

# **Intergenerational spaces: Citizens, political marketing and conceptualising trust in a transitional democracy**

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## Abstract

As the third largest democracy in the world, Indonesia's relatively peaceful transition from authoritarian rule to democracy deserves academic attention. This study explored the notion of trust and how it could influence electoral behaviour. An intergenerational perspective was used to compare the differences between parents who were familiar with the previous political system and their children who have only been exposed to a new democratic system. Through the extension of the Dermody and Hanmer-Lloyd model of electoral behaviour, this study identifies the antecedents of trust/distrust in a transitional democracy and shows how these are different when citizens' consider the political system and the political candidate. The work can benefit policy makers and political candidates who can develop political marketing strategies to engage citizens in the electoral process.

## Summary contribution

This study identifies the antecedents of trust, distrust, and extends previous work by exploring both trust in the political system and the political candidate. The model developed shows how trust influences electoral behaviour. This work is crucial for policy makers and political candidates both in Indonesia and in other transitional democracies as it shows what characteristics need to be developed to empower and engage citizens in the electoral process.

Key words: Political marketing, Elections, Trust, Indonesia, Grounded Theory

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## **Introduction**

With a population of nearly two hundred and fifty million people Indonesia is now the world's third largest democracy and the largest world's Muslim democracy and it is in this context that this paper explores two different aspects of trust in electoral participation. Firstly, voter trust in the political system and secondly, voter trust in those who stand for election. As a nascent democracy, we examine intergenerational differences between voters who are familiar with both the current system and have memories of the previous system; and their children who are only familiar with the current system; we seek to understand how trust differs between these family members. The initial driving force toward democratic transition was instigated through the '1998 reform', when the country moved from an indirect to a direct election system. This was tested in 2014 when the country voted for a new president. Despite a high level of turnout (70%, IFES, 2014) the margin of victory for the winning candidate was low perhaps indicating (amongst other factors) that trust in the system may be considered high, but that voters level of trust in the presidential candidates was less so. Electoral decision making during the transitional stage is significantly influenced by information and trust (Duch, 2001).

Political marketing can play an important supporting role during the transitional democratic process. It can provide the tools to help promulgate information to citizens, often enthusiastic for the new the political system (Duch, 2001), who want to learn and engage in the democratic process and thus build trust in system and its actors. This enables citizens to feel part of the process and empowered to engage in political activities such as voting. Trust is especially important in a representative democracy where candidates represent the hopes and

aspirations of the electorate. Yet we can differentiate between trust in the individual and of the system. Hosmer (1995) noted that political trust is related to the ethical qualities of public officials whilst Hetherington, (1998) highlighted that trust for governmental institutions was dependent upon the ethics and efficiency of government.

Trust is pervasive in discussions of public life (Newton, 2001; Hardin, 2002; Burns et al., 2003; Schiffman et al., 2010). Our understanding of how and why people trust or distrust public officials is reasonably well developed in a modern democracy (Burns et al., 2003; Schiffman et al., 2010) but we need to build a deeper understanding of the antecedents of trust to establish how political trust relates to turnout (Grönlund and Setälä, 2007). In a similar vein studies, have indicated the importance of trust in public administration but there is little in the extant literature that builds an understanding of trust in a transitional democracy (Berman, 1997; Brewer and Sigelman, 2002). While political marketing scholars have begun to explore how trust can be developed into a theoretical framework (e.g. Dermody and Hanmer-Lloyd, 2004; 2005a; 2005b; Dermody et al., 2010), there is a need to extend this work by building an understanding of how the interplay between trust in the system and trust in the political actor affects electoral behaviour in a transitional democracy. Moreover, it is crucial to take an intergenerational perspective and examine if there is a difference in the notion of trust amongst adults who are familiar with both systems and their children who have only been exposed to direct elections. This has implications for other transitional democracies, which need to mobilise and engage an electorate. From a political marketing perspective, trust is crucial to build bridges in the spaces between political institutions and the voter to reduce the relational distance between citizens and government. Political marketing practitioners therefore need to understand how trust can be developed and maintained so that their candidate or party is ensured of continued electoral success (Dean and Croft, 2001).

Indonesia is a transitional democracy defined by issues such as corruption (Henderson and Kuncoro, 2011) and the complexity of election mechanisms (Sebastian, 2004). Therefore we need to understand how to develop a better democratic environment in Indonesia because “without trust a democracy cannot stand” (Dermody and Hanmer-Lloyd, 2004).

The first aim of this study is to extend the conceptualisation of trust by understanding how it affects electoral behaviour in a transitional democracy, and to characterise both trust in the political system and the Presidential candidate. This distinction is crucial in a transitional democracy, where some citizens remember the previous political system and this may provide the basis for intergenerational differences. Therefore, the second aim of the study is to investigate trust from an intergenerational perspective. Hence, this paper seeks to address the following questions: What are the antecedents of trust in the context of electoral behaviour? How is trust in electoral behaviour conceptualized? Are perceptions of trust in the political system and the Presidential candidate different for parents and their children? Finally, can trust variables be mapped to provide a coherent model that provides a greater understanding of how trust affects electoral behaviour in Indonesia’s transitional democracy?

### **Political Trust**

At a time when voters’ opinions of politicians have rarely been lower (Harris and Lock, 2010), political marketing can make an important contribution. Democracy needs trustworthy candidates and institutions (Newton, 2001; Offe, 2001). Hence, devising appropriate strategies that build trust are crucial for political parties and candidates in order to empower voters to engage in the electoral process (Dean and Croft, 2001). For Dermody and Hanmer-Lloyd (2004) “*government can only govern through the consent of the people in a democratic structure*”.

Mayer et al. (1995) defined political trust as the positive assessment of the performance of government and party leaders. Moreover, trust can be defined as willingness to accept

vulnerability based upon positive expectations about others intentions or behaviour (Mayer et al., 1995). McEvily et al. (2003) drew attention to trust being inherently relational, that requires a trustor and a trustee, which reveal an expectation and willingness to be vulnerable. Vulnerability fuels risk and many scholars claim that trust is associated with risk (Das and Teng, 2004; Luhmann, 2000; Mayer et al., 1995; Rousseau et al., 1998), hence the risk factor is important to be identified because it will affect the decision-making process. Mayer et al. (1995: 712) defined trust as

*“the willingness of the party to be vulnerable to the actions of another party based on the expectation that the other will perform a particular action important to the trustor, irrespective of the ability to monitor or control that other party”.*

Thus, trust is a behavioural intention that leads to a positive expectation; an assessment of others’ intention; and a willingness to be vulnerable. Therefore, for Mayer et al. (1995) trust can be defined as a positive evaluation of another’s behavioural intention.

Butler and Cantrell (1984) identified five dimensions of trust including integrity, competence, consistency, loyalty, and openness. These were related to personal characteristics that inspire positive expectations of other people. For Moorman et al. (1993) antecedents of trust include expertise, willingness to reduce uncertainty, sincerity, integrity, dependability, collective orientation, tactfulness, timeliness, confidentiality, and congeniality. Building upon Mayer et al’s (1995) work, Burke et al. (2007) proposed an integrative multi-level framework which focused on trust in leadership and suggested that trust falls within three specific categories including ability, benevolence, and integrity. However, whilst there is some agreement in the literature regarding the antecedents of trust this is also determined by the worldview of the researcher. Lewis and Weigert (1985) argue that trust is essentially a social reality which surrounds the individual and society, and proposes a sociological conceptualization of trust. However, Nuissl (2005) identified four perspectives of trust, socio-

psychological which focuses upon personal preference and emotions as sources of trust; rational choice which focuses on the notion of exchange, self interest and preference ordering; sociological which is determined by the power of cultural norms and values, and a process oriented concept of trust which is related to social relations and shared meanings. In addition, perceived justice also influences levels of trust (Dirks and Ferrin, 2002; Susila, 2010) and this is strongly related to the integrity and ethics of government.

Ethics involves both rights and duties as a social contract between individuals, institutions, and society (O'Shaughnessy, 2002). For Hosmer (1995), ethics is related to good behaviour which is not only for the individual but also for society. He further argues that ethics and trust are highly correlated and defines trust as

*the result of right, just, and fair behaviour - that is, morally correct decisions and actions based upon the ethical principles of analysis - that recognizes and protects the rights and interests of others within society. (Hosmer, 1995: 399)*

Vigoda-Gadot (2006) argues that democratic outcomes such as political efficacy and political participation are the result of citizens' perceptions of the ethics of public officials. Trust is the moral duty to do good for the society rather than to do good for the individual. The antecedents of trust have been explored in the management literature (see Table 1) but as noted by Henneberg (2008) have yet to be related to political marketing. This is a major gap in knowledge as trust underpins electoral engagement and apart from the work by Dermody and Hanmer-Lloyd (2004, 2005, 2010) has remained significantly under-researched in the political marketing literature.

**Table 1 The antecedents of trust in management literature**

| <b>Author (s)</b>                        | <b>Antecedents of trust</b>   |
|--|---|
| Mayer et al. (1995)                      | Ability, benevolence, and integrity                                   |
| Butler and Cantrell (1984)               | Competence, integrity, consistency, loyalty, and openness             |
| Dirks and Ferrin (2002)                  | Perceived justice or fairness   |
| Mayer et al. (1997)                      | Ability, benevolence, and integrity                                   |
| Burke et al. (2007)                      | Ability, benevolence, and integrity.                                  |
| Aurier and Siadou-Martin (2007)          | Credibility and benevolence   |
| Ball et al. (2004)                       | Communication and image   |
| Bekmeier-Feuerhahn and Eichenlaub (2010) | Perceived similarity  |
| Berman (1997)                            | Competent, honest, fulfils its promises, and understand citizen needs |
| Chen et al. (2008)                       | Expertise, empathy, likability, and communication                     |
| Das and Teng (2004)                      | Goodwill and competence   |
| Kantsperger and Kunz (2010)              | Benevolence and credibility   |
| Macintosh (2009)                         | Familiarity and self-disclosure                                       |
| Morgan and Hunt (1994)                   | Shared values and communication                                       |
| MacMillan et al. (2005)                  | Shared values, communication, non-opportunistic behaviour             |
| Nuissl (2005)                            | Performance, fairness, and confidentiality                            |
| Salo and Karjaluoto (2007)               | Ability, benevolence, and integrity                                   |
| Smith (2010)                             | Competence, aligned values, and aligned interest                      |
| Yousafzai et al. (2009)                  | Ability, benevolence, and integrity                                   |
| Caldwell and Hayes (2007)                | Ability, benevolence, and integrity                                   |
| Zawojnska (2010)                         | Image and perceived value   |
| Gounaris (2005)                          | Structural bonds and social bonds                                     |

The political science literature has examined trust relating to political candidates and political institutions (Schiffman et al., 2010); actions of political parties and political programmes (Brewer and Sigelman, 2002; Clark and Lee, 2001); trust related to political fund raising (Hetherington, 1998); relationships between interpersonal trust; and three political trust-related constructs: trust of government forms, political cynicism, and incumbent trust (Schiffman et al., 2010). For Mayer et al. (1995) and McEvily (2003) trust can be defined as a willingness to accept *vulnerability* based upon positive expectations about others intentions or behaviour (Mayer et al., 1995; McEvily et al., 2003). In contrast, Lewicki et al. (1998: 439) defined trust as “*confident* positive expectations regarding another's conduct and distrust in terms of *confident* negative expectations regarding another's conduct”. They argue that trust and distrust can be seen as distinct dimensions and that there are a number of elements that contribute to both the growth of trust and distrust. Nevertheless, this doesn't provide a full picture of the impact of trust and electoral behaviour.

Moreover, for Dermody and Hanmer-Lloyd (2005a, 2005b) the decline of trust in political parties and leaders was related to perceptions of whether they were meeting public expectations, or how promised policies were pursued by government. Berman (1997) identified a number of conditions that are required to restore trust in government after it has been elected. First, the government should be able to respond to peoples' needs, second, citizens should be involved and influence the process of government decision making, and finally, government should be able to convey its policy according to public expectations. Uslaner and Brown (2003) argue that trust/distrust plays an important role in the types of political participation. Their findings show that trust has an effect on communal participation in particular, political participation such as attending a political meeting was due to a perceived lack of governmental responsiveness. These findings support Niemi et al. (1991) who suggest

that distrust may negatively affect the willingness of citizens to participate in electoral politics and prefer to engage in communal activities such as political protest. However, the alternative action is to deliberately disengage from political activity and neither behaviours enhance democracy.

Trust has gained considerable importance in the field of political marketing (Dermody et al., 2010). Nevertheless, political marketing scholars have tended to focus on the activities and outcomes of political campaigns (Craig et al., 1990; Dermody and Hanmer-Lloyd, 2005a). Dermody and Hanmer-Lloyd (2004) proposed a conceptual framework that examines both trust and distrust and how they can engage and alienate voters respectively. Their nascent research on trust has identified some key issues that require further elucidation, most notably that trust requires a deeper conceptualisation (Smith, 2010). We need to understand how trust influences electoral behaviour and finally can the personal characteristics of the political candidate affect electoral engagement. While studies in the context of electoral behaviour have examined for instance, trust in post-communist societies (Mishler and Rose, 1997; 2001); the relationship between trust, satisfaction and turnout in Europe (Grönlund and Setälä, 2007); or between political participation and trust (Hooghe and Marien 2013). Interestingly, there has been a rise in the establishment of new political parties and the decline of established political parties across Europe which for Nardelli (2014) indicates a '*crisis of trust*'. This situation Gamson (1968) argues foreshadows the breakdown of democratic society and although it is widely accepted that trust is crucial for strengthening democracy (Almond and Verba, 1963; Anderson and Tverdova, 2003; Catterberg and Moreno, 2005; Putnam 1993; Inglehart, 1997). This is the situation facing Indonesia therefore, the imperative to understand the antecedents of trust and how they affect electoral participation is essential. For Catterberg and Moreno (2005), trust is an ambiguous concept and these ambiguities need to be clarified before they can be

operationalized. This suggests that initiatives are required to develop a better democratic environment in the future.

### **Indonesia as a transitional democracy**

For Indonesia this has become increasingly important. Democratic issues in Indonesia are defined by single issues such as corruption (Henderson and Kuncoro, 2011); by the complexity of Indonesia's election mechanisms (Sebastian, 2004) and the role of a secular government in what is the largest Muslim democracy in the world. There is a tension in the relationship between Islam and democracy (Goddard, 2002; Tessler, 2002; Hadi and Hoffman, 2003; Potrafke, 2012; Sarmazdeh, 2012). For Goddard (2002) Islamic democracy is more fluid so argues that the interpretation of Islamic rules may be on a personal basis. Sarmazdeh (2012) concurs and suggests that "*democracy can be used with some adaptations in an Islamic government*" (Sarmazdeh, 2012:594). However, his argument is underpinned by the notion that secularism is not the main foundation of democracy so therefore religion is compatible with democracy. As a Muslim country, Indonesia has taken aspects of parliamentary and liberal democracy and adapted them in an attempt to reconcile both democracy and Islam. Historically, Indonesia has experienced an evolutionary approach to democracy through three distinct periods. The first was parliamentary democracy (1949-1957), following on from this was the transition from a 'parliamentary democracy' to a second period called the 'guided democracy' (*Demokrasi Terpimpin*) period under President Sukarno (1959-1965). The third and longest period is the 'Pancasila Democracy' (*Demokrasi Pancasila*) under President Suharto (Golkar party with military support) from March 1967 until May 1998 (Eklof, 1999). After the fall of the New Order regime, Indonesia entered a transitional democratic period and has had four democratically elected presidents.

Although the transition from authoritarian government to democracy has been relatively uneventful in Indonesia, some argue that the institutionalisation of the party system is weak (Tan, 2006). Political parties are an important factor in the transition to democracy articulating a diversity of values and policies, thus enabling competition between different political parties leading to a range of choices for the citizen to choose from (Diamond and Morlino, 2004). However, as trust is a key driver of selecting a political party in an election we respond to the call from Henneberg (2007) to explore the ethics of political marketing and focus upon identifying the antecedents of trust in the political system and the political candidate; leading to a more robust conceptualisation of trust in political marketing; and a deeper understanding of how this affects electoral behaviour and the longevity of the democratic institutions. While trust is accepted as a precursor for electoral engagement, extant research on political trust is ambiguous and needs greater elucidation (Catterberg and Moreno, 2005), especially in a transitional democracy. This exploratory study aims to understand the nature of trust in a transitional democracy seeking to determine differences in the role of trust in the political system and political candidate amongst parents and their children.

### **Research Methodology**

Qualitative methods are appropriate when studying complex phenomena, and when numerous influencing variables need to be identified and understood to address the research question (Eisenhardt, 1989; Matthyssens and Vandenbempt, 2003). The study was developed in line with the underpinning principles of grounded theory (Gibson and Hartman, 2014; Strauss and Corbin, 1998; Strauss and Corbin, 2008). For Glaser, a number of grounded theory methods have been developed since his seminal work with Strauss (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) and while he remains wedded to classic or orthodox grounded theory, he acknowledges the diversity of GT methods are “*not better or worse*” (Glaser, 2014) than orthodox GT. While a grounded theory approach was used, it was necessary to conduct a literature review prior to the data

collection stage. This was primarily to identify the paucity of research on trust in a transitional democracy and to satisfy institutional practices, a problem identified by Glaser himself and others (cited in Dunne, 2011). A phenomenological approach was used to collect the data through which the theory could emerge. As there has been little theoretical development of trust in a transitional democracy, the grounded theory tradition of research was used to build theory from rich data, collected in the field, “*systematically and analysed through the research process*” (Strauss and Corbin, 1998, p12). We followed the Straussian approach to grounded theory as “*the data collection, analysis and eventual theory stand in close relationship to one another*” (Strauss and Corbin, 1988, p12). This ‘evolved’ approach for data analysis as it encourages interplay between the researcher, the data and the literature as the researcher goes to and from the field. The Straussian method considers contextual factors and has the ability to produce theory that can provide guidance for practice (Corbin and Strauss, 2008). Moreover, specifically for this research, it allowed exploratory research to be conducted to gain insight into the nature of trust and its antecedents in the context of electoral behaviour in Indonesia. This was especially important to capture and understand the intergenerational perceptions of trust amongst parents and their children in the political system and political candidates. Hence, we aimed to build theory from the data to develop a better understanding of how trust affects electoral behaviour in Indonesia’s transitional democracy.

Data was collected through individual in-depth semi structured interviews, conversational in nature, in order to build an understanding of the respondents’ everyday life experiences (Schutz, 1967) and how this affected their engagement with politics and elections. A discussion guide was developed to examine a range of factors that influenced voters’ perceptions of the electoral process. Specifically it sought to explore trust, what they thought about politicians and elections and how it affected their lives. To understand the Indonesian transitional democratic context, respondents were encouraged to identify and elaborate on local,

national, international political and social issues. Other questions focussed on the respondents' perception of what a good politician was; what motivated or demotivated them; and their electoral participation. The overall aim was to generate a theoretical framework to better explain the relationship between trust and electoral engagement.

In total 32 interviews were conducted over a period of two months during 2013. Using theoretical sampling the researcher collected and analysed the data and then determined which further respondents were recruited as the theory emerged (Corbin and Strauss, 2008; Glaser, 2004). Although theoretical saturation was identified after twenty-eight interviews, interviewing continued until the thirty-second respondent to make sure nothing was missed and where no additional conceptual insights were gained (Strauss and Corbin, 1998, Charmaz, 2014).

Interviews lasted between one to two hours and took place in the participant's home. The conversation was conducted in Indonesian and was recorded. Memos were taken, providing an important component in identifying emergent concepts and generating theoretical ideas (Glaser, 2014). After recording, the interviews were transcribed and translated into English. For Tarozzi (2011, p167) translation is an important aspect of grounded theory and that the translation process is "*a non- neutral tool*" and part of the grounded theory process because translation is a form of interpretation.

Table 2 Respondent Profile

| Respondent | Family position | Occupation                 | Gender | Residence               | Age | Education              |
|------------|-----------------|----------------------------|--------|-------------------------|-----|------------------------|
| 1          | Child           | Staff Notary               | Female | Mojolaban Sukoharjo     | 24  | University             |
| 2          | Parent          | Housewife                  | Female | Mojolaban, Sukoharjo    | 50  | Senior High School     |
| 3          | Child           | Employee                   | Male   | Nogosari, Boyolali      | 25  | Secondary School       |
| 4          | Parent          | Wood processing and farmer | Male   | Nogosari, Boyolali      | 58  | Primary School         |
| 5          | Child           | Student                    | Male   | Polokarto Sukoharjo     | 22  | University             |
| 6          | Parent          | Primary School's Teacher   | Male   | Polokarto Sukoharjo     | 52  | University             |
| 7          | Child           | Employee                   | Male   | Delanggu Klaten         | 17  | Senior High School     |
| 8          | Parent          | Wood processing            | Male   | Delanggu Klaten         | 52  | Secondary School       |
| 9          | Child           | Entrepreneur               | Male   | Temanggung Wonosobo     | 24  | University             |
| 10         | Parent          | Entrepreneur               | Male   | Temanggung Wonosobo:    | 50  | Senior High School     |
| 11         | Child           | Primary School Teacher     | Female | Banyudono Boyolali      | 24  | University             |
| 12         | Parent          | Entrepreneur               | Male   | Banyudono Boyolali      | 52  | Primary School         |
| 13         | Child           | Employee                   | Female | Mojolaban Sukoharjo     | 30  | University             |
| 14         | Parent          | Trader                     | Male   | Mojolaban Sukoharjo     | 54  | Vocational High School |
| 15         | Child           | Student                    | Male   | Salatiga                | 22  | University             |
| 16         | Parent          | Retired Military           | Male   | Salatiga                | 53  | Senior High School     |
| 17         | Child           | Student Internship         | Male   | Baturan Indah Surakarta | 22  | University             |
| 18         | Parent          | Trading service            | Female | Baturan Indah Surakarta | 43  | Senior High School     |
| 19         | Child           | Employee                   | Male   | Banjarsari Surakarta    | 29  | University             |
| 20         | Parent          | Retired Military           | Male   | Banjarsari Surakarta    | 57  | Senior High School     |
| 21         | Child           | Noodle seller              | Male   | Laweyan Surakarta       | 26  | Vocational High School |
| 22         | Parent          | Caterer                    | Female | Laweyan Surakarta       | 45  | Primary School         |
| 23         | Child           | Unemployed                 | Female | Colomadu Boyolali       | 22  | University             |
| 24         | Parent          | Printing entrepreneur      | Male   | Colomadu Boyolali       | 43  | University             |
| 25         | Child           | Student                    | Female | Pondok Mawar Surakarta  | 22  | University             |
| 26         | Parent          | Employee                   | Male   | Pondok Mawar Surakarta  | 46  | Senior High School     |
| 27         | Child           | Bank employee              | Male   | Laweyan Surakarta       | 28  | University             |
| 28         | Parent          | Sales representative       | Male   | Laweyan Surakarta       | 55  | Senior High School     |
| 29         | Child           | Employee-Customer Service  | Male   | Baki Sukoharjo          | 24  | University             |
| 30         | Parent          | Retiree                    | Male   | Baki Sukoharjo          | 61  | University             |
| 31         | Child           | Student                    | Male   | Makamhaji Sukoharjo     | 24  | University             |
| 32         | Parent          | Lecturer                   | Male   | Makamhaji Sukoharjo     | 54  | University             |

To address the research aims the sample had to reflect a number of important characteristics. First, previous studies (Pacheco, 2008; Achen, 2002; Ichilov, 1988; Sears, 1975) have highlighted the important role of parental influence on their children's political socialization. This combined with the research aim of exploring an intergenerational perspective between parents and their children resulted in the selection of a split sample of sixteen young voters and sixteen parents (see table 2 for a profile of respondents).

Data analysis was conducted according to the principles of grounded theory to establish strategies to ensure rigour in the investigation (Birks and Mills 2011; Gibson and Hartman, 2014; Strauss and Corbin, 1990). These strategies include simultaneous data collection and analysis, coding, comparison, memo writing, theoretical sampling to refine the researcher's emerging theoretical ideas and integration of theoretical framework (Charmaz, 2006; Denzin and Lincoln, 1994; Corbin and Strauss, 2008). Therefore, the first interview was with a young female, data was collected, analysed to identify any emerging themes and then the next interview was the parent of the young female. The analytical process was followed in the same way and then interviews were conducted with male respondents and so on until theoretical saturation was reached. To gain a high level of familiarity of the data numerous readings of the transcripts, reflective diaries, and field notes was undertaken. To extract relevant codes, transcripts were read to identify recurrent themes. Open coding was used and from this descriptive codes were created, refined and clustered into abstract conceptual codes through the process of axial coding. During which related descriptive codes were linked and grouped into conceptual theoretical codes, for an example see Figure 1. Data is presented example from participant 21 following a grounded theory format which builds theory from the empirical data to enable a hypothetical framework to be created (Charmaz, 2010; Corbin and Strauss, 2008).

Take in Fig 1 about here please

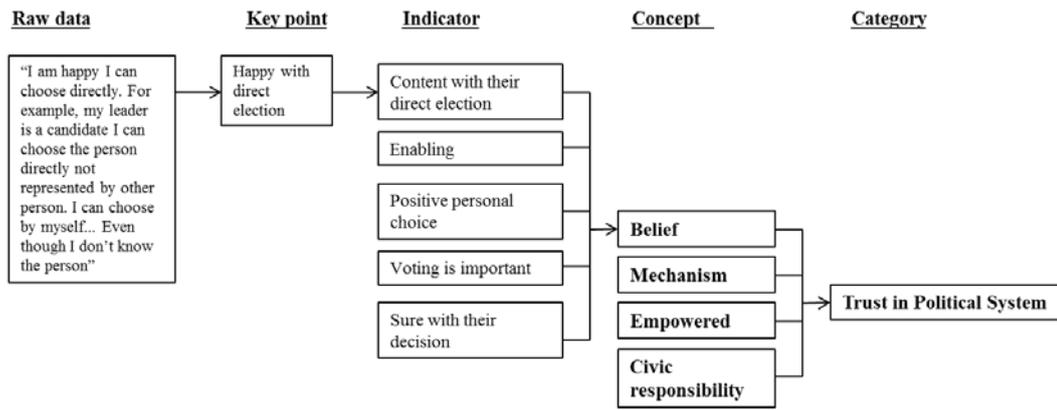


Figure 1

## Findings and Discussion

The data indicate that trust in the context of Indonesian electoral behaviour is divided into two main categories, trust in political system and trust in political candidate. There was increased trust in the new political system compared with the previous system and trust in political candidates was strongly related to their historic conduct and perceived capabilities. However, spaces emerged between the old and new, notably intergenerational distance between adults and their children who had different perceptions of engaging with the new direct election system. However, the children learned about politics from their parents. It was also difficult for the older politicians to distance themselves from the authoritarian political system and the corruption associated with earlier governments. This provides opportunities for a new cohort of politicians unsullied by the historical associations of political office. The proceeding sections explore these findings, using the voices of the respondents, in more detail.

### Intergenerational socialisation

The intergenerational transfer of political values was in evidence in the families and there were a number of mechanisms used to communicate their understanding and attitudes towards politics. For some parents it was important to share information about politics through active discussion, providing guidance for voting and just general chatting that covered politics and voting but it was their choice

*My dad is active talking about politics, I just listened faithfully ...He is very concerned with politics and trying to influence to his children, including me (1/Daughter/staff notary)*

*When there's an election, he gives guidance to the children to choose this party but sometimes the children say I'll do it on my own, I have a right (2/Mother/housewife)*

*Yes usually when we watch TV together, there would be an argument (25/daughter/student)*

For others they preferred a more indirect approach letting their children have a free choice without discussion or persuasion,

*With my children, I don't influence them for example when I ask them who you are going to choose. They reply it's a secret, so my choice is to not influence them on their decision. I just keep quiet so they know that their decision isn't wanted to be*

*heard...I think that they're old enough to make their own decisions and they can do that, and then let them (6/Father/teacher)*

*sometimes they understand and ask, "Who do you think will be the future leader?" "Well, what do you think?" I ask them back (18/Mother/Trading service)*

For some they learned through stories and symbolic representations of political candidates.

*Yes but because I am a Javanese person, the packaging in telling about politics is through puppet story. All in the story of Mahabarata, Ramayana... all those are about political strategy...Of course, when the puppet story is political education, indirect political education by symbols... so that they can understand about political things, the world of organising for example a country or people (32/father/lecturer )*

Which ever mechanism parents used to inform their children about politics, they were expected to make their own decisions and also engage in the electoral decision making process.

### ***Trust in political system***

The aim of the 1998 reformation in Indonesia was to change the election system from an indirect to a direct electorate system. Citizens were positive about the new political system because they believe it to be supported by good institutional mechanisms. People also felt empowered and proud to be good citizens with a strong sense of civic responsibility. Along with electoral reform there was increased freedom of the press. This had resulted in a proliferation of politically based publishing, constructing a diversity of parochial communities (Sen & Hill, 2007), through both traditional and new media with people enjoying the freedom to express their opinion. A direct election was seen to enable citizens to make choices according to their own beliefs and values.

*In my opinion I prefer the current system, direct election, not selected by DPR (4/Father/Wood processing)*

*I am happy I can choose directly. For example, my leader is a candidate... I can choose the person directly... not represented by other person... I can choose by myself (21/Son/Noodle seller).*

*I like it (direct election) because that system is good... it used to be threatening, right? Before... we should be like this, do this... right? Now it's okay depends on us...I don't know... I was really naive... I didn't care about anything... when my children were*

*little, I just thought about earning for the family, now it's like breathing fresh air  
(22/Mother/Caterer)*

Thus, the transition to democracy in Indonesia and the implementation of the direct election system was seen as an enabling mechanism that could empower citizens to select their preferred candidate but also allow freedom of thought, expression, and choice rather than being coerced into voting for a particular party:

*But there was a time when there was an invitation for a governmental employee to go to that place for socialisation or something but we had to wear a certain uniform, there was also an order like that. But what was scary was that if we didn't go, it was noted. It turned out that the government had many spies, not only in the presidential election, the local election was also like that. (6/Father/Teacher).*

Trust in the political system encourages people to participate in politics, and as such the level of election participation is the main indicator in healthy democracy. High participation rates show support for the development of democracy, and vice versa. This study found that people had faith in the new direct election system and were more willing to vote for their preferred candidate. Many participants supported the new election system and this is crucial in the context of transitional democracy. Indeed, some participants did not mind whether their selected candidate won or lost. The important thing was that they were able to participate in the election. The findings also concur with Marcus (2002) who argued that passion was a drive for electoral engagement with the direct election system empowering.

*I would prefer the democratic one, not the authoritative, we can choose with our heart  
(23/Daughter/Unemployed)*

*When the system is free and independent, it really is from my own heart but during the new order regime, I had to wear this shirt, I lied to myself, I felt uneasy, going here and there but that's not what I chose. And now we are free. When it's free, my friends and I didn't really know who to choose, even my friends don't know who I chose because we are independent, untied from the office and everything else  
(6/Father/Teacher).*

There is no doubt that the participants reflect the longed for change to a democratic system and since 1999 Indonesia has implemented direct elections with little controversy with turnout averaging around 76% (<http://www.electionguide.org/countries/id/102/>). Notably, the

2014 Presidential election turnout for overseas voters increased to 83% (Jakarta Post, 2014) indicating increased awareness, and reflecting a positive attitude towards the new political system and an increase in civic responsibility

*As a good citizen we should vote, give our voice... give suggestions to others. (17/Son/Student-internship)*

*But not electing is a mistake anyway, since we have responsibility to change the country you know. We are living in a confusing country. (14/Father/Trader)*

For these participants not voting is viewed as detrimental to democratic progression and a threat to Indonesia's future. Figure 2 summarises the key antecedents of trust in the political system were belief in the new system; through mechanisms that were transparent and accessible; leading to greater empowerment; which led to a stronger sense of civic responsibility.

**Place Figure 2 about here please**

### *Distrust in the Political System*

The conditions for distrust to emerge stem from historical perceptions of corruption where candidates acted in self-interest; a complicated and unwieldy registration process, the variety of political parties, voters inability to evaluate party policies, and a perception that the process consumed too much money which could be better spent elsewhere. This raises serious concerns for the transitional democracy because for a number of participants the direct election system was viewed with distrust. Surprisingly, given that Indonesia is the largest Islamic country in the world only one participant believed that a secular system was inconsistent with Islam.

There are millions of people in Indonesia who have the right to vote once registered. However, government attempts to collect data are challenged due to the large number of eligible voters living in remote areas. This is exacerbated by problems with storing and updating data. Hence, many citizens remain unregistered even though they are entitled to vote. The problem was more apparent in rural areas, for poorer citizens and the young. One participant recognised the difficulties:

*It's difficult, if we look back, I elected before, but there are many people who haven't been registered, the people down there. That's what I see. I can't see the people in the upper level. But I saw many lower level people haven't been registered for election (19/Son/Employee)*

Once registered potential voters faced additional confusion because of the existence of many political parties. This is a characteristic of newly formed democracies where numerous political parties focusing upon a diverse range of issues emerge (Duch, (2001). In Indonesia forty-six parties sought registration and fifteen were registered (IFES, 2014). For some participants this created confusion in interpreting different policies. There was also confusion when smaller parties formed allegiance to one of the two presidential candidates.

*There are too many parties, so it's hard for the people to compare. It's confusing to judge which one is better (5/Son/Student)*

The complex registration process, proliferation of political parties, the vast, diverse geographical distance which challenged the logistics of ballot box collection combined to increase participants' cynicism that a free and fair presidential election could take place. Cynicism was further reinforced because of the perception that the cost i.e. funding for the political process was too high. Political parties and politicians are financed independently or from supporters. Supporters may leverage influence gained from providing financial support for manipulating policy development unfairly and increase the propensity for corruption. Ultimately undermining the foundation for the development of trust because corruption and self-interest are perceived to distort the democratic process:

*If you want to build a party, if I'm not mistaken when you apply there will be fund from the government... That can be used to get money... pretend to build a party and after they got the money they carelessly treat the party, right? There should be something like that... there are many people only looking for profit. If there isn't a lot, the money wasted is also less (21/Son/Noodle seller)*

### ***Trust in the Candidate***

This study indicates that there was a positive perception of the new direct election system, particularly evident amongst the older generation who remembered the previous election system. However, results were mixed for the presidential candidates and this has implications due to the power the President wields.

Trust in the political candidate relates to the candidate's character and their capabilities. Participants evaluated political candidates by assessing their past performance and their characteristics. The results of this study showed that there are a number of components of trust in the political candidate including personal character, perceived capability, and candidate experience.

The dimensions of trust in political candidate are very similar to Aristotle's components of rhetoric (Freese translation, 1989) most notably, pathos for the emotional connection to the citizen, logos for the perceived capability, and ethos for the candidate experience and character. According to Gottweis (2007)

*logos is characterized by reasoning and presentation of fact, evidence and empirical proofs, pathos operates with empathy, sympathy, sensibilities, while ethos functions with trust, respect authority, honesty, credibility and considerations of the desirable.*

The characteristics in Table 3 highlight the ideal factors that the participants desired if trust was to be cultivated.

### **Place Table 3 about here**

There were a number of aspects of empathy (pathos) that were specific to traditional Indonesian culture that related to humility. Softness, especially in Javanese culture, is a positive character trait and a person with a soft personality would be seen as a kind person.

*Soft, patient, not aggressive and inspiring. (11/Daughter/Teacher)*

Other related characteristics were patience, modesty, and aspects of tranquillity and calmness. Universal characteristics such as capability and character were also desirable qualities that inspired trust.

*I am not really concerned about the personality, just wise, patient, low-profile. Low profile means he has something but he doesn't want to show it. (19/Son/Employee)*

*The point is they need to be clean, no corruption, honest, transparent. Yes, they need to be decisive and wise, if not, they will be looked down and people will not be afraid of them...They need to take a good care of the people, and moreover they need to move fast if it is needed. (23/Daughter/Unemployment)*

*Wisdom... consistent, honest, charismatic, quick problem solving, and not too much thinking. Yes quick to solve the problem. (25/Daughter/Student)*

Honesty was seen as an important factor (Rural\_01/Daughter/employee; Rural\_04/Son/Employee, many participants believed that if the leader was honest, there would be less chance of corruption as their attitude towards working would be honest.

*They should be sincere because they become a leader, automatically they should be a good example for their community, honest and reliable (11/Daughter/Teacher)*

Moreover, they would be more likely to employ honest people, which would help build a better country and strengthen democracy. Furthermore, a good leader would enhance Indonesia's reputation overseas which would benefit trade and investment.

*He would represent a state; he should be good, full of experience, high loyalty, focus, smart in politics and education, foreign countries will cooperate. (18/Father/Trading services)*

In summary, the data suggest that the ideal presidential candidate (in the eyes of the respondents) would hold the universal values of strength, intellect, responsibility and wisdom so important in Western democracies but enhanced by the Indonesian values of gentleness, humility and patience.

### ***Distrust in the candidate***

A number of dimensions of why distrust toward a candidate emerged from the study because voters consider many politicians to be incapable, corrupt, while supporting and maintaining a dishonest political system. Further, that politicians are considered to be selfish, focusing on self-interest rather than the citizens' or national interest. Unexpectedly, while the respondents generally exhibit low trust in politicians, yet many, but not all, participated in the elections. This highlights the public's support for change in the political system, implying that the democratic transition will continue to progress despite not fully trusting the politicians.

Their participation in the election comes from the belief in the electoral system, emphasises that the majority of citizens support democracy.

*I always vote in the presidential election even if my candidate was not elected as a president, the most important thing is that a good citizen must vote its leader...it is a duty, if I don't like any I will vote for the candidate who is least worse. (9/Father/Entrepreneur)*

The level of voter participation in an election casts a shadow over the legitimacy of the elected government. The level of public participation in elections is linked to how voters view each politician. When candidates fail to live up to the criteria viewed as acceptable to voters and this acted as a barrier to voting:

*...because there were no right person who fits my personal criteria, that is the reason, sometimes we only elect, there are not polling available for the personal opinion for the president. What happened was there were a number of candidates, so like or not, if there is no capability, I will tend to be abstain. (19/Son/Employee)*

The older generation specifically appear to be traumatized by the previous authoritarian political system reducing their ability to trust politicians who had been part of the previous political system, reducing propensity to vote. These voters believed that such politicians were corrupt, selfish and would fail to keep their promises once in Parliament. The lack of trust in the politician impacted negatively on their willingness to trust the political system:

*I am not talking about Suharto's era, but the fact is that today's political condition is so unkept. Our country is full of cheats. If we don't elect, people will say that we do not care about the country. When we finally elected, we cannot see any change. We are being betrayed (14/Father/Trader).*

*To be honest, there are many politicians in Indonesia who do not count on their promises for example they promised to take care and help the people prosper in their promotion before the election in DPR or else, but after they are elected, they usually forget their promises (10/Father/Entrepreneur)*

A view that candidates only entered politics for their own ends as “...they just dig their own wealth” (23/Daughter/Unemployed) came through the data. Politicians were perceived as corrupt and incapable lacking integrity, unaccountable, indecisive, inexperienced, weak and poor communicators (see Figure 3).

These factors made engaging in the electoral process unattractive:

*Because there was no one who matched my personal criteria, there were a number of candidates, so like it or not, if there is no capability, I will tend to be 'golput' (abstain) (19/Son/Employee)*

*The leaders now have complicated bureaucracy. There is always another new problem before the previous one solved. They are not firm enough (19/Son/Employee)*

Take in Figure 3 about here please

### ***The evolution of the political process***

The study identified that respondents looked for a new type of politician. Being incorruptible, honest, and down to earth were seen as foundational to the development of trust. The direct system established in Indonesia requires politicians to demonstrate integrity and capability to engender voter trust and thus get elected. Interestingly, Joko Widodo, better known by his nickname Jokowi, seems to have succeeded in this better than other presidential candidates. He gained an image in the media as a “*humble person*” (28/Father/sales representative). Engaged in unscheduled visit known as *e-blusukan* to enable citizens to meet him virtually face to face (Widhiarto, 2014), allowing them to form their own impressions of his character and qualities. Such actions help to reinforce the view that he was a ‘*new and clean*’ (9/Father/Entrepreneur) leader and untainted by the previous political system in Indonesia. For participant 28 Jokowi represents what he believed to be a good politician.

*So the leader should be like Jokowi. Even though many people have doubted him, but he kept in silent but in fact he made it, that is, do not too much talk, not greedy, not arrogant, humble, and finally many people chose him, so if someone asked me about the criteria of the leader, it should be like it. There is no one else...He is honest, protect the low people, not glamour and simple. Maybe in the future he can be the president. (28/Father/Salesman)*

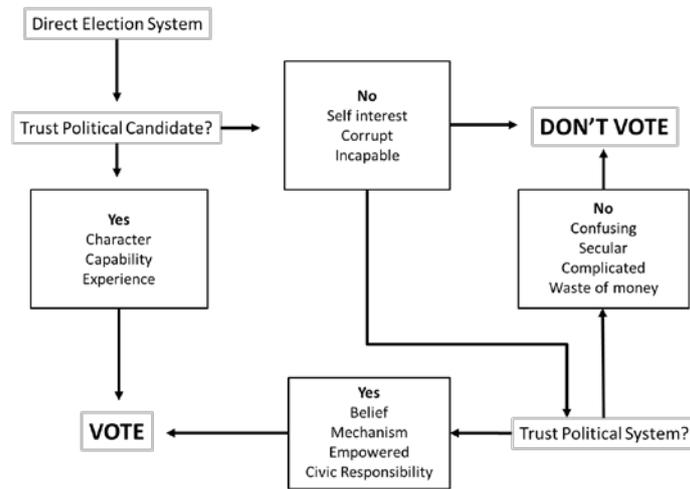
### **Intergenerational Distance**

There are some components of trust in the context of electoral behaviour in Indonesia that relate to both the parents’ and childrens’ perspective. Empowerment is one of the antecedents of trust in the political system and this emerged from the parents’ perspective whilst belief, transparent institutional mechanisms, and civic responsibility were important for *both* parents and children. Young Indonesian people also reflected the general malaise of cynicism and lack of engagement in the political system and were more cynical than their

parents. However, parents and children have a similar attitude regarding the antecedents of trust in a political candidate which are character, capability, and experience, whilst antecedents of distrust in political candidate which are self-interest, corrupt, and incapable.

## **Discussion**

This study reinforces Dermody and Hanmer-Lloyd's (2004) observation that distrust alienates citizens from electoral participation. This work also extends the trust/distrust Dermody and Hanmer-Lloyd (2004) model and further operationalizes the concept of trust in the context of electoral behaviour. Figure 4 seeks to demonstrate what factors the citizen considers when makes their voting decision. The model shows that trust remains a significant factor in electoral behaviour and this research has unpacked the components of trust in the system and the candidate. The research illustrates that there is a distance between the system and the candidates and a direct election system actually requires the candidate to connect with citizens on a personal level. If there is no trust in the candidate then trust in the political system overrides this and the citizen will vote, this was particularly evident for parents who remembered the previous authoritarian political systems. Clearly, in this transitional democracy the overarching concern is to support political system despite their trust in the political candidate. However, for a small number of participants they didn't approve of the new system nor the candidates therefore they abstained.



**Figure 4. An empirical model of trust in electoral behaviour in a transitional democracy**

## Conclusion

The aim of this study was to extend the conceptualisation of trust and secondly to understand how trust affects electoral behaviour in a transitional democracy. We add to the current body of knowledge on trust in political marketing by extending Demody and Hanmer-Lloyd's (2004) model to include both the political system and the candidate. Our research illustrates that trust in the political system overrides any concerns of the political candidate and further research is required to examine if it could be replicated in different contexts or different election systems. As a fledgling democracy, Indonesia faces some challenging times but the faith that citizens' place in the democratic system will enable it to develop further. There are key issues to be addressed however and this is particularly pertinent when looking at citizens' attitudes towards political candidates. Trust in political candidates is still important and the key components are their empathy, their capability, character and their experience and background, which is a measure of their capability. However, if democracy is to flourish then corruption in Indonesia needs to be addressed, moreover candidates need to ensure that they put their citizens' needs before their own and that will ensure that they are able to be elected to office. The recent election on 9 July 2014 led to the election of Joko Widodo because he was seen as a new and more trustworthy politician. However, he appears to have successfully managed to build a clear space between the old and the new whilst simultaneously representing the PDI-P *and* being hailed as a protégé of Megawati Soekarnoputri (Purba, 2014; Guardian, 2014). Further research needs to examine the impact of Megawati on Jokowi's presidency and to examine if Jokowi will continue to follow his citizen focussed policies or will it be Indonesian politics as usual.

Implications arising from this extend further than just Indonesian politics. Elections are the vehicle for the hopes and aspirations of the electorate, the political system should enable

the successful candidate to implement policies articulated during the election. Therefore the implications for policy makers and political marketers need to take note of Machiavelli's words that "*a man who is made a prince by the favour of the people must work to retain their friendship*" (Machiavelli, 1961: 69). This means that they must deliver on their promises either by making achievable promises or recognising how the system needs to change in order to deliver those promises. Trust is the most important component in a representative democracy and if there is low trust there are serious implications for democracy.

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