in 2000, and Mulyadi Jayabaya as Regent of Lebak in 2003. In addition, one actor who did not have a jawara relationship with Tubagus Chasan Shohib succeeded in building political power in the Tangerang Regency, namely Ismed Iskandar.

Tubagus Chasan Shohib's phenomenal success was winning his daughter, Ratu Atut Chosiah, as Deputy Governor of Banten alongside Governor Djoko Munandar from 2002 to 2005. With the legitimacy of the jawara [18], Tubagus Chasan Shohib was able to get rid of

political opponents who stood in his way. From here, the Banten political family networks began to emerge and develop massively in Banten Province for more than two decades after the authoritarianism of the New Order in 1998.

Ratu Atut Chosiah's PFN is the largest of the five Banten political family networks and has been in power for over two decades. 15 Ratu Atut Chosiah's family members have held and still hold public positions in the political fields. In addition to controlling the political arena at the Banten provincial level, this family also controls several districts/cities in Banten, namely Serang Regency, Serang City, and South Tangerang City. Ratu Atut Chosiah's PFN became large because many family members supported them. His father, Tubagus Chasan Shohib, had six wives and 23 children [22].

Other political family networks are smaller and only control one district/city in Banten, such as PFN Tubagus Aat Syafaat, which controls Cilegon City; PFN Ahmad Dimiyati Natakusuma, which controls Lebak Regency; PFN Mulyadi Jayabaya, which controls Pandeglang Regency, and PFN Ismed Iskandar, which controls Tangerang Regency.

In addition to historical and sociological factors, Banten political family network actors try to maintain their power by creating stability in the political arena through two patterns of social ties [23], namely social bonds and instrumental ties. Social bonds are strong ties built on family and friendship. Meanwhile, instrumental ties are weak ties used to strengthen stability in the political arena transactionally.

Money politics is the primary transactional tool in instrumental ties to strengthen the stability of political family networks in the political arena. This transactional pattern caused several actors in Banten's PFNs to practice corruption and be arrested by the KPK (Corruption Eradication Commission), such as Cilegon Mayor Tubagus Aat Syafaat, who was arrested by the KPK in 2010, Banten Governor Ratu Atut Chosiah, who was arrested by the KPK in 2013, and Cilegon Mayor Tubagus Iman Aryadi, who was arrested by the KPK in 2017.

Institutionalization [24] in the political arena is another strategy used by political family networks, where the process of control and dissemination of institutions (values, norms, and rules) that support the stability of political family networks in the arena is carried out by isomorphism, either by mimetic, normative and coercive means. Therefore, incumbent actors usually need social skills [25] to support this institutionalization process.

Another factor that makes PFNs Banten's stability strong in the political arena is the strategy of weakening challengers and controlling political parties. PFNs Banten's money power makes it easy to weaken political opponents by absorbing all political opponents and political parties into the incumbents' coalition.

6. CONCLUSION

The emergence of Banten's political family network was influenced by many factors, including historical and sociological factors that made Banten's elites begin to consolidate after New Order authoritarianism. During the formation of Banten Province in 2000, the role of elites from the jawara became dominant, eliminating the role of ulama (Islamic cleric) in forming the province.

The dominance of the jawara in political fields continued under the influence of local strongman Tubagus Chasan Shohib, who gave birth to a political family network (PFNs) and controlled Banten's political arena for more than two decades. There are at least four PFNs that have historical and jawara connections with Tubagus Chasan Shohib, namely Ratu Atut Chosiah's PFN, Tubagus Aat Syafaat's PFN, Ahmad Dimiyati Natakusumah's PFN, and Mulyadi

Jayabaya's PFN. One PFN not historically affiliated with Tubagus Chasan Shohib is PFN Ismed Iskandar.

Stability in the political arena is essential to strengthen political family networks as incumbents in the field. Therefore, PFNs actors build solid social bonds between family member networks. In addition, they enhance stability through instrumental ties in the form of diverse transactional/money politics approaches to control and weaken their challengers and political opponents. Stability in the political arena is also built through the spread of mimetic, normative, and coercive institutions.

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