

# Democratization at the Regency and City Level in Indonesia in the Era of Regional Autonomy

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**Abstract**—The purpose of this study is to analyze and describe democracy in the level of regency and city in Indonesia in the era of regional autonomy. The research method is explanatory case study using qualitative approach. The results of the study suggest that: 1). Democratization in the form of institutionalization of participatory and pro-poor values is a social transformation that occurs through social practices which cross time and space (structuration). Structuration occurs in four dimensions, namely signification, domination-authoritative, domination-allocative and legitimation. 2). In the process, there are factors that constraint both agency and the structure: a). From the aspect of structure, the enabling factors are political reform and regional autonomy while the constraining factors are old regime, neo-patrimonialism of the bureaucracy and pragmatism of the society. b). From the aspect of agent, the enabling factors are new Regents and mayors and progressive bureaucrats (state actors) as well as NGOs, the media, intellectuals, associations, and the combination of state-society organizations (public actors). Meanwhile, the constraining factors are old bureaucrats (state actors) and pragmatic grassroots leaders (public actors). 3). In the institutionalization of democracy, the process of mutual reinforcement between state and society actors occurs. 4). The achievement of institutionalization of democracy in participatory and pro-poor values can occur due to non-simultaneous movement patterns. The early movement is participatory, and then it leads to pro-poor.

**Keywords**—democratization; structuration; participatory; state and society

## I. INTRODUCTION

One of the important phases of the start of the modern democratization process in Indonesia takes place after the 1998 reform which is marked by regional autonomy. The indicators of the success of autonomy and decentralization are, among others, evenly distributed welfare throughout the regions [1,2]. In practice, the policy of regional autonomy has not shown significant results in reducing the number of poor people [3]. On the contrary, what becomes more prominent is the increasing corruption case of the local authorities [4-6].

Although many cases of corruption are uncovered in the era of regional autonomy, Indonesia is considered as a quite successful country in implementing democratization in two respects. First, Indonesian government has increased participation at lower levels in the determination of public policy [7,8]. Second, Indonesian government has encouraged

pro-poor development system [9,10]. Thus, the study on the dynamics of democratization-autonomy is limited to the two aspects of local participation and pro-poor. They are chosen for the following reasons.

- The relationship between political democracy which takes the form of participatory movement and economic democracy in the form of pro-poor approach is a prevalent issue in developing countries [11,12].
- The relationship between democracy and development turns into a dilemma in the modernization process as stated by Lee Kuan Yew that the process of political democracy will slow the achievement of development goals or economic democracy [13].
- Participatory practice does exist, but is not capable of realizing social justice [14]. Instead, some applications of pro-poor concept succeed although not utilizing participatory process.

This study uses structuration theory analysis with three key questions. First, how is the dynamics of democratization in Indonesia in the early period of regional autonomy from 1999-2006. Second, what factors that influence the democratization process. Third, how is the possibility of democratization prospect for decentralization in Indonesia. The primary objective of this study is to examine the dynamics of democratization using structuration framework. In this context, democratization can be described in three groups of approaches, namely the structuralist, the agency and the integration of agency-structure (Figure 1).

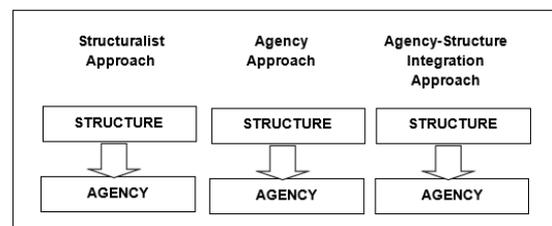


Fig. 1. Approach to democratization.

Structuralist approach emphasizes the importance of structure as the determinant of democratization. There are several approaches on structure that are considered important. First, the structure of economy, it is considered important as

the determinant of welfare as mentioned in studies conducted by Seymour M Lipset and James Coleman, by Louis CB Pereira, Jose M Marraval, and Adam Przeworski, by John Highley Richard Gunter, and Howard Wiarda, and by Stephen Haggard and Robert Kaufman [15]. In Indonesia Masoed [16] and Hiarej [17] adhere to this theory. Meanwhile, the structuralists like Barrington Moore, Richard Robinson, Rueschemeyer Dietrich, Evelyn H. Stephens, John D. Stephens and Goran Therbom assume that the factor of social class is the one that has a decisive role [16,17]. There is also a structuralist whose study shows that culture is the most important factor. This is stated by Gabriel Almond, Sidney Verba, and Samuel Huntington [15,18]. This structuralist approach is considered to have a major weakness since it ignores the important role of the actor in democratization. The second approach is agency. The existence of agency or elite is regarded as the most important factor in economy democratization. This theory is adopted by Juan J. Linz, Donald Share, and Samuel Huntington. This approach is criticized for the absence of structural factors [16,17].

To answer the weakness of structuralist approach as well as agency, the third approach is offered, namely the integration of agency-structure. This approach sees that both agency and structure are equally important in promoting democratization. Some theories included in this approach is the conjunctural theory by Terry L. Karl, morphogenetic theory by Margaret Archer, structuration theory by Anthony Giddens, figuration theory by Norbert Elias, the integration of macro-micro theory by George Ritzer and the theory of social changes by Piotr Sztompka [15,19-21].

In this study, Giddens' structuration theory is more widely discussed because of its depth in sorting out structure into several structure-clusters. Basically, structuration sees that social change is a result of repetition of social practice and de-routinization that crosses space and time [22-24]. Social practice itself is the result of mutual interaction between agency and structure.

Agency is an actor constrained by structure, but is also capable of transforming the structure. Structure is a constraining and enabling factor to the agency. The relationship between agency and structure is duality, not dualism. It is a two-way relationship where both need each other and influence each other. Social practice of agency requires structure, but it will also form the structure, and vice versa. In order that social practice can form structure, repetition of action that crosses space and time should happen [25,26].

The structure in Giddens theoretical framework includes three clusters namely signification, domination and legitimation. Domination is divided into two sub-clusters, namely authoritative and allocative [23]. Each section and structure are institutionalized on the institution in the community. The structure of signification is institutionalized in the order of symbols, discourses and cultural system, the structure of domination-authoritative in political institutions, the structure of domination-allocative in economic institutions, and the structure of legitimation in legal institutions.

In accordance with the structure-clusters, there are several types of important social practices. In the cluster of

significations, there are social communication practices. In the cluster of domination there are social practices of power. In the cluster of legitimations, there are social practices of sanctions. In each of the structure-clusters, structuration process occurs by each own means (Figure 2).

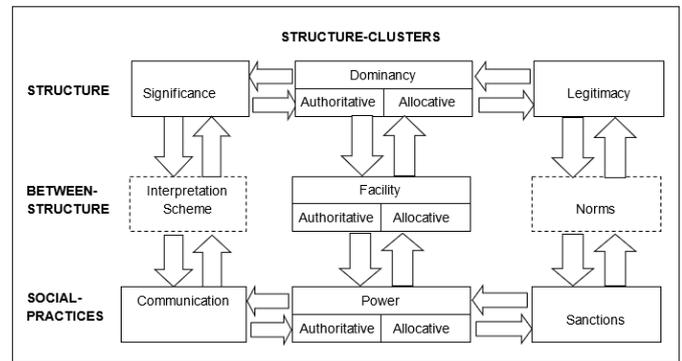


Fig. 2. Structure-clusters and between-structures in structuration theory.

In detail, all of the social practices, new (de-routinization) or old (routinization), are influenced by and also affect the structure. The old structure limits the ability of an individual to choose what he wants to do. With his practical realization, he chooses what is commonly done or he is doing a routinization of social practices. Thus, he strengthens the existing structure. Conversely, as someone has a discursive consciousness, an individual will choose to do something new or de-routinization of social practices. If it is done repeatedly across space and time, de-routinization will form a new structure. The new structure will enable the individual to do different things (figure 3).

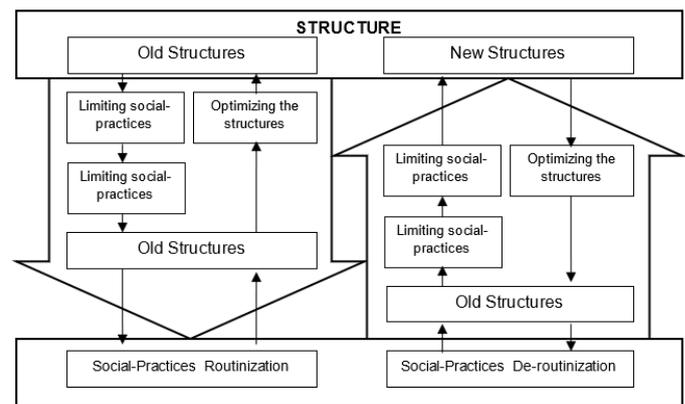


Fig. 3. Structuration process in each structure-cluster.

#### A. Democratization as Institutionalization of Participatory and Pro-poor Values

Democratization in the structuration perspective is known as an effort to bridge the tension between agency and structure, both in politics and economy. From the social-democratic ideological perspective, democratization is known as an effort to bridge political democracy (agency-oriented) and economic democracy (structured oriented). In this study, the concept of political democracy is developed into agency-oriented participatory values while the concept of economic democracy

is developed into structured-oriented pro-poor values. Thus, democratization in this study is an attempt to realize participatory and pro-poor values [25,26].

Referring to the opinion of Baierle and Widiadi, participatory value is defined as the public policy process that involves direct participation of the public. Meanwhile, pro-poor value is the structure of resources and public budget designed to favor the rights of the people oppressed in economic, cultural and social aspects. This is a new perspective in which public budget already adopts gender mainstreaming [14,27,28].

## II. RESEARCH METHODS

This study is an explanatory case study with qualitative approach as explained by Bogdan and Taylor. The units of analysis are structure (rules and resources) and existing social practices in Indonesia at four structure-clusters (signification, domination-authoritative, domination-allocative and legitimation). Structure and social practices which become the focus of this study are closely related with the process of institutionalization of participatory structure and preference to side with the poor.

The data comes from participatory interviews with different participants, observation and documents. The study was conducted in six months from November 2013 to April 2014. There were 81 participants including executive, legislative, NGO figures, leaders of neighborhood association (RT)/community association (RW), LPMK committees, businessmen and the media. Meanwhile, the document data include the data of Regional Revenue and Expenditure Budget (APBD), LPJ/LKPJ/LPPD of the Province, regional regulation, articles, news and documentation of programs and related policies.

## III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Through the lens of structuration theory, this study seeks to explain how the dynamics of democratization in the middle of decentralization could happen, what the determining factors are, and how is the prospect for the future. In the process of democratization in Indonesia, the dynamics is characterized by the attraction between the three categories: first, the attraction between agency and structure; second, the attraction between the state agency and community agency; and third, the attraction between participatory movement and pro-poor movement.

### A. *Structure vs Agency: De-routinization that Gives Birth to Democratization Embryo*

The dynamics of democratization in Indonesia is the result of the victory of new social practices (i.e. participatory and pro-poor movement) over the old social practices (i.e. neo-patrimonialism of the state and pragmatism of the society). New social practices are an act of de-routinization towards democratic structure [29-32]. In contrast, old social practices are an act of routinization which is a legacy of the New Order. Structural changes occur due to de-routinization of old social practices that keep recurring throughout space (in various fields) and time (for years) so that it could overthrow routinization act. Recurrence takes place in two realms, namely in the state and society.

In the realm of state, social practices based on participatory and pro-poor values are facing neo-patrimonial value. On participatory value, the state, which was previously technocratic-bureaucratic, now changes into participatory by dividing its authority in the formulation of policies to the public [33,34]. On pro-poor value, a previously self-oriented state which employed patron-client model in distributing its budget, is now oriented to the poor or pro-poor budgeting.

In the realm of society, the social practices of participatory and pro-poor values are facing pragmatism value. On participatory value, people who were formerly passive are now beginning to actively formulate policies. On the pro-poor value, people who previously only thought of themselves and their group, now begin to distribute the available resources to the poor [35-37].

Continuous recurrence of de-routinization social practices in the four clusters in various fields begins to bring forth new structure, namely participatory and pro-poor. At the same time, the emergence of new structure also facilitates new social practices. Furthermore, new social practices which are becoming increasingly frequent further strengthen the emergence of new structures. The process of structure formation or structuration towards a democratic structure happens repetitively [38,39]. The emergence of new structure, participatory and pro-poor, cannot be separated from the recurrence of social practice of simultaneous de-routinization at the four structure-clusters, namely structure-clusters of significations, domination-authoritative, domination-allocative and legitimation. In all four structure-clusters, there is a new social practice (de-routinization) which is able to overcome the domination of old social practices [29,30,40,41]. Various measures of democratic social practices could reduce old social practices which are neo-patrimonialist and pragmatic (figure 4).

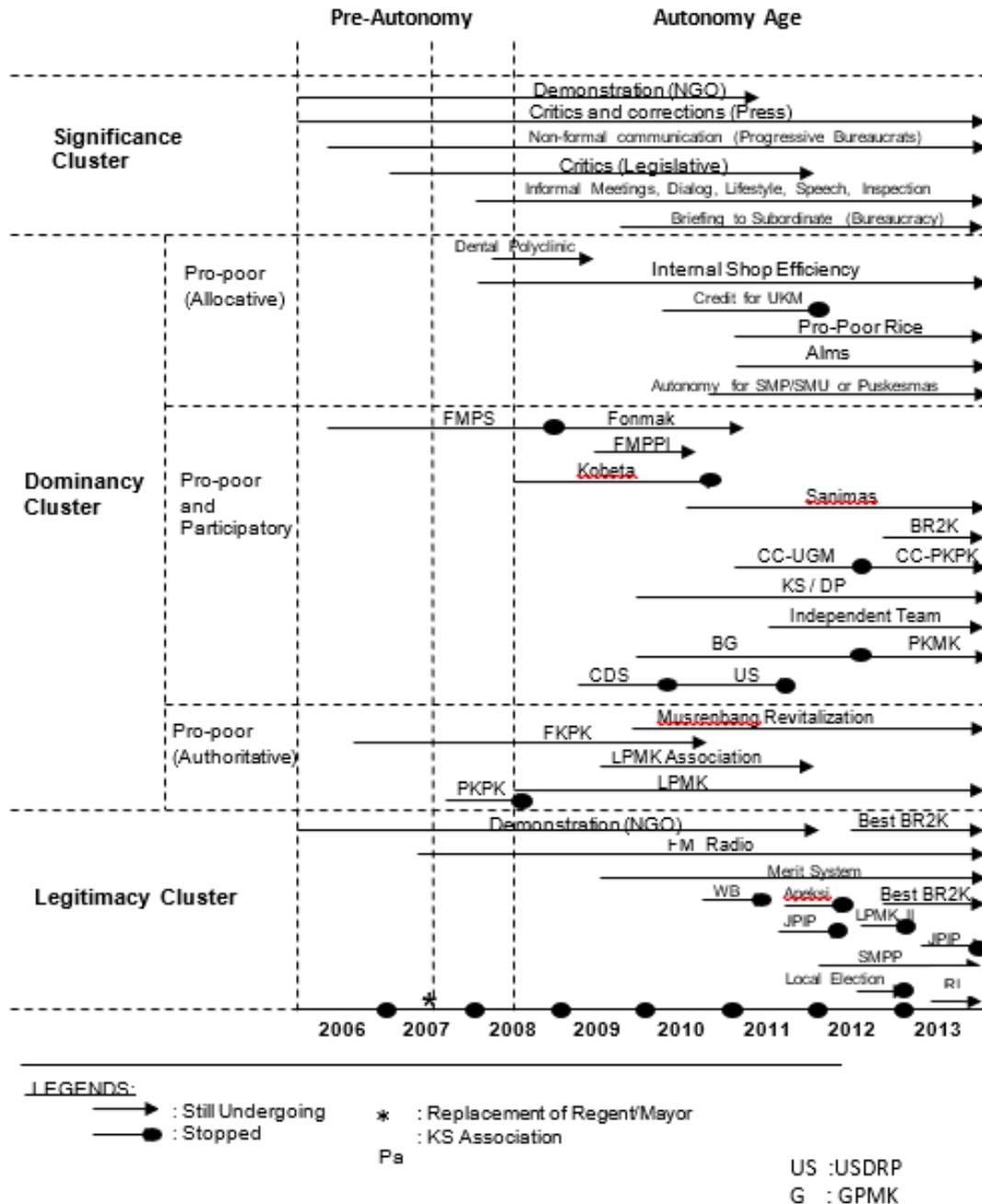


Fig. 4. Social-practices de-routinization in four clusters.

The Victory of de-routinization over routinization does not happen instantly because there is a reaction between structuration process (the birth of the new structure) against social practices of routinization. The structure of neo-patrimonialism and pragmatism that has been deeply rooted still allow social practices of routinization such as corruption, bureaucratization, and pragmatism of the society. This process also occurs repeatedly so that the old structure is not easily overturned. It takes many years to achieve new social structure. In the first stage, i.e. the pre-autonomy period (1999-2000), the practice of de-routinization is not prominent, whereas at a later stage (regional autonomy period in 2001 and

2006), the practice of de-routinization is already prominent and starts to produce new structure.

In pre-autonomy period (Figure 5), the dominant social practice is the old values such as authoritative, bureaucratic, corruptive and pro-elite [42,43]. This practice occurs due to the domination of the old structure that, without knowing, has constrained social practices. The agents of change are stuck on practical consciousness in order to get a sense of ontological security. Routinization occurs. As a result, what they do simply reflect themselves and in the same time they strengthen the old structure: neo-patrimonialist.

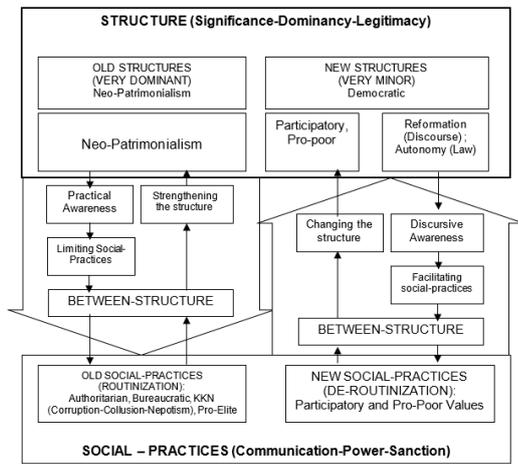


Fig. 5. Structuration process during pre-autonomy age.

Although the practice of routinization in the pre-autonomy period is still dominant, there are individuals who are affected by the climate of reform. They use their discursive consciousness to begin pro-poor and participatory social practices. They also begin to use the newly enacted Autonomy law. At the state level, they are a group of bureaucrats who take advantage of the establishment of the Technical Committee of Regional Autonomy to introduce changes. At the community level, they are activists who encourage the formation of forums such as FPMS, FKPK, PKMK and other NGOs. However, this practice is still unnoticeable so that the structural changes they produce are very minor.

In the autonomy period (Figure 6), there is a change in both the agency and structure. On the agency, new regents and mayors appear as the outcome of direct election that encourages new structure. On the structure, regional autonomy law has been initiated with a range of implementing rules including the decentralization of budget authority (authoritative power) and decentralization of budget (allocative power) [7,44].

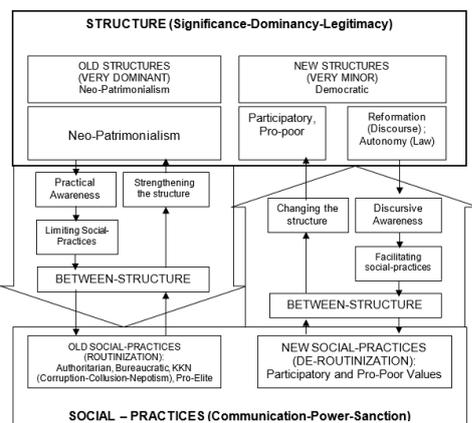


Fig. 6. Structuration process of democratization during autonomy age.

Changes in structure and agency have led to the emergence of different duality process. On the one hand, the presence of new mayor as a political actor of democratization product (direct election) is encouraging improvements in local

government bureaucracy. On the other hand, the agency of social change represented by the NGOs figures and local leaders helps to promote the importance of participation, innovation and collaboration between the state and society in the process of policy making [31,32,36]. The transfer of authority, institutional arrangement and addition of DAU/DAK are also utilized by the agency of change to carry out bureaucratic reform process that leads to pro-poor and participatory institutionalization. Other helpful external structures are donor programs such as CDS (City Development Strategy), USDRP (Urban Sector Development Reform Programme) and CC (Citizens Charter). The existence of these programs is used, either by state agency or community, to produce new values.

During the period of decentralization, old social practices or routinization do not just disappear. Nevertheless, there are some neo-patrimonialist bureaucratic behaviors [31,44]. These state agencies still reproduce old values through the routinization of social practices that tend to be bureaucratic and corrupt. Even now, there are social practices done by pragmatic people who are driven by rising subsidy programs, block grants and other populist activities. However, because the intensity of such routinization declines, the structure of neo-patrimonialism and pragmatism begins to weaken. In contrast, pro-poor and participatory structure begins to strengthen.

Democratization taking place in regencies and cities up to 2006 can be understood as an early embryo of the formation of a new structure in Indonesia. Agency who experiences changes is still relatively limited to the elites in the state and society. On the other hand, changes occur due to the support of external structure which is relatively beyond the reach of the local. Thus, if the agency and the structure are changed, a reversal of structure could possibly happen.

### B. Tradeoff and Utilitarianism of State Actors vs Community Actors

Attraction between state actors versus community actors is shown during the democratization process in Indonesia [45,46]. Furthermore, similar thing also happens on the internal side (individual) of every agency. There are individuals who try to maintain the old structure through routinization practice in contrast to the new structure being introduced by other entities through the practice of de-routinization, resulting in a process of dialectic control between individuals. This study shows the process of attraction between the state and the society. Two-way process of mutual advantage is described in the following paragraphs.

Approaching autonomy, the majority of state agencies still adopt neo-patrimonialism style under the leadership of old Regents and Mayors. However, some actors in the state begin to change. Several new members of legislatures from the 2009 election constantly criticize old regents and mayors. Some actors in the bureaucracy have begun to change along with the presence of some 'progressive' bureaucrats who initiate the era of openness. At the same time, public agencies represented by NGOs, universities and the media try to pull the state towards a democratic country using their own way.

Some NGOs such as FPMS choose confrontational method through demonstrations. Several other NGOs and institutions decide to collaborate with the state through the establishment of FKPK (Communication Forum of Urban Development). Meanwhile, the mass media, such as radio and television change their broadcasting format to news model which constantly criticizes local government policy that has considerable influence on public opinion and the result of regional head election.

At the era of autonomy, the intensity of regional actor changing takes place. New Regents and mayors with pro-poor and participatory leadership style also emerge. These new Regents and Mayors are trying to change the state from within, and they are supported by a group of young bureaucrats. However, these new government officials have several limitations. They are not local people. Their relationship with the supporting political party does not go smoothly. At the same time, the community continues to demand and force the government to become more democratic. This democratization effort acquires its moment during the simultaneous regional head election in 2015 [6,45]. In this program, the process of mutual advantage starts to occur. People use the election of regional head to push bureaucracy towards democracy. Similarly, the executive and the legislature use this program to influence the bureaucracy.

The process of mutual advantage in the process of de-routinization keeps on going in the programs of developing autonomous regions of regencies and municipalities: (1) in the grassroots level, the block grant programs initiated by the State (city government) are utilized by the NGOs to fight against society pragmatism. Instead, NGOs' critical behavior is used by the Mayor to fight neo-patrimonialism of the bureaucracy by establishing a supervisory team whose members are from NGOs community. (2) in the education sector, the State (city and regency governments) takes advantage of the society through the Board of Education (DP) and the School Committee (KS) to minimize fraud committed by the bureaucrats. Instead, the Board of Education uses this moment to strengthen grassroots through workshops and the establishment of the association of school committees. (3) in the health sector, the State (the Regent, the Mayor and the

Head of Department) as well as the elite of the society utilizes CC program to conquer neo-patrimonialism at street level bureaucracy and empower grassroots community who uses Puskesmas (Health Center) service [6,10,45,46].

### C. Institutionalization of Participatory Value vs Pro-Poor Value: a Continuity

The institutionalization of those two democratic values, namely pro-poor and participatory, is not running simultaneously. Institutionalization should start from participatory movement (such as CDS program, USDRP and BG). The substance of participatory movement program starts to lead to pro-poor structure. This participatory movement then continues with pro-poor movement which lies in participatory framework (as in BR2K program, CC and DP/KS). This finding indicates that the dilemma between democracy (participatory) and welfare (pro-poor) does not always appear. These two movements can complement each other.

The continuity of this movement is the key to understanding how both of these values can be institutionalized in Indonesia. Pro-poor value should not be imposed authoritatively as what has happened in Jembrana regency (Bali). In fact, community involvement (especially those who are active in the pro-poor movement) in the process of participation is able to generate pro-poor programs which also "force" the state to move in the same direction. In contrast, participatory value should not be followed by participation bias as is the case in the New Order era. The willingness of the state to actually hear the voice of its people, give an authority to the people, and negotiate with its people is the key to avoid participation bias.

### D. The Deciding Factor: The Duality of Agency and Structure

Social change in Indonesia is determined by the duality of agency and structure. Therefore, there are determining factors both in agency and structure. In the level of agency and structure there are encouraging factors, but there are also inhibiting factors. In both agency and structure, those determining factors are again divided between what is in the realm of the state and what is in the realm of society (Table 1).

TABLE I. FACTORS SUPPORTING AND CONSTRAINING DEMOCRATIZATION

		Factors	
		Supporting	Constraining
Agency	State	New Mayor (autonomy age) and Legislative Bureaucrats, especially "progressive bureaucrats" Street Level Bureaucracy Open Principal, Head of CommunityHealthCenter / Puskesmas Joint Team (Technical Team for Local Autonomy, etc)	Old Bureaucrats Closed Principal Old Regent / Mayor (pre-autonomy age)
	Community	NGO/ Limited Press LPMK / RT / RW Hybrid Organization (TKS-CDS, USDRP Task Force, DP, Active KS, Active CC Forum)	NGO 'GSP' Contractor LPMK Passive KS Passive CC Forum Delegations of Sub-District Level Assembly
Structure	State	Reformation Climate Discretion Decentralization Financial Decentralization (DAU/DAK/Dekon) Regulation (Autonomy /Employment/National Education System, etc) Donor Programs (CDS, USDRP, CC)	Neo-patrimonialism
	Community	Local Culture	Pragmatism

### E. Prospect: Vulnerability Depends on Agency and Structure

How is the prospect of democratization in the era of decentralized Indonesia in the future? As previously mentioned, participatory and pro-poor structure created here is still an embryo. Therefore, we remain dependent on changes in the constellation of agency and structure. If agency and structure hold on to participatory character, this process will persist and ultimately it will shape a new structure that is more democratic and solid. However, if there is a change of pattern in agency and structure, democratic structure can be more rapidly formed, inhibited or its direction can be reversed [18,46].

At the level of structure, the prospect will also be determined by what happens at the global, national and local level. On a global or regional level, for example, there are donor programs, the movement of the Millennium Development goals or SDG's and AEC (Asean Economic Community). In the national level, we have DAU/DAK, regulation and political climate, whereas in the local level there are local culture (agrarian culture/commerce), education and patriotism. Global, national and local structure will determine the future of democratization.

At the level of agency, the prospect for democratization depends on the balance between public, state and private [13,40]. In the community there are NGOs, PT (limited liability company), press, LPMK, RT (neighborhood Association)/ RW (Community Association), Board of Education, School Committee and CC forum. At the state level there are mayors, the bureaucracy and the legislature. Meanwhile, in private level we have businessmen, the Chamber of Commerce and co-operative. The agencies in community, state and private sectors are interrelated and influence the prospects of democratization in the future.

## IV. CONCLUSION

This study aims to analyze the dynamics of democratization using the framework of structuration. In this context, democratization can be described in three groups of approaches, namely structuralist, agency and the integration of agency-structure. From the above discussion, the following conclusions are obtained:

Democratization in the form of institutionalization of participatory and pro-poor values is a social transformation that occurs through social practices which crosses time and space (structuration.) Structuration occurs in four dimensions, namely signification, domination-authoritative, domination-allocative and legitimation.

In the process, there are limiting factors, either at the agency or at structure level

- In the aspect of structure, the enabling factors are political reform and regional autonomy while the constraining factors are old regime, neo-patrimonialism of the bureaucracy, and the pragmatism of the society.
- In the aspect of agency, the enabling factors are new Regents and mayors and progressive bureaucrats (state

actors) as well as NGOs, the media, intellectuals, associations, and the combination of state-society organizations (public actors). Meanwhile, the constraining factors are old bureaucrats (state actors) and pragmatic grassroots leaders (public actors).

In the institutionalization of democracy, the process of mutual reinforcement between state and society actors occurs.

The achievement of institutionalization of democracy in participatory and pro-poor values can happen due to non-simultaneous movement patterns. The early movement which is participatory then leads to pro-poor.

From the conclusion it can be assumed that regional development will effectively bring democracy if the government gives more focus on poverty and unemployment with sustainable and participatory projects. Similarly, decentralization is not merely a transfer of affairs from the center to the regions, provinces, regencies and cities. Decentralization should also reach out to the structure of political party and social structure of the community in order that a region's political maturity in deciding regional policy is no longer dependent on and determined by political parties or social mobilization.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

- The Rector of Wijaya Kusuma University of Surabaya (UWKS) who has supported the funding of this research.
- UWKS research institute that has provided facilities for this research, including the human resource, helped the researcher and donated some funds.
- The Institute for Regional Autonomy Surabaya, which has provided direction on the research material entitled "Democratization at The Regency and City Level in Indonesia in the Era of Regional Autonomy".
- Laboratory of Public Policy and Development Planning (LKP3) of Faculty of Administrative Science, Brawijaya University that helps the researcher in deepening his study, literatures and analysis of research data.

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