



INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF  
**CURRENT RESEARCH**

Vol.10, Issue 03, March, 2018



ISSN: 0975-833X

**2018**



**SJIF Scientific Journal Impact Factor 2017: 7.617**

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ISSN: 0975-833X

Available online at <http://www.journalcra.com>

International Journal of Current Research  
Vol. 10, Issue, 03, pp.67345-67353, March, 2018

INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL  
OF CURRENT RESEARCH

## RESEARCH ARTICLE

### DEMOCRATIZATION AT REGENCY AND CITY LEVELS IN INDONESIA DURING LOCAL AUTONOMY AGE

<sup>1,\*</sup>Bambang Suprijadi, <sup>2</sup>Hermawan, <sup>3</sup>Ahmad Sofwani and <sup>4</sup>yulizaridris

<sup>1</sup>University of Wijaya Kusuma Surabaya, Indonesia

<sup>2</sup>University of Brawijaya Malang, Indonesia

<sup>3</sup>Chairman of the Institute for Research and Community Service, Agricultural Institute Malang Indonesia  
Doctoral Candidate of Faculty of State Administration Sciences Brawijaya University Malang

#### ARTICLE INFO

##### Article History:

Received 19<sup>th</sup> December, 2017  
Received in revised form  
09<sup>th</sup> January, 2018  
Accepted 19<sup>th</sup> February, 2018  
Published online 30<sup>th</sup> March, 2018

##### Key words:

Democratization,  
Structuration,  
Participatory,  
State and society.

#### ABSTRACT

The objective of this paper is to analyze the democracy at local levels and its influence on participatory and pro-poor values in Indonesia during local autonomy age, through structuration theory, as an analysis tool for social change. Method of research is explanatory case study using qualitative approach. It is consistent to the explanation given by Bogdan and Taylor (1975) and Moleong (2004:6). Result of this research indicates that: (1) Democratization in form of the institutionalization of participatory and pro-poor values is representing a social transformation occurred through social-practices that cross spaces and times (structuration). This structuration happens in four dimensions, which are significance, authoritative-dominance, allocative-dominance, and legitimacy; (2) In the process of structuration, the determinant factors are agency and structure: (a) For structure, the supporting factors are political reformation and local autonomy, whereas the constraining factors include old regime, bureaucratic neo-patrimonialism and community pragmatism; and (b) For agency, the supporting factors are new regent, new mayor, progressive bureaucrat (state actors), non-government organization, mass media, intellectuals, association, and compiled organization of state-community (community actors). The constraining factors involve old bureaucrat (state actors) and pragmatic grass-root personages (community actors); (3) In democratic institutionalization, there is an empowering process between state actors and community actors; and (4) The democratic institutionalization, along with its two fundamental values, respectively participatory value and pro-poor value, can emerge with non-simultaneous movement pattern. The movement is initially participatory, and it then turns into pro-poor orientation.

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Citation: Bambang Suprijadi, Hermawan, Ahmad Sofwani and yulizaridris, 2018. "Democratization at regency and city levels in indonesia during local autonomy age", *International Journal of Current Research*, 10, (03), 67345-67353.

## INTRODUCTION

One important step of post-reformation democratization is the establishment of local autonomy. A yardstick for the success of local autonomy is poverty eradication. However, the reality of local autonomy policy does not give significant result in term of poverty mitigation. Post-crisis, efforts to reduce the percentage and number of poor people it runs slower (Suharyadi, 2003; Lindsey, 2004; Basri and Hill, 2011). Sadly, it then stands out is the corruption of local officials (Rivayani, 2014; Brown, 2016, Erb, 2011). Amidst this dull moment, Indonesia is a relatively successful country. It is considered as successful in delivering democratization in two meaningful ways; (1) The community participation into public policy determination

(Kartasasmita, 2013, Purba, 2011), and (2) The development focus on the poor (Timmer, 2004; Miranti, et al, 2014). The study about democratization dynamic in Indonesia is limited into two values, precisely participatory value and orientation toward the poor (pro-poor). Both values are selected with four reasons. *First*, these two values are prominently advocated in Indonesia. *Second*, these two values are also signing the manifestation of political democracy concept and economical democracy concept in Indonesia. Participatory value represents the former concept, whereas pro-poor value corresponds with the latter concept (Gaventa, 2005; Miranti, 2010). *Third*, these two values are giving a dilemma for the developing countries because it forcing the countries to face "democracy" and "development". Lee Kuan Yew says that democracy process or political democracy may slow the achievement of the goals of development or economical democracy (White, 1995; Yah, 2015). *Fourth*, these two values also raise another dilemma. Eko Sutoro asserts that the application of participatory value

\*Corresponding author: Bambang Suprijadi,  
University of Wijaya Kusuma Surabaya, Indonesia.

will give difficulty for the country in producing social justice (in Bahagijo and Tagaroa, 2005). Conversely, the application of pro-poor concept will impede the implementation of participatory process. This study uses structuration theory bases. These bases are three key questions. First is how the dynamic of Indonesia democratization is in Indonesia during the early part of local autonomy in period 1999-2006. Second is what factors are supporting and constraining the democratization. Third is how the possible prospect of democratization is in the future. It is argues that the democratization dynamic is examined using thinking framework of structuration. The examination is started by investigating several approaches to democratization. Indeed, democratization is understood through three approaches respectively; structuralist approach, agency approach and agency-structure integration approach.

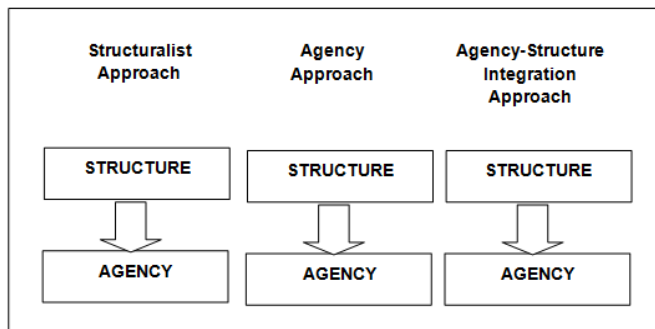


Figure 1. Approach to Democratization

Structuralist approach emphasizes on the role of structure as the determinant of democratization existence. Few opinions are given about what structure is important. Economic structure is considered as important in several researches, such as Seymour M Lipset and James Coleman; Louis CB Pereira, Jose M. Marraval and Adam Przeworski; John Highley, Richard Gunter; Howard Wiarda; and Stephen Haggard and Robert Kaufman (Eko, 2003; 18-19). Indonesian adherent of such ideology is Masoed (1989) and Hiarej (2005). Other structuralists are Barrington Moore, Richard Robinson, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, Evelyn H. Stephens, John D. Stephens, and Goran Therbom, who consider social class factor as the determiner (Mas'oeed, 2003; Hiarej, 2004; 31-36, 39-41, 49-54). Still, few other structuralists have reported that the culture is the most important factor. This finding is supported by Gabriel Almond, Sidney Verba and Samuel Huntington (Gaffar, 2004; Eko, 2003; 21). However, the structuralist approach has a main weakness, precisely to underestimate the important role played by certain actors in democratization. Second approach is agency. This approach sees agency or elite as the most important variable in democratization. This theory is followed by Juan J. Linz, Donald Share and Samuel Huntington. Critic to this approach is concerning with the absence of structural factor (Eko, 2003: 14-15; Hiarej, 2005: 34-35).

Dealing with the weaknesses at structuralist or agency approaches, then third approach is then considered, that is agency-structure integration. This approach indicates that agency and structure play important role in democratization. Some theories are supporting this approach, such as conjuncture theory by Tery L. Karl; morphogenetic theory by Margaret Archer, structuration theory by Anthony Giddens, figuration theory by Norbert Elias, macro-micro integration by

George Ritzer, and change agency theory by Piotr Sztompka (Eko, 2003:34; Erawan, 2003; Ritzer and Goodman, 2004; Sztompka, 2005). Review performed in this research uses Anthony Giddens's structuration theory as its theoretical reference. This theory is chosen because it gives deep elaboration and also disentangles structure into few structure-clusters. Structuration is basically presumed as social change is the repeating result of de-routinization social-practices that passes through spaces and times (Bryant, 2014; Cohen and Houndmills, 1989; McGarry, 2016). The social-practices itself are the result of reciprocal interaction between agency and structure. Agency is the actor who is confined by the structure but still can perform certain action to transform the structure. Structure is a factor that is not only constraining but also enabling the agency. The relationship between agency and structure is duality, not dualism. It means that agency and structure are interdependent and influential to each other. There is a two-way relationship. Agency social-practices not only need the existence of structure but also form the structure. The converse also prevails.

To ensure that these social-practices will form the structure, it must have a repetition of action across spaces and times (Giddens, 2004; 3-9, 61-62, 18-20; Priyono, 1999, 2000, 2002). Structure in Giddens's theoretical framework comprises of three clusters, respectively significance, dominance and legitimacy. To sharpen the understanding, dominance cluster is divided into sub-clusters, precisely authoritative and allocative (Cohen, 1989; 162-165). Both the structure and also the structure clusters are organized within the institution existing in the community. Significance structure is institutionalized into symbol, discourse and culture arrangements, whereas authoritative-dominance structure is institutionalized into economic institution, while legitimacy structure is institutionalized into law institution. Based on the structure-cluster, there are few important social-practices. At significance cluster, there are communication social-practices. At dominance cluster, there are power social-practices. At legitimacy cluster, there are sanctions social-practices. In each structure-cluster, there is a structuration process that occurs by using between-structure.

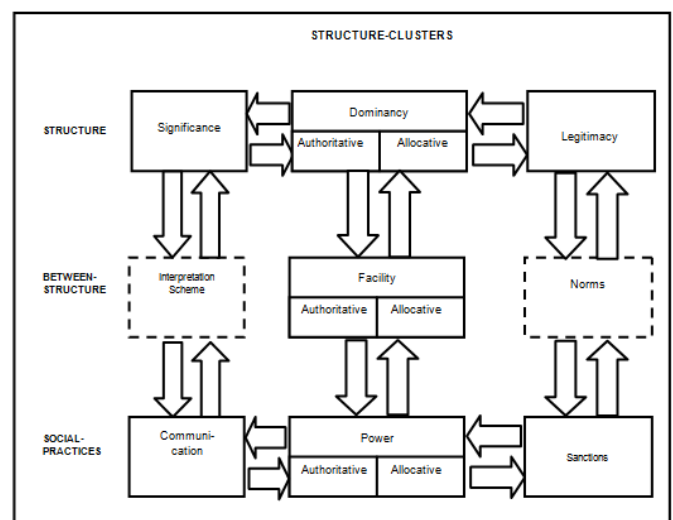


Figure 2. Structure-Clusters and Between-Structures in Structuration Theory

In detail, all social-practices, either the new social-practices (through de-routinization) or the old social-practices (through routinization), are influenced by the structure and also

influencing the structure. Old structure has constrained the ability of individuals in selecting what they want to do. With their practical awareness, individuals can choose what is usually done or may undergo social-practices routinization. Therefore, the existing structure can be optimum. In contrast, due to the possession of discursive awareness across individuals, they may choose new thing or perform social-practices de-routinization. If they do these repeatedly across spaces and times, this process may establish new structure. This new structure will help individuals to do something different.

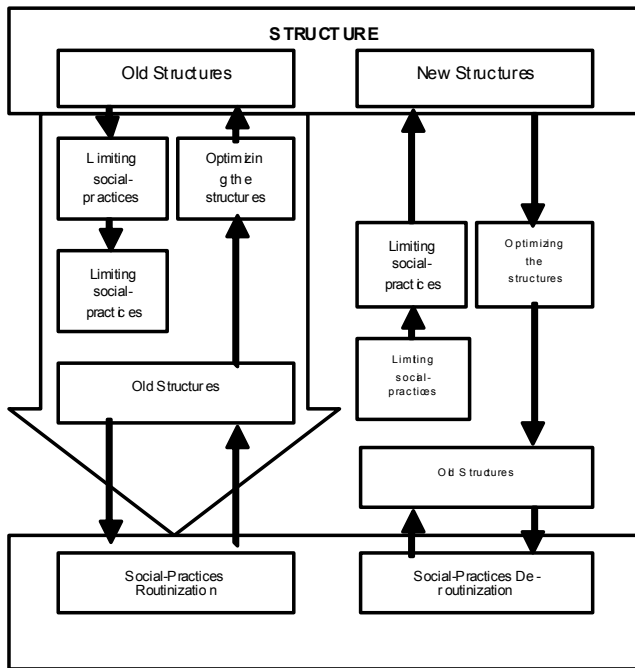


Figure 3. Structuration Process in Each Structure-Cluster

### Theoretical frame

Democratization as The Institutionalization of Participatory and Pro-Poor Values Democratization in the structuration perspective is understood as the effort to bridge the tension between agency and structure, either in political or economical fields. In the ideological perspective of social-democrat, democratization is described as the effort to bridge the connection between political democracy (agency-oriented) and economical democracy (structure-oriented). In this research, political democracy concept is reduced into participatory value (community participation) that is agency-oriented. Economical democracy concept is reduced into pro-poor value that is structure-oriented.

Therefore, democratization in this research is considered as the effort to establish participatory and pro-poor values (Giddens 2002: xii, 2003a:162, 2003b, 2005:70 -78; Herry-Priyono, 2002). As stated by Sergio Baierle and Pietra Widiadi, participatory value is defined as a public policy process that invites direct community participation. Referring to the findings given by Gender Budget Work Group, Sulton Mawardi and Sudamo Sumatra, and Evaluasi Kusuma Sundari, pro-poor value is the structure of public resources and budgets designed to defend the interests (rights) of the people who are vulnerable economically (the poor), culturally (the female), and socially (the children and the disabled). It is a budget concept that adopts gender mainstreaming (Bahagijo and Tagaroa, 2005: 25, 164, 302; Rinusu, 2006:37; Mawardi and

Sumarto, 2003:10). In summary this paper seeks to address the following question; how the democratization in the form of participatory and pro-poor values can become social transformation? What are the factors constraining democratization, either in agency or in structure? How is democracy institutionalization process? Can the institutionalization of democratization be achieved in participatory and pro-poor values?

### MARTIALS AND METHODS

To address these questions our paper represents explanatory case study using qualitative approach. It aligns with what has been done by Bogdan and Taylor (1975) and Moloeng (2004:6). There are 81 resource persons involving executive, legislative, NGO leaders, heads of neighborhood association, the board of LPMK, businesspeople and mass media. Observation is performed by attending and discerning several activities considered as helpful to develop the understanding of author. Secondary data include data of APBD, LPJ/LKPJ/LPPD in Province, Local Regulation, articles, media news, or documentations of related programs and policies. The analytical unit is structures (rules and resources) and social-practices existing in Indonesia at four structure-clusters (significance, authoritative-dominance, allocative-dominance, and legitimacy). Both structures and social-practices are considered as research focus and are closely related with the institutionalization of participatory structure and also with the orientation to the poor. For discussion, we use structuration theory as explanatory lens to describe how the fate of democratization dynamic, what the determinant factor of democratization, and how the future prospect of democratization. Dynamic is defined as the tradeoff. Related with Indonesia democratization, the occurrence of dynamic is understood in three categories of tradeoff. *First* is tradeoff between agency and structure. *Second* is between state agency and community agency. *Third* is between participatory movement and pro-poor movement.

### DISCUSSION

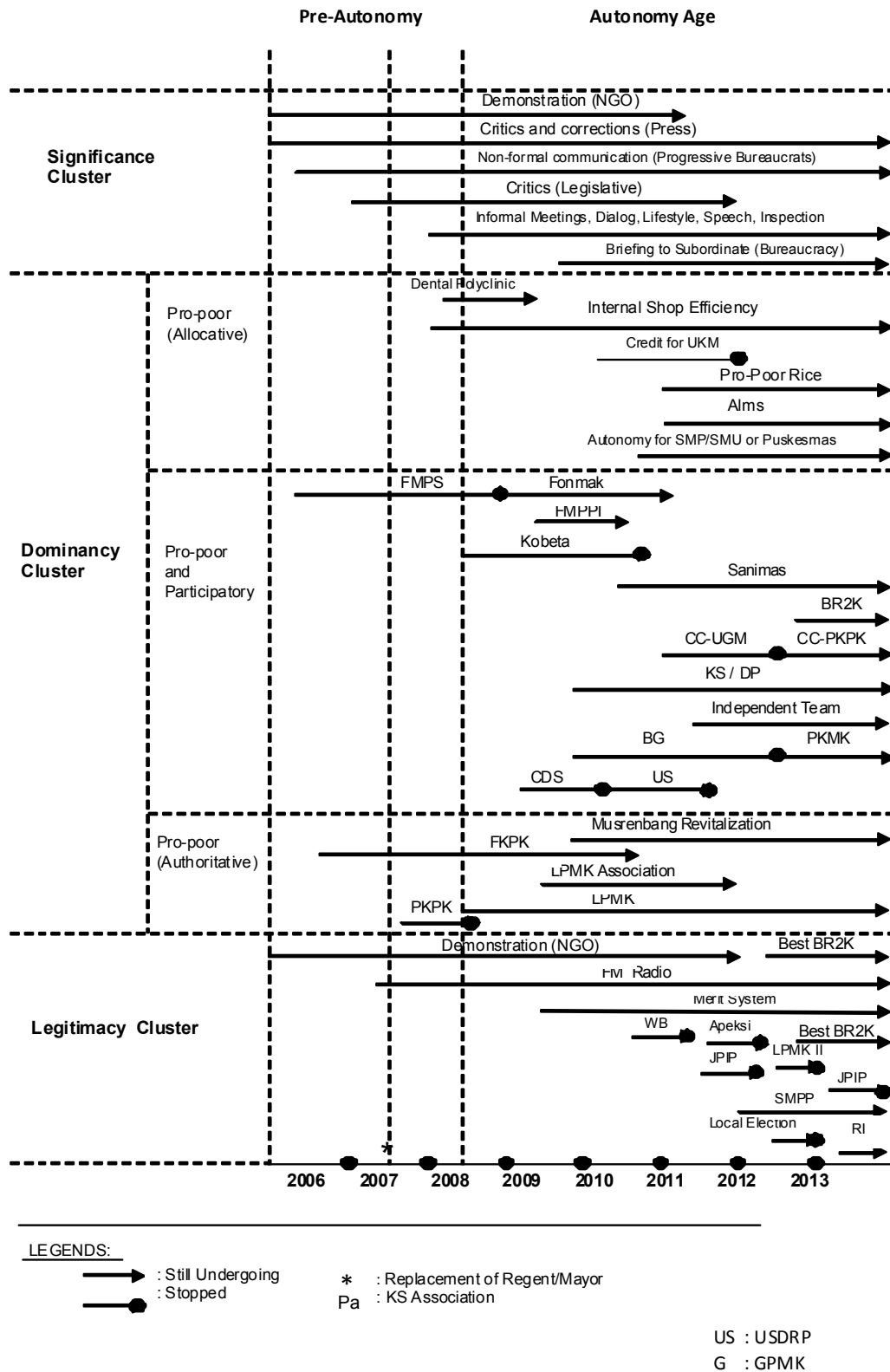
#### Agency vs Structure

The Winning of De-routinization That Produces Democratization Embryo Democratization dynamic in Indonesia is the winning of new social-practices (participatory and pro-poor) in the tradeoff process with old social-practices (state neo-patrimonialism and community pragmatism) (Magone, 2011; Hermann, 2010, Kjaer 2004, Cammack and Tim, 2011). New social-practices are the conduct of de-routinization toward democratic structure. Old social-practices are the conduct of routinization which is the legacy of New Order. Structure change happens because social-practices de-routinization is always repeating and overwhelming spaces (in various fields) and times (throughout years), and thus successfully beating the conduct of routinization. This repetition happens in two realms, respectively state and community. In state realm, participatory and pro-poor values that underlay social-practices are encountering neo-patrimonialism value. Concerning with participatory value, the state is initially technocratic-bureaucratic but then becoming participatory by delegating some discretions of policy formulation to the community (Shiraishi, 2006; UNRISD, 2004). Related to pro-poor value, the state is previously self-oriented and using patron-client model in allocating the budget, but now it begins giving orientation to the poor or



undergoes pro-poor budgeting. In community realm, participatory and pro-poor values that underlay social-practices are encountering pragmatism value. In participatory value, the community is previously passive but now, it is active within policy formulation (Mukherjee and Howlett, 2015; Siddiki, et al, 2015).

existing resources to the poor (Vedeld, 2003). The repetition of social-practices de-routinization, occurring continuously in four clusters in various fields, may produce new structure that also contains participatory and pro-poor values. Reciprocally, the emergence of this new structure has facilitated the occurrence of social-practices.



Source: Author 2015

Figure 4. Social-Practices De-routinization in Four Clusters

In pro-poor value, the community is previously caring only with individual and group interests, but now it distributes the

Moreover, the repetition of new social-practices will empower the standing of new structure. It is then called as the repeated

structure making process, or academically called as the structuration process, that brings forward a democratic structure (Weldon and Russell, 2014; Pakistan Observer, 2015). Simultaneously, structuration process is also happening at social-practices routinization. The strongly rooted neo-patrimonialism and pragmatism structures are still giving opportunity for the occurrence of social-practices routinization, especially for certain social-practices such as corruption, bureaucratization, exploitation, and community pragmatism (Shalin, 2011, Frega, 2014, Magone, 2011; Hermann, 2010). Therefore, social-practices routinization can be said as assisting the survival of old structures. This process occurs time after time which makes old structures less vulnerable. The birth of new structures, respectively participatory and pro-poor values, cannot escape from the repetition of social-practices de-routinization simultaneously at four structure-clusters, such as significance, authoritative-dominance, allocative-dominance, and legitimacy.

structures. During pre-autonomy (Figure 5), the dominant social-practices are authoritarian, bureaucratization, corruption-collusion-nepotism, and pro-elite (Rasyid, 2003; Holtzappel, 2009). These practices happen because old structures are still dominant and these are constraining certain social-practices. Agency has been trapped into practical awareness and induced to look for ontological sense of security. It initiates what so called routinization. Consequently, what has been done by agency will always reflect their self-interest and thus may strengthen old structure that already exists, which is neo-patrimonialism. Although routinization during pre-autonomy is still dominant, certain individuals are begun to be influenced under reformation climate. These individuals attempt to use their discursive awareness to perform social-practices that contain participatory and pro-poor values. They also act on the behalf of Autonomy Act that has been currently verified. In state level, these individuals are a group of bureaucrats who insist on introducing the change by founding Technical Team for Local Autonomy. In community level, these individuals are activists who facilitate the establishment of forums such as FPMS, FKPK, PKMK and other NGOs. However, such practices are less powerful and therefore, the expected change of the structure is very minor. In next period, precisely autonomy period (Figure 6), both agency and structure are changing. For agency, new Regent and new Mayor are the actors who are persistently encouraging to the establishment of new structure. For structure, Local Autonomy Act has been prevailed with some regulative measures including budget authority decentralization (authoritative power) and budget decentralization (allocative power) (Rasyid, 2003; Kartasasmita, 2013)

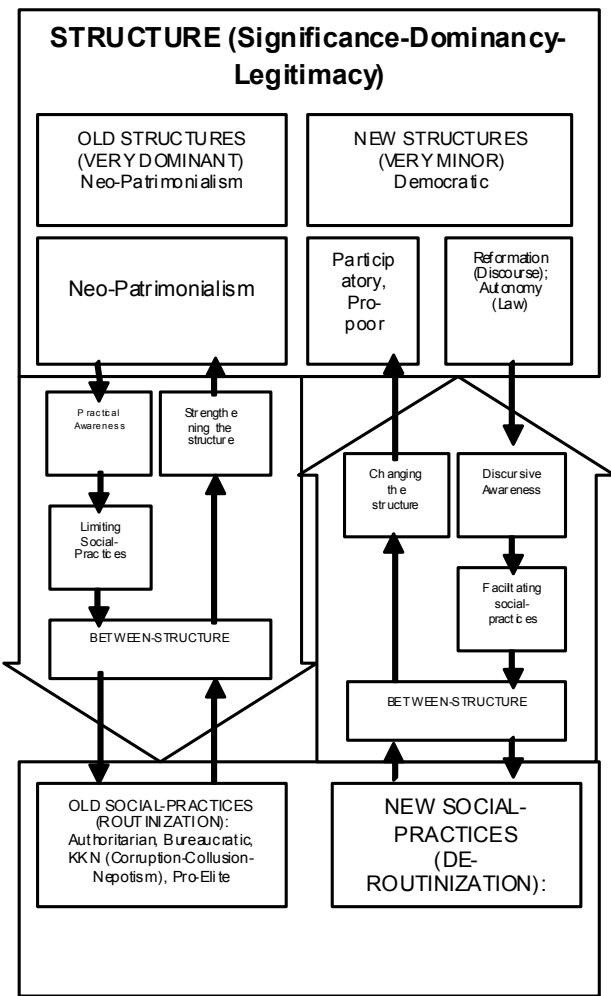
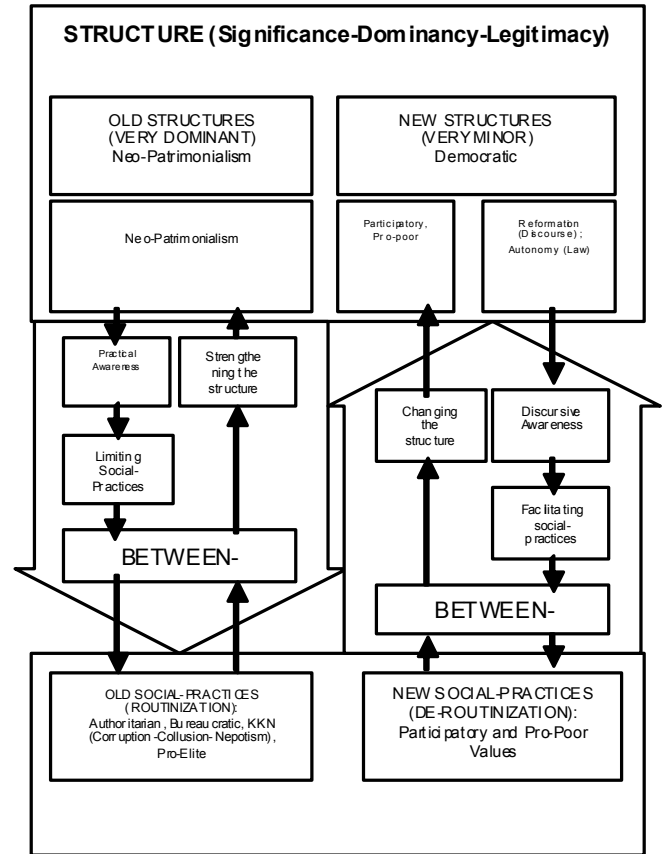


Figure 5. Structuration Process During Pre-Autonomy Age

In these four structure-clusters, there are new social-practices (through de-routinization) that have won over the dominance of old social-practices (Figure 4). Such new social-practices are democratic and able to reduce old social-practices such as neo-patrimonialism and pragmatism. The winning of de-routinization over routinization is not immediate action. It occurs gradually and needs years. During the first stage, precisely pre-autonomy (1999-2000), de-routinization is not significant. In the next stage (local autonomy from 2001 to 2006), de-routinization becomes important and it delivers new



Source: Author 2015

Figure 6. Structuration Process of Democratization During Autonomy Age

The change of agency and structure has induced the emergence of different duality process. New Mayor as democratization actor is often introducing the improvement at state bureaucracy. In other side, the agency comprising of NGO figures and community figures are unceasingly demanding for improvement, participation, and collaboration with the state in the policy making. In structure, there is authority delegation, organizational restructuring, and DAU/DAK that are used by national agencies to implement bureaucratic reformation oriented in favor of the institutionalization of participatory and pro-poor values. External structure that is very supportive to these values is donor programs such as CDS (City Development Strategy), USDRP (Urban Sector Development Reform Program) and CC (Citizens Charter). The existence of program is utilized by the agency of state or community to produce new values. During autonomy period, old social-practices or routinization do not disappear. Bureaucrats still give great emphasis on neo-patrimonialism (Rasyid, 2003; Kjaer 2004). This state agency still reproduces old values through bureaucratic social-practices and corruption. Moreover, pragmatic social-practices are shown by the community when they accept block grants and other aids. However, intensity of routinization is depriving, and both neo-patrimonialism and pragmatism structures start to run down. Conversely, participatory and pro-poor structures are strengthened. Democratization in regency and city levels until 2006 must be understood as the early embryo for the establishment of new structure. Agency is relatively limited to the elite at state and community. In other side, the change also happens because there is relatively external structure support beyond local coverage. Therefore, when agency and structure have changed, it is possible that structure will collapse.

### **Tradeoff and Utilitarianism of State Actors vs Community Actors**

Democratization in Indonesia involves a tradeoff between agencies, precisely state actors versus community actors. Both actors are prominent players whereas private actors are less significant (Abdullah, 2009; Bouchier, 2014). Moreover, the internal of the agency also confronts a tradeoff. There are individuals who defend old structures through routinization against the individuals who introduce new structures through de-routinization. Therefore, control dialect process is then occurring across these individuals. This review displays two-way process between state and community. This two-way process and utilitarianism will be explained as follows. During the period in advance of autonomy, the face of state agency is still thickened with neo-patrimonialism style under leadership of the incumbent of Regent and Mayor. Some actors in some parts of the state then demand a change. New legislative members elected from the 2009 Election are always criticizing the incumbent of Regent and Mayor. Few actors in the bureaucracy have also changed with the presence of "progressive bureaucrats" in the age of openness. In other hand, community agency is represented by the actors of NGO, college and mass media who bring the state toward democratic direction through their own method. Certain NGO may take a confrontation step through a strike (street demonstration), as shown by FPMS. Few NGOs and colleges choose collaborative action with the state by establishing FKPK (Urban Development Communication Forum). Press, such as FM Radio, has changed its broadcast format into the news model that always criticizes the policy of local government. In

the end, such community drive has been culminated with the local election in each locality and regency.

In autonomy period, local actors are often changeable. New Regent and new Mayor always bring along them leadership style that underscores participatory and pro-poor values. These new officers encourage the change of the state from inside. These officers are usually supported by young bureaucrats. However, they face limitations. They are not local. Their relationship with the supporting political party is not quite well. At same time, the community is continually insisting and encouraging the government to change to be more democratic. Democratization gets its moment during the program of Simultaneous Local Election in 2015. By this program, the process of utilitarianism takes a place (Erb and Sulistiyanto, 2009; Abdullah, 2009). The community takes the utility from this program to pull the bureaucracy toward a democratic direction. Executive and legislative also take the utility from this program to influence bureaucracy. The utilitarianism in de-routinization process is occurring continuously in the development programs for autonomous regions in regency and city levels. It is described as follows. (1) In grass-root level, block grant program initiated by the State (City Government) has been used by NGO to fight against community pragmatism. Reversely, NGO criticism is utilized back by Mayor to fight against bureaucratic neo-patrimonialism by establishing program supervisory team that comprises of NGOs; (2) In education sector, the State (regency and city) takes the utility from the presence of community by accommodating community into Education Board (DP) and School Committee (KS) to minimize the deviation of bureaucratic officers. In return, Education Board has taken the utility from this moment to empower the grass root class through organizing workshop and founding the association of school committee; and (3) In health sector, State (Regent, Mayor and Official Head) and community elites are simultaneously taking the utility of CC program to conquer over state neo-patrimonialism at street level bureaucracy and to empower grass root community as service user of community health center.

### **The Institutionalization of Participatory vs Pro-Poor Values : A Sustainability**

The institutionalization of both democratization values, precisely participatory and pro-poor values, is not running simultaneously (Miranti *et al*, 2014; Erb and Sulistiyanto, 2009; Bouchier, 2014; Abdullah, 2009). This institutionalization starts with participatory value (through programs such as CDS, USDRP, and BG). The substances of those programs with participatory value are already indicating pro-poor structure. Participatory movement is then continued with pro-poor movement but still under participatory frame (as shown by programs such as BR2K, CC and DP/KS). This finding indicates that thesis of a dilemma between democracy (participatory) and welfare (pro-poor) is not supported. The sustainability of this movement is a key to understand how both values can be institutionalized in Indonesia. Pro-poor value cannot be forced authoritatively as that happens in Jembrana Regency (Bali). Community participation (especially for those being the activist of pro-poor movement) can be helpful to produce pro-poor programs and may "compel" the state to move into similar direction. It must be noted that participatory value must not be followed with participatory bias as always happening during New Order.

**Table 1. Factors Supporting and Constraining Democratization**

		Factors	
		Supporting	Constraining
Agency	State	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• New Mayor (autonomy age) and Legislative</li> <li>• Bureaucrats, especially “progressive bureaucrats”</li> <li>• Street Level Bureaucracy</li> <li>• Open Principal, Head of Community Health Center / Puskesmas</li> <li>• Joint Team (Technical Team for Local Autonomy, etc)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Old Bureaucrats</li> <li>• Closed Principal</li> <li>• Old Regent / Mayor (pre-autonomy age)</li> </ul>
	Community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• NGO/ Limited</li> <li>• Press</li> <li>• LPMK / RT / RW</li> <li>• Hybrid Organization (TKS-CDS, USDRP Task Force, DP, Active KS, Active CC Forum)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• NGO ‘GSP’</li> <li>• Contractor LPMK</li> <li>• Passive KS</li> <li>• Passive CC Forum</li> <li>• Delegations of Sub-District Level Assembly</li> </ul>
Structure	State	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Reformation Climate</li> <li>• Discretion Decentralization</li> <li>• Financial Decentralization (DAU/DAK/Dekon)</li> <li>• Regulation (Autonomy /Employment/National Education System, etc)</li> <li>• Donor Programs (CDS, USDRP, CC)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Neo-patrimonialism</li> </ul>
	Community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Local Culture</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Pragmatism</li> </ul>

Source: Author 2015

The willingness of the state to listen to community voice, to give discretion to the community, and to negotiate with the community, is the keys to avoid participation bias.

### Determinant Factor

Duality of Agency and Structure Social change in Indonesia is determined by duality of agency and structure. Therefore, the determinant factors are existed within agency and structure. Either in agency or structure levels, there are the supporting factors and the constraining factors. In both agency and structure, the determinant factors are classified against between state realm and community realm. Complete discussion is given in Table 1.

### Prospect

#### Vulnerability Depends on Agency and Structure

What is future prospect of democratization? As previously mentioned, participatory and pro-poor structures are only the embryo. Therefore, the future still relies on the change of a constellation between agency and structure. If both agency and structure are fixed and unchanged, this process is running continuously and finally becoming a newly strong structure. If anything is happened with agency and structure, then this democratic structure is quickly established but then constrained or turning back. In structure level, democratization prospect is determined by what happens in global, national and local realms (Gaffar, 2004; Bourchier, 2014). In global realm, the determinant includes donor program, millennium development goal and free market. The determinant of national realm involves DAU/DAK, regulation and political climate. Local is determined by immediate culture (agrarian/trade cultures), education and patriotism climate. Therefore, global, national and local structures will determine the future of democratization. Related to agency level, democratization prospect depends on the balance between community, state and private (Shalin, 2011; White, 1995). In community, there are NGO, Limited Company, press, LPMK, RT/RW, Education Board, School Committee and CC Forum. For the state, there are mayor, bureaucracy and legislative (Cammack and Tim. 2011; Kjær, 2004, Siddiki, *et al*, 2015). Private interest involves business people, official head and cooperative. The agencies in community, state and private are interdependent and influential to the future prospect of democratization.

### Conclusion

This paper explore the democracy at local levels and its influence on participatory and pro-poor values in Indonesia during local autonomy age. The analysis based on a systematic literature review of structuration theory, as an analysis tool for social change. Several conclusions have been made.

- Democratization in form of the institutionalization of participatory and pro-poor values is a social transformation occurred through social-practices that cross spaces and times (structuration).
- This structuration is occurring within four dimensions, respectively significance, authoritative-dominance, allocative-dominance, and legitimacy;
- In the process of structuration, the determinant factors are agency and structure:
- For structure, the supporting factors are political reformation and local autonomy. The constraining factors include old regime, bureaucratic neo-patrimonialism and community pragmatism; and
- For agency, the supporting factors are new regent, new mayor, progressive bureaucrat (state actors), non-government organization, mass media, intellectuals, association, and compiled organization of state-community (community actors). The constraining factors involve old bureaucrat (state actors) and pragmatic grass-root personages (community actors);
- In democratic institutionalization, there is an empowering process between state actors and community actors. The democratic institutionalization itself, along with its two fundamental values, respectively participatory value and pro-poor value, can be achieved with non-simultaneous movement pattern. Thee movement is initially participatory but then turning into pro-poor orientation.

While this study discuss the implication of finding in the context of pro-poor, the proposed framework can also be applied to regional development processes oriented to the eradication of poverty and unemployment, through a more democratic approach. These projects are driven to the improvement of structure and infrastructure. According to Decentralization is not only delegating the administration from central to local, province, regency and city, but also decentralizing the structure of political party. It means that

political party in the local is self-dependent in determining local policy, not anymore depending on the central office of political party that previously determines the wellbeing of local.

### Acknowledgment

- Rector of University of Wijaya Kusuma Surabaya for the funding assistance on behalf of the accomplishment of this research.
- Research Institution of University of Wijaya Kusuma Surabaya for sharing the facilities, labors, ideas and also funds.
- Thanks also for Local Autonomy Review Agency in Surabaya for giving meaningful directions and materials to the author which then produces a research entitled "Democratization at Regency and City Levels in Indonesia During Local Autonomy Age".

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