

THE UNIVERSITY OF HULL

**Conceptualizing Trust in Electoral Behaviour  
in a Transitional Democracy**

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by

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## Table of Contents

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION .....	1
1.1. Research Background.....	1
1.2. Research Questions .....	10
1.3. Purposes of the Study .....	12
1.4. Significance of the Study .....	13
1.5. Research Contributions .....	14
1.6. Thesis Structure .....	15
CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW.....	19
2.1. Trust.....	19
2.2. Trust in Electoral Behaviour .....	26
2.3. Transitional Democracy in Indonesia.....	33
2.4. Summary .....	44
CHAPTER 3 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY.....	46
3.1. Introduction .....	46
3.2. Research Paradigm .....	46
3.3. Research Design .....	52
3.4. Summary .....	54
CHAPTER 4 DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS .....	56
4.1. Introduction .....	56
4.2. Data Collection Methods.....	56
4.2.1. Sampling Frame.....	58
4.2.2. Theoretical Sampling.....	63
4.3. Data Analysis .....	65
4.3.1. Coding Data .....	66
4.3.2. Constant Comparison.....	69
4.4.3. Memo Writing.....	71
4.4.4. Reflexivity .....	72
4.4. Summary .....	78
CHAPTER 5 RESEARCH FINDINGS AND INTERPRETATION.....	79
5.1. Introduction .....	79

5.2. The Driving Factor of Transitional Democracy in Indonesia .....	80
5.3. Antecedents of Trust in the Context of Electoral Behaviour .....	90
5.3.1. Antecedents of Trust in Political System .....	90
5.3.1.1. Belief.....	93
5.3.1.2. Mechanism.....	98
5.3.1.3. Empowered .....	104
5.3.1.4. Civic responsibility .....	107
5.3.2. Antecedents of Distrust in Political System .....	111
5.3.2.1. Confusing.....	113
5.3.2.2. Secular .....	114
5.3.2.3. Complicated.....	115
5.3.2.4. Waste of money .....	116
5.3.3. Antecedents of Trust in Political Candidate.....	118
5.3.3.1. Empathy .....	121
5.3.3.2. Capability.....	134
5.3.3.3. Character and Experience .....	142
5.3.4. Antecedents of Distrust in Political Candidate.....	150
5.3.4.1. Self-interest.....	152
5.3.4.2. Corrupt .....	156
5.3.4.3. Incapable.....	161
5.4. Relationship between Trust and Electoral Behaviour .....	173
5.4.1. Trust Political Candidate and Vote.....	173
5.4.2. Distrust Political Candidate and No Vote.....	190
5.4.3. Trust Political System and Vote .....	194
5.4.4. Distrust Political System and No Vote .....	200
5.4.5. Distrust Political Candidate and Vote.....	205
5.5. Conceptualizing Trust in a Transitional Democracy.....	212
5.6. Summary .....	226
CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSION .....	229
6.1. Introduction .....	229
6.2. Key Findings .....	229
6.2.1. Research Objectives 1 .....	229
6.2.2. Research Objectives 2.....	232

6.2. Research Contributions .....	234
6.2.1. Theoretical Contribution.....	234
6.2.2. Managerial Contribution.....	235
6.2.3. Research Methodology Contribution.....	238
6.3. Limitations and Future Research.....	238
Appendix 1. Inform Consent Form .....	249
Appendix 2. Research Information.....	250
Appendix 3. Interview Guide .....	252
Appendix 4. Publications: Papers and Presentation .....	255

## List of Tables

Table 2.1. Antecedents of trust in management literature .....	23
Table 3.1. Philosophy of research .....	48
Table 4.1. Profile of Respondents .....	61
Table 4.2. Example of memo writing.....	71
Table 4.3. An example of data coding .....	74
Table 5.1. Components of trust in a political system.....	93
Table 5.2. Component of trust in political candidates .....	121
Table 5.3. Components of distrust in politicians.....	151

## List of Figures

Figure 2.1. The Dermody and Hanmer-Lloyd trust-distrust voter segmentation matrix .....	28
Figure 2.2. The Huntington's model of problems confronting third wave countries-adapted .....	38
Figure 2. 3. The Huntington economic developments model supporting democratization. ....	39
Figure 4.1. Example of merging concept .....	68
Figure 4.2. Example of emerging category .....	69
Figure 4.3. Coding process and reflexivity .....	73
Figure 5.1. Antecedent of trust in political system .....	91
Figure 5.2. Components of belief.....	94
Figure 5.3. Components of institutional mechanism .....	99
Figure 5.4. Components of empowerment.....	105
Figure 5.5. Components of civic responsibility .....	107
Figure 5.6. Antecedents of distrust in political system .....	113
Figure 5.7. Antecedents of trust in political candidate.....	120
Figure 5.8. Antecedent of distrust in political candidate .....	152
Figure 5.9. Component of self-interest .....	152
Figure 5.10. Component of corrupt.....	157
Figure 5.11. Components of incapable .....	168
Figure 5.12. Summary of emerging themes and sub themes .....	170
Figure 5.13. Dimension of trust in electoral behaviour .....	172
Figure 5.14. An empirical model of trust in electoral behaviour in a transitional democracy .....	226

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## **Abstract**

This study explored how Indonesian voters' perceptions about trust have changed over time and what factors affect their trust in the context of transitional democracy. This study identifies the antecedents of trust in the context of electoral behaviour in democratic transition in Indonesia and extends Dermody and Hanmer-Lloyd's model of electoral behaviour (Dermody and Hanmer-Lloyd, 2005a; b), which seeks to explain the relationship between trust and electoral behaviour. An intergenerational perspective was used in this study to compare and contrast the differences between parents who are familiar with the previous political system and children who have only been exposed to a new democratic system. This study provides an empirical model of trust in electoral behaviour based on the grounded theory approach involving 32 voters who are parent-child pairs. This model operationalizes the antecedents of trust, distrust, and the relationship between trust and electoral behaviour. This study identified that trust falls into two categories, namely trust in political system and trust in political candidate. The results of this study indicate in Indonesia parents have adapted to the new political system well; however young people, in line with extant literature, remain cynical about the political system and political candidates. This study contributes to operationalize trust in electoral behaviour and argued that trust is crucial for engagement in electoral behaviour in a transitional democracy. For policy maker, reducing distrust in political system is very important to develop a healthy democracy whilst for politicians they need to have a good characteristic and capabilities to ensure that the political candidates are elected.

## **CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION**

### **1.1. Research Background**

With a population of nearly two hundred and fifty million people there has been significant academic interest in Indonesia's transition from authoritarian rule to democracy. The crucial driving force towards democratic transition was the '1998 reform', which changed the election system from indirect to direct elections. However, critics of the new order regime claimed it was a military dictatorship (Eklof, 1999) so argued not only for system change but also regime change, providing opportunities for new political parties to come forward. In a transitional democracy there is evidence of instability as a wide number of parties emerge focusing on a variety of platforms; eventually they form coalitions with other parties; or find their 'unique' policies are taken on by larger parties; or their platform is too narrow to capture enough votes for electoral success (Duch, 2001). Therefore, in the transitional stage, information and trust are important factors to engage citizens (Duch, 2001). Political information is an important part of the transitional democracy process as people are enthusiastic for the new political system and want to learn about and engage in the democratic process. Political trust, on the other hand, is related to ethical qualities of public officials (Hosmer, 1995) and the level of trust in political actors and governmental institutions depends on the quality of ethics and the efficiency of government (Hetherington, 1998). Hence for a transitional democracy to succeed there needs to be transparency and probity in governmental activities and information, as well as candidates who are seen as trustworthy.

A study on trust from the political marketing perspective is critical to build bridges between politics and citizens as voters, and to develop a good democracy based upon trusting relationships. Politicians and political parties need better communications about their candidature platform. It may help voters to be able to easily comprehend their ideology and programmes. The government should also improve how their policies communicate strategies in order to serve the citizens as evidence of their tasks and performance. In essence, political trust is a positive evaluation of government performance, political parties and leaders. Inefficiency in government performance might cause a negative evaluation of the government and what emerges is the decline in trust of government and leaders. Likewise, politicians' performance would be determined by the fruitfulness of their promises in the political campaigns. People might also evaluate politicians' intentions to act in the best interest of citizens or not.

In neo-classical economic voting theory (Downs, 1957; Duch, 2001), citizens make electoral decisions based on the perception of the government's economic performance. People have the power to impose penalties or to give punishment and sanction and also have the power to give reward. Duch (2001) maintained that "voters punish incumbents who fail to deliver acceptable economic outcomes and reward governments that meet their expectations" (p.895). Duch (2001) also argued that positive evaluation results made by the citizens will lead to support for the incumbent while negative outcomes lead to support for the challenger.

Nevertheless, electoral behaviour in electing decisions is not only based on rational choice theory analysis which counts cost-benefit economically. There are

many factors that influence it (Downs, 1957; Duch, 2001). Dean and Croft (2009) claimed that voters could make rational and irrational decisions. In the rational choice theory, voters only consider the benefits and costs associated with their respective advantages while in irrational choice the decision is based more on emotional factors. According to Aristotle as quoted by Dean and Croft (2009), there are two components of the irrational factor. The first component is vegetative irrationality which is stimulated by instinct and the second factor is desiderative irrationality which is a learning process over punishment and rewards received. Dean and Croft (2009) maintained that it is impossible to explain the electoral behaviour based on only a simple model and therefore a more sophisticated framework to understand voters' behaviour is required.

Understanding voters and creating political strategy is recognized as critical for politicians (Dean and Croft, 2001) and government, as Dermody and Hanmer-Lloyd (2004) state that "government can only govern through the consent of the people in a democratic structure". Related to political strategy, political organization is increasingly reliant on marketing strategies to achieve their strategic goals such as the development of strategy in campaign promotion, brand building, and voter segmentation based on the study of electoral behaviour (Thrassou et al., 2009). Political marketing and commercial marketing have some differences. However, commercial marketing strategies can be adapted to develop political marketing strategies (Mauser, 1983) through utilization of electronic media, such as internet and television, to communicate with voters. Through electronic media, particularly television, voters can see political candidates, leaders, and also government and evaluate their actions and respond. Therefore it

is very important for the government, politicians, and political parties to devise political strategies by understanding the heterogeneity of electoral behaviour.

Indonesia, as the fourth largest population in the world, faces some challenging times in its democratic process. For the political marketer it is crucial to understand how voters are adapting to the democratic process and what mobilises them to vote. Trust is a key determinant of voting behaviour (Dermody and Hanmer-Lloyd, 2005a, b), therefore, the aim of this study is to understand the importance of trust for citizens in a transitional democracy. This thesis explored the construct of trust in the context of electoral behaviour in a transitional democracy focusing on Indonesia.

Changing the electoral system from indirect to direct election was the most important agenda of the 1998 government reform in Indonesia. The 1999 general election in Indonesia was the first election held after the reformation of 1998 which elected representatives for national and district assemblies for five-year terms (Henderson and Kuncoro, 2011). Besides regular elections for local assemblies, democratization allowed political competition which means that it was decided that people can freely operate and form political parties.

The democratic era in Indonesia was marked by the implementation of direct elections that occurred in two stages which was organized by The National Election Commission (*Komisi Pemilihan Umum*, KPU). The first stage of the elections were held on April 5, 2004 and aimed to elect the House of People's Representatives (DPR, *Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat*), the House of Regional People's Representatives (DPRD, *Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah*) or the regional assemblies at the provincial and district levels, and the new Regional

Representatives Council (DPD, *Dewan Perwakilan Daerah*). The second phase was held on July 5, 2004 where for the first time Indonesians elected their president through direct election.

Meanwhile, Kendal Electoral Commission, realized that political awareness and trust in government increased people's participation in elections in Indonesia (KPU, 2011) and identified two things that influence the level of citizen participation in elections and regional elections. Firstly is the socio-political awareness which means that people are aware that participating in the election is a right and an obligation. The second one is people's trust and attitudes towards the government. For example, when people consider the government to be reliable, they believe that their participation in elections will affect their life positively (KPU, 2011).

Studies on trust in the context of electoral behaviour, particularly in Indonesia, have become important. Democratic issues in Indonesia are not only defined by a single issue such as corruption (Henderson and Kuncoro, 2011) but also by the complexity of election mechanisms in Indonesia (Sebastian, 2004). It requires initiatives to develop a better democratic environment in the future because "without trust a democracy cannot stand" (Dermody and Hanmer-Lloyd, 2004). Indonesia has experienced an evolutionary approach throughout three periods of democracy. The first is parliamentary democracy (1949-1957). This was a transition from parliamentary democracy to guided democracy (*Demokrasi Terpimpin*). Second is the guided democracy under President Sukarno (1959-1965). The third and longest period is the 'Pancasila Democracy' (pronounced:

pahn-cha-see-lah democracy) under President Suharto from March 1966 until May 1998 (Eklof, 1999).

The evolution of democracy in Indonesia was followed by the nascent use of campaign strategies which adopted marketing communication principles. These strategies include advertising in both the electronic and traditional media. Currently, the application of marketing principles that have been used in the political sphere include segmentation, targeting and positioning (Dermody and Hanmer-Lloyd, 2004), political advertising and campaigning as part of marketing communications (Baines and Egan, 2001; Dean, 2005; Thrassou et al., 2009) and branding strategy (Peng and Hackley, 2007; Smith, 2009; Lloyd, 2008). Furthermore, Thrassou et al. (2009) argue that:

*Political organizations have been increasingly relying on marketing practices to achieve their strategic objectives, including planning, analysis, development of promotional campaigns, brand building and research based search patterns of voting behaviour, preferences, beliefs and attitudes of affection (p.269).*

Interestingly, research on political marketing has gained attention and popularity in the sub-discipline of marketing (Henneberg, 2008). The application of marketing theory to the political sphere constitutes a relatively new phenomenon (Lock and Harris, 1996; Brennan and Henneberg, 2008) and sometimes a traditional marketing framework is not suitable to be applied to political marketing phenomena. In this field, there are further issues related to the application of marketing to politics. Dean and Croft (2001) stated that “traditional marketing frameworks do not fit neatly into a political marketing configuration”. However, many scholars tend to use marketing theory to develop the concept of political marketing particularly in the areas of campaign management (Baines and

Egan, 2001; Dean, 2005), political marketing strategies (Susila, 2010; Baines et al., 2002; Wring, 1996) and comparative political marketing (O'Cass, 1996; Peng and Hackley, 2007; Henneberg and O'Shaughnessy, 2007) and this can enhance the integrity and ethics of government. However, there is very limited research in the political marketing literature on trust in electoral behaviour. Henneberg (2008) suggests that more fundamental issues such as the ethical dimensions of political marketing, underlying exchange mechanisms, and the interaction of marketing activities with the political system have remained under-researched and calls for more research into the ethical dimensions of political marketing.

Ethics involves both rights and duties as a social contract between individuals, institutions, and society (O'Shaughnessy, 2002). Referring to Hosmer (1995), ethics is related to good behaviour which is not only for the individual but also for society according to normative philosophy, as stated in his article:

*Ethically justifiable behaviour, to repeat the argument for emphasis, consists of morally correct decisions and actions in which the interests of the society take the degree of precedence that is "right," that is "just," and that is "fair" over the interests of the individual. It is behaviour that is "good" for society according to the ethical principles of normative philosophy, not according to the moral standards of a given group or culture (p.399).*

Hosmer (1995) argues that ethics can affect trust which is an act that recognizes and protects the rights and interests of others through the application of ethical principles. Hosmer (1995) 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” (p.399). Thus, trust is more related to the moral duty to do good for society rather than for an individual. Meanwhile, Vigoda-Gadot (2006)

argues that democratic outcomes such as political efficacy and political participation are the result of citizens' perceptions of organizational politics and ethics.

Moreover, the concept of trust has gained considerable importance in the field of political marketing (Dermody et al., 2010). An examination of political trust literature suggests that political scientists and political marketing scholars concerned themselves with aspects of the citizens' and voters' trust of political candidates and incumbent political authorities (Schiffman et al., 2010). Another aspect that served as an object of concern for political scientists is trust of the actions of political parties and political programmes (Brewer and Sigelman, 2002; Clark and Lee, 2001), trust of action or the result of a political campaign, and trust related to political fundraising (Craig et al., 1990; Dermody and Hanmer-Lloyd, 2005a). Furthermore, Schiffman et al. (2010) examined relationships between interpersonal trust and the three political trust-related constructs: trust of government forms, political cynicism, and incumbent trust.

In the British political context, Dermody and Hanmer-Lloyd (2005a) focused on the national advertising campaigns for the major UK Parties, notably Labour, Conservative and the Liberal Democrats in the British 2005 general election. Their results revealed that the negative advertising reduced trust levels and led to increased alienation and cynicism. In a previous study, Dermody and Hanmer-Lloyd (2004) proposed a conceptual framework that examines trust and distrust to provide some strategies for political marketing. They identified four segments of youth voters including those who are ambivalent, party loyalists, ardent cynics, and selfish voters. Through the recognition of their values and

beliefs about politics, different strategies could be developed to increase citizens' trust and reduce their distrust, thereby increasing their intention to vote in future elections.

Dermody and Hanmer-Lloyd (2004) developed theoretical framework which reflected the necessity of how political discourse should build trust within a political communication strategy. In order to provide a more direct instrument of how trust could be apply in more practical terms, Schiffman et al. (2010) reinforce the importance of different components of trust. However, this is at the developmental stage and needs further work (Smith, 2010).

Central to political trust is a positive assessment of government performance and party leaders (Schiffman et al., 2010; Vigoda-Gadot, 2006; Berman, 1997), combined with optimism and confidence in their intentions to do good (Mayer et al., 1995), which can be conceptualized by benevolence and credibility (Kantsperger and Kunz, 2010). Other researchers have conceptualized trust by highlighting the risks involved (Cook et al., 2005; Das and Teng, 2004) and its dimensions include integrity, competence, consistency, loyalty, and openness (Butler and Cantrell, 1984) . In addition, Vigoda-Gadot (2006), in his article which examines citizens' perceptions of organizational politics and ethics in the public administration system, concludes that ethics has a positive relationship with trust in governance and political participation.

Based on the existing research, it can be seen that trust is recognized as an important area for both citizens and political candidates. Therefore, it is important for political marketing scholars and others to firstly examine aspects of trust in

political campaigns, and secondly to examine trust as a component of the overall political process.

## **1.2. Research Questions**

The issue of trust has permeated discussions in political theory and political marketing (Newton, 2001; Hardin, 2002; Burns et al., 2003; Dermody and Hanmer-Lloyd, 2004, 2005a, b; Dermody et al., 2010; Schiffman et al., 2010). Some specific studies have been conducted on how and why people trust or distrust public officials (Burns et al., 2003; Schiffman et al., 2010). These studies have shown that trust is appropriate in political discussions. In addition, the application of theory in political marketing has been used by scholars (O'Shaughnessy, 1996; Lock and Harris, 1996; O'Cass, 1996; Smith, 2009), more specifically to understand the behaviour of voters (O'Cass and Pecotich, 2005), and the decision-making process in the election (Dean and Croft, 2009). Understanding voter behaviour is important for the development of both theory and practice. A conceptual model has been developed to understand the behaviour of voters (Henneberg and O'Shaughnessy, 2007; Dermody et al., 2010). Meanwhile, Dean and Croft (2001) stated that in politics, there is no one simple model that can explain why people make their election decisions. There is interaction between rationality, irrationality, reasoning, and emotions that encourage people's participation in politics or alienate people from electoral engagement.

Uslaner and Brown (2003) argued that in understanding voter behaviour, trust plays an important role, particularly to show the participation rate. They examine the impact of trust on communal participation and political participation.

Their results show that trust has an effect on communal participation and political participation. Political participation, for instance political meetings attendance, sometimes links to the perception that the government is not responsive to citizens. These findings support Niemi et al. (1991) who state that these perceptions can negatively affect people's willingness to participate in politics, with them instead preferring to engage in communal activities.

Many scholars have discussed trust in political marketing (Schiffman et al., 2010; Vigoda-Gadot, 2006; Dermody and Hanmer-Lloyd, 2004, 2005a, b; Dermody et al., 2010; Berman, 1997). Furthermore, trust was identified as a key determinant of voting behaviour (Dermody and Hanmer-Lloyd, 2005a, b). For Lewicki et al. (1998) trust and distrust can be seen as a distinct dimension and the relationship between trust and distrust and its influence on voting behaviour is complex. Meanwhile, Dermody and Hanmer-Lloyd (2005a, b) argued that cynicism will grow if there is no trust then it will lead to alienation and cause non-voting intention. On the other side, trust will lead to engagement which in turn can cause the electorate to vote.

In addition, there has been considerable research on transition from authoritarian rule to democracy particularly in Indonesia (Tan, 1996; Hadiz, 2003, 2004; Robison and Hadiz, 2005; Robinson, 2005; Luebke, 2011) however, it does not focus on trust in electoral behaviour. Therefore, for the political marketer it is important to understand how voters in Indonesia are adapting to the democratic process and what mobilises them to participate in elections. Research in this subject is needed to conceptualize trust in the context of electoral behaviour particularly with the perspective of the Indonesian democratic transition. Building

on these findings and filling the gap in the literature, the research questions need to be addressed.

The research questions for this study are listed below:

1. What are the antecedents of trust in the context of electoral behaviour?
2. How is trust in electoral behaviour conceptualized?
3. Can variables be mapped to provide a coherent model that provides a greater understanding of electoral behaviour in Indonesia's transitional democracy?

### **1.3. Purposes of the Study**

There is a critical moment when voters' opinions of politicians have rarely been lower (Harris and Lock, 2010) and one in which political marketing can make an important contribution. Dermody and Hanmer-Lloyd (2004) have discussed trust in the context of political marketing and have developed a theoretical framework explaining young voters' behaviour. It would be useful to extend this study to build a richer understanding of trust and its components. Therefore, the aim of this research was to explore how the construct of trust should be conceptualized to provide a coherent model that explains the relationship between trust and electoral participation in the context of electoral behaviour in a transitional democracy in Indonesia. Specifically, this can be achieved through the following objectives:

1. To investigate the construct of trust in the context of electoral behaviour.
2. To develop a model that explains the relationship between trust and electoral participation in a transitional democracy in Indonesia.

#### **1.4. Significance of the Study**

An understanding of voter behaviour becomes a crucial issue in the democratic process inherent in the study of political marketing (O'Cass and Pecotich, 2005). Moreover, there is a paucity of literature on political marketing in developing countries that focuses on voting behaviour (Burton and Netemeyer, 1992). The results of the electoral behaviour analysis will provide useful information for the many stakeholders, including the political parties, politicians and government and even for voters. Citizens as voters also need to understand electoral behaviour because they are making decisions which will determine their representatives and president.

Democracy requires a degree of trust (Newton, 2001; Offe, 2001). Dermody and Hanmer-Lloyd's (2004) nascent research on trust has identified some key issues that require further elucidation. According to Mayer et al. (1995) political trust is identical to the positive assessment of the performance of government and party leaders. A study of trust in the context of electoral behaviour will make important contributions to political marketing literature particularly to extend the conceptualization of trust and understand how trust affects electoral participation in a transitional democracy.

Practically, a study on trust from a political marketing perspective is critical to build bridges between politics and citizens as voters, and to develop a healthy democracy based upon trusting relationships. Politicians need better communications about their candidature platform and government should also improve how they communicate their policies. In summary, understanding voters and creating a sincere political strategy is recognized as critical for politicians

(Dean and Croft, 2001), and also government, as Dermody and Hanmer-Lloyd (2004) state that “government can only govern through the consent of the people in a democratic structure.”

Indonesia is currently experiencing a transition from an authoritarian to real democracy. The implementation of elections by direct election in Indonesia has shown the commitment to implement democracy. One of the issues that is important in democracy today is corruption (Henderson and Kuncoro, 2011). Nevertheless, according to The National Election Commission’s report, the level of participation in the elections reached 71% (KPU, 2011) even though there is the issue of corruption that might reduce the level of people's trust in government.

In addition, the Kendal Electoral Commission, a research institute in Indonesia, states that the level of trust in government still remains high (KPU, 2011). The results of their research showed 50% of voters agreed that participating in the election is a right, not an obligation. The percentage of respondents who believed that their vote could make significant changes to their lives was 68%. With a population of nearly two hundred and fifty million people, there has been significant academic interest in Indonesia’s transition from authoritarian rule to democracy hence a study in trust in the context of electoral behaviour is crucial for Indonesia’s continued democratic development.

### **1.5. Research Contributions**

This research has investigated the construct of trust in electoral behaviour. In the recent literature, the construct of trust in electoral behaviour is still at an undeveloped stage (Dermody and Hanmer-Lloyd, 2004, 2005a, b; Dermody et al., 2010). Results of the study have provided a contribution to political marketing

theory through the operationalization of the conceptual model of trust to the specific research context specifically in electoral behaviour in Indonesia's transitional democracy.

The results of this study also make a management contribution and could be used as a basic instrument for decision making among political parties, candidates, and voters. Political parties and politicians could create a strategy based on the results of this study to ensure that the candidates are able to be elected to office.

In addition, in a direct election system, the level of participation becomes crucial to ensure the legitimacy of government. The participation rate may be determined by the level of trust and the responsibility of the people as citizens. Furthermore, understanding the concept of trust with its various dimensions will help Indonesian public policy makers understand electoral behaviour in Indonesia's transitional democracy.

## **1.6. Thesis Structure**

The structure of the thesis will be as follows. Chapter 1 describes the background of the study, research questions, purposes of the study, significance of the study, the contributions of the study, and the structure of this thesis. This chapter gave an explanation of the importance of the study on trust in the context of electoral behaviour in a transitional democracy to make significant contributions both to the literature and in practical ways.

Chapter 2 presents an overview of related literature on trust. It will begin with a review of literature on trust in management literature followed by trust in

electoral behaviour and discuss the role of trust in a transitional democracy. Examination of the trust literature in the field of management research has been done to show the position of the subject and find the gap to be filled in management literature, particularly in the field of political marketing. The next discussion focuses on aspects of trust in the context of electoral behaviour by describing the findings of previous research and the concepts that have been developed by scholars in the field of management, politics, and particularly subject to political marketing that has become a new sub-discipline of mainstream marketing. This research was conducted in the context of democratic transition, therefore this chapter also discusses the role of trust in democratic transition.

Chapter 3 provides research methodology including research paradigm and research design. This chapter also provides a detailed description of grounded theory approach. This chapter will provide a methodological approach to the examination of the three main approaches in research including positivist, interpretive and critical theory to determine which approach will be taken for this study. This chapter will also highlight some of the problems associated with the use of these approaches to demonstrate the advantages and disadvantages of each method. The next part of this chapter will present the research design ranging from narrative research to phenomenology, grounded theory, ethnography, case studies, and action research. The final section of this chapter will explain why this study takes a grounded theory approach and how it works to produce knowledge from data collected.

Chapter 4 presents data collection and analysis. This chapter describes the application of grounded theory in this study to build a theory about trust in the

context of electoral behaviour. This chapter discusses and gives a detailed account of the actual research process conducted by the researcher. The research process began with an explanation of how to set up a data collection, prepare interview protocol, field work, transcription, and also translation as interviews were conducted in an Indonesian language. It continues by describing the actual process of data analysis. This chapter also explains how data saturation was achieved from data coding.

Chapter 5 will report the main findings. This study will provide evidence that trust and distrust are separate dimensions, and there are a number of components that contribute to the growth and decline of trust and also distrust. Key findings indicate that trust in the democratic transition plays an important role in voter behaviour. The results of this study revealed that trust in the democratic transition in Indonesia can be conceptualized into two categories, namely trust in the political system and trust in political candidates with a variety of constituent elements. This chapter will present the antecedents of trust in political system and the antecedents of trust in a political candidate. The research identified four antecedents of trust in a political system which are belief, mechanism, empowerment, and civic responsibility while the antecedents of trust in a political candidate are the candidate's empathy, capability of the candidate, and the candidate's character and experience. This research also identified four antecedents of distrust in political system and three antecedents of distrust in political candidate. The antecedents of distrust in political system are confusing, secular, complicated, and waste of money whilst the antecedents of distrust in political candidate are self-interest, corrupt, and incapable. This chapter also presents the empirical models of trust in the context of electoral behaviour in

transitional democracy, which contributes to the literature particularly in the field of political marketing. This model is an extension of Dermody and Hanmer-Lloyd's model which seeks to explain the relationship between trust and voting behaviour.

Chapter 6 presents the conclusion of this study. This chapter presents the key findings, contributions, limitations and areas for further research. This study concludes that trust in a political system is more important than trust in political candidates. However, trust in the political candidate is still important because the election is basically selecting candidates and trust in political candidate is one of the factors that influence it. The study also concluded that there are clear differences between the parents and children; young people were more cynical about the political system and candidates, in line with the literature on young people elsewhere in the world.

## **CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **2.1. Trust**

The concept of trust has been developed in the broad area of management study. There is much literature about the extent, drivers and consequences of trust. In general, 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). Based on this definition, individuals who trust other individuals would expect that his or her interests would be served. The trust will not be inimical, moreover, McEvily et al. (2003) defined trust as inherently relational which requires a trustor and a trustee which reveal an expectation and willingness to be vulnerable.

Vulnerability has a direct relationship to risk. If someone makes himself vulnerable it means he is taking a risk. As many scholars claim that trust is associated with risk (Das and Teng, 2004; Mayer et al., 1995; Luhmann, 2000), it is important to identify the risk factors because it will affect the decision-making process. In marketing, for example, when the consumer seeks to purchase a product then the aspect of risk will determine the level of involvement in the decision-making process on purchasing products or services (Assael, 2003).

The relationship between vulnerability, risk and trust has been articulated in definitions about trust. Mayer et al. (1995) 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". Meanwhile, Rousseau et al. (1998) define trust "as a psychological state comprising the intention to accept vulnerability based on positive expectations of the intentions or behaviour of another". Thus, trust is a behavioural intention described by positive expectation, an assessment of others' intentions and to show the willingness to be vulnerable. In other word, trust involves positive evaluation of others' intentions or behaviour.

Butler and Cantrell (1984) have identified the multidimensional nature of trust. Their research was conducted in experimental design and was based on behavioural decision theory. Behavioural decision theory is also known as 'policy capture' (Naylor and Werry, 1965) as quoted by Butler and Cantrell (1984) who described the decision-making as being about specific stimuli or 'cues'. The study found five dimensions of trust including integrity, competence, consistency, loyalty, and openness. The concept of trust in their study was in regard to personal characteristics that inspire positive expectations of other people.

Meanwhile, Moorman et al. (1993) also identified the variables that are associated with trust including expertise, willingness to reduce uncertainty, sincerity, integrity, dependability, collective orientation, tactfulness, timeliness, confidentiality, and congeniality. Burke et al. (2007) proposed an integrative multi-level framework referring to Mayer et al.'s (1995) model to develop a model of trust in leadership. They argued that a number of antecedents on organizational context fall within the three categories which include ability, benevolence, and integrity. Although some scholars in the field of management have developed the concepts of trust in a comprehensive framework, it still requires empirical evidence to support it. The component of trust still needs to be

developed in another context such as in the marketing field, specifically in this study from a political marketing perspective.

Studies on trust have been carried out by researchers in the areas of sociology (Fukuyama, 1995; Kingshott, 2006), leadership (Burke et al., 2007), entrepreneurship (Nuissl, 2005), marketing (Morgan and Hunt, 1994; Chen et al., 2008; Aurier and Martin, 2007; Lin and Lu, 2010), human resources management (Lilly and Virick, 2006), internet banking (Yousafzai et al., 2009), e-government (Smith, 2010), and organization (Mayer et al., 1995). Some of these studies may provide relevant information to understand trust at the core of political institutions. Even if their findings are not necessarily applicable to political institutions, they may at least highlight some important issues around trust.

With regard to conceptualizing trust, Nuissl (2005) has identified four concepts of trust including a socio-psychological, a rational choice, a sociological, and a process-oriented concept of trust. The first concept is a socio-psychological concept of trust which highlights a personal preference and emotions as sources of trust. The second concept is a rational choice concept of trust which stresses the importance of information and individual goals of action. Meanwhile, the sociological concept of trust, the third concept, is determined by the coercive power of common norms and routines and the fourth concept is the process-oriented one which is related to social relations and shared meanings.

The growing scholarly interest in the study on trust triggers the need to conceptualize trust in many areas. Although the benefits of trust are well documented (Kramer, 1999), conceptualizing trust is quite difficult. Mayer et al. (1995) stated that ‘scholars in various disciplines have considered the causes,

nature, and effect of trust'. Lewis and Weigert (1985) argue that trust is essentially a social reality which surrounds the individual and society, and propose a sociological conceptualization of trust. Their article criticizes research on trust in social science as they state:

*There is a large quantity of research on trust by experimental psychologists and political scientists, which, however, appears theoretically un-integrated and incomplete from the standpoint of sociology of trust. These researchers typically conceptualize trust as a psychological event within the individual rather than as an inter-subjective or systemic social reality. They also tend to use methodological approaches that reduce trust to its cognitive content through psychometric scaling techniques or to its behavioural expressions in laboratory settings (p.967).*

Furthermore, according to Burke et al. (2007), the key component of trust is a willingness to be vulnerable. They proposed a comprehensive model to understand trust in leadership. There are three broad antecedents of trust originally developed by Mayer et al. (1995), namely ability, benevolence, and integrity. Furthermore, Butler and Cantrell (1984) mentioned some other factors which impact trust such as competence, integrity, consistency, loyalty, and openness. In addition, perceived justice also influences trust (Dirks and Ferrin, 2002; Susila, 2010). Trust is also defined as an assessment of others' intentions, sincerity, motivations, character, reliability and integrity (Mayer and Davis, 1999; Rousseau et al., 1998), and positive expectations that interests will be protected and promoted. Various experts suggested different antecedents of trust. Table 2.1 shows the antecedents of trust mentioned in management literatures.

**Table 2.1. 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 and Davis (1999)	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 understands citizen needs
Chen et al. (2008)	Expertise, empathy, likability, and communication
Das and Teng (2004)	Goodwill and competence
Gemler et al. (2001)	Care, familiarity, and personal connection
Kantsperger and Kunz (2010)	Benevolence and credibility
Macintosh (2009)	Familiarity and self-disclosure
Morgan and Hunt (1994)	Shared values and communication
McMillan et al. (2005)	Shared values, communication, non-opportunistic behaviour
Nuissl (2005)	Performance, fairness, and confidentiality
Salo and Karjaluo (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

Management literatures have revealed some components of trust that can be categorized as follows. Ability reflects a group of skills, competencies, and characteristics that enable a party to have influence on some specific domain (Mayer et al., 1995). This is related to competencies and expertise (Butler and

Cantrell, 1984a; Smith, 2010; Nuissl, 2005; Berman, 1997; Das and Teng, 2004), values (Morgan and Hunt, 1994; MacMillan et al., 2005; Smith, 2010; Zawojska, 2010), credibility (Aurier and Martin, 2007), performance and confidence (Nuissl, 2005).

Another component of trust is benevolence which is defined as ‘the extent to which a trustee is believed to want to do good to the trustors’ (Mayer et al., 1995). Referring to Burke et al. (2007), benevolence is ‘perceived to genuinely care about their subordinates and convey authentic concern in relationships’ and can be revealed by concern for others’ welfare and helping others (Caldwell and Hayes, 2007; Gremler et al., 2001). Benevolence characteristics include honesty and cooperative behaviour (Fukuyama, 1995; Berman, 1997), image (Ball, 2004; Zawojska, 2010), structural and social bonding (Gounaris, 2005), empathy, likability, communication effectiveness (Chen et al., 2008), perceived justice and similarity (Wong et al., 2002; Bekmeier-Feuerhahn and Eichenlaub, 2010).

The next component is integrity – meaning the trustors’ perceived trustee adheres to an acceptable set of principles (Mayer et al., 1995). In addition, Mayer et al. (1995) argued that integrity is judged by examining previous behaviours, reputation, similarity (Bekmeier-Feuerhahn and Eichenlaub, 2010), honesty (Berman, 1997) and the consistency between words and actions (Butler and Cantrell, 1984a; Berman, 1997).

Loyalty is also one of the components of trust and is defined as willingness to protect and save face for a person (Butler and Cantrell, 1984). Loyalty is related to a feeling or attitude of devoted attachment and affection.

The other component is openness. Openness can be defined as willingness to share ideas and information freely (Butler and Cantrell, 1984). Openness is also known as transparent.

Another component of trust is empathy which is the ability to put oneself in the place of others, or treat others as one would like to be treated (Chen et al., 2008) or understanding and entering into another's feelings by identification with and understanding of another's situation, feelings, and motives.

Goodwill is also a part of the component of trust in management literature. Goodwill can be described as the trustor's belief about the trustee's intention as well as his willingness to act in the interests of the trustor (Das and Teng, 2004) and to be concerned for people's well-being (Gremler et al., 2001).

The last category of the component of trust in management literature is familiarity which is described as a relationship assumed to be secure and sufficiently well-founded on knowledge about people and situations and permitting the making of generalizations (Bekmeier-Feuerhahn and Eichenlaub, 2010). Familiarity is driven by the frequency of the interaction and the depth of the interaction (Gremler et al., 2001). Familiarity is closely related to similarity (Bekmeier-Feuerhahn and Eichenlaub, 2010) and personal connection (Gremler et al., 2001).

In the art of rhetoric, Aristotle identified three components that may be used to persuade people, including pathos, logos, and ethos (Cope, 1867). For Gottweis (2007), while logos is characterized by reasoning and presentation of fact, pathos is characterized by empathy and sympathy. Meanwhile, ethos is

related to honesty and credibility. Ethos also relates to the reputation of the people (Dean, 2005).

Meanwhile, the application of marketing theory in politics has been used by scholars, more specifically to understand electoral behaviour, and the decision-making process in elections. Understanding electoral behaviour is essential to the development of both the significant theory and practice in political marketing. Even though a conceptual model has been developed in the understanding of voter behaviour, how the voters make voting decisions, particularly regarding their perception about political systems, parties, politicians and specifically what the components of trust are in the context of electoral behaviour, still needs to be explored.

## **2.2. Trust in Electoral Behaviour**

The issue of trust has been pervasive in discussions of politics and public life (Newton, 2001; Hardin, 2002; Burns et al., 2003; Dermody et al., 2010; Schiffman et al., 2010). Political scholars mostly study trust in government, public officials, and politicians (Smith, 2010; Schiffman et al., 2010; Dermody et al., 2010). However, some studies have been undertaken on how and why people trust or distrust public officials and the consequences (Burns et al., 2003; Schiffman et al., 2010). These studies have shown that trust is appropriate in the discussion of politics.

Furthermore, Uslaner and Brown (2003) argue that trust plays an important role in levels of participation. They examine the impact of trust on communal participation and on political participation. Their research findings show that trust has an effect on communal participation and on political

participation. Political participation such as attending a political meeting was due to the perception that governments are not responsive to them. This finding supports Niemi et al.'s view (1991) that this perception may negatively affect the willingness of citizens to participate in politics, preferring instead to engage in communal activities.

As explained above, in the literature, trust can be defined as “confident positive expectations regarding another's conduct and distrust in terms of confident negative expectations regarding another's conduct” (Lewicki et al., 1998, p.439). Lewicki et al. (1998) argue that trust and distrust can be seen as a separate dimension; there are a number of elements that contribute to the growth and decline of trust and also of distrust.

Lewicki et al. (1998) develop a model of trust-distrust relationship on a matrix to describe the components of the trust and distrust which reflects the complicated relationship between trust and distrust. In the matrix, trust is placed on the vertical axis and distrust on the horizontal axis, at either a high or a low level. In the matrix, trust is characterized by hope, faith, confidence, assurance, and initiative. Meanwhile, distrust is expressed by fear, scepticism, cynicism, wariness and watchfulness, and vigilance (Lewicki et al., 1998; Dermody and Hanmer-Lloyd, 2004).

Dermody and Hanmer-Lloyd (2004) discussed trust adapted from Lewicki et al.'s (1998) matrix model which was then applied to political marketing, specifically in the political trust domain, and used the model to analyse youth voting behaviour. They revealed four segments of voter types who are ambivalent,

party loyalist, ardent cynics, and selfish voters. Figure 2.1 shows the trust-distrust voter segmentation matrix developed by Dermody and Hanmer-Lloyd (2004).

High trust	Cell 2: Party loyalists Political hope Party faith Party confidence Political/party assurance No political/party fear No political/party scepticism No political/party cynicism	Cell 4: Selfish voters Political hope Party faith Party confidence Political/party assurance Political/party fear Political/party scepticism Political/party cynicism Party wariness and watchfulness Political vigilance	VOTERS
Low trust	Cell 1: Ambivalents Political hope Party faith Political/party confidence Political/party fear Political/party scepticism Political/party cynicism	Cell 3: Ardent cynics No political hope No party faith No party confidence Political/party fear Political/party scepticism Political/party cynicism Party wariness and watchfulness Political vigilance	NON VOTERS
Low distrust		High distrust	

**Figure 2.1. The Dermody and Hanmer-Lloyd trust-distrust voter segmentation matrix**

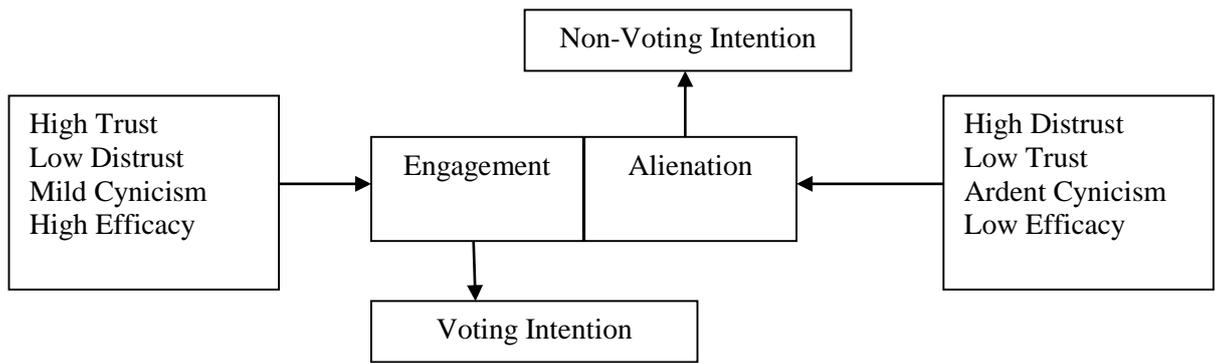
Source: Dermody and Hanmer-Lloyd (2004)

According to Figure 2.1 the first type of young voter is the ambivalent voter who is characterized by low trust-low distrust. In this condition, the individual is neither confident about another’s actions, nor wary of them. The second type is party loyalists who are identified by high trust-low distrust which are characterized by pooled interdependence and high value congruence. The third type of young voters is ardent cynics with high distrust-low trust level. In this segment, the individual has no reason for confidence in another and ample reason

for wariness and watchfulness. The last type of young voters is the selfish voter. This segment is characterized by high trust-high distrust. This segment is also characterized by individuals who have high confidence and are extremely wary and suspicious.

Furthermore, Dermody and Hanmer-Lloyd (2005a) argued that there are several causes of decline of trust in politicians. First, the politicians are deemed unable to meet public expectations. This is related to perceptions of how well policy is pursued by the government. Secondly, there is a perception that the government is less trustful which raises the suspicion of politics, although this is still under debate. Meanwhile, Berman (1997) identified three criteria that are required to restore trust in government after it has been elected. First, the government should be able to respond to people's needs, second, public citizens should be involved and influence the process of government decision making, and last, government should be able to convey its policy according to public expectations.

The relationship between trust and distrust and its influence on voting behaviour is complex. Dermody and Hanmer-Lloyd (2005a, b) in their article stated that cynicism will grow if there is no trust. This then will lead to alienation and non-voting intention. Trust, on the other hand, will lead to engagement which in turn can engage the citizen to vote. Figure 2.2 shows the contradictory process of political engagement and alienation.



**Figure 2.2. The Dermody and Hanmer-Lloyd dimensions of political engagement and alienation**

Source: Dermody and Hanmer-Lloyd (2005a)

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. This thesis seeks to understand how trust influences electoral behaviour and finally can the personal characteristics of the political candidate affect electoral engagement.

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.

The antecedents of trust have been explored in the management literature. However, as noted by Henneberg (2008), the antecedents of trust have not to be related to political marketing. This is a major gap in the body of 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.

Meanwhile, Lock and Harris (1996) stated that voters and consumers are considered different in attitude formation and decision-making. In an election, all voters make their choices on the same day. This is different from the characteristic of a purchasing decision on products which consumers can buy any time. In addition, there is no price directly or indirectly attached to voting or the choice of party. This sharply differentiates voters' decision making from a purchase of a product, as Lock and Harris (1996) stated:

*The political party or candidate is a complex intangible product which the voter cannot unbundle. As a consequence, most voters have to judge on the overall packaged concept or message (p.22).*

Furthermore, in the case of a complex product or service choice, consumers are usually able to change their minds, despite the cost, if they believe that they have made a mistake, whereas voters have to wait until the next election to make a new choice.

Peng and Hackley (2009) found that the limitations of the analogy voter-consumers was ranged in different contexts; in each case reflecting the marketing and the different responses at the micro level. However, marketing theory has provided a view on how to develop a strategy of political marketing, including political segmentation and communication (Butler and Collins, 1996; Smith and

Hirst, 2001). This allows political organizations to compete successfully in the political arena which is very competitive, especially in developed countries where the level and intensity of competition is high with strict regulations and complex environments (Thrassou et al., 2009).

In addition, there is an important element in campaign development in some countries which is image-building strategies (Baines et al., 2002; Peng and Hackley, 2007; Thrassou et al., 2009; Robinson, 2010). Meanwhile, Lock and Harris (1996) stated that political marketing is associated with a variety of interacting interest groups, including party members, media and potential funding sources, as well as voters.

Anthony Downs (1957) explored rationality from economic point of views and argued that the rational voter would choose one of the various alternatives available. Downs (1957) identified five characteristics of rational voters. First, rational voters will make a decision when exposed to a series of alternatives. Second, rational voters will put a candidate in an order of alternatives available according to their own preferences. Third, rational voters have transitive preferences. People who have transitive preferences will prefer to choose the last and the highest level of the option. For example, a person who preferred choice option A to B and B to C must be A to C. Fourth, rational voters will choose the highest ranked preference among the possible alternatives. Fifth, rational voters will always make the same decisions if exposed with the same number of alternatives.

However, there is an emergent view that argues that voters may also make irrational or non-rational decisions (Dean and Croft, 2009) where trust could be

used as a heuristic for decision making. Dean and Croft (2001) argued that “in politics at least, there is no one model, particularly one as simple as the exchange process that can explain why people make their electoral decisions.” Their article discussed rationality and irrationality in choices and then introduced a framework that focuses on interaction between rationality, irrationality, reasoning, and emotion to encourage political participation. There is an emergent view that argues that voters may also make irrational or non-rational decisions in elections (Dean and Croft, 2009) where trust could be used as a heuristic for decision making. From political marketing’s perspective, trust is critical as it can reduce the relational distance between politicians and citizens, enabling a strong and vibrant democracy. This is particularly important in newly emerging democracies.

### **2.3. Transitional Democracy in Indonesia**

According to Schumpeter (1942) as quoted by Huntington (1991a) democracy can be defined as “the will of the people and the common good” (p. 6). In modern democracy, for Huntington (1991a) democratic ideas and democratic movement are important factors. Democratic ideas are an important part of modern democracy as this is related to citizen participation in political life. On the other hand, political movements represent the transition from authoritarian to democratic rule (Huntington, 1991a).

Furthermore, in his book *The third wave: democratization in the late twentieth century*, Huntington (1991b) described “a wave of democratization is a group of transitions from non-democratic to democratic regimes that occur within specified period of time and that significantly outnumber transitions in the opposite direction during that period of time” (p.15). He categorizes the wave of

democracy into three groups. The first wave of democratization had occurred in the American and French revolutions which were marked by presidential election in the United States in 1828 followed by Switzerland, France, Great Britain, and several European countries which introduced and made the transition to democracy. The second wave of democratization occurred during World War II (1943–1962) which was a short wave of democratization. Some countries moved towards democracy such as West Germany, Italy, Austria, Japan, Korea, Turkey, Greece, and other Latin American countries during 1943-1975. The second wave of democracy also occurred in Indonesia with parliamentary democracy from 1950 to 1957. The third wave of democratization occurred in Europe, Asia and Latin America (Huntington, 1991b) and the movement become a “global democratic revolution” (Huntington, 1991a). However, during the wave of democratization, there were two periods of reverse wave which reduced the number of democratic states in the world, and some countries even applied an authoritarian rule such as Pakistan, South Korea, India, The Philippines and Indonesia (Norris, 2005).

In terms of transitional democracy in Indonesia, according to Huntington, the “first wave of democratization” (1828-1926) did not have any effect on Indonesia but the “second wave of democratization” (1943-1962) did reach Indonesia and the idea of democracy was grew after independence from Dutch colonialism. In 1955, Indonesia held the first free and fair general elections to the national parliament. However, the period of parliamentary democracy did not last long and was replaced by the authoritarian ‘Guided Democracy’ and followed by New Order which continued the authoritarian regime by applying *Pancasila* (pronounced: pahn-cha-see-lah) Democracy (Thompson, 2001; Eklof, 1999).

After the fall of President Suharto in 1998, the democratic era in Indonesia was begun and marked by the implementation of direct elections.

From an international politics view, Carothers (2002) noted a number of trends which changed the political landscape of the world. Firstly was the fall of authoritarian regimes in mid-1970s in Southern Europe. Secondly was the replacement dictatorship by elected civilian governments between the 1970s and the 1980s in Latin America. Thirdly was the decline of authoritarian rule in the mid-1980s in Eastern Europe. Fourthly was the collapse of communist regimes in the 1980s. Fifthly is the breakup of the Soviet Union in 1991. Fifthly, was the decline of a one-party system in the 1990s in many parts of sub-Saharan Africa, and finally was the increase in liberalization systems in the 1990s in some Middle Eastern countries. These trends indicate that several countries are moving from dictatorial rule towards a more liberal one (Huntington, 1991b).

The transition from non-democratic to democratic rule is a crucial period as it not only changes the system but also the regime. Referring to Huntington (1991b), democratic transition is divided into four patterns, among others: transformation, replacement, transplacement, and intervention. Huntington (1991b) in his book extensively covered the transition to democracy from authoritarian regimes.

The first type of transition of democracy is transformation. In transformation, the parties in power in the authoritarian regime sponsor the change and play a decisive role in ending the regime and turning it into a democratic system. The second type is replacement. The transition in replacement is very different from what happens in the transformation because of its special

characteristics. The reformer or opposition is very strong and able to organize themselves freely. The dominant element in the government is a group of conservatives who fiercely oppose the change of regime. Democratization can only be created in the form of strong opposition and the weakened government then falls by itself and rolling. Opposition groups begin to take over the governmental power. In this transition, the emergence of new conflicts occurs within the regime. The third type is transplacement. In this transition type, democracy is a result of compromise and a mutual pact between the opposition and the government. The conservatives in the regime are in a balanced position with the government; the government itself is still only willing to negotiate changes, and does not want to initiate regime change. The last type of transition is intervention which is triggered by the mature democratic country to implement a number of rules of political liberalization (Huntington, 1991b).

In the Indonesian context, the transition to democracy featured the replacement pattern although this was no doubt also coloured by intervention from the international community. As a developing country, Indonesia has undergone a process of transition to democracy. However, the political changes in a country may or not be followed by a transition depending on whether the leader as well as the regime change. In the Russian Federation, Vladimir Putin had failed to ensure the transition from autocratic regime to liberal democracy (Tangiev, 2007). Social and economic reforms under Putin were also to have a negative effect on long-term development in Russia. According to Azam (1994), the level of development can be influenced by the optimum level of democracy as he stated in his article: “if democracy has a positive value as a good in its own

right, then the optimum must be such that its marginal cost in terms of foregone output is positive” (p.304).

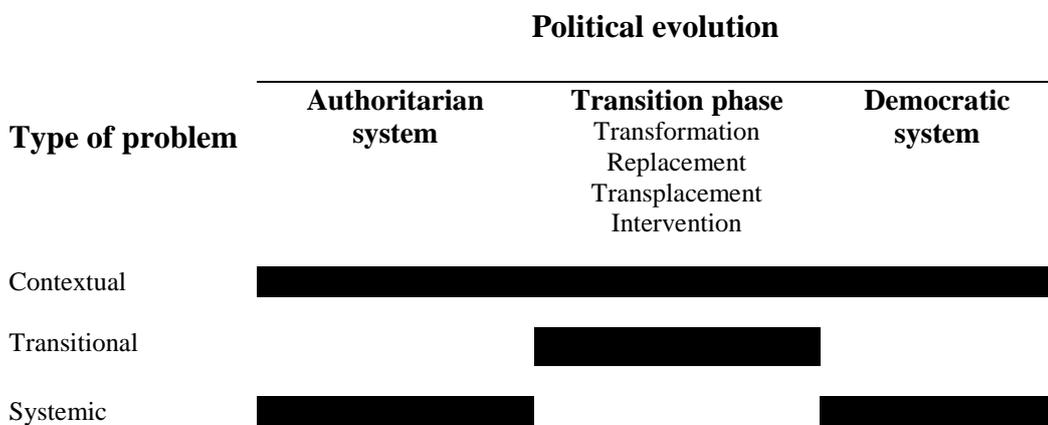
Political transition means can be described as changing a regime from one form of government to another form of government. O’Donnell and Schmitter (1986) argued that “the ‘transition’ is the interval between one political regime and another as they argued:

*Transitions are delimited, on the one side, by launching the process of the dissolution of an authoritarian regime and, on the other, by the installation of some form of democracy, the return to some form of authoritarian rule, or the emergence of a revolutionary alternative (p. 6).*

Furthermore, according to Huntington (1991b), the transition to democracy requires at least three conditions. Firstly is the end of the authoritarian regime. Secondly is the emergence of a democratic government, and the last condition is the consolidation of democracy. The first and second conditions have occurred in Indonesia, including the end of the authoritarian regime marked by the fall of the Suharto on May 21, 1998 and with power transferred to B.J. Habibie (21 May 1998 – 20 October 1999), and then the emergence of a democratic government marked by the inauguration of Abdurrahman Wahid (20 October 1999 – 23 July 2001) as a president of Indonesia through to the democratic elections in 1999. Meanwhile, the third requirement of the consolidation phase of democracy in Indonesia is still a topic of debate among political scholars. The consolidation phase is predicted to occur over a longer period.

Moreover, generally, in political literature, countries typically confront three types of problems in developing and consolidating their new democratic political systems. The three types of problems are shown in Figure 2.3. The first

problem is called the transition problem, which is the problem of establishing new constitutional and electoral systems. Secondly, the contextual problem, which is more specific to individual countries such as communal conflict, poverty, inflation, external debt, low rates of economic growth etc. Finally, systematic problems are streaming from the workings of democratic systems such as overly-concentrated decision making, deficient feedback, and dependence on performance legitimacy (Huntington, 1991b).



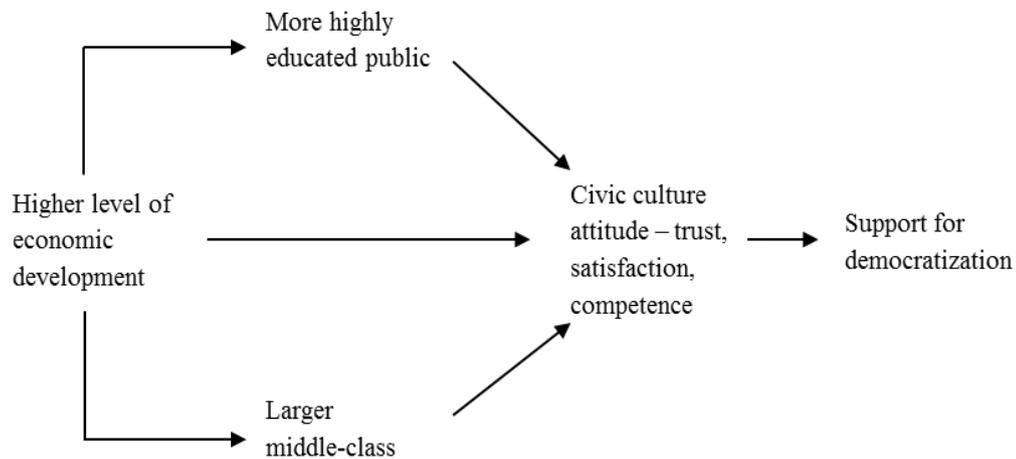
**Figure 2.2. The Huntington’s model of problems confronting third wave countries-adapted**

Source: Huntington (1991b).

Along with the problems in democratic consolidation, Huntington (1991b) argued that economic development will generate three essential things for democracy (see Figure 2.4). Firstly, it can deliver a high level of moral education that supports democracy. Secondly, expansion of the middle class and finally, it establishes a culture of community, trust, responsibility and good competition.

Huntington (1991b) believed that rapid economic growth rapidly creates the economic base for democracy and development of trust. In the third wave, the economic development is the economic formula to the transition from

authoritarian to democratic government. In the political sphere, political trust is a positive assessment of government performance and party leaders (Schiffman et al., 2010; Vigoda-Gadot, 2006; Berman, 1997).



**Figure 2. 3. The Huntington economic developments model supporting democratization.**

Source: Huntington (1991b).

There is some literature on transitions from authoritarian rule to democracy particularly in Indonesia (Luebke, 2011; Tan, 2006; Hadiz, 2003, 2004; Robison and Hadiz, 2005). Even though the process of transitional democracy in Indonesia went smoothly, there is some critics from political scholars that there is a weakness of party system institutionalization (Tan, 2006). In the political society, political parties are an important component in terms of democratic transition. Political parties also become a crucial factor to build a new system in order through the encouragement of competition between a range of different political parties (Diamond and Morlino, 2004).

In addition, in a transitional democracy, there is a greater opportunity for political engagement and perspectives, due to the heterogeneity of voting

behaviour. Initially, in the early stages of democracy, more parties develop and as the democracy matures these gradually decrease due to coalitions with other parties or because they are too specific for voters' needs. Therefore, in the transitional stage, as explained in the introduction of this thesis, political information and political trust are important factors (Duch, 2001). Political information is important as part of the transitional democratic process as people are enthusiastic for the new political system and want to engage in the democratic process but levels of knowledge tend to be lower so more information needs to be available. There are also significant differences between major urban and rural areas (Duch, 2001). Political trust, on the other hand, is related to ethical qualities of public officials. The level of trust in political actors and governmental institutions depends on the quality of ethics (Hosmer, 1995) and the efficiency of government (Hetherington, 1998).

Studies on trust in the context of electoral behaviour, specifically in Indonesia, have become increasingly important. Indonesia has been struggling in its move towards democracy for decades. The crucial driving force towards democratic transition is the '1998 reform'. It was to change the election system from indirect to direct election. After the government reform (*Reformasi*) of 1998, democracy in Indonesia needed a change in political system and of course a change of the regime. The New Order regime was critiqued because it shared characteristics of military dictatorship (Eklof, 1999). After the fall of the new order regime, Indonesia entered a democratic transitional period and has had four democratically-elected presidents. Those presidents are Burhanudin Jusuf Habibie, Golkar Party (21 May 1998 – 20 October 1999), Abdurrahman Wahid, National Awakening Party (20 October 1999 – 23 July 2001), Megawati Sukarnoputri,

Indonesia Democratic Party of Struggle (23 July 2001 – 20 October 2004), and Susilo Bambang Yudoyono, Democratic Party (20 October 2004 – 20 October 2009 and continued from 20 October 2009 to 20 October 2014).

Currently, Indonesia is in a period of transition to democracy. The New Order government is categorized as a non-democratic regime and some even claim it to be an authoritarian government. The transitional period between authoritarian rule and democratic forms in developing countries has become the focus of social theory scholars. Indonesia as a populous democracy which is also a Muslim country with a secular constitution so is important to understand the democratization process.

Democratic issues in Indonesia are not only defined by a single issue, for example, corruption (Henderson and Kuncoro, 2011), one of unethical behaviour, but also by the complexity of election mechanisms. Political parties also seem to be more concerned with their own interests rather than the nation's interest. It requires initiatives to develop a better democracy in the future because for Dermody and Hanmer-Lloyd, "without trust a democracy cannot stand" (Dermody and Hanmer-Lloyd, 2004).

The other issues in Indonesia are the different perspectives about Islam and democracy. Indonesia is a Muslim country with Pancasila as the national ideology (Ramage, 1995). Pancasila means five principles which is the national ideology, consisting of belief in God, a just and civilized humanitarianism, Indonesian national unity, Indonesian democracy through consultation and consensus, and social justice (Eklof, 1999; Ramage, 1995). Furthermore, Ramage

(1995) in his book entitled *Politics in Indonesia: democracy, Islam, and the ideology of tolerance* argued that

*Indonesia provides important examples of how Islam and secular government have managed their relationship, as well as how a national ideology can be supportive of peaceful nation-building processes (p.9).*

Some scholars have discussed and debated the relationship between Islam and democracy (Stepan, 2000; Goddard, 2002; Tessler, 2002; Hadi and Hoffman, 2003; Potrafke, 2012; Sarmazdeh, 2012). For Goddard (2002) democracy can be expressed in a different perspective in Islam. Furthermore, Goddard (2002) argues that the interpretation of Islamic rules may vary from one person to another. In addition, Sarmazdeh (2012) argued that “democracy can be used with some adaptations in an Islamic government” (p.594). Some scholars argue that secularism is an essential foundation of democracy. However, they face the problem of incompatibility between Islam and democracy and they concluded that a religious government cannot be democratic. Furthermore, Sarmazdeh (2012) tried to argue that secularism is not the main foundation of democracy and religion is compatible with democracy. This argument coincides with the political practice in Indonesia where the relationship between Islam and the state with the *Pancasila* as national ideology dominated political discourse. As a Muslim country, Indonesia applied and adapted democracy with some different types from parliamentary democracy to liberal democracy.

Indonesia has experienced an evolutionary approach with three periods of democracy. This democratic evolution happened in the first period between 1949 and 1957 which is when Indonesia applied the parliamentary democracy. This was also a transition from parliamentary democracy to the guided democracy

(*Demokrasi Terpimpin*). The second period of democracy in Indonesia is the guided democracy under President Sukarno between 1959 and 1965. The third and longest period is the '*Pancasila Democracy*' (*Demokrasi Pancasila*) under President Suharto from March 1966 to May 1998 (Eklof, 1999).

The 1999 public election in Indonesia was the first election held after the reformation of 1998 which enabled citizens to elect representatives to national and district assemblies for five-year terms (Henderson and Kuncoro, 2011). Besides regular elections to local assemblies, democratization allows political competition, or free operation and formation of political parties. People also enjoy freedom to express their opinion and freedom of the press with proliferation of publishing.

In addition, the beginning of the democratic era in Indonesia was marked by the implementation of direct elections that occurred in two stages which was organized by The National Election Commission (Komisi Pemilihan Umum, KPU). In the first stage, the election was held on April 5, 2004 which served to elect the House of People's Representatives (DPR, Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat), the House of Regional People's Representatives (DPRD, Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah) or the regional assemblies at the provincial and district levels and the new Regional Representatives Council (DPD, Dewan Perwakilan Daerah). The second phase was held on July 5, 2004 in which for the first time Indonesians elected their president by direct election.

Currently, Indonesia is experiencing a transition of democracy from authoritarian to democracy and according to Newton (2001) democracy requires a level of trust. In the political trust literature (Lewis and Weigert, 1985; Rengger, 1997; Macey, 2002; Uslaner and Brown, 2003; Dermody and Hanmer-Lloyd,

2004, 2005a, b; Vigoda-Gadot, 2006; Dermody et al., 2010; Schiffman et al., 2010), there is little research which has examined the component of trust from a political marketing perspective specifically in the context of electoral behaviour in a transitional democracy. As a complex phenomenon, the concept of trust requires indicators to understand the components or antecedents of trust in the context of electoral behaviour and how trust influences electoral participation. Importantly, empirical research is required to investigate the construct of trust in electoral behaviour.

#### **2.4. Summary**

The discussion of trust in political marketing literature illustrates how trust has become important and needs to be conceptualized in the particular context. The literature review has revealed some components of trust. A conceptual framework has been developed by Dermody and Hanmer-Lloyd to explain the relationship between trust/distrust and electoral behaviour. It also suggests that understanding electoral behaviour is becoming crucial for political parties, candidates, incumbent governments, and citizens to develop a good democracy based on a trusting relationship. In line with this view, it appears that trust has become a key element in political marketing; however, this is not reflected in the extant research. Many scholars have discussed trust in political marketing but they have not yet agreed on how to conceptualize and operationalize the concept of trust. This indicates that the current research in political marketing has a gap in how trust reciprocally relates to electoral behaviour, particularly in a transitional democracy. In another words, the gap in the literature points to the role of trust in electoral behaviour in a transitional democracy.

In order to conduct research on trust, a researcher should address some issues. For example, trust is difficult to define. It requires a deep understanding of how trust is conceptualized in the context of electoral behaviour. In the context of political transition, Indonesia appears to provide an important example of trust's role in influencing electoral behaviour. For instance, democratic issues in Indonesia are not only defined by a single issue such as corruption but also by the complexity of Indonesia's election mechanism. Initiatives are required to develop a better democratic environment for the future. Therefore, the literature review calls for research on this topic to better understand the nature of the phenomenon in the first instance. The next chapter will discuss how this research selects the particular research method which will address the challenges of conducting research in trust in political marketing.

## **CHAPTER 3 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

### **3.1. Introduction**

This study explored and conceptualized the construct of trust in the context of electoral behaviour in a transitional democracy and developed a model which seeks to discover how trust influences electoral participation. The study used a grounded theory approach in terms of a research methodology.

This chapter discusses the methodological approach taken. It will cover research paradigms, research design, data collection and data analysis. The discussion on research methodology will cover four features which are divided into two parts, Chapter 3 and Chapter 4. While Chapter 3 presents the first part of research methodology which focuses on research paradigms and design, Chapter 4 discusses the elements of data collection and data analysis.

### **3.2. Research Paradigm**

The research paradigm is understood as the basic beliefs within which the theories are built, that fundamentally influence how the researcher sees the world and determine the perspectives and shape the understanding of how things are inter-connected. All disciplinary research is conducted within paradigms. A paradigm is a basic set of beliefs that guide action (Guba and Lincoln, 1994). A paradigm is summarised by the responses based on three fundamental questions: ontological, epistemological, and methodological. Ontology is referring to the form and nature of reality. Epistemology raises the basic belief about knowledge

and focuses on the process of knowing while methodology asks how to gain knowledge in the world (Guba and Lincoln, 1994).

There are three main paradigms in general which are common. The paradigms are positivism, interpretivism, and critical theory as illustrated in Table 3.1. It is important to consider the philosophy of research, particularly the belief in the objective or subjective existence of data (ontology), and how we come to know and understand the data (epistemology).

Positivism adopts realist ontology (Guba and Lincoln, 1994). An ontological perspective of the positivist paradigm argues that reality is independent and external. According to the positivist epistemology, science is seen as the way to get to the truth, to understand the world well enough so that it might be predicted and controlled (Krauss, 2005). The deductive approach performs on the grounds that the results are more accurate and measurable and hypotheses can be generated and tested. In brief, data manipulation, the operationalization of concepts, and statistical verification can be done. There are four criteria required in positivism. The first is internal validity, meaning the degree to which findings correctly map the phenomenon in question. Second, external validity is the degree to which findings can be generalized to other settings similar to the one in which the study occurred. Third, reliability which means the extent to which findings can be replicated, or reproduced by other inquirers. Fourth, objectivity; the extent to which findings are free from bias (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994).

Objectivity is also an important concept in the epistemology of positivism. Quantitative researchers are interested in defining structures, identifying

relationships between structures and how to present them in objective, measurable terms. The attitude that must be justified objectively, verified and tested by the research method should also maintain distance between researcher and subject. Bias in any study can be eliminated by using good research design. The advantages of quantitative research methods are that they are generalizable and measurable. The methodology is reliant on hypotheses which are rigorously tested and technical, and measuring style methods are favoured (Brand, 2009).

**Table 3.1. Philosophy of research**

	Paradigm		
	Positivism	Interpretivism	Critical theory
1. Ontology	Reality is objective and singular, apart from the researcher.	Reality is subjective and multiple as seen by participants in a study.	Historical realism – virtual reality shaped by social, political, cultural, economic, ethnic and gender values; crystallized over time.
2. Epistemology	Dualistic; the researcher is independent (detached) from that being researched.	The researcher invariably interacts with that being researched.	Transactional / subjectivist; value-mediated findings.
3. Methodology	Experimental or statistical control of variables; testing of hypotheses; extensive application of quantitative methods.	Analytic-inductive (i.e. building of theory); extensive application of qualitative methods (e.g. participant observation studies, in-depth interviews).	Dialogic / dialectical.

Source: Brand (2009), Creswell (2007), Guba and Lincoln (1994)

In contrast to positivism, the phenomenological or interpretive approach is concerned with understanding behaviour from the perspective of those involved. The interpretive or phenomenological methodology is said to be ideographic because it seeks to reveal internal logics that underpin human action through the use of research methods that enable the researcher to gain access to the researched

culture. The phenomenological approach seeks an in-depth understanding of why behaviours occur. It is more concerned with understanding and explaining different behavioural processes and individual experiences than with the measurement of how often behavioural outcomes occur.

So given that the aim of interpretivist research is to provide an account from the participant's perspective, validity is the more important assessment tool for this approach. It allows the researcher to gain full access to the knowledge and meanings of informants (Easterby-Smith et al., 2008). This emphasis on the contextual nature, rather than the generalizability of knowledge, is the concern for gathering rich data rather than for reducing the data. Consequently, qualitative research methods tend to be more widely used when researching within this paradigm. Interpretivist or phenomenological researchers often use multiple research methods and, in contrast to positivistic researchers, are generally concerned with in-depth studies of small samples, often over time.

Qualitative research using an interpretive approach has been criticized by positivists for its low reliability and the lack of work contributing towards a cumulative body of knowledge. Meanwhile, quantitative researchers using a positivist approach have also been criticized for not appreciating the shades of meaning behind their statistical formulations (Deshpande, 1983). In fact, when the strengths and weaknesses of both methods are compared they are remarkably complementary. The strengths of one are related to the weaknesses of the other. Quantitative methods have been developed most directly for the task of verifying or confirming theories. Meanwhile, qualitative methods were purposefully developed for the task of discovering or generating theories (Firestone, 1987).

In contrast to qualitative, quantitative methods can provide a better overview and measurement of behaviour patterns and outcomes; they are usually faster and more economical, and their reliance on larger samples can be a more effective aid for policy decision making than qualitative methodologies. However such methods can be artificial and inflexible, and because they lack the ability to explain the behaviour being measured, their role in theory development is limited. In addition, because quantitative methods concentrate on what is, or has been, the method offers only limited help when looking towards the future (Easterby-Smith et al., 2008). Qualitative methods are more likely to contribute to the evolution of new theory through the understanding of behavioural process and individual experiences. On the downside qualitative data collection, while being more natural, usually necessitates more time and resources and it is less easy to control the speed and progress against quantitative data collection.

Meanwhile, the critical theory paradigm is concerned with the inter-linking between subject and object (Brand, 2009). The assumed distinction between ontology and epistemology is clouded, since what is known can be defined in relation to what a particular researcher can know about a particular group of research subjects. Methodology is transactional in nature (Guba and Lincoln, 1994), focusing on the need “to transform ignorance and misapprehension into more informed consciousness” (p.110). Methods rely upon an awareness of all paradigms and draw on techniques associated with both qualitative and quantitative methodologies.

In order to ensure a strong research design, the researcher must choose a paradigm that is congruent with their beliefs about the nature of reality and the

way of knowing it (Mills et al., 2006). This study investigated the construct of trust which is not adequately conceptualized in the context of electoral behaviour. Research has been conducted to generate a theory. Participants in this study are people who have voted in elections. To generate or discover a theory, participants in this study all have experienced the process, and the development of the theory might help explain practice or provide a framework for further research (Creswell, 2007). A key idea is that this theory development is not ‘off the shelf’, but rather is generated or grounded in data from participants who have experienced the process (Strauss and Corbin, 1990; Creswell, 2007). Dubin (1969) states “every good theorist is an inveterate collector of facts, with an especially well-developed sensitivity to their interrelationships” (p.238).

From the ontological perspective, the researcher believes that social reality cannot be separated from the social actors and an individual who observes the reality. In epistemological enquiry, the researcher believes that knowledge is built through social interpretation of the world. This reflects on voters’ experiences as well as the researcher’s own knowledge. Based on ontological and epistemological enquiry, the interpretivism is chosen by the researcher. The researcher believes that knowledge is about the way in which people make meaning in their lives and understanding individuals’ meaning contributes to their actions and reactions of others. The methodological position of this research has indicated that it will rely on a qualitative approach.

Qualitative data is usually in the form of words rather than numbers and has always been the staple of some fields in the social sciences, notably anthropology, history, and sociology. In the past decade, however, more

researchers in disciplines and applied fields such as psychology, linguistics, public administration, organizational studies, business studies, health care, urban planning, educational research, family studies, programme evaluation, and policy analysis have shifted to a more qualitative paradigm (Miles and Huberman, 1994).

According to Miles and Huberman (1994) there are three approaches to qualitative data analysis which include interpretivism, social anthropology and collaborative social research. In interpretivism (e.g. phenomenologists and social interactionists), there is an inevitable interpretation of meanings made both by social actors and by the researcher. Interpretivists of all types also insist that researchers are more ‘detached’ from their objects of study than they are with their informants. Researchers, they argue, have their own understandings, their own convictions, their own conceptual orientations; they, too, are members of particular culture at a specific historical moment (Miles and Huberman, 1994). An interview will be a ‘co-elaborated’ act on the part of both parties, not a gathering of information by one party. The second approach in qualitative data analysis is social anthropologists who are interested in the behavioural regularities in everyday situations including language use, artefacts, rituals, and relationship. The third approach is collaborative social research where the researchers join closely with the participants from the outset (Miles and Huberman, 1994).

### **3.3. Research Design**

There are many types of qualitative research design such as narrative research, phenomenology, grounded theory, ethnography, case study, and action research (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994; Creswell, 2007). Narrative research is defined by Czarniawska (2004) as “a spoken or written text giving an account of

an event/action or series of events/actions, chronologically connected” (p.17). Phenomenology design describes the meaning for several individuals of their lived experiences (Creswell, 2007). Meanwhile, grounded theory aims to move beyond description and to generate or discover a theory based on data and experiences from the participants who share the same process, action or interaction. Grounded theory also emphasizes the understanding of social interaction, social process and social change from the participants’ perspectives (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). Ethnography research design stresses paying attention to the cultural norms among the participants (Creswell, 2007). This focuses on the entire cultural group and describes the shared and learned patterns of values, beliefs, and behaviours of the cultural group. A case study involves the study of an issue explored through cases in one setting or context (Creswell, 2007) while the action research is more likely to investigate the problems within a specific situation in the study area by involving the participants (Brydon-Miller et al., 2003).

This research used qualitative methodology with a grounded theory approach. Dermody and Hanmer-Lloyd (2004) proposed a conceptual framework of trust to explain the young voter behaviour. However, the framework still requires indicators to operationalize it. The Dermody and Hanmer-Lloyd model may be operationalized by exploring the components of trust in the context of electoral behaviour and how trust influences electoral participation. This study requires a methodology that allows for generating data from participants. Therefore grounded theory is appropriate in this study.

Grounded theory was first introduced by Glaser and Strauss in the 1960s. Glaser and Strauss (1967) argued that many existent methods were focusing on obtaining facts to verify the theory. Researchers tend to focus on the data which meets their previous perspectives and predicts their assumptions (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). Glaser and Strauss (1967) formalised the procedures that are required to develop theory from qualitative data. Rather than beginning with a hypothesis, it started with generating the data in order to develop a concept or theory (Glaser, 2002). Locke (2001) describes four stages that guide the researcher to use grounded theory in research. Stage 1 is comparing incidents applicable to each category. Stage 2 is integrating categories and their properties. Stage 3 is delimiting the theory, and the last stage is writing the theory.

### **3.4. Summary**

This study attempts to generate a theory about trust in the context of electoral behaviour in a transitional democracy. In order to generate a theory, this research used the interpretivism paradigm to gain the data from the participant's perspective.

The aim of this study is to conceptualize trust in the context of electoral behaviour in Indonesia through the following objectives. The first objective of this study is to explore the construct of trust in the context of electoral behaviour in a transitional democracy. The second objective is to develop a model that explains the relationship between trust and electoral participation. Therefore this research uses qualitative methodology in order to achieve the objectives. This study has explored the construct of trust in the context of electoral behaviour by gaining understanding from the voter's perspective. Therefore grounded theory is

appropriate in this study because it allows the generating of data from the views of participants who are the voters in Indonesia. The next chapter will describe the process of data collection and analysis in this study.

## **CHAPTER 4 DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS**

### **4.1. Introduction**

Chapter 3 has touched upon the use of grounded theory at a glance as the appropriate method for this research. According to Charmaz (2006), the components of grounded theory practice usually include some of the following features: sampling aimed towards theory construction, not for population representativeness; simultaneous involvement in data collection and analysis; constructing analytic codes and categories from data, not from preconceived logically deduced hypotheses; using the constant comparative method, which involves making comparators during each stage of the analysis; advancing theory development during each step of data collection and analysis; memo writing to elaborate categories, specify their properties, define relationships between categories, and identify gaps; and conducting the literature review after developing an independent analysis. This chapter explains research methodology particularly in data collection and analysis. It describes how the practice of grounded theory applies in this study. This chapter elaborates on the data collection process and analysis in this study following common characteristics of grounded theory.

### **4.2. Data Collection Methods**

Data collection or data generation in grounded theory plays an important role in research. This has a significant role in performing and determining the quality and credibility of the study (Charmaz, 2006). Data generation in this study was collected using in-depth interviews. According to Marshall and Rossman

(2011) qualitative researchers typically rely on four primary methods for gathering information: participating in the setting, observing directly, interviewing in depth, and analysing documents and material culture.

Interviews are the most commonly used method of producing data in qualitative research. Interviews are conversations to understand the world from the subject's perspective (Kvale, 1996). As a method of data collection, information gathering is performed by a dialogue between interviewer and interviewee, where personal and social interaction occurs (Arksey and Knight, 1999). In-depth interviews are used in this study since it will allow the interviewee to have enough time to develop their own perspectives of the issues which are important to them. Therefore, it provides the opportunity to explore the participant's own view about trust.

Interviews have particular benefits. An interview yields data quantity quickly. When more than one person participates (e.g., focus group interview), the process takes in a wider variety of information than if there were fewer participants (Marshall and Rossman, 2011). Group interviewing has ordinarily been associated with marketing research, where the focus group has been used for some time to gather consumer opinions on product characteristics, advertising themes, and service delivery. This format has also been used to a considerable extent by political parties and candidates who are interested in voter reactions to issues and policies (Fontana and Frey, 1994).

In this research, the in-depth interview was applied to voters in Indonesia. The reason for using in-depth interviews in generating data is because it could provide insight into participants' perspectives (Arksey and Knight, 1999). In

addition, in-depth interviews would allow the gathering of rich information by expanding the voters' view and perspective with the detailed knowledge from the topic guide as guidance.

The interview with the voters focuses on the component of trust in the political context. The duration of the interview was not restricted to a particular length of time and in this study the interviews took approximately 1–2 hours. The interviews took place in a venue agreed upon by the participants and the researcher. In this study, interviews took place in various places such as in the participants' houses, cafes, and in their office.

According to Gillham (2005), the interview process includes preparation, initial contact, orientation, substantive, and closure phases. A topic guide was developed and used for the initial data collection period. However, the way in which individual interviews were developed was flexible depending on participants' experiences, which was discussed during the interview. The researcher a semi structured discussion guide and used a series of open-ended questions in order to structure the interview as suggested by Charmaz (2006). This type of discussion is very helpful in gaining personal perspectives from the participants. The researcher also took field notes during the interview process. The researcher closed the interview by appreciating the contribution of the participants and giving them contact details in order to get in touch in case there was additional information or they wanted some feedback.

#### **4.2.1. Sampling Frame**

The primary key to excellence in grounded theory, as in all qualitative inquiry, is that both data collection and techniques of analytical conceptualization

must be rigorous. In grounded theory, sampling schemes change dynamically with the development of the research (Morse, 2010). According to Morse (2010), the main types of sampling method in grounded theory are convenience sampling, purposeful sampling, theoretical sampling, and theoretical group interviews.

The sampling method that is usually used and identified by the researcher in conducting grounded theory studies is purposive and theoretical sampling. Purposive sampling is usually used initially by the researcher then followed by theoretical sampling (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). Purposive sampling deliberately seeks to recruit respondents based on features or characteristics that have been identified as being of interest. Meanwhile, the theoretical sampling has been described as the process of data collection for generating theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967).

The aim of the study is to gain understanding about the construct of trust from the individual voter's experience and perspective. In order to inductively develop theoretical categories, a purposive sampling was used initially to recruit participants.

This thesis presents data from Indonesia focusing on the stories of thirty two participants who were of voting age and comprised of adult children and their parents who lived in urban or rural areas. The rationale for selecting this sample is based on the idea that there are differences in the level of trust in urban and rural areas (Duch, 2001). The research focuses on theoretical sampling to enable the generation of data from the sample until data saturation (Charmaz, 2010). Participants were selected through purposive sampling and included sixteen young voters and sixteen parents. This sample reflects the view that parental

influence plays an important role in political socialization (Pacheco, 2008; Achen, 2002; Ichilov, 1988; Sears, 1975) and to gain intergenerational perspective between parents and their children. This study used intergenerational perspective in order to compare and contrast the differences between parents who are familiar with the previous political system and children who have only exposed to a new democratic system.

Respondents of this research are young voters and his or her parents. In this study, 16 respondents of young voters and 16 parents were selected by purposive sampling method. In electoral behaviour, parental influence plays an important role for political socialization (Pacheco, 2008; Achen, 2002; Ichilov, 1998; Sears, 1975). The respondents are also broken down into geographic location, income level, and education level to provide different views of voters specifically on how they perceive trust in the context of transitional democracy in Indonesia.

As described above, the sample comprised thirty two respondents consisting of adult children and their parents who live in either urban or rural areas. The rationale for selecting this sample is based on the idea that there are differences in the level of trust in urban and rural areas (Duch, 2001).

Individual in-depth interviews were conducted by semi structured interviews. The interview was set up as conversation to gain a description of the respondent experience in their everyday lives such as their hobby, school, work, life, travelling experience, or socialization with friends and family. The interview also discussed local, national and international issues which are important and have influence in their life; as well as how and where they obtain the information.

It can be from newspaper, television, internet, other media or conversations with family and friends.

Further information that was collected in this research is more specific to political issues. Thus, the next discussion in the interview is aimed at understanding voters' perceived criteria of a good politician, their electoral participation, as well as to explore the changes in their trust over time and the reason for those changes.

As described above, this research is based on 32 participants from different generations who live in rural and urban areas. This study used an intergenerational perspective in order to compare the differences between parents who were familiar with the previous political system and children who were only exposed to the new democratic system. The occupation of the participants is also varied, including farmer, entrepreneur, employee, unemployed, retiree, student, teacher, and lecturer. Table 4.1 shows a profile of respondents in this study.

**Table 4.1. Profile of Respondents**

Respondent	Code	Occupation	Gender	Residence and geographic location (Rural/Urban)	Age	Education
1	R-01-C	Staff Notary	Female	Mojolaban Sukoharjo: Rural	24 years old	University
2	R-01-P	Housewife	Female	Mojolaban, Sukoharjo: Rural	50 years old	Senior High School
3	R-02-C	Employee	Male	Nogosari, Boyolali: Rural	25 years old	Secondary School
4	R-02-P	Wood processor and farmer	Male	Nogosari, Boyolali: Rural	58 years old	Primary School
5	R-03-C	Student	Male	Polokarto Sukoharjo: Rural	22 years old	University
6	R-03-P	Primary School Teacher	Male	Polokarto Sukoharjo: Rural	52 years old	University

7	R-04-C	Employee	Male	Delanggu Klaten: Rural	17 years old	Senior High School
8	R-04-P	Wood processor	Male	Delanggu Klaten: Rural	52 years old	Secondary School
9	R-05-C	Entrepreneur	Male	Temanggung Wonosobo: Rural	24 years old	University
10	R-05-P	Entrepreneur	Male	Temanggung Wonosobo: Rural	50 years old	Senior High School
11	R-06-C	Primary School Teacher	Male	Banyudono Boyolali: Rural	24 years old	University
12	R-06-P	Entrepreneur	Male	Banyudono Boyolali: Rural	52 years old	Primary School
13	R-07-C	Employee	Female	Mojolaban Sukoharjo: Rural	30 years old	University
14	R-07-P	Trader	Male	Mojolaban Sukoharjo: Rural	54 years old	Vocational High School
15	R-08-C	Student	Male	Salatiga: Rural	22 years old	University
16	R-08-P	Retired Military	Male	Salatiga: Rural	53 years old	Senior High School
17	U-01-C	Student Internship	Male	Baturan Indah Surakarta: Urban	22 years old	University
18	U-01-P	Trading service	Female	Baturan Indah Surakarta: Urban	43 years old	Senior High School
19	U-02-C	Employee	Male	Banjarsari Surakarta: Urban	29 years old	University
20	U-02-P	Retired Military	Male	Banjarsari Surakarta: Urban	57 years old	Senior High School
21	U-03-C	Noodle seller	Male	Laweyan Surakarta: Urban	26 years old	Vocational High School
22	U-03-P	Caterer	Female	Laweyan Surakarta: Urban	45 years old	Primary School
23	U-04-C	Unemployed	Female	Colomadu Boyolali: Urban	22 years old	University
24	U-04-P	Printing entrepreneur	Male	Colomadu Boyolali: Urban	43 years old	University
25	U-05-C	Student	Female	Pondok Mawar Surakarta: Urban	22 years old	University
26	U-05-P	Employee	Male	Pondok Mawar Surakarta: Urban	46 years old	Senior High School
27	U-06-C	Bank employee	Male	Laweyan Surakarta: Urban	28 years old	University

28	U-06-P	Sales representative	Male	Laweyan Surakarta: Urban	55 years old	Senior High School
29	U-07-C	Employee-Customer Service	Male	Baki Sukoharjo: Urban	24 years old	University
30	U-07-P	Retiree	Male	Baki Sukoharjo: Urban	61 years old	University
31	U-08-C	Student	Male	Makamhaji Sukoharjo: Urban	24 years old	University
32	U-08-P	Lecturer	Male	Makamhaji Sukoharjo: Urban	54 years old	University

Source: Primary data 2013

#### 4.2.2. Theoretical Sampling

Theoretical sampling is an integral part of grounded theory in sampling which is based on a concept derived from data (Glaser, 1978; Strauss and Corbin, 1990). The constant comparative method and concomitant coding and categorization of data facilitate theoretical sampling. This will assist the researcher in the identification of gaps which need to be filled in order to advance the theory and provide a rich source of data (Strauss and Corbin, 1990).

In addition, this research focuses on theoretical sampling which enables the generation of data from the sample until data saturation. Unlike the conventional sampling where the researchers are taught about sampling the people and controlling variables, the theoretical sampling is not focusing on the people but the concepts. This is described as the process of data collection for generating theory by analysing the initial data and then using the code to develop further data collection (Glaser, 1978). The idea of theoretical sampling is not controlling the sample but to generate the data from the sample until there is no more new data produced which is called 'data saturation'. However, saturation is not just about

new data produced but also when data is already developed based on the themes (Strauss and Corbin, 1990).

Glaser and Strauss (1967) suggested that initial sampling should be based on a general perspective rather than preconceived theoretical views. Therefore the initial data collection is initiated with the study phenomena (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Glaser, 1978). The initial sample utilized theoretical development in order to generate the data. The interview as one of the main methods in grounded theory is very flexible in its guidelines. All participants might be asked the main question but some might be changed to develop a theoretical focus for developing the data (Glaser, 1978). The questions used will be broad in the initial interviews but they will be narrowed down to be more specific to contribute to saturation of the emerging concepts and categories.

In general, this research follows one common characteristic of grounded theory which usually employs simultaneous data collection and analysis. For example, the first interview took place with only several basic questions asked to develop sensitivity to the issues. Some questions occurred during the conversation with Respondent A such as: “Who do you think will be the future leader?” The participant said “A person who is firm and not corrupted” (Urban\_01/Mother/Housewife).

On the following interview with Respondent B, the conversation was slightly changed to address some critical initial findings from the first interview such as “Besides firm and not corrupted, how you would like the leader to be?” Respondent B said, “...care, and think about people” (Urban\_02/Father/Retiree Military).

In another example, when the researcher tried to explore issues about the political system with Respondent C, the researcher asked: “You experienced indirect election and now it’s direct, what do you think?” And the respondent said: “I like it... because that system is good... there used to be threat, right? But it was before... we should be like this, this... right? Now it is okay depends on us” (Urban\_03/Mother/Caterer). Following this previous interview, the researcher questioned Respondent D (Urban\_03/Son/Noodle seller) as in the interview transcript below.

RESEARCHER: Nowadays the election is using direct system? Are you happy?

PARTICIPANT: I am happy.

RESEARCHER: What do you mean?

PARTICIPANT: 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.

RESEARCHER: It’s more personal then?

PARTICIPANT: Even though I don’t know the person.

The process of theoretical sampling continues until data saturation which is when no more new data is produced during the data collection.

### **4.3. Data Analysis**

In grounded theory data analysis will begin immediately after data collection. Data analysis will occur concurrently in order to generate theory. In general the foundation of the grounded theory approach offers qualitative researchers clear guidelines from step-by-step strategies which are built to establish and maintain rigour in the investigation. These strategies include simultaneous data collection and analysis, data coding process, constant

comparison, memo writing, sampling to refine the researcher's emerging theoretical ideas and integration of theoretical framework (Strauss and Corbin, 1990; Charmaz, 2006; Denzin and Lincoln, 1994). Data analysis in this study was begun by immersing the data through numerous readings of transcriptions, reflective diaries, and field notes. Then it is followed by repeated sorting, coding and comparison which are run through the whole analytical process (Charmaz, 2006).

#### **4.3.1. Coding Data**

The first step in grounded theory analysis is the emphasis on intense coding of early data. Coding analysis began by defining and categorizing the data from interviews, field notes, and focus groups. Charmaz (2006) suggested two stages to the coding process which are initial coding and theoretical coding. Initial coding enables the researcher to 'grab' the data by seeing social process and identifying areas in which data are lacking and should be collected next. Focused coding is the second phase which is used to synthesize large amounts of data and explain the relationship between them. These codes are described as means which are more directed, selective, and conceptual (Glaser and Strauss, 1967).

Glaser (1978) describes the coding process as substantive coding and theoretical coding. Substantive coding is using the codes produced from data and constantly comparing them with each other to form the categories while theoretical coding is conceptualizations that explain the relationships between substantive codes. According to Glaser (1978), as the codes are produced from the data, they will be compared constantly with each other. These codes are then arranged into similar categories and their integral properties developed (Glaser,

1978). These categories comprise the substantive codes or open codes where this comprised delimiting process continues until saturation is achieved (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). The relationship between substantive codes will then be explained which conceptualizes the theoretical codes and this will draw out the theory.

The first step of data analysis in grounded theory is open coding. Open coding was used to analyse the data in detail by reading and giving notes either word-by-word or line by line. Similarly, the initial stage of this research's analysis began with open coding. At this stage, the open coding began by collecting key points from interview transcript continue by giving a code. The following open coding appears from the interview:

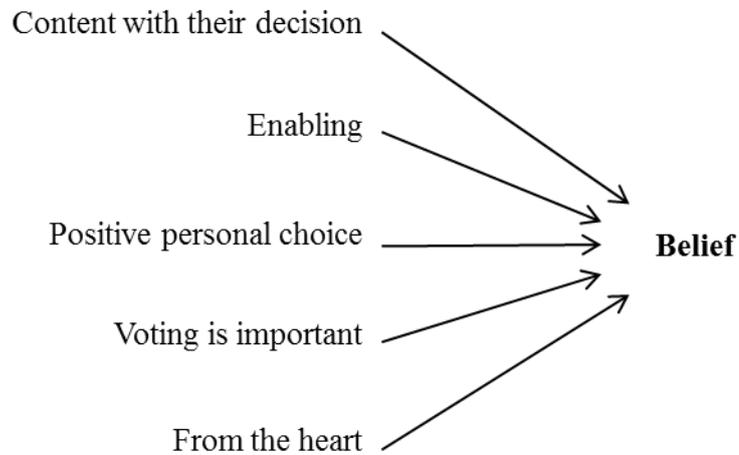
Open coding began by collecting key points from interview transcript and continued by giving a code.

**Interview quotation:** "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... Even though I don't know the person"

**Key point:** Happy with direct election

**Indicator:** Content with their decision

The second step is constant comparison. The codes arising from an interview were compared constantly against other codes from the same interview and from other interviews to produce a concept. In this study, 'belief' is the concept that emerged from several indicators in the same concept. Figure 4.1 illustrates an example of emerging concept from constant comparison.

**Concept: Belief****Figure 4.1. Example of merging concept**

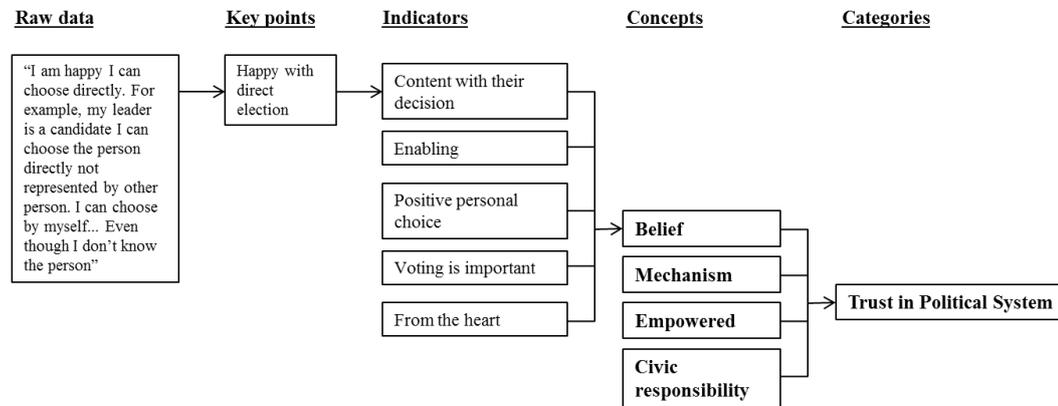
Other indicators that emerged in this concept are “enabling, positive personal choice, voting is important, and from the heart.” This method was repeated on the concepts to produce the next level called categories.

Trust in political system is a category that emerged from the concept of belief, mechanism, empowered, and civic responsibility. Those emerging indicators, namely the concept of belief, mechanism, empowered, and civic responsibility have some characteristics which in general talk about how trust is shaped and has been shaped the existing political system. In other words, the emerging issue has formed one category: Trust in Political System.

**Category: Trust in Political System**

Trust in political system is trust in the new political electoral system, direct election, which emerged from the constant comparison method in order to produce level of abstraction. This method is also used in order to produce

indicators, develop concepts and categories. Figure 4.2 depicts the emergence of the different categories in this study.



**Figure 4.2. Example of emerging category**

#### 4.3.2. Constant Comparison

Strauss and Corbin (1990) provide a structured method for coding the data including open coding (the disaggregation of data into units), axial coding (recognizing relationship between categories), and selective coding (the integration of categories to produce a theory). As described above, analysis begins with open coding which breaks the data into codes. This requires an intensive line by line analysis of words that attempt to open the data. Open coding is then followed by axial coding which relates categories to their subcategories. The problem which is identified in this step is that it might be difficult to understand how the codes are connected to each other (Glaser, 1978). Glaser (1978) provides a solution: read the data again and again then continue coding even when the researcher is unsure about the analysis. They should write down their thoughts and discuss them later with other people. From the data collected, the key points are marked with a series of codes (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). Then these codes

are grouped into similar concepts in order to form categories. These emerging categories will be assigned category labels and after analysing and generating the data, saturation is usually achieved (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). Finally, selective coding is applied in order to move towards more abstract, analytical, and theoretically informed concepts at the stage where the core categories emerged. These are essential in that they are related to most other categories and explain most of what is going on.

Constant comparison is necessary to develop concepts in grounded theory (Creswell, 2007; Locke, 1996; Strauss and Corbin, 1990). For Conrad (1978) constant comparison is an integrated method of systematic data collection, coding, and analysis with theoretical sampling in order to reach data saturation.

Glaser and Strauss (1967) define saturation as when no additional data are being found. There are two phases of data saturation which are category saturation and theoretical saturation (Glaser, 1978; Strauss and Corbin, 1990). Category saturation relates to the process where it can be described that no new information emerged during the coding. Theoretical saturation relates to the conclusion of theoretical generation but not confirmation. This would require verification between generating theoretical insight and accumulating evidence.

Theoretical sampling is not controlling the sample but generating the data from the sample until there is no more new data produced, and this state is called 'data saturation'. Data saturation is also related to the earlier step in grounded theory which is theoretical sampling. However, saturation is not just about new data produced but is also when data is already developed further based on the themes that have emerged from the earlier stages. Furthermore, theoretical

saturation in this study was reached by developing a model that explains the relationship between trust and electoral behaviour. Data saturation was reached after the categories emerged, which are the category of trust in political system and trust in political candidate.

#### 4.4.3. Memo Writing

Writing memos is also an essential part of the analysis which relates to the data coding with the first draft of completed analysis. The memos will help to develop the characteristic of categories and integrate them in order to create theory (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). Memos will include operational notes about data collection as well as theoretical memos. Theoretical memos include initial ideas about the data and an emerging hypothesis about relationships between codes. Therefore, it allows the researcher to explore processes and actions that are included under each category and examine how various categories may be inter-related; these are considered to be operational memos (Charmaz, 2006). Table 4.2 shows an example of memo writing in this study.

**Table 4.2. Example of memo writing**

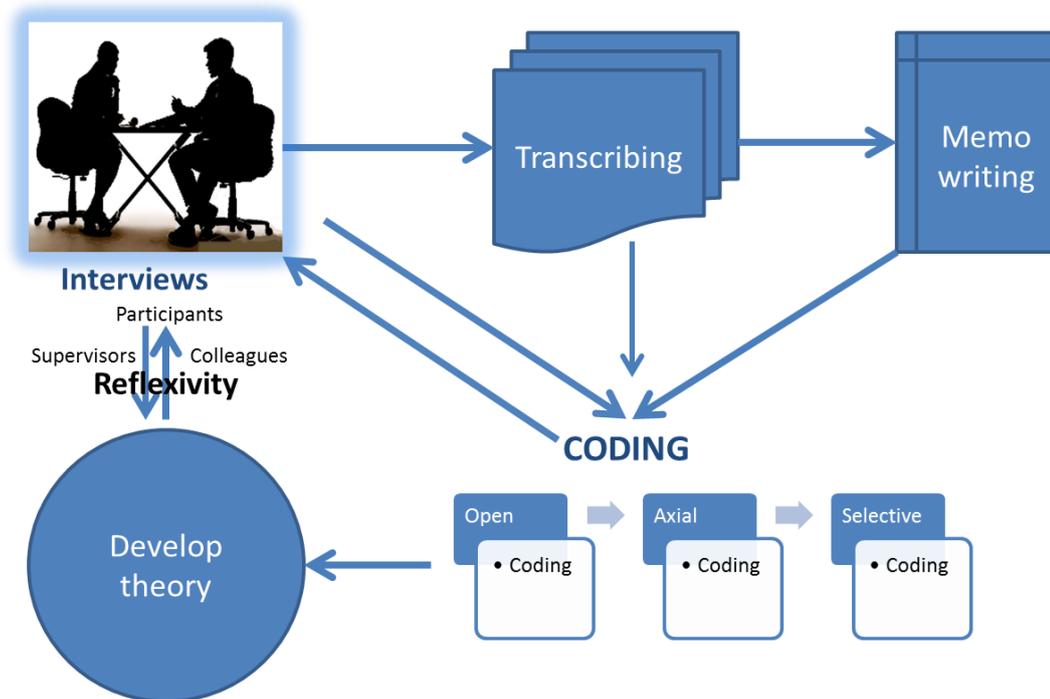
<b>Raw data</b>	<b>Memo writing</b>
<p><i>“I always vote for presidential election even my candidate was not elected as a president, the most important thing as a good civilian must vote its leader...it is a duty from a country I will, if none is good I will vote for the candidate with not really bad, because he is the only remaining.”</i></p>	<p>The participant does not trust in politicians but they still participate in the elections. This involves public support for change. Even though people do not fully trust the politicians, they still participate in the election.</p>

Source: Primary data 2013

#### **4.4.4. Reflexivity**

Reflexivity is the awareness of the researchers about how they might influence a study through their experiences, beliefs, and interests, and how their own assumptions can impact the findings of a study (Mruck and Mey, 2007). Moreover, Mruck and Mey (2007) mentioned that reflexivity is about how researchers interacted with subjects in the field, what problems they encountered, and how these problems were and were not resolved. In qualitative methods the reflexivity has not only been raised during the data collection but also in data analysis where the researcher's sensitivity and particular background influence this process (Strauss and Corbin, 1990).

The important part of the analysis of the transcripts was shared and discussed with the researcher's colleague and supervisors. Together with the supervisors, the coding data was regularly reviewed to enhance the credibility of the analysis. In addition, together with memo writing it assisted the researcher in gaining insight from the other perspectives and preventing the researcher from being sensitive to the data or too close to the participants' perspective in the field study. Figure 4.3 shows the coding process and reflexivity in the grounded theory procedures in this study.



**Figure 4.3. Coding process and reflexivity**

Source: Adapted from Glaser and Strauss (1967)

To sum up and illustrate the result of the coding process, Table 4.3 shows an example of the data coding process to produce categories in terms of conceptualizing trust in electoral behaviour in a transitional democracy in Indonesia.

Table 4.3. An example of data coding

Respondents	Raw data	Indicators	Concepts	Categories
Urban_03/ Son/ Noodle seller	I am <b>happy</b> 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... Even though I don't know the person.	Content with their decision	Belief	Trust Political System
Rural_03/ Son/ Student	Quite happy because we vote it directly but when it's from the party, I'm not happy about that. I think <b>voting directly</b> is better; whoever we chose will be our leader. So we can choose and judge who we're going to elect.	Direct vote	Mechanism	
Rural_07/ Daughter/ Employee	I has never been there I guess. But still we <b>have to choose</b> . I vote the one that I know a bit.	Have to choose	Civic Responsibility	
Rural_03/ Son/Student	The important thing is they could do all things that I've said but if <b>their education has higher level</b> , they must have knowledgeable. If it's just normal people with low academic background, their knowledge must be limited. So how can they decide what's right and wrong.	Highly educated	Experience	Trust Political Candidate
Urban_03/ Mother/ Caterer	I think the person is <b>polite</b> ...He is <b>kind and sociable</b> ... not cold and selfish... Yes... who knows...? " <i>Satrio Piningit</i> " (hidden knight) really comes out? It's unexpected, like Mr. Jokowi? Suddenly become a	Polite Kind Dynamic	Empathy Empathy Character	

	governor there. Who knows if he's the " <i>Satrio Piningit</i> ."			
Urban_08/ Son/ Student	A good politician should be <b>firm</b> . I like firm people... If he says A then it is A, if it's B then its B. <b>Consistent</b> ...The <b>charisma</b> . And also firm. We can see that from their <b>vision</b> and from their background and <b>track record</b> as well. If I choose that person, I think that if I don't choose then the result might be draw. So I have to choose so that person can win. I am the last voice, that's the analogy. Maybe that's illogical.	Firm Consistent Charismatic Visionary Track record	Capability Character Empathy Capability Experienced	
Rural_03/ Son/ Student	Well, that's enough to make me <b>confused</b> , there are too many things. Don't really know much about politics, it's too complicated. In America is much simpler, for example the democrat party is easier to understand for the society. In here democracy is democracy but not really into it. There are too many parties, so it's <b>hard for the people to compare</b> . It's confusing to judge which one is better. Especially now, anyone can set up a party. So how can it be filtered and minimized, they could at least change it to something like Americans.	Hard to compare	Confusing	Distrust Political System
Rural_05/ Son/ Entrepreneur	No, I don't like voting system... Yes I did not vote because its s <b>secular</b> country which is difference to what I have learned from Al Quran.	Secular system	Secular	
Urban_02/ Son/	It's difficult, if we look back, I elected before, but there are many people <b>who haven't been registered</b> , the people	Difficulty of the registration	Complicated	

Employee	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.	procedure		
Urban_03/ Son/ Noodle seller	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 <b>money wasted</b> is also less.	Money wasted	Waste of money	
Rural_03/ Son/ Student	From professional, now is from the party so he is concerned with his own party first. If it's from professional, he will know the everyday experience... Well some of them are professional but the majority of them are less professional or less satisfactory and more <b>concerned about their own party</b> .	Party interest	Self-interest	Distrust Political Candidate
Rural_04/ Son/ Employee	Lack of everything, <b>lack of integrity</b> .	Lack of integrity	Incapable	
Urban_08/ Son/ Student	The politicians are <b>absurd!</b> They are noisy among themselves in a meeting. They even say ' <i>bangsat</i> ' (a swearing word). Indeed because of that freedom, they have <b>no control</b> . But it is okay because according to psychology people, it is free... because they want to speak as a result of pressure. Like Ruhut's character. He doesn't	Absurd No control No consideration Lack of restraint	Incapable Incapable Incapable Incapable	

	like to see something not right... he directly talk about that <b>without any consideration</b> . If we look at their attitudes, then they are less good. They <b>stab</b> each other. That's the case since the beginning, right?			
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Source: Primary data 2013

#### **4.4. Summary**

This chapter has described how the data has been collected in this research and the process of data analysis undertaken. Data analysis began by immersing the data through numerous readings of transcriptions, reflective diaries, and field notes. Then it is followed by repeated sorting, coding and comparison which are run through the whole analytical process.

The findings from interviews with 32 respondents from different personal backgrounds present some emerging issues. Those issues are clustered into a number of coding. Furthermore, the coding shapes a number of categories and finally it results in with two main categories: trust in political system and trust in political candidate. A more elaborate discussion about these two main categories will be presented in the next chapter along with a more detailed contextual definition of the transitional democracy in Indonesia.

## **CHAPTER 5 RESEARCH FINDINGS AND INTERPRETATION**

### **5.1. Introduction**

The aim of this study was to explore how the construct of trust might be conceptualized to provide a coherent model that explains the relationship between trust and electoral participation in the context of a transitional democracy in Indonesia. The two research objectives are:

1. To investigate the construct of trust in the context of electoral behaviour.
2. To develop a model that explains the relationship between trust and electoral participation in a transitional democracy in Indonesia.

This chapter presents the results of the study on conceptualizing trust in electoral behaviour in a transitional democracy. This study presents empirical evidence on how the concept of trust was operationalized. Trust has been conceptualized in this study using grounded theory approach and generating components of trust.

This study attempts to analyse the construct of trust and generate a model that explains the relationship between trust and electoral participation. Central to the analysis is to break down the concept of trust into its constituent components to understand how it can then be operationalized.

In this section, each category is described in more detail by presenting evidence of the interview. Category names and antecedents are based on the data analysis by following the steps in the grounded theory approach. Data analysis began by immersing the data through numerous readings of transcriptions,

reflective diaries, and field notes. Then it was followed by repeated sorting, coding and comparison which are run through the whole analytical process.

This chapter will also discuss the insight and meanings of the findings supported by literature and elaborated by the methodology adapted. This chapter will begin by discussing the driving factor of transitional democracy in Indonesia and will follow with an explanation of the antecedents of trust in the context of electoral behaviour and the relationship between trust and electoral participation.

This chapter breaks down the discussion into five parts. The first part discusses the contextual illustration of democracy in Indonesia. The second and third parts generally present the emerging main categories: trust in electoral behaviour and the relationship between trust and electoral participation. The fourth part discusses the conceptualization of trust within electoral behaviour. The last part summarises the discussion which leads to conclusions.

## **5.2. The Driving Factor of Transitional Democracy in Indonesia**

There are some driving factors of democratic transition in Indonesia including a new direct election system, political changes, fair election, intense competition among political parties, and freedom of expression.

*Direct election.* A change in the system of indirect into direct election system was the most important part of the agenda of government reform in 1998. In the past, people did not know who they would choose as people only chose the party. People also had limited information about the party platform and the political candidate in the parties. Therefore, changes in the political system of indirect election becoming direct election signalled a strong willingness of the

government to change the whole political system. Through direct election people feel involved in making changes.

Indonesia started to implement direct election a few years after the '1998 government reform' known as '*Era Reformasi*'. Nowadays, instead of choosing parties, Indonesian citizens choose the person who they want to be put into leader position. By direct election, people are choosing their leader directly. They choose person instead of parties. Therefore, before they choose they may also evaluate the candidate in person. A young person who works as a noodle seller and lives in an urban area described the situation of direct election as below:

*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 (Urban\_03/Son/Noodle seller).*

The current election system allows people to choose their preferred candidate so that the candidate can be put into a particular role in the government. Previously, people chose a party from a limited number of parties and the winning party would choose the people who were going to be in a particular position. The position now is preferred by Indonesian people, as a participant explained:

*In my opinion I prefer the current system, direct election, not selected by DPR (Rural\_04/Father/Wood processor).*

The conditions describe an increase in public trust in the new government because the government is willing to meet the wishes of the people after they lived in the new order regime that was categorized as non-democratic government and could even be regarded as authoritarian (Eklof, 1999). Therefore, people are very supportive and believe in the political system because they are able to make changes and be involved directly. This suggests that the direct election increases

trust in the new political system. People can choose the candidate directly through elections. Participation in politics can be seen not only from the public participation in the election but also in their daily lives. Diamond and Morlino (2004) assert that “no regime can be a democracy unless it grants all of its adult citizens formal rights of political participation, including the franchise.”

*Political changes.* The direct election system has consequences and a tremendous impact on the formation of political trust in the transitional democracy in Indonesia. The growth of political parties proves the public enthusiasm for the new political system. People want to be involved either choosing, or chosen to be, a representative of the people or even the president. The direct election system allows citizens to become political candidates and enthusiastic about being elected to office. People also have more opportunities to make their choice by seeking information, evaluating, comparing and then making a decision.

Obviously, the change here represents the difference in conditions before the reformation and after the reformation happened in Indonesia in 1998. The changing condition in this case involves the multiplication of the number of parties, from only three to more than ten.

As previously mentioned, the growing number of political parties may be perceived positively or negatively by Indonesian citizens. A comment below represents participants' negative opinion on multiple parties:

*But there shouldn't be any party that dominates. In the past, between those three there is one which... what is it... if it's a leader then it's a dictator. Force this group to follow this party... there shouldn't be too many parties, a little. The more parties there are the more government's money should be spent (Urban\_03/Son/Noodle seller).*

This change may be felt by Indonesian citizens and is therefore identified and found as an observed characteristic in this research. There is different evidence supporting the fact that change is occurring in the Indonesian political world.

Other evidence regarding change is the difference in the political situation between the current one and the one before the reformation or during the New Order. In the New Order era, there were only three major parties and certain groups of people were asked to support the dominant party. The condition before the reformation may be perceived as being more convenient by some people because they did not have to search for information, compare, and make their choice. They could just simply follow the directions from the authority and act accordingly. That situation is now changing.

Another difference with the past is further evidence that may relate to the previous example. It also has something to do with uniformity of choice demanded by the authorities regarding civil servants' choice. Conditions in the past were quite strict and civil servants were seen as political tools to ensure that certain party or group of people win the political game. The civil servants were also threatened if they did not do what their authority asked them to do, as a father and teacher from a rural area mentioned:

*But during the new order regime, I have to wear this shirt – this, this also if I don't choose this one, I lied to myself, I felt uneasy, going here and there but that's not what I choose. Did you feel that the government employee should do this and this? Did you experience that? 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 choose because we are independent, untied from the office and else...But there was a time when there is an invitation for governmental employee to go to that place for socialization or something but we have to wear certain uniform, there was also an order like that. But what scary is that if we don't come, we were also noted. It turned out that the*

*government has many spies, not only in presidential election; the local election was also like that. So even though it wasn't chose, we should have to do socialization here and there (Rural\_03/Father/Teacher).*

Personal preference regarding the better system may differ from one person to another. However, from the different preferences identified, it can be deduced that change is happening in Indonesia's political world, signifying that transitional democracy is now the overall political environment in Indonesia. For some people, the current system proves to be better. The following statement may explain one of the participant's opinions.

*I like it (direct election) because that system is good... there used to be threat, right? But it was before... we should be like this, this... right? Now it is okay depends on us...I don't know... when I was asked to elect then I choose, like that?? I was really naive, really... I don't care about anything... when my children were little, I just think about earning for family, now it's like freely breathe the air...For me it's like this... everything is related. Between that it's related, right? The person is also supported by the party... like that (Urban\_03/Mother/Caterer).*

The political change in Indonesia also includes transformation in democratic level. The change regarding democratic level can be seen through the freedom of expression, the amount of information, people's rights during the election, and the possibility of conflicts. Those are the conditions mentioned by participants in this research regarding democratic level in Indonesia.

*To be honest, for me recently is more democratic because we can elect directly, compared with the previous one where the Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat/DPR (House of Parliament) choose the president, but great amount of money is needed because of Pilkada (regional election), but people could choose depends on their belief. Whereas the previous one, the people did not know therefore the people just accept the regulation from DPR. But nowadays, people should have a good knowledge about politics. But the candidates usually ask for their victory then if they lose there will be many conflicts. For me, in Indonesia, the people need to be given much knowledge so they can realize not to only focus on their own goal because the Pilkada is really fragile for the conflicts but also there are some clashes of opinion. It is different from the way it used to be, very calm, and suddenly, the one that have most votes is the one that win (Urban\_04/Father/Entrepreneur).*

The direct election system enables people to choose a candidate they like directly to ensure that the party does not sabotage or choose a different candidate. The process of control and evaluation may also be easier with the direct election system as people may judge and evaluate a person personally. Therefore, some people, as represented by this research participant, prefer the direct election.

*I personally prefer direct election...It is suit to the heart, but a bit disappointed if there is a bias for the figure. But we can elect and know how far his loyalty to the public (Urban\_05/Father/Trading services).*

The changing conditions, although for most people may require adaptation, are perceived positively as found in this research. The current period, the period of transitional democracy, is stated as being a preferred system for Indonesian citizens. The changes in the political world in Indonesia, especially regarding the election system, were proven to be accepted well by people, as a salesman said below:

*The parties still could be regulated, nowadays, it is difficult to regulate even from its own party, how about from the other party...For the president election, and I prefer the recent period, direct election. I think it is better this way (Urban\_06/Father/Salesman).*

In the past, civil servants were also used as a political tool by the ruling party to win the election. By the changes of election system, people are free to choose. Changes in political condition require adaptation for some people, however it will lead to positive things and to being a better democracy.

*Fair election.* The direct election is seen as a fair election system. The result of the vote count by the election commission is overseen by a number of media, volunteers and independent agencies with the quick count system which stimulates trust and gives the perception of justice to citizens. People feel the

election commission as an institution established by the government is able to act independently and free from political interference.

As people receive information, process the information themselves, make their choice, and choose directly, so people see that the election is quite fair. Reducing cheating attempts or cheating occurrences by the party or the politicians ensures the current election system is perceived to be fair. People feel that their voices are counted correctly and the election result is based on their voice.

Although the main executor of the election is the government, the organization itself is quite free and unattached to particular political power. People also feel the freedom and independent environment and therefore may easily decide their position. They perceive that the election condition now is free and independent.

*When the system is free and independent, it really is from my own heart. For example in 2004 and 2009 actually because I admit that it is my choice. But during the New Order regime, I have to wear this shirt – this, this also if I don't choose this one, I lied to myself, I felt uneasy, going here and there but that's not what I choose. Did you feel that the government employee should do this and this? Did you experience that? 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 choose because we are independent, untied from the office and else (Rural\_03/Father/Teacher).*

*Competitive.* Direct election has increased the competition and is getting fiercer. In the new order, for decades, people could only evaluate and choose between three parties. After the change of election system and the freedom to build political parties, the competition has increased. Regulations allow people to form parties and therefore many parties are competing in the election. Various strategies will be used by the parties to win an election so the competition will increase. It is important to guarantee a better democratic process as Diamond and

Morlino (2004) argued “in order to be a democracy at all, a political system must have regular, free, and fair electoral competition between different political parties”.

People felt that having direct election makes the elections competitive. It is not that the elections in the previous era were not competitive. However, the competition is now greater. There are many parties involved in the election and therefore it is difficult to win. Coalitions are often needed; in fact, there is always a coalition during the presidential election in Indonesia (Smith, 2005; Liddle and Mujani, 2005). There is evidence that has been found as a result of this research regarding competitive elections.

As previously explained, the regulations now allow many parties to compete in the election. It is all free. Indeed, there are still requirements that need to be met by the parties but it is not as restricted as it was before.

*There is something wrong about the election, for example now I know about idol, which idol is good but he loses because of the text messages. For example we choose the best, but there is more election in upper level, maybe our candidate wins here but loses at the upper level, like that (Urban\_02/Son/Employee).*

In order to assess whether a party is qualified or not, people can also see the party's track record. Its journey may reflect the quality of the party, its integrity and commitment to people. Parties will also compete in maintaining their track record and performance so that they will be chosen in the election.

*Winning or losing is about the party's journey when it is in power. If it's good then it should be winning all the time. If there isn't any progress then the followers will move to other parties (Urban\_03/Son/Noodle seller).*

Indonesian citizens are given the right to choose a party or a candidate who meets their requirements, their criteria. They are able to freely determine their choice without any external forces. The rule demands parties and candidates prove that they are capable of serving people. An entrepreneur from an urban area explained:

*Perhaps, I will not choose. On the other hand, If we do not choose, automatically we do not have the leader, so that's why I need to choose because it's the rule, for example for this regional head for this village, even though there is no candidates which fits with my expectation, but we have to choose, otherwise we do not speak our right (Urban\_04/Father/Entrepreneur).*

*Freedom of expression.* Changes in the political system have had a positive effect on freedom of expression. By direct election people are free to assess and choose whoever they want. The media also has the right to collect and disseminate information so people are more informed. Information is an important part of the transitional democracy process as people are enthusiastic for the new political system and want to learn and engage in the democratic process (Duch, 2001). Diamond and Morlino (2004) stated that in a democracy there needs to be a guarantee of civil rights including privacy, freedom of thought, expression, and access to information, freedom of assembly, association and organization.

The sense of freedom is specified in the participants' expressions which is mentioned in a number of the statements in interviews. Indonesian citizens can be freely involved in the political world, either as common people or as actors. There is no limitation on which parties can be involved in the political world or how much money one should own before being able to participate in elections.

In the political world in Indonesia nowadays, there are many small parties set up by groups of people. There are certain requirements for a party to be able to

participate in the election, but there is no strict rule about how people create the party. Therefore, creating a party may not be a difficult task any more.

*Especially now, anyone can set up a party. So how can it be filtered and minimized, they could at least change it to something like Americans (Rural\_03/Son/Student).*

Nowadays, unlike the past, people are free to choose whoever they want to choose. They can also assess their candidate freely based on the information they have. This kind of environment was not available until the reformation era. Therefore people may be able to feel the difference quite clearly. This fact is commonly accepted positively by people as some participants in this research mentioned:

*Quite happy because we vote it directly but when it's from the party, I'm not happy about that...I think voting directly is better; whoever we chose will be our leader. So we can choose and judge who we're going to elect (Rural\_03/Son/Student).*

Transparency is also a new concept for Indonesian people. Previously, everything in the government or in the political world was closed and limited to a particular group of people. However, nowadays as the media also has the right to collect and publish information freely, Indonesian people can access information easily. The political world has become more transparent.

*Yes because it is more transparent. So these are the candidates, which one is you are going to choose. There are also people who don't choose because the candidates are not the one that they expected, but I think there are candidates so how can you not choose one (Rural\_03/Father/Teacher).*

The crucial driving force towards democratic transition was the '1998 reform', which changed the election system from indirect to direct elections. This change followed by political changes and competition among political parties is

getting higher. However, the conditions are also supported by fair election mechanism. These factors drive the transition to democracy in Indonesia.

### **5.3. Antecedents of Trust in the Context of Electoral Behaviour**

This study identified the antecedents of trust in the context of Indonesian electoral behaviour and extends Dermody and Hanmer-Lloyd's model, which seeks to explain the relationship between trust and electoral behaviour. This section seeks to build an understanding of how people in Indonesia adapted the democratic process in transitional democracy. In this part, voters' decision making process will be explained. During the election process, voters may choose between two options, which are voting and not voting. Either one of those options may be chosen by voters after several considerations, including their trust towards the political candidates or the election system itself.

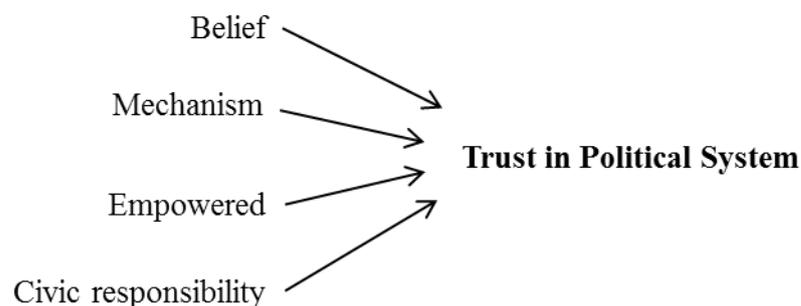
#### **5.3.1. Antecedents of Trust in Political System**

The crucial agenda of the 1998 reformation in Indonesia was to change the election system from an indirect to a direct electorate system. The beginning of the democratic era in Indonesia was marked by the implementation of direct elections that occurred in two stages organized by The National Electoral Commission. Reform in Indonesia went quite smoothly. People also enjoy the freedom to express their opinion and freedom of the press with a proliferation of new media. This indicates that the Indonesian people are hoping for change. To emphasize this point, trust in the political system is trust in the new direct election system.

A direct election guarantees that every citizen can make choices according to their wishes without feeling coerced or manipulated. This freedom is actually the main point of the transition to democracy in Indonesia. Transition to democracy in Indonesia is not only a change of electoral system but also of freedom of thought, expression, and choice.

Trust in the political system is very important in ensuring democratic transition. In addition, the Kendal Electoral Commission states that the level of trust in government remains high. The result of the research showed 50% of voters agreed that participating in the election is a right, not an obligation. The percentage of respondents who believed that their vote could make significant changes to their lives was 68% (KPU, 2011).

This study established the antecedents of trust in a political system which are: belief in a new system, having a good institution mechanism, people feeling empowered, and people having a strong sense of civic responsibility. Figure 5.1 illustrates the antecedent of trust in political system.



**Figure 5.1. Antecedent of trust in political system**

Belief in the new electoral system is the first antecedent of trust in a political system. In a transitional democracy, Indonesian citizens believe that a

new election system is better than the old one. The new election system which is direct election makes people happy with their choices because they choose a candidate directly. This system can guarantee that people are sure about their choice and feel free from coercion by any organization or other people.

The second antecedent of trust in a political system is the mechanism. A transitional democracy in Indonesia is marked by the change of election system from indirect to direct election. People are quite happy with the new mechanism. By this mechanism people can vote directly. People also agree with the mechanism because it is confidential, transparent, free, and independent.

The third antecedent of trust in a political system is being empowered. The 1998 reform in Indonesia has had a significant impact on citizens in term of people's involvement in public policy and political participation. By participating in the election, people believe that they can make a change. In other words, the new election system makes people feel empowered.

The last antecedent of trust in a political system is civic responsibility. As a good citizen, people have a responsibility to engage in elections and have to follow the rules. Being involved in an election is regarded as being a little bit of both. It is a right, as people have the ability to voice their opinion. It is also a duty as people have the responsibility and role to determine where the country should be going.

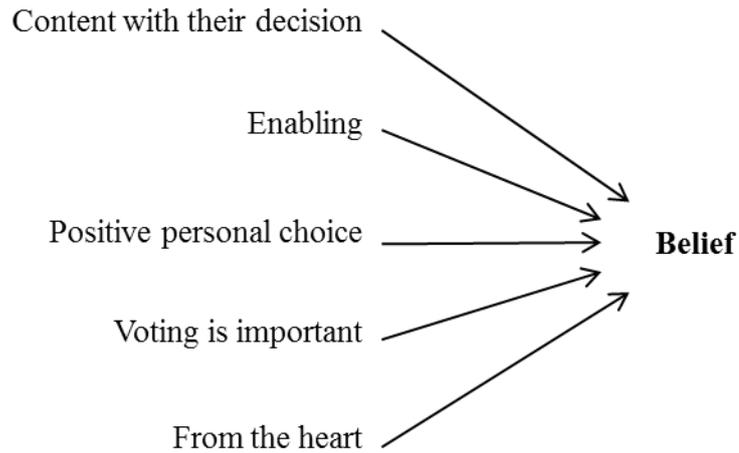
**Table 5.1. Components of trust in a political system**

<b>Belief</b>	<b>Mechanism</b>	<b>Empowered</b>	<b>Civic responsibility</b>
Content with their decision	Direct vote	Want to change	Have to choose
Enabling	Confidential	Responsibility for change	Our voice is heard
Positive personal choice	Transparent		A duty
Voting is important	Democratic		A right
From the heart	Legitimate		
	Free		
	Independent		

The antecedents of trust are formed by several components. The components of trust in a political system emerged from coding in data analysis as described in Chapter 4. Table 5.1 shows the components of trust in a political system.

#### **5.3.1.1. Belief**

In a transitional democracy, Indonesian citizens believe that the new election system is better than the old one. The new direct election system makes people happy with their choices because they choose a candidate directly. This system can guarantee that people are sure about their choice and feel free without being forced by any organization or other people.



**Figure 5.2. Components of belief**

The results of this study revealed that the components of belief are content with their decision, enabling, positive personal choice, voting is important, and their decision is from the heart as illustrated in Figure 5.2.

### ***Content with their decision***

The first component of belief in an election system is content with their decision. People are feeling happy with their choice. This is an important aspect in democracy. When people are happy with their choice and believe it is a legitimate system, they do not care what the result of the election is. People can accept happily whether their candidate wins or loses.

Winning and losing becomes less important to voters if they are happy with their decision. It is more important that they are satisfied with their decision and the process they went through to reach that decision. This suggests that they are happy with the new political system as it allows them to choose who they desire and that is all that matters to citizens.

*That doesn't matter, won or lose that doesn't matter, the important thing is I'm happy with my decisions (Rural\_02/Son/Employee).*

*Well, the main thing is I'm happy with that choice (Rural\_02/Father/Farmer).*

### **Enabling**

As a new system, direct election enables a change as people can choose their candidate with their heart. Compared with the old system, people believe that the new system is more democratic. By having a democratic system, people then are able to freely choose based on their internal feelings as described by one of the participants below:

*I would prefer the democratic one, not the authoritative, we can choose with our heart (Urban\_04/Daughter/Unemployed).*

From the quotation above, we can see that people did not like the old system as it was authoritative. Everything seems as though it was forced back then; choosing with the heart can be a risk but the democratic system changes everything. It allows people to choose their personal preference; choose with their heart and not follow the authorities.

### **Positive personal choice**

As previously described, Indonesia's democracy climate gives more freedom to people and therefore people are able to find information and evidence to back up their choice so that they can be sure about it. In other words, people have positive feelings about their choice.

*If I think about it, I'd choose this one. Whether my decision is a winner or not, I choose this one because if I vote, I can't predict who'll win and who will not. The important thing is I'm sure with this choice (Rural\_02/Father/Farmer).*

This quotation supports the previous component; *content with their decision*. People cannot predict if their choice is the winner or not so it's better to vote with what they believe in.

### ***Voting is important***

Again, as the direct election system stresses freedom, people depend on themselves during the election process. For the citizens voting is important. This includes the process of making the decision about whether they want to be involved in the election or not, up to the process of choosing the candidates that they want to vote for.

*I like it (direct election) because that system is good... there used to be threat, right? But it was before... we should be like this, this... right? Now, it is okay depends on us (Urban\_03/Mother/Caterer).*

The direct election system allows everyone to be involved and it is their duty and responsibility to vote as everything depends on whether or not they vote. The leader that they will have will depend on their vote. For citizens, voting is important.

### ***From the heart***

Related to the previous component, participants also mentioned sureness with the choice as the reason for their belief in the election system. As belief in the electoral system is related to people's internal willingness, people's choices are most likely to come from the heart. This component of belief in the electoral system is mentioned by participants, as stated below:

*No, I always vote, even in level of neighbourhood/sub village (RT) because it is the instruction of state for the state's interest, I never absent for it...I personally prefer direct election...It is suit to the heart,*

*but a bit disappointed if there is a bias for the figure. But we can elect and know how far his loyalty to the public (Urban\_05/Father/Trading services).*

As people may choose freely based on their own decision, they genuinely feel that what they choose is really what they want to choose. A father from a rural area said:

*It really is from my own heart. For example in 2004 and 2009 actually because I admit that it is my choice (Rural\_03/Father/Teacher).*

The older generation agrees that choosing from their heart is the best way to vote. They have experienced the old system and how it pressured them to vote for a certain party which was wrong as it should only be their choice and from their own heart.

This study identified that belief is one of the elements which contributes to developing trust in a political system. Trust in the political system is the result of a positive evaluation of the new political system. Evaluation of a new political system is related to the changes of the election system from indirect to direct election. Belief in the new political system has shaped trust in the political system because the new election system makes people free to choose based on their beliefs. People are also happy with their choice and tend to not care whether the candidate will win or lose.

There was a perception among voters, both parents and children, which they believe in the new political system. The father and son who live in a rural area have the same perception about the direct election system. They are happy with their decision to choose the political candidate or the party. This family believe that the new political system is better than the old one. Even though the

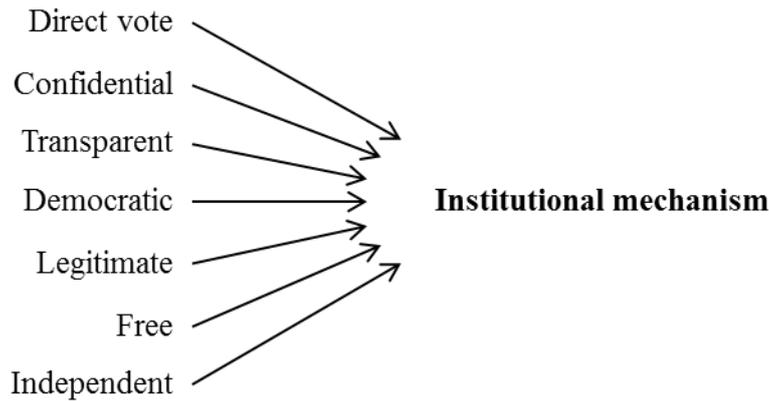
son as a young voter did not have experience with the old system, he is still happy with the electoral system. He does not care about the result of the election. This provides evidence that people's belief in the new electoral system means they trust in the political system.

For parents, who are familiar with the old system, they always tend to compare it with the old system and they believe that the new political system guarantees them to choose freely based on their own decision. In other words, for the older generation, they trust more in the new political system than the old system. This study provides evidence that in a transitional democracy the level of trust of people has changed and trust in the political system has increased.

There are little difference between voters who live in rural and urban area in terms of trust in political system. They believe that the new direct election is better than the old system. Voters who live in rural area stated that they happy with the new election system. Similarly, voters who live in urban area believe that they can choose the candidate from their heart.

#### **5.3.1.2. Mechanism**

The transitional democracy in Indonesia was marked by the change of the election system from indirect to direct election. People are quite happy with the new institutional mechanism, as by this mechanism, people can vote directly. People also agree with the institutional mechanism because it is confidential, transparent, democratic, legitimate, free, and independent. Figure 5.3 illustrates the components of institutional mechanism.



**Figure 5.3. Components of institutional mechanism**

### *Direct vote*

The direct election mechanism is characterized by the opportunity for people to vote directly. In this case, directly means that citizens are able to recognize the real people, the leader candidates and choose one among them. This characteristic is mentioned as being a reason for people's satisfaction in the new election mechanism as explained below:

*Quite happy because we vote it directly but when it's from the party, I'm not happy about that (Rural\_03/Son/Student).*

*To be honest, for me recently is more democratic because we can elect directly, compared with the previous one where the DPR (House of Parliament) choose the president, but great amount of money is needed because of Pilkada (regional election), but people could choose depends on their belief. Whereas the previous one, the people did not know therefore the people just accept the regulation from DPR. But nowadays, people should have a good knowledge about politics. But the candidates usually ask for their victory then if they lose there will be many conflicts. For me, in Indonesia, the people need to be given much knowledge so they can realize not to only focus on their own goal because the Pilkada is really fragile for the conflicts but also there are some clashes of opinion. It is different from the way it used to be, very calm, and suddenly, the one that have most votes is the one that win (Urban\_04/Father/Entrepreneur).*

*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 (Urban\_03/Son/Noodle seller).*

The older and younger generation both agree that voting directly is much better compared to the previous election system because in order to vote, they need to get to know the candidates and their commitment before they make a decision whereas before the candidates were represented by other person.

### ***Confidential***

The next characteristic which pleases people about the new mechanism is confidentiality. According to participants' responses, they feel happy and secure because they are able to voice their opinion and choose freely without having to worry that their choice is going to be known or judged by another person.

*I will use my right to vote, no one knows who I chose, if there's detection from somewhere saying who you choose (Rural\_03/Father/Teacher).*

During the previous election system, people felt threatened if they chose a different party from the authorities but the direct election stops that from happening as the level of confidentiality is high. They have the freedom to choose who they believe in without having to worry or feel threatened.

### ***Transparent***

The new election mechanism is also transparent. In this case, transparency is related to the direct voting system. As people know the real candidates for national leader, they are not choosing blind. People are able to assess the capability of the candidates and therefore the election system is transparent. The system's transparency is mentioned by one of the participants below:

*Yes because it is more transparent. So these are the candidates, which one is you going to choose. There are also people who don't choose because the candidates are not the one that they expected, but I think*

*there are candidates so how can you not choose one  
(Rural\_03/Father/Teacher).*

The direct election mechanism allows people to evaluate the candidates as it is transparent. People can evaluate the candidate via media; having more knowledge and their commitment towards the people will help them judge whether or not the candidates are good politicians. Being able to evaluate the candidates will help to build trust in political candidates.

### ***Democratic***

The democratic situation is also a key environmental aspect which supports the direct election system. People, as represented by participants in this research, view the new election system positively. The democratic environment is preferred by Indonesian people as they may compare their conditions now with their previous conditions when the government was quite authoritarian.

*I would prefer the democratic one, not the authoritative, we can  
choose with our heart (Urban\_04/Daughter/Unemployed).*

### ***Legitimate***

Having a high percentage of election involvement is important in Indonesia because without people's participation, a new leader cannot be chosen. Looking at the consequences of non-voting behaviour, people may think again about their willingness to participate in elections. Based on the interview results, the awareness of election rules, which if they do not choose there might be no new leader, make people willing to be involved in the election. An entrepreneur from an urban area said:

*Perhaps, I will not choose. On the other hand, if we do not choose, automatically we do not have the leader, so that's why I need to choose because it's the rule, for example for this regional head for this village, even though there is no candidates which fits with my expectation, but we have to choose, otherwise we do not speak our right (Urban\_04/Father/Entrepreneur).*

As illustrated above, people vote because they trust the political system. They believe that it is them who can make a change; by participating. It is their duty to vote even if there might not be a candidate that fits in with their expectations.

### **Free**

Another characteristic of the new election mechanism is that it is free. In the previous regime, some people were asked to choose a certain party as their duty for the government. Nowadays, people are totally free to choose whichever candidate they think suitable to be the leader. This condition, the comparison between the past and recent situation, is described by a participant as recorded in an interview:

*When the system is free and independent, it really is from my own heart. For example in 2004 and 2009 actually because I admit that it is my choice. But during the New Order regime, I have to wear this shirt – this, this also if I don't choose this one, I lied to myself, I felt uneasy, going here and there but that's not what I choose. Did you feel that the government employee should do this and this? Did you experience that? 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 choose because we are independent, untied from the office and else (Rural\_03/Father/Teacher).*

The new election mechanism allows people to be free in terms of whom they are going to vote for. The participant above states that during the New Order regime, they didn't have this freedom as they had to follow the authorities which made them feel uneasy because they didn't vote from their own heart.

### ***Independent***

The last characteristic mentioned by participants in this research regarding the new election mechanism is independence. Independence may be related to the fact that the Indonesian political system nowadays is highly democratic and therefore people's independence is highly respected. It is also related to people's freedom. Based on the interview results, people mentioned that independence is an important characteristic of the new mechanism which is accepted positively by Indonesian citizens, as described below:

*But during the New Order regime, I have to wear this shirt – this, this also if I don't choose this one, I lied to myself, I felt uneasy, going here and there but that's not what I choose. Did you feel that the government employee should do this and this? Did you experience that? 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 choose because we are independent, untied from the office and else (Rural\_03/Father/Teacher).*

Some quotations above proved that people's trust in the political system has changed. One of the factors influencing trust in the political system is the institutional mechanism. People are happy with the new mechanism which is direct election because they can directly choose a political candidate. From the parents' perspective the new mechanism is more confidential, free, and independent. A father who lives in a rural area stated that the new mechanism made him independent because under the New Order regime he had to follow the regime in terms of who he was going to vote for. People felt quite intimidated during the New Order regime. By the new mechanism people feel free and become trusting of the political system.

*To be honest, for me recently is more democratic because we can elect directly, compared with the previous one where the DPR (House of Parliament) choose the president, but great amount of money is needed because of Pilkada (regional election), but people could*

*choose depends on their belief. Whereas the previous one, the people did not know therefore the people just accept the regulation from DPR. But nowadays, people should have a good knowledge about politics. But the candidates usually ask for their victory then if they lose there will be many conflicts. For me, in Indonesia, the people need to be given much knowledge so they can realize not to only focus on their own goal because the Pilkada is really fragile for the conflicts but also there are some clashes of opinion. It is different from the way it used to be, very calm, and suddenly, the one that have most votes is the one that win (Urban\_04/Father/Entrepreneur).*

Even though the new mechanism is better than the past, people still need information about politics and the candidates. The direct election mechanism gives an opportunity for people to choose the candidate directly so information about the candidates needs to be given to the citizens and then people can evaluate the candidate appropriately.

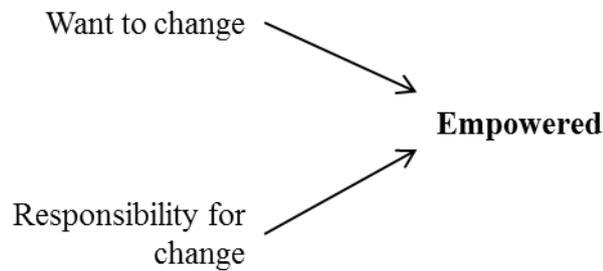
In brief, this study found that trust in the political system was established by the changes of electoral mechanism. The new election mechanism is marked with an opportunity for people to vote directly for their leaders with a sense of being happy and safe because they are able to vote for their leaders and to choose freely without having to worry that their choice will be known or judged by others. The new election mechanism is allowing people to assess the character and capability of the candidates. People are completely free to choose the candidate who they think is fit to be a leader.

The new election system allows voters to choose the political candidate directly. Voters who live in rural area and urban area both agree that the new mechanism is more democratic, transparent, and independent.

### **5.3.1.3. Empowered**

The 1998 reform in Indonesia has had significant impact on citizens in terms of people's involvement in public policy and political participation. By

participating in the election, people believe that they can make a change. In other words, the new election system makes people feel empowered. Figure 5.4 shows the components or the indicators of empowerment.



**Figure 5.4. Components of empowerment**

### *Want to change*

As mentioned above, the reformation era in Indonesia brought changes in people's way of thinking. People become more involved in running the nation through their participation. Their internal motivation to change is mentioned as one of the reasons why they want to be involved in the new election system. By having the opportunity to make changes, people feel empowered. The following respondent revealed:

*Last time I vote for Mr. Bambang. I just want a change...In my opinion I prefer the current system, direct election, not selected by DPR (Rural\_04/Father/Carpenter/Wood processer).*

People believe that they have the power to make a change if they want to by participating in the election. The respondent above states that he wanted a change, therefore he voted for the candidate.

***Responsibility for change***

Having a role to make a change, people then also feel responsible to change. They feel that they need to bring the country to a better place by choosing a suitable leader. People's awareness that they have a responsibility to do something for their country also motivates people to participate in the new election system. The following quotation describes the phenomenon:

*But not electing is a mistake anyway, since we have responsibility to change the country you know. We are living in a confusing country (Rural\_07/Father/Trader).*

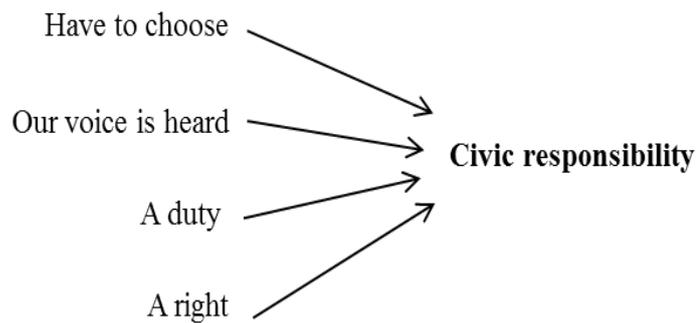
The quotation above signifies the importance of voting and the effect that it will have on the country. Not electing is seen to be a big mistake as it means that there will not be a change to the country; it is the citizen's responsibility to make a change to help building a better country.

With the new political system, people have an opportunity to make a change. By having this opportunity people feel empowered. In addition to feeling empowered, they have a role to make changes and it also makes people feel responsible for bringing the country to a better place by choosing leaders who are capable. This becomes the component of trust in a political system.

Voters who live in rural area feel empowered because they think that they can make a change by participating in election. They have an opportunity to involve and influence government decision making process by participating in election. This component, empowerment, emerged from participants who live in rural area which means that people in remote area still have chance to engage and have a responsibility for changing the country to the better place in the future.

#### 5.3.1.4. Civic responsibility

The last component of trust in a political system is civic responsibility. As a good citizen, people have a responsibility to engage in elections and have to follow the rules. Figure 5.5 illustrates the indicators of civic responsibility which are we have to choose, our voice is heard, a duty, and a right.



**Figure 5.5. Components of civic responsibility**

#### *Have to choose*

One of the citizens' rights and obligations is to be involved in elections. Therefore, in order to be a good citizen, one should participate in elections, at least using their voice. In Indonesia, being good and looking good in the society is important and therefore one of the reasons for people's participation in elections is because having to choose is a sign of a good citizen and represents civic responsibility. Some participants described this below:

*I has never been there I guess. But still we have to choose. I vote the one that I know a bit (Rural\_07/Daughter/Employee).*

*Yes, I do, I always vote for presidential election even my candidate was not elected as a president, the most important thing as a good citizens must vote its leader (Rural\_06/Father/Entrepreneur).*

Taking part in the election is one of the citizen's roles in society. It is a must to vote in order to be a good citizen. This portrays their trust in the political system. A young voter who is only exposed to a new political system is willing to participate in the election because she realized that the direct election allows her to choose the candidate directly. The respondent above, the young voter, has civic responsibility. When the researcher asked her about the old election system, she said that she have to choose the candidate although she had no experience with the old political system. For the parent, there was increased trust in the new political system compared with the previous system because again the new election system allows citizens to vote for a candidate directly. In the presidential election he wants to be a good citizen who has civic responsibility so he always participates in elections even if the candidate is not elected as a president.

### ***Our voice is heard***

Another term used besides having to choose in elections is giving voice. People believe that their voice is heard. It is also a sign of a civic responsibility and being a good citizen according to Indonesian people. This phenomenon is described in the interview below:

*As a good citizen we should vote, give our voice... give suggestion...  
(Urban\_01/Son/Student-internship).*

Giving their voice and suggestions are an important factor in being a good citizen as citizens' voice is heard. By direct election system people feel that their voice is heard when they participate in election.

### ***A duty***

The continuation of being a good citizen and having civic responsibility are that people have rights and obligations or duty. Being involved in an election is regarded to be a little bit of both. It is a right, as people have the ability to voice their opinion. It is also a duty as people have the responsibility and role to determine where the country should be going, as described in the previous part. Therefore, one of the components of a good citizen factor is people seeing participating in an election as the duty of a good citizen. Some participants in the interview said:

*Yes, if it is a duty from a country I will, if none is good I will vote for the candidate with not really bad, because he is the only remaining (Rural\_06/Father/Entrepreneur).*

*No, I always vote, even in level of neighbourhood/sub village (RT) because it is the instruction of state for the state's interest, I never absent for it...I personally prefer direct election (Urban\_05/Father/Trading services).*

### ***A right***

People also have more rights to determine their choice and voice their opinion without any force from external parties.

*Different with New Order that has already been led even though it appears to be neutral but it has been led, after that I should not be into politics because then my boss will immediately ask me to what's my intention to do that and so don't take any risks, might as well not talk about it or do anything that's related to politics...Learning is the realization of wanting to know but at the time because of my position as a civil servant and my father was too so I just imitate it so when there will an election again so that the dress was still the same in politics say that how because if they told there...I just go there, if they told here...I just follow any because such a risk might be harder for me if not come to me like it better if there were directed there like that (Rural\_03/Father/Teacher).*

Civic responsibility is one component of trust in political system. This component emerged from both from participants who live in rural and urban area. People have the same perception about the new political system. People have the same level of civic responsibility no matter if they live in a rural or urban area. Being a good citizen is not dependent upon where they live and electoral participation is seen as a duty and a right. For both groups voting is indicative of personal choice leading to a belief that their voice is heard.

Trust in a political system is a crucial issue in democratic transition in Indonesia. The change of the political system has significant impact on the changes to citizens' trust. This research identified the changes of the voter's view of trust particularly in the political system. There are some factors that influence trust in the political system. The first is the belief of the people in the new political system which makes them happy with their decision because the new political system is allowing people to choose with their heart and people are sure about their choice and it makes people feel independent. The second component is the changing of the election mechanism which is direct election that is characterized by an electoral mechanism that ensures confidentiality, transparency, freedom and independence. The third is the existence of citizens' empowerment. The changing of the political system is supporting people to engage with the state by participating in elections. The old system which was an indirect system made people feel powerless because they did not feel involved in the process of government decision making. By direct election, there is an important opportunity for empowerment of the people to make a change. Feeling empowered is a significant element as it influences trust in the political system. Fourth, trust in the political system has been formed by civic responsibility. People have a strong

sense of civic responsibility because they have established themselves as good citizens,

This research identified the antecedents of trust specifically in the political system. By exploring complex constructs of trust in the context of electoral behaviour, this study provided some components of trust using the grounded theory approach. Following the grounded theory methodology step by step, four antecedents of trust in political system have been revealed.

A recently published study using meta-analysis of antecedents of trust in management literature has been described in Chapter 2. This study contributes to the literature in management specifically in political marketing literature by revealing the antecedents of trust in the context of electoral behaviour in a transitional democracy.

Political trust is conceptualized as an indicator of the qualities of public officials, the efficiency of government, and the rightness of the decisions (Hetherington, 1998). However, this study conceptualized trust into two categories which are trust in political system and trust in political candidate. As illustrated above, thus, trust in political system can be conceptualized as an indicator of the qualities of the political system. Therefore, the indicators or the components of trust in the political system have become very important and this study has identified its components.

### **5.3.2. Antecedents of Distrust in Political System**

Distrust of political system is distrust of the new election system. The new election system requires a complicated procedure to register as a voter. Some

people also feel confused about judging the better party. In addition, people thought that the election system is a secular system which is distinct from Islam. People also thought that elections are a waste of money.

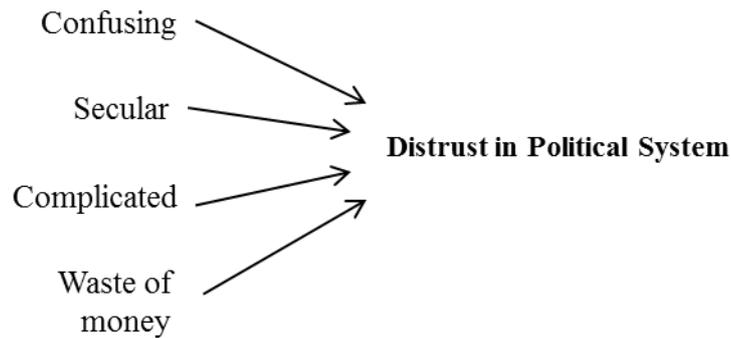
The first antecedent of distrust in political system is ‘confusing’. As there are many parties formed, people may experience confusion in choosing a party or a person as a party’s representative in the election. It may be understandable because when there are many people as well as many parties to be assessed in order to choose the best one, the citizen may be confused as the choice is so varied.

The second antecedent of distrust in political system is secular. The interpretation of the rules in Islam may differ between one person and another, but some people see that democracy represents a secular system which is not supported by Islam.

The third antecedent of distrust in political system is complicated registration procedure. Collecting data of who can vote and where they should vote is not easy. Government officials may try to update the data every time before the election but it may not be perfect so that there are still some people who are unregistered as voters although they supposed to be able to vote. The missing data on rightful voters usually happen in areas where there are many newcomers and it is a poor area. This complication in the procedure may influence people to be sceptical about the new democracy system.

The last antecedent of distrust in political system is waste of money. In order to form a party, politicians need financial support whether from themselves or from other investors. Parties also need money during the campaign time in

order to gain supporters. From another point of view, government also needs money to regulate those parties and conduct the election. It is more expensive because now there are more parties and therefore the workforce needed to regulate the parties is bigger. Figure 5.6 illustrates the antecedents of distrust in political system.



**Figure 5.6. Antecedents of distrust in political system**

### 5.3.2.1. Confusing

The previous part of the results may expose the positive side of transitional democracy. However, there is also another side of transitional democracy which may not be preferred. As there are many parties formed, people may experience confusion in choosing a party or a person as a party's representative in the election. It may be understandable because when there are many people as well as many parties to be assessed in order to choose the best one, one may be confused as the number is quite big. This phenomenon is described below:

*There are too many parties, so it's hard for the people to compare.  
It's confusing to judge which one is better (Rural\_03/Son/Student).*

The number of parties that there are can cause confusion. As stated above, it is hard for the people to compare and judge which one is better because of the

number of parties that there are. This can cause confusion and make people doubt whether or not to trust the political system. If it is confusing for them then people would think that the system is confusing and as a result, it could not be accurate.

#### **5.3.2.2. Secular**

Indonesia is a Muslim majority country. Therefore, Islamic influences are quite high and there are many people who still hold the Islamic rule and way of life strictly. The interpretation of the rules in Islam may differ between one person and another, but some people see that democracy represents a secular system which is not supported by Islam. This point of view is then reflected in people's trust – which is distrust in the system and leads to their behaviour, which is abstaining from voting.

*I did not vote because it's a secular country which is difference to what I have learned from Al Quran (Rural\_05/Son/Entrepreneur).*

There is criticism that the democratic system was secular and it was argued that this was not compatible with Islam. This can be understood as Goddard (2002) stated that democracy is expressed in a different perspective in Islam. For Qutb (1906-66) as quoted by Goddard (2002), “democracy is anathema to Islam.” Qutb stated, “After the decay of democracy, to the extent of bankruptcy, the West has nothing to give to humanity...The leadership of Western man has vanished...It is time to make over and lead” (Goddard, 2002). Qutb in Goddard also argued that society should be governed by God and not by itself. According to Goddard, Qutb's antipathy towards democracy can be understood as part of a broader antipathy towards the West and particularly towards secularism.

However, Qutb's perspective about democracy is very extreme. Furthermore, for Binder (1988), Qutb was categorized as a radical and different with most of Muslim scholars as he stated:

*It is widely believed that Qutb opted for the more radical and militant alternative, while Hudhaybi, Tilmisani, and even Muhammad al-Ghazali opted for the more moderate and accommodative alternative (p.172).*

In a wider and majority of Muslim scholars, a different perspective of democracy related with the purpose of democracy. Democracy is a process instead of a goal of a society. Most of Muslim scholars view democracy as a political process which assured participation of society to achieve their welfare. The form of Muslim democracy has been exemplified by Prophet Mohammad SAW in the process of setting up The Hajar Al-Aswad (the Black Stone) on Ka'ba in Mecca. This process did not run smoothly in the beginning as everyone wanted to take part in placing it on the Ka'ba. This riot ended as Mohammad SAW came up with a solution that allows everyone to be involved in the process of setting it up. He laid the holy black stone in the middle of a huge cloth so that everyone could hold one part of the cloth and they all participated in placing it on Ka'ba. This example has been referred by many Muslim scholars in explaining democracy. Hence, democracy in Islamic perspective means equality and participation to create welfare. It argues that Qutb's opinion about democracy is different with majority of Muslim scholars.

### **5.3.2.3. Complicated**

The election process requires people to be registered before they can vote. There are millions of people in Indonesia who have the right to vote. Collecting

data of who can vote and where they should vote is not easy. Government officials may try to update the data every time before the election but it may not be perfect so that there are still some people who are unregistered as voters although they are supposed to be able to vote. The missing data on rightful voters usually happens in areas where there are many newcomers and in poor areas. This complication in the procedure may influence people to be sceptical about the new democracy system.

*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 (Urban\_02/Son/Employee).*

The division of the classes has been revealed when it comes to electing. The lower class people usually get left out and do not get registered for the election because they live in the poorer areas of Indonesia which means that it is more complicated to organize.

#### **5.3.2.4. Waste of money**

The new election process certainly needs more money than the previous ones. First of all, in order to form a party, politicians need financial support whether from themselves or from other investors. Parties also need money during the campaign time in order to gain supporters. From another point of view, government also needs money to regulate those parties and conduct the election. It is more expensive because now there are more parties and therefore the workforce needed to regulate the parties is bigger.

Respondents in this research thought that as there is a lot of money involved, politicians or whoever is involved in the election process may focus on

the money rather than the politics itself. Politicians may think of how to get the revenue rather than thinking about citizens.

*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 (Urban\_03/Son/Noodle seller).*

Even though it is very easy to create a party, it is not so easy financially. Fortunately, the government can always help by providing money to these parties; however some people use this as an advantage and use it carelessly. As indicated above, people can pretend to build a party just to gain money for themselves; this can cause distrust in the political system as it is a waste of money. The money can be used for better things in the country.

Distrust in political system can be viewed as a negative evaluation of the political system. If trust in political system is conceptualized by an indicator of the 'good' qualities of political system, distrust in political system can be conceptualized as an indicator of 'bad' qualities of the political system. This study identified the indicators or the elements of bad qualities of the political system, referring to voters' view in the context of transitional democracy, which are confusing, secular, complicated, and waste of money.

It is not surprising that the evidence of distrust in political system in this study arises from young people. This study demonstrated that young people were more cynical about politics in line with literature on young people (Berman, 1997; Dermody and Hanmer-Lloyd, 2005a, 2004, 2005b).

People in Indonesia consider that the new political system is confusing because there are too many parties formed after the 1998 government reform and this should be assessed. In the old system, there were only three political parties taking part in elections, and people might have found it easier to evaluate and make a decision to choose one of them. People are also unhappy with the new political system because the system came from the West that for some people is different from Islam. The complexity of the procedure of election might cause people to be cynical about the new political system. Conducting elections needs a lot of money and people thought that it was a waste of money. Young voters who were only exposed to the new political system were still unsatisfied with the system. As Dermody and Hanmer-Lloyd (2005b) clarified, young people who are highly disengaged from politics have no faith, no confidence and no hope in political institutions such as parliament, politicians, and political parties.

As explained above, the antecedents of distrust in political candidate are confusing, secular, complicated, and waste of money which are emerged from participants who live in rural and urban area. Confusing and secular emerged from young voters who live in rural area whilst complicated and waste of money emerged from young voters who live in urban area so there is no difference between urban and rural distrust in political system.

### **5.3.3. Antecedents of Trust in Political Candidate**

Trust in political candidate is trust regarding the candidate's character and capabilities. Citizens evaluate candidates by assessing their past performance. There are two main aspects related to trust in political candidate in the context of

transitional democracy including the antecedents of trust in political candidate and the relationship between trust in political candidate and electoral behaviour.

Meanwhile, it is important to know the public's expectations of politicians. Currently there is distrust in politicians, but people have expectations about the characteristics of a good politician, and that is what makes them trust and want to vote in the coming elections. This study found a number of criteria for good politicians are expected by citizens.

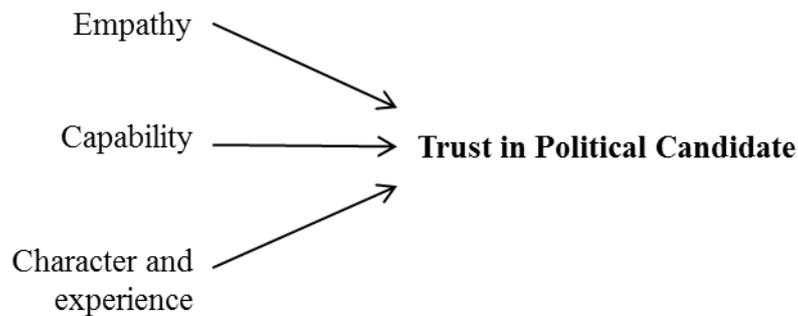
The antecedents of trust in political candidate consist of empathy, perceived capability, and personal character of the candidate and their experience. The antecedents are reflected criteria of a good politician and are grouped into three main variables. The dimensions of trust in political candidate are actually similar to Aristotle's category in the art of rhetoric which are pathos for the empathy, logos for the perceive capability, and ethos for the personal character and experience.

The first antecedent of trust in political candidate is the empathy. This component includes the emotional connection and feeling about the candidates. People assess political candidates through their empathy to the people. There are some components of empathy such as equality, soft, patient, low profile, clean, transparent, charismatic, wisdom, unselfish, brave, fair, polite, kind, fair, cautious, sincere, incorruptibility, humble, simple, down to earth, close to people, and humility.

The second antecedent of trust in political candidate is the candidate capability. This aspect is related to people's evaluation of a political candidate's performance. Therefore, it is logical and factual. As Indonesian media has become

open and has gained more freedom since the reformation era, getting information about political candidates is not difficult. People can evaluate each candidate's performance based on the information they get and by doing that they create their perceived capability of the political candidate. The components of perceived capability are good in leadership, firm, disciplined, strong, inspiring, visionary, decisive, responsible, good care, smart, focus, and reliable.

The last antecedent of trust in political candidate is the candidate character and experience. This includes the personal character of the candidate, background and reputation. Candidate's character including background and reputation are evaluated and the better his reputation is, the higher level of trust perceived by the people. The components of character and experience are honest, highly educated, nationalist, religious, experienced, loyal, consistent, wise, and dynamic. Figure 5.7 illustrates the antecedents of trust in political candidate.



**Figure 5.7. Antecedents of trust in political candidate**

As explained above, the antecedents of trust in political candidate are formed by several components. The components of trust in political candidate emerged from coding in data analysis. Table 5.2 shows the components of trust in

political candidate including empathy, perceived capability, and personal character of the candidate and their experience.

**Table 5.2. Component of trust in political candidates**

<b>Empathy (Pathos)</b>	<b>Capability (Logos)</b>	<b>Character and Experience (Ethos)</b>
Equal	Good leadership	Honest
Soft	Firm	Highly educated
Patient	Disciplined	Nationalist
Low profile	Strong	Religious
Clean	Inspiring	Experienced
Transparent	Visionary	Loyal
Charismatic	Decisive	Consistent
Wisdom	Responsible	Wise
Unselfish	Caring	Dynamic
Brave	Smart	
Fair	Focus	
Polite	Reliable	
Kind		
Fair		
Cautious		
Sincere		
Incorruptibility		
Humble		
Simple		
Down to earth		
Close to people		
Humility		

### **5.3.3.1. Empathy**

The first antecedent of trust in political candidates is the empathy of the candidate. This component includes the emotional connection and feeling about the candidates. People assess political candidates through their empathy which may not be able to be measured in exact measurements. Therefore this antecedent may relate more closely with one's feelings and internal disposition.

**Equal**

A quite important issue after Indonesian reformation in 1998 is equality. Therefore it is not a surprise that equality is mentioned as an important aspect which is used to assess a candidate's character. A respondent from a rural area explained:

*As a citizen I would like the candidate who is honest..., strong and equal (Rural\_04/Son/Employee).*

Having the characteristic of being equal is important especially for a leader, as their role is to work and engage with many people across the country, therefore everyone should be treated equally even if they have different opinions in order to discuss things and solve problems to make the country a better place.

Thus the equality theme appears in this research. A candidate's ability to treat people equally is seen to be important by Indonesian people. Based on the result of this research, a candidate can be seen as trustworthy if he respects and applies the rule of equality.

**Soft**

In this case, soft reflects Indonesian culture. As many Indonesian people still hold their culture strongly, a candidate's personality may be measured by their held cultural values, norms, and beliefs. Softness, especially in Javanese culture, is a positive character trait. A person with soft personality may be seen as a kind person. Therefore, based on the result of this research, soft character is mentioned to be one of the reasons of trust in political candidates.

*Soft, patience, not aggressive and inspiring (Rural\_06/Daughter/Teacher).*

### **Patient**

Another component of empathy which was mentioned by respondents and regarded to be important is patience. Candidates' patience is assessed by people in order to determine which candidate best suits their criteria. Some comments from participants in this research are:

*Soft, patient, not aggressive and inspiring  
(Rural\_06/Daughter/Teacher).*

*I don't really concern about the personality, just wise, patient, low profile. Low profile means he has something but he doesn't want to show it (Urban\_02/Son/Employee).*

### **Low profile**

Politicians in Indonesia are seen to be people who are at a high social level. They are regarded as being rich and important – sometimes unreachable. This general situation is seen to be disliked by people. Therefore, Indonesian citizens, based on this research result, think that a candidate who is low profile is needed. A comment from one of the respondents regarding this character is shown below:

*I don't really concern about the personality, just wise, patient, low profile. Low profile means he has something but he doesn't want to show it (Urban\_02/Son/Employee).*

### **Clean**

Clean in this case means that the person is not involved in any criminal conviction. Indonesian people have experienced unstable political conditions since the reformation. Many politicians were convicted because of crime. Most of them were involved in white collar crimes, such as corruption. This bad experience leads people to be more careful in trusting and choosing a political

candidate. Nowadays, people see whether a person is clean or not and this judgment is important in determining one's choice in the election.

*The point is they need to be clean, no corruption, honest, transparent in term of the regulation to the people...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 (Urban\_04/Daughter/Unemployed).*

As explained earlier, Indonesian people have experienced having leaders who are involved in crimes such as corruption which makes the citizens more aware and selective now. The transparency of the new system benefits citizens as it means that they can find out more about the candidate's record via media.

### ***Transparent***

Related to cleanliness, transparent is also mentioned to be a trait of empathy preferred by the participants in this research. Transparent means that the candidate honestly describes his condition without any kind of barriers to his constituents. By being transparent, people may be able to clearly see the candidate, his daily life and condition including his financial situation.

*The point is they need to be clean, no corruption, honest, transparent in term of the regulation to the people...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 (Urban\_04/Daughter/Unemployed).*

It is important for the leader to be transparent in the citizens' eyes, especially transparent in terms of the regulation to the people. It relates to not being secretive as it will build barriers to the people which can lead to distrust in the political candidates. If the candidate is transparent, it will come across as honesty.

### **Charismatic**

Being a leader is likely to be related to charisma. It may be undeniable that being charismatic is seen as an indicator of empathy which is preferable to people. A charismatic personality may increase one's probability of being trusted by Indonesian citizens. The statement below may show the situation:

*Wisdom... Yes as I said, consistent, honest, charismatic, quick problem solving, and not too much thinking. Yes quick to solve the problem (Urban\_05/Daughter/Student).*

Charismatic connotes that the leader is full of empathy which would appeal to the public. Charismatic shape an empathy and led to trust in political candidate.

### **Wisdom**

Another characteristic which may be related to be empathy is wisdom. Possessing wisdom is another indicator of empathy mentioned by participants in this research which is related to trust. In this case, the more people can see that someone has wisdom, the more chance there is that people will trust that person. Some of the participants' statements are as below:

*Wisdom... Yes as I said, consistent, honest, charismatic, quick problem solving, and not too much thinking. Yes quick to solve the problem (Urban\_05/Daughter/Student).*

*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 (Urban\_06/Father/Salesman).*

### ***Unselfish***

Another component of empathy which is seen as positive by Indonesian people is not being selfish. This characteristic accentuates the importance of a political candidate not to think only about himself but more to think about Indonesian people in general. This characteristic in Indonesian culture is known as *tepo seliro* or not selfish. This means that a person cares about the society he is in. An unselfish candidate would be trusted by Indonesian people, as a participant of this research said:

*Usually is the academic background. If the person has high academic background, he should have a broad knowledge. The same when I chose the head of neighbourhood in here. We can't choose the one who is uneducated, so we shouldn't be careless in choosing someone. It is good if the person understands Javanese culture so he knows "tepo seliro", not selfish (Rural\_03/Father/Teacher).*

The participant above strongly believes that a leader should understand the Javanese culture and know about "*tepo seliro*" in order to be a good leader as it shows care towards other people, not just themselves.

### ***Brave***

In Indonesian culture, bravery is highly respected. Therefore, a brave leader is the hope of many Indonesian people. The result of this research also reflects this situation. Based on the interview, a candidate's bravery is assessed as one of the characteristics of empathy which may increase people's trust to that candidate. A mother from an urban area mentioned as follows:

*A person who firm and not corrupted... Firm is a must, have bravery... Bravery means... should be able with his/her bravery solves problems in this country completely. Be able to take care... can be a father profile (Urban\_01/Mother/Trading services).*

Bravery can be useful when taking decision and solving problems; this bravery will make a leader trusted by the people as they become someone to look up to. If they are brave, people will automatically think that they are always ready for a challenge and have the ability to handle it well.

### ***Polite***

Another characteristic mentioned by participants to be able to increase their trust towards a political candidate is politeness. As an Eastern culture group, Indonesian culture puts one's politeness as a priority. This can be seen in common people's way of life. Therefore, it is not a surprise that politeness comes as one of the results in this research. Some of the participants' comments are as below:

*I think the person is polite. He is kind and sociable not cold and selfish.  
Yes... who knows "Satrio Piningit" (Hidden knight) really comes out?  
It's unexpected, like Mr. Jokowi? Suddenly become a governor there.  
Who knows if he's the "Satrio Piningit" (Urban\_03/Mother/Caterer)?*

The younger and older generation both agree that politeness is significant even though they are raised in different generations. This shows how important it is for a leader to be polite. Being polite illustrates that they're friendly and sociable which is an important factor especially for a leader. They will respect everyone and gain respect back.

### ***Kind***

Kindness is a quite general adjective to describe one's positive characteristic of the political candidate. Although it is not specific, it is one of the characteristics of empathy which may make people trust a political candidate.

According to the participants of this research, a leader needs to be kind. A comment from an urban mother describes:

*He is kind and sociable... not cold and selfish  
(Urban\_03/Mother/Caterer).*

Kindness can lead to being helpful and it is important for a leader to have this characteristic as their work involves many people.

### ***Fair***

A leader should be fair. The evidence obtained from this research shows that people are more able to trust a person who is fair. A candidate's fairness is assessed by people in order to know whether the candidate is appropriate for leadership. An urban youth mentioned:

*Firm and didn't let other countries to interfere...Firm, honest, fair.  
Firm is about the law of course. The law should be firm. Honest so that  
there is no corruption for example, employing really honest people.  
Fair, for example there is an underdeveloped area... and how can it be  
solved (Urban\_03/Son/Noodle seller).*

Fair in this case is about taking actions as the participant above states that a leader should be fair when dealing with problems around the country such as underdeveloped areas and how it can be solved.

One's fairness is regarded to be important in order to gain trust. A political candidate has to prove that he is fair before he can get constituents' trust. This characteristic is mentioned by one of the respondents in this research as follows:

*They should be wisdom, fairness and cautious  
(Urban\_05/Father/Trading services).*

Fairness could also be seen as equality. Being fair in the way they treat everyone is important as people will judge them for that and be trusted.

### ***Cautious***

Cautiousness in this case means that a person is aware of different consequences which may occur because of his decision. There is an aspect of carefulness in being cautious. This characteristic is mentioned by participants of this research as an empathy which makes them trust a political candidate. A working father mentioned:

*They should be wisdom, fairness and cautious  
(Urban\_05/Father/Trading services).*

Cautiousness is useful when dealing with certain situations. Moreover, it's beneficial to be cautious as it means that they will think first before doing anything.

### ***Sincere***

Another component related to trust towards political candidates is sincerity. A candidate's sincerity is evaluated by citizens in order to assess whether a candidate is trustworthy or not. The result of this research shows that one's sincerity is an important factor. According to one of the participants, candidate's sincerity can be an example. It was described as follows:

*They should be sincere because they become a leader, automatically they should be a good example for their community, honest and reliable (Rural\_06/Daughter/Teacher).*

Sincerity is all about being genuine; again, this supports honesty. Being sincere and honest is beneficial for their duty in serving the country.

### ***Incorruptibility***

As corruption is a big issue in Indonesia, the ideal condition is hoped for by many people. This means that a candidate with a track record of no corruption is highly valued and trusted. People's hope is reflected in the result of this research. According to the participants, the characteristic of incorruptibility is needed in order to gain trust towards a political candidate. The following statements may describe the condition:

*The point is they need to be clean, no corruption, honest, transparent (in term of the regulation to the people...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 (Urban\_04/Daughter/Unemployed).*

*The good one is honest and free of corruption, they care about their people and want to know about the problems, and they have to give the best solution how to prosper the people (Urban\_04/Father/Entrepreneur).*

As stated above, a good leader should be free of corruption. It is absolutely vital for a leader to be free of corruption as it is a big issue in Indonesia and people are becoming more selective when it comes to voting. Showing no signs of corruption will definitely increase trust in the candidates.

### ***Humble***

Humbleness is also mentioned as a characteristic which represents empathy and may determine people's trust towards leader candidates. Almost the same as low profile, a candidate who can make himself accessible to people is preferred. A father from an urban area mentioned:

*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 (Urban\_06/Father/Salesman).*

As mentioned above, Joko Widodo is a good example of humbleness to some people as he was not arrogant in the way he acted even though people doubted him. He continued with what he did best in humbleness and as a result, many people chose him.

### ***Simple***

A component of empathy is simplicity. It may relate to the modernisation of people in Indonesia. The preference of simplicity of a political candidate is reflected by some people's comments. For example:

*The first one he is Muslim, he want to be grounded, know what the problem of the people, for example if they want to move people, they know the solution, he is honest, protect the low people, not glamour and simple. Maybe in the future he can be the president (Urban\_06/Father/Salesman).*

Simplicity can be very effective; simple in the way they operate. If they operate the country in simplicity, everything would be a lot easier with less complication.

### ***Down to earth***

As it was explained previously, the factors mentioned in this section are related to the perceivable performance or behaviour shown by leader candidates. This particular factor, down to earth, may be similar to the factor mentioned in the previous section which is low profile. Low profile is seen as a personality trait while down to earth is a perceivable behaviour. People see one's down to earth

behaviour positively and this may increase their trust towards that candidate. This may come as a result of a candidate's closeness with people. By knowing the candidate personally, people may be able to trust the candidate more.

*They do not need to be smart, clever, but they should have ability to work and not high profile but down to earth with their people (Rural\_06/Daughter/Teacher).*

### ***Close to people***

A political candidate also needs to be close to people. A candidate's closeness to people may increase the probability that people trust him and therefore increase his probability of being chosen as a leader. People may tend to trust a closer candidate because they can feel the emotional closeness and see that the candidate is not difficult to reach if they need him. Citizens are able to meet the leader face to face because they are close to the people. An example of participants' comment regarding this is shown as follows:

*Essentially he must be closed to people even if they don't meet all criteria (Rural\_06/Daughter/Teacher).*

The comment above that was made by a teacher explained that a leader should be down to earth with their people. It would come across as being friendly and would build a sense of closeness which would help the leader gain trust from the people as they are open to each other.

### ***Humility***

Another characteristic categorized as an empathy aspect is humility. Humility in this case means that although a candidate may have far better knowledge and conditions compared to the people, he still feels inadequate and

does not feel superior. Humility is a characteristic rarely mentioned by people but regarded to be important subconsciously. It is also a characteristic deeply embedded in Indonesian culture. A participant's comment below may explain humility in the Indonesian context:

*He/ she must have "tepa slira" (not selfish) basic. Knows which one is good, which one is not always careful like Yatna Yuwana Lena Kena and the last ojo dumeh (humility) becomes the basic of those children (Rural\_06/Father/Entrepreneur).*

As discussed earlier, trust in the context of electoral behaviour can be categorized into two groups which are trust in the political system on the one hand and trust in political candidate on the other hand. This category is similar to Gronlund and Setala's (2007) classification on how citizens evaluate the democratic system. In their study, Gronlund and Setala (2007) analysed the impact of citizens' evaluation of political system and political actors.

With regard to this study, the antecedents of trust in political candidate have been identified and one of the antecedents is the empathy. The individual candidate's character consists of several elements including an emotional connection and feeling about the candidates such as honesty, kindness, sincerity. These components describe pathos as known in the art of Aristotle's rhetoric. People develop trust in a candidate because they assess political candidates in terms of whether they have a good characteristic. In the art of Aristotle's rhetoric, there are three components of persuasion which are logos, ethos, and pathos. In politics, logos relates to the rationality and logic of the argument while ethos emphasizes the capability of the leader in demonstrating strength and good leadership qualities. Meanwhile, pathos relates to the emotional connection that can show the empathic nature of the candidate (Dean, 2005).

As explained before, the first antecedent of trust in political candidates that was identified in this study is empathy which is one of the important elements of persuasion strategy, known as pathos in Aristotle's perspective (Cope, 1867; Gottweis, 2007). Pathos is fundamental to politics as Dean (2005) emphasizes; Aristotle believed that pathos is the one of the important components that mobilises citizens to participate in politics. The empathy of the candidate has been revealed in this study such as humbleness, charisma, kindness, politeness, down to earth, humility, and wisdom.

### **5.3.3.2. Capability**

The second antecedent of trust towards political candidates is perceived capability. This aspect is related to people's evaluation of a political candidate's performance. Therefore, it is logical and factual. As Indonesian media has been opened and has gained more freedom since the reformation era, getting information about political candidates is not difficult. People can evaluate a candidate's performance based on the information they get and by doing that they create their perceived capability of the political candidate. There are many different skills and abilities mentioned by participants in this research regarding perceived capability of a leader candidate. The following section will explain those skills in detail.

#### ***Good leadership***

The first type of perceived capability regarded to be important by Indonesian people in order to trust a leader candidate is good leadership ability. This may be seen as certainty because being a leader means that one should possess leadership skill. Some comments from the interview are as follows:

*In my opinion, he is good in leadership and in politics as well (Rural\_01/Daughter/Employee).*

*My expectation is a person who can take care of the staffs, who can make the staffs prosperous. Automatically the staffs will appreciate the leader so that we can have mutual feeling. If the leader loves us, we also respect the leader. My description about the nation's leader is like that hopefully (Rural\_03/Father/Teacher).*

Having good leadership is vital. People's expectation of a good leader is someone who can make the staff prosperous and look up to them. But not only that, they have to have authority; they have to take care of the staff and show them respect.

### ***Firm***

The second factor mentioned by participants in this research is firmness. Firmness in this case means that a person has a strong decisive ability and has the ability to maintain his decision. It is also related to law and regulation implementation. People can evaluate one's firmness through one's clear standing point. Moreover, it can also be evaluated through one's opinion and behaviour regarding law. Based on the results of this research, firmness is one of the factors related to trust towards leader candidates. The comments below may describe people's opinion:

*Candidates for president, I think he should be from TNI (army); at least he will be firm (Rural\_02/Son/Employee).*

*Firm and didn't let other countries to interfere...Firm, honest, fair. Firm is about the law of course. The law should be firm. Honest so that there is no corruption for example employing really honest people. Fair, for example there is an underdeveloped area... and how can it be solved (Urban\_03/Son/Noodle seller).*

*Originally from ABRI, who is firm and disciplined, the way they practice is very discipline (Rural\_02/Father/Farmer).*

*I say, firm in law (Rural\_04/Father/Wood processer).*

Firmness in this context will be linked to the law, making decisions and solving problems. The participant stated that the candidate should be from army because the army represents a firm political leader.

### ***Disciplined***

A person's strength in personality and performance may be evaluated through the practice of discipline. For many people interviewed in this research, candidates' discipline practice is important in determining their trust towards the candidate. Some comments which indicate people's preference on discipline are:

*Discipline in solving the problems in time and consider about their people first, from the lowest, so I'm expecting him/her to consider about us first (Rural\_02/Son/Employee).*

*The person should be wise, responsible, discipline, and has high intellectuality (Urban\_01/Son/Student-internship).*

*Originally from ABRI, who is firm and disciplined, the way they practice is very discipline. Well, discipline is important for sure. When they were just practising, they were already discipline because if you're not discipline, you'll miss the point. For example Mr. Harto, he's discipline in the government and the people are also discipline, the reality is they're all prosperous (Rural\_02/Father/Farmer).*

Discipline is an important factor; discipline in the way the candidate works because it will reflect on the people as well. As stated above, Mr. Harto (President Suharto) was much disciplined in the government and the people were also disciplined as a result. Some people believe that if they've been in some sort of army like ABRI, it is beneficial as they have considerable practice in being disciplined which would be easier to apply when they become a leader, therefore this shows that records of the candidates' past can be very important to some people.

***Strong***

Another perceived capability seen as positive by Indonesian people is strength. It is indeed related to power possessed by the candidate. A strong leader is needed by Indonesian people as reflected in a comment below:

*As a citizen I would like the candidate who is honest..., strong and equal (Rural\_04/Son/Employee).*

A strong leader is one who stands for what they believe in and also evaluates others' input. It is important not to use the power that they have in the wrong way. Furthermore, they need to be strong in terms of dealing with complicated situations.

***Inspiring***

A leader needs to be inspiring. This perceived capability factor may be related to a factor in the previous section, charismatic. Charismatic can be seen as a personality trait and whether a candidate can inspire people or not. A woman from a rural area said:

*Soft, patience, not aggressive and inspiring (Rural\_06/Daughter/Teacher).*

If a leader is inspiring, it will engage the people to be more involved. It has a knock on-effect and people will appreciate them for that.

### ***Visionary***

Another skill which is perceived to be important by Indonesian people is visionary. A visionary candidate is described as having a clear future plan for the country. A leader who has clear vision represents preparedness. Therefore, according to this research's participants, this candidate can be trusted. Some comments mentioned through the interviews are:

*Visionary, high nationalisms and religious. I am sure there is someone like that so he will only concern about this country.....Firstly, he/she must be religious. We can see the character of good leader, right? This been proven for leading something (Rural\_07/Daughter/Employee).*

*The candidate for the president has to have vision, this does not mean for the very long time ahead, but still has vision, has a long-term consideration but he also use our country's potential, that's simple from my opinion, even though it is also difficult to make it as an action, perhaps, because the previous question was about Eros Djarot, honestly like Eros Djarot, he has the intellectual skill and also he has the cultural politic, able to use the people's potential (Urban\_05/Daughter/Student).*

Many people believe that being visionary is key in order to be a good leader as it means that they are considerate about the country and its people. Being visionary means that they are concerned about the country and the future, therefore they think ahead. Having this capability shows that they are concerned about the country and they are willing to make changes to make it better even though it might be difficult to carry this out; people will have trust in the leader for this.

### ***Decisive***

According to participants in this research, another capability which may elicit one's trust in a political candidate is a candidate's ability to decide. This may be quite an important capability because before the reformation, people could

see their leaders making decisions, sometimes with a tendency to be rather authoritarian. However, since the reformation, leaders have taken decisions on national matters in a much more implicit way. Therefore, people need to see that the leader is able to take a decision in order to solve a problem.

*The point is they need to be clean, no corruption, honest, transparent (in term of the regulation to the people...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 (Urban\_04/Daughter/Unemployed).*

As illustrated above, a leader needs to be decisive and wise, otherwise people will look down on them when it should be the other way around. People should look up to their leader; one way to show that they are capable of being a good example is being decisive in their decision making. In the country, there will always be problems that involve the people, therefore a good leader should have the ability to solve a problem and do so fast.

### ***Responsible***

One's sense of responsibility can be seen and judged by other people. Therefore this characteristic, responsible, is categorized as the perceived capability aspect which may endorse people's trust for a certain political candidate. Being responsible is regarded as being one of the primary character traits that a leader should possess as a participant mentioned:

*The person should be wise, responsible, discipline, and has high intellectuality (Urban\_01/Son/Student-internship).*

As a leader, they have a lot of responsibility to look after and control the country and its people. There are also a lot of decisions that they have to make and

they have to be responsible with all these decisions and actions that they take. Being responsible shows true capability for being a leader and it is definitely a big factor that can either make or break people's trust in the political candidates.

### ***Caring***

Another component used in order to express an important capability is good care. According to Indonesian people, a leader needs to be caring. It involves the ability to be aware of other people's conditions and take a further step to make other people's conditions better. This part of perceived capability is mentioned by some participants as follows:

*He also must be able to protect the people and be responsible (R\_01/Daughter/Employee).*

*The point is they need to be clean, no corruption, honest, transparent in term of the regulation to the people...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 (Urban\_04/Daughter/Unemployed).*

Showing care towards the people is something that a leader should have the capability of, because taking care and protecting will help them gain trust from the people. It is one of the leader's roles to protect its people from any danger and take care of difficult situations that the people might need help with such as living in an underdeveloped area; this capability of being caring also supports the capability of being responsible as I explained earlier.

### ***Smart***

Evidence that perceived capability is an antecedent of trust towards political candidates includes an intellectual aspect, in this case one's smartness

(cleverness). It may not be too difficult to evaluate whether a candidate is ‘smart’. Looking at people’s comments as shown below, it can be concluded that having a smart leader is important for Indonesian people.

*The person should be wise, responsible, discipline, and has high intellectuality (Urban\_01/Son/Student-internship).*

*They should be smart, consistent, and charismatic (Urban\_05/Daughter/Student).*

*They have to have intellectual skill, and their standard has to be up from the usual people, but they also need to apply their education to find a solution, the right one, precise, which really protect the people (Urban\_05/Daughter/Student).*

### **Focus**

Another characteristic which supports the evidence of perceived capability is focus. A political candidate’s ability to focus on his job is mentioned as an important factor which may increase people’s trust towards that candidate. A father from an urban area mentioned:

*He would represent a state; he should be good, full of experience, high loyalty, focus, smart in politics and education, foreign countries will cooperate (Urban\_05/Father/Trading services).*

### **Reliable**

The last characteristic mentioned by participants in this research regarding perceived capability is reliability. Based on the results of this research, in order to gain people’s trust, a political candidate needs to show that he is reliable. An explanation below describes people’s opinion:

*They should be sincere because they become a leader, automatically they should be a good example for their community, honest and reliable (Rural\_06/Daughter/Teacher).*

The second antecedent of trust in a political candidate is the candidate's capability. This component is also similar with logos in Aristotle's art of rhetoric. Logos is characterized by logical argument and presentation of fact (Dean, 2005; Gottweis, 2007). The capability of the candidate will be proved by the candidate's performance such as their ability. This study proved that people trust in the candidate because the candidate has had capability as a leader with qualities such as good leadership, firm, disciplined, strong, smart, decisive, caring, focus, inspiring, and visionary.

### **5.3.3.3. Character and Experience**

The last big chunk of the antecedents of trust towards political candidates is candidate character and experience or ethos in the Aristotle's art of rhetoric. This antecedent is related to one's obtained or nurtured background and embedded character and candidate's experience. A candidate's character, reputation, and experience are evaluated and the better his character and experience is, the higher is his probability of being chosen. There is evidence which supports the presence of the experience aspect as a contributor of trust towards political candidates which is described below.

#### ***Honest***

A candidate's honesty is a personality characteristic which is mentioned quite a lot by the participants in this research. According to them, honesty is an important personality trait which needs to be possessed by a leader candidate. People are more likely to trust a candidate who is honest. Some responses acquired from the interviews regarding honesty are presented below:

*The first is honest (R\_01/Daughter/Employee).*

*As a citizen I would like the candidate who is honest (Rural\_04/Son/Employee).*

*They should be sincere because they become a leader, automatically they should be a good example for their community, honest and reliable (Rural\_06/Daughter/Teacher).*

*Firm and didn't let other countries to interfere...Firm, honest, fair. Firm is about the law of course. The law should be firm. Honest so that there is no corruption for example, employing really honest people. Fair, for example there is an underdeveloped area... and how can it be solved (Urban\_03/Son/Noodle seller).*

*The point is they need to be clean, no corruption, honest, transparent (in term of the regulation to the people...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 (Urban\_04/Daughter/Unemployed).*

*Wisdom... Yes as I said, consistent, honest, charismatic, quick problem solving, and not too much thinking. Yes quick to solve the problem (Urban\_05/Daughter/Student).*

It is believed that honesty is an important factor because if the leader is honest, there will be less chance of corruption as their attitude towards working will be honest and they will tend to employ honest people to help build a better country which will gain trust in political candidates from the citizens.

### ***Highly educated***

The first evidence of the presence of the experience aspect as a component of trust towards political candidates is high education. This aspect may be related to intellectuality which is mentioned in the previous part of this report, perceived capability. A highly educated candidate will possibly be evaluated more positively by people because they are more experienced than others, at least in education. The positive evaluation made may increase his probability of being chosen in the election. Some participants mentioned:

*The important thing is they could do all things that I've said but if their education has higher level, they must have knowledgeable. If it's just normal people with low academic background, their knowledge must be limited. So how can they decide what's right and wrong (Rural\_03/Son/Student).*

*Usually is the academic background. If the person has high academic background, he should have a broad knowledge. The same when I chose the head of neighbourhood in here. We can't choose the one who is uneducated, so we shouldn't be careless in choosing someone. It is good if the person understands Javanese culture so he knows 'tepo seliro', not selfish (Rural\_03/Father/Teacher).*

It is believed that having a high academic level is something that a candidate should have in order to become a leader as they have a huge responsibility and possible problems facing them in the future, therefore they need to have experience and knowledge to handle those situations. Furthermore, if they are highly educated, they will be more likely to make the right decisions and make changes to the country. If a leader is able to do these things, its people will have trust in them because being well educated is an important thing as it illustrates their ability.

### ***Nationalist***

Another characteristic categorized as an aspect of experience is nationalism. One may see nationalism as a degree of one's 'belongingness' to the country and have some experiences in terms of loyalty to the country. Based on the result of this research, nationalism is mentioned to be a factor which may increase people's trust towards a political candidate, as can be seen in the comment below:

*Visionary, high nationalisms and religious. I am sure there is someone like that so he will only concern about this country (Rural\_07/Daughter/Employee).*

Being a leader is a huge responsibility as they have to take care of difficult situations, the country itself and most importantly, its people. In order to take care of these things they need to be loyal and feel the need to do that. This is only achievable if they have high nationalism. People will trust a candidate if they can see that a candidate is loyal to his own people and his own country because if they're loyal it suggests that they care and are concerned which will lead to finding ways to improve things.

### ***Religious***

One of the main pillars of Indonesia is religion. Therefore, it is no surprise that religiosity is mentioned as one of the factors regarded as being important by Indonesian people. Having and practising religion are parts of religiosity and it is part of the experience background component which builds trust. Some comments about religiosity are presented below:

*Firstly, he/she must be religious. We can see the character of good leader, right? This been proven for leading something (Rural\_07/Daughter/Employee).*

*A religious man, close to people, honest, fair and including anti-corruption (Rural\_06/Father/Entrepreneur).*

*Smart, highly educated, because he should think to organize the while country and religious, if so the people will prosper, not what happened nowadays (Rural\_06/Father/Entrepreneur).*

The majority of people in Indonesia are religious and this affects quite a lot of things including their attitude to politics. Many believe that a leader should be religious as it means that they have managed to follow rules in their religion and learn the true meaning of responsibility. Living in a country with a vast majority of religious people implies that they will tend to vote for a religious candidate.

***Experienced***

A candidate's track record can be used in order to assess whether the candidate is experienced or not. According to the participants in this research, a candidate should be experienced. Having experience as a leader, especially at a particular level may prove that the person is capable and has first-hand experience in being a leader. Therefore, people may trust candidates with more experience. The opinion below may describe the situation:

*He would represent a state; he should be good, full of experience, high loyalty, full of intention, smart in politics and education, foreign countries will cooperate (Urban\_05/Father/Trading services).*

Fully experienced candidates will be most likely to be trusted by the citizens as it shows that they know what they're doing; they've gone through the same kind of challenges before which therefore allows them to plan ahead. Moreover, not only that, but being experienced suggests that they have gained much beneficial knowledge that they might need for the future. It is in human nature to make mistakes and being experienced means that they can try to avoid the mistakes they've made in the past.

***Loyal***

Related to nationalism above, high loyalty is also mentioned as a background factor which affects one's preferences when choosing a candidate. In contrast with nationalism, loyalty in this case is related more to one's loyalty to people in general. A candidate's loyalty may be seen from how close he is to people, how he prioritize people's problems and makes conditions better for people in general. A father from an urban area said:

*He would represent a state; he should be good, full of experience, high loyalty, full of intention, smart in politics and education, foreign countries will cooperate (Urban\_05/Father/Trading services).*

This father states that it is important for a leader to have high loyalty for his own people. He lives in an urban area which connotes that social conditions might not be at their best and it can be assumed from his experience that he is clearly concerned. A leader should interact with the people to show his loyalty but also it has benefits as it will let them see others' point of view about the country or possibly any other problems. Moreover having high loyalty suggests that they care about the people and not just themselves, and they will gain trust from people for being this way.

The third antecedent of trust in political candidate is the candidate's character and experience. This antecedent has been identified as ethos, one of three components that are able to persuade people in Aristotle's art of rhetoric. Ethos relates to the strong reputation of the candidate (Dean, 2005). This study identified the reputation of the candidate by demonstrating the character and experience of the candidate. People trust the political candidate because the candidate is highly educated, shows nationalism and loyalty, has a great deal of experience, and also is religious.

### ***Consistent***

Based on the results of the interviews in this research, one's consistency as a political candidate is also mentioned as a factor which is evaluated by people. A consistent candidate is regarded as being more trustworthy. As it is observed, consistency is categorized as a perceived capability aspect. A student from an urban area mentioned:

*Wisdom... Yes as I said, consistent, honest, charismatic, quick problem solving, and not too much thinking. Yes quick to solve the problem (Urban\_05/Daughter/Student).*

### **Wise**

One of the character traits regarded as positive by Indonesian people is being wise. Based on Indonesian culture, a leader should be wise. It is reflected in many Indonesian folktales and therefore it still influences how Indonesian people see leader characteristics. According to the participants in this research, wise is an important aspect which needs to be present in order to trust a political candidate:

*The person should be wise, responsible, discipline, and has high intellectuality (Urban\_01/Son/Student-internship).*

*I don't really concern about the personality, just wise, patient, low profile. Low profile means he has something but he doesn't want to show it (Urban\_02/Son/Employee).*

*The point is they need to be clean, no corruption, honest, transparent (in term of the regulation to the people...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 (Urban\_04/Daughter/Unemployed).*

Being wise is a substantial quality as it signifies that the leader is able to make the right decisions.

### **Dynamic**

A political candidate needs to be sociable or dynamic. It is not just for the sake of marketing; being sociable is also named as one of the characteristics which may increase people's trust. As people can see and evaluate a candidate's sociability, it is categorized as a perceived capability aspect. An example of a participant's comment about being sociable is as follows:

*He is kind and sociable not cold and selfish  
(Urban\_03/Mother/Caterer).*

In the management literature, the components of empathy such as fairness, transparency, and equality has also been identified by many scholars. For example, Butler and Cantrell (1984) identified openness or transparency as antecedent of trust. For Dirks and Ferrin (2002) fairness is also an antecedent of trust whilst for Bekmeier-Feuerhahn and Eichenlaub (2010) perceived similarity and equality were seen as an antecedent of trust.

In a number of areas this study supports the extant literature however this study also uncovered a number of additional features which provide a deeper understanding of trust in political candidates. For instance, ‘empathy’ is an important trust antecedent, characterized as equality, soft, patient, low profile, clean, transparent, charismatic, wisdom, unselfish, brave, fair, polite, kind, fair, cautious, sincere, incorruptibility, humble, simple, down to earth, close to people, and humility.

The study also identified ‘capability’ as the second antecedent of trust in political candidate. This finding shares a number of similarities with the concept of trust in management literature. For instance capability includes ability (Mayer et al., 1995; Mayer and Davis, 1999; Burke et al., 2007; Salo and Karjaluoto, 2007; Yousafzai et al., 2009; Cadwell and Hayes, 2007), competence (Butler and Cantrell, 1984; Berman, 1997; Das and Teng, 2004; Smith, 2010), and expertise (Chen et al., 2008).

The last antecedent of trust in political candidate is ‘character and experience’. This antecedent has also been identified in management literature as

benevolence and integrity (Mayer et al., 1995; Mayer and Davis, 1999; Burke et al., 2007; Salo and Karjaluoto, 2007; Yousafzai et al., 2009; Cadwell and Hayes, 2007), and loyalty (Butler and Cantrell, 1984).

The antecedents of trust in political candidate which are empathy, capability, candidate's character and experience emerged from both of participants who live in rural and urban. Accordingly, there is no difference between rural and urban trust in political candidate.

There is also no difference between parents and young voters in terms of trust in political candidate. Both parents and children agree that political candidate should have the characteristics of good politicians which are empathy, have capability, and have good character and experienced to ensure that they are able to be elected.

#### **5.3.4. Antecedents of Distrust in Political Candidate**

This study also revealed the existence of distrust of candidate. People consider many politicians to be lacking in capability and corrupt. Politicians are considered to be selfish because they are perceived to think only about their own self-interest and their party interest rather than the people's interest.

Table 5.3 shows the components of distrust in candidates. The components reflect three dimensions including self-interest, corrupt, and incapable.

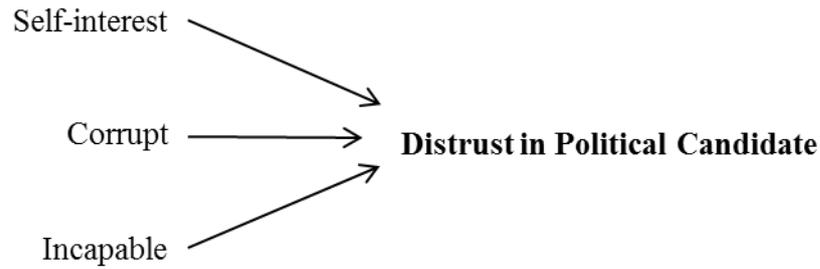
**Table 5.3. Components of distrust in politicians**

<b>Self-interest</b>	<b>Corrupt</b>	<b>Incapable</b>
Party interest	Corruption	Lack of integrity
Personal profit	Create own wealth	Poor communication
Careerist	Cheats	Unaccountable
Reneg on promises	Bribery	Indecisive
Selfish		Inexperienced
		Weak
		Absurd
		No control
		No consideration
		Lack of restraint

The first antecedent of distrust in political candidate is self-interest. Politicians tend to prioritize themselves and therefore receive less trust from people. Politicians are also concerned about their own party, tend to gain profit for themselves, prioritize their own interest, have a lack of commitment to their promises, and they tend not to think about people.

The second antecedent of distrust in political candidate is corrupt. Corruption cases are everywhere and people tend to relate politics with corruption and politicians as actors in the political world are also perceived to be corrupted.

The last antecedent of distrust in political candidate is incapable. People think that politicians have a lack of integrity, lack of communication, unaccountability, thoughtless, lack of capability, lack of firmness, absurd, lack of control, lack of consideration, and have a poor attitude. Figure 5.8 illustrates the antecedents of distrust in political candidate.



**Figure 5.8. Antecedent of distrust in political candidate**

#### 5.3.4.1. Self-interest

As was mentioned previously, the first factor mentioned to be the reason why people do not trust politicians is politicians' self-interest. This category includes different evidence which shows that politicians in Indonesia tend to prioritize themselves before citizens. Some characteristics mentioned by participants in this research regarding self-interest are politicians' predominant concern about their own party, their tendency to gain profit for themselves, their prioritizing of their own interests, their lack of commitment to their promises, and their tendency to not think about people in general. Figure 5.9 illustrates the components of self-interest.



**Figure 5.9. Component of self-interest**

***Party interest***

The first evidence collected through interviews about people's distrust towards political candidates, especially regarding self-interest, is the thought that politicians are concerned only about their own party. Therefore, people perceive politicians to be unprofessional. As people choose politicians to represent them and be their voice, politicians' unprofessionalism is negatively perceived so that people's trust towards political candidates may decrease:

*From professional...Now is from the party so he is concerned with his own party first. If it's from professional, he will know the everyday experience...Well some of them are professional but the majority of them are less professional or less satisfactory and more concerned about their own party (Rural\_02/Son/Employee).*

Some candidates are more concerned about their own party and competing with other parties rather than focusing on many other important things. This can be seen as unprofessional which will come across as being incapable. If they can't focus on what is more important and then it is unlikely they will be able to control and lead a country.

***Personal profit***

Related to the previous evidence, in Indonesia, when politicians concern themselves only about their own party, it is likely to be so that they are able to gain as much profit as possible for themselves. Being a politician in Indonesia is related to high status and high economic power. People try to be politicians because they want to earn more money. This type of basic motivation is perceived to be negative by Indonesian citizens represented by participants in this research.

*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 (Urban\_03/Son/Noodle seller).*

Many people are concerned about the fact that some candidates are only looking for profit instead of having an interest in leading and trying to make the country a better place. This is one of the factors that people consider the most when voting. As stated above by a son, money shouldn't be wasted carelessly so if a candidate's purpose is to not just look for profit, less money will be wasted and this money could be used for something useful instead such as improving the country. From this, we can clearly see that the younger generation is more cynical about the candidates in line; they are more thoughtful about the effect that it might have for the whole country in the future.

### ***Careerist***

Further evidence of the self-interest factor is politicians' preference for their own interests or being careerist. This evidence may be able to summarise all the evidence supporting the self-interest factor. As its name denotes, this evidence is quite general compared to the other evidence. An entrepreneur from a rural area mentioned:

*I absolutely disagree with their leader as official government but never take care their people, just prefer to their own interest, their party (Rural\_06/Father/Entrepreneur).*

It is clear that people dislike a leader who prefers their own interests rather than taking care of his people. The main purpose of being a leader is to lead the people/country in the right path and this can only happen if they interact and take in people's suggestions; they need to be able to work with them and not always prioritize themselves or their party first.

***Reneged on promises***

During the campaign, it is a norm for politicians to make promises to citizens. They usually make promises about the country's development and better conditions for people. However, according to participants in this research, politicians tend to have lack of commitment to their promises. After they are chosen and get their position in parliament or in an executive function, they do not fulfil their promises. For example, a participant said:

*To be honest, there are many politicians in Indonesia who do not count on their promises for example they promised to take care and prosper the people in their promotion before the election in DPR or else, but after they are elected, they usually forget with their promises (Urban\_04/Father/Entrepreneur).*

Coming from a father who has experienced elections many times before, it has been proven that many politicians are careless of their promises that they make in their promotion. As soon as they are elected, these promises are just a false hope. This makes people doubt and carefully inspect the candidates before they vote because of the number of times that it has happened in the past.

***Selfish***

As politicians take more interest in themselves, they tend to not care about citizens. They tend to be selfish. Therefore, not caring is categorized as the evidence of self-interest. This evidence proves that politicians tend to prioritize themselves and therefore receive less trust from people. An unemployed daughter from an urban area mentioned:

*There are many politicians who do the corruption and the people think that they do not take a good care to the people (Urban\_04/Daughter/Unemployed).*

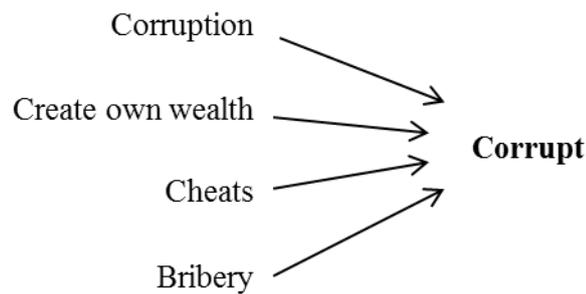
It is believed by many people that politicians do not take good care of the people, mainly because they have got what they wanted and they just purely do not care about anything else rather than themselves. This is the kind of attitude that people avoid when voting. Politicians have a bad reputation for themselves because of this self-interest which is why it is important for a candidate to show that they truly do care about the people rather than just looking for profit and other personal benefits.

This study also found the antecedents of distrust in political candidates. The first antecedent is the candidate who puts their own interest above the citizens' interest. Self-interest of the candidate can also be interpreted as politicians not being able to serve the public interest well or the politician being involved in potentially harmful behaviour (Govier, 1994; Dermody and Hanmer-Lloyd, 2005b). Self-interest means politicians tend to prioritize themselves before the citizens. This is clearly why people do not trust these candidates because they do not care for the people and prefer their own interests. People think that those who try to be politicians are doing it because they want to earn more money and this is perceived to be negative by Indonesian citizens and shows the potentially harmful behaviour to the citizens' interests.

#### **5.3.4.2. Corrupt**

The second factor that influences one's distrust towards political candidates mentioned by participants in this research is corruption. Corruption is seen to be a common issue in Indonesia. Corruption cases are everywhere and people tend to connect politics with corruption. Therefore, politicians as actors in the political world are also perceived to be corrupted. Corruption as a factor of

people's distrust towards political candidates has different evidence. Evidence found in this research is the fact that there is a lot of corruption, politicians' intelligence in doing corruption, their motivation to increase their wealth, their cheating behaviour, and their way of acquiring more money by giving money. Figure 5.10 demonstrates the components of corrupt including corruption, create own health, cheat, and bribery.



**Figure 5.10. Component of corrupt**

### ***Corruption***

The fact that there is a lot of corruption in the political world makes people perceive politics as a corrupted world. Therefore, it may not be a surprise if a lot of corruption is mentioned as a factor that negatively influences one's trust towards political candidates. The fact that there is a lot of corruption in politics and people's negative perception of this may impact on distrust towards political candidates as follows:

*There are a lot of negative, a lot of corruption, but there is a positive too that going to media but even so there's still some negative (Rural\_03/Son/Student).*

Corruption has a negative implication and is very well known to exist in the political world. It has happened many times before and it is something that citizens are mostly concerned about with regard to politics which is why they are

very cynical about it, especially the younger generations. They are aware of it and it is something that needs to be stopped, therefore it is significant for a candidate to show that they will not be corrupt in order to win the election.

As corruption is common practice in politics, people tend to think that politicians are ‘smart’ in doing corruption. Based on the information people get from the media, they can judge and identify ways of being corrupt. Therefore, they may also perceive that politicians are experts in corruption. This may influence their trust towards political candidates negatively. A participant commented:

*Lots of corruption!!!... Politicians in Indonesia are smart, in corruption (Rural\_08/Son/Student).*

Politicians are well known to be ‘smart’ in corruption because many have done it before and people are starting to become more aware of it due to the number of times it has happened. Having the ability to be ‘smart’ is one of the antecedents of trust in political candidates but not when it comes to corruption. People have worked out that there are many ways to be corrupt, ‘smartly’. This is what they fear; they do not want any more money to go missing as more is needed.

### ***Create own wealth***

Corruption in Indonesia is related to money and wealth. As was also mentioned in the previous factor, ‘digging one’s own wealth’ is also identified as evidence of corruption. As this characteristic does not show politicians prioritizing the people’s problems, it is also regarded to be a contributing factor of people’s distrust towards political candidates.

*They just dig their own wealth (Urban\_04/Daughter/Unemployed).*

It is never a positive thing when a leader only cares about money that they have for themselves because the country needs it more than they do and it is very unfair, which is why this is another factor of distrust in political candidates.

### ***Cheats***

Further evidence of corruption is politicians' cheating behaviour. This evidence may relate to politicians' 'smartness' at being corrupt. However, it may also contain broader aspects of cheating behaviour such as lying and manipulation. The comment below may provide evidence of people's perception on politicians' cheating behaviour:

*I am not talking about Suharto's era, but the fact is that today's political condition is so unkempt. 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 (Rural\_07/Father/Trader).*

People strongly believe that they have been betrayed by their own leader with their false promises during their promotion. Politics is full of cheats and when something bad happens, the leaders are not willing to take the responsibility that they hold which leads to distrust in political candidates. As illustrated above, when some people choose not to vote, others assume that they do not care about the country; they are getting blamed for what they have done. However the argument behind this is that candidates always give false promises and do not try to make any changes. Some people choose not to vote because of the distrust in political candidates.

### **Bribery**

According to participants in this research, politicians give money during the campaign in order to get more money. This phenomenon indicates that bribery is occurring. Politicians may need to sacrifice quite a lot of money during their campaign in order to be elected by the voters. Therefore, they tend to want to gain more money so that they may get their money returned. This type of motivation is identified by participants in this research and categorized as evidence of corruption. An example of an interview result is as follows:

*Nowadays, everything is unclear. DPR also waste money. Basically if you get the money, you are expected to do the favour for the money giver. I remember the New Order era. Well, it doesn't mean that I adore it, but when something wrong occurs, it will be directly demolished. Therefore, we experience a peaceful situation. It doesn't mean I support the past times, but that was the truth. Now who can be our role model? (Urban\_07/Father/Retiree).*

This factor of self-interest is very persuasive and very wrong in every way possible. It is almost like a reassurance for the candidate to win. A participant above stated that the new order era seems to have handled this type of corruption better because when something wrong occurs, it will be directly brought to an end.

As part of the corruption process, receiving money is identified as evidence of corruption. Receiving money as a bureaucracy norm is common in Indonesia. Nowadays people have started to understand that the behaviour is actually a form of corruption. As corruption is identified as being related to people's distrust in political candidates, politicians' behaviour of receiving money is also included in this.

*Of course! Now we can see DPR people in budgeting division...how could they all receive the money (Urban\_07/Father/Retiree).*

The second antecedent of trust is political candidates that is revealed in this study is corruption. When people believe that many of the politicians act corruptly they will distrust the candidate. There is no doubt that corruptions have an impact in the form of a negative perception of the politician and will impact on distrust towards a political candidate. Corruption violates openness and equality which is central to democracy (Heyman, 1996; Sandholtz and Koetzle, 2000; Panday, 2005). With regard to this study, in a transitional democracy, there is a crucial agenda to minimize corrupt practices. People in Indonesia tend to think that politicians are 'smart' in doing corruption by lying and manipulating as a cheating behaviour. The corruption behaviour influences their distrust in political candidates.

#### **5.3.4.3. Incapable**

The third factor which influences people's distrust towards political candidates is the perceived lack of capability shown by the candidates. There are several characteristics mentioned by participants in this research which are included as the supporting evidence of this factor. Those characteristics are candidate's lack of integrity, poor communication, unaccountable, indecisive, inexperienced, weak, absurdity, lack of control, lack of consideration, and lack of restraint. Those characteristics are seen as the evidence, proving that people perceive those characteristics as important and one's lack of those characteristics may discourage voters from choosing that candidate. The characteristics mentioned will be explained in the following section.

***Lack of integrity***

A candidate's lack of integrity is seen as a characteristic which may increase the probability of one's distrust towards that candidate. People may often see political candidates as people who only look for certain status and position by doing anything necessary – without any control of acceptable and unacceptable behaviour. Moreover, a candidate's lack of integrity is often judged in relation to money involved in the election process, as one of the participants mentioned:

*Lack of everything, lack of integrity...Just heard it from local people, these candidate are just look for the position only , as a citizen I would like the candidate who is honest however it's hard to find a honest candidate in this current time which use money politic to buy voters. Just like buying cigarette (Rural\_04/Son/Employee).*

It is important for a leader to not lack integrity because it shows that they are not capable of doing their role as a leader which has a very negative effect on people's expectations. It has been proven that it is hard to find a candidate who is genuinely honest and purposeful; someone who does not only care about money or position. Integrity is more important and it is also important to show it.

***Poor communication***

Communication skill is also perceived as an important ability which needs to be possessed by a political candidate. Therefore, a candidate's lack of communication is seen to be negative and may decrease the probability of people's trust for the candidate. An example of the people's voice regarding communication is as follows:

*We actually cannot see just the leader, but also the subordinates of this leaders who violate to rules, so I think they are less of communication with their member, less listening to people's aspiration and concerns (Rural\_06/Daughter/Teacher).*

Communication is a key to being a good leader because it is their job to listen to people's aspirations and concerns. However, many people are concerned about the fact that some leaders lack communication which is something that needs to be changed. People cannot just see their leader; they need to actually interact with them because it shows some sense of care which is something that can break this factor of distrust and allow the citizens to vote for them and also believe in them.

### ***Unaccountable***

Another characteristic seen to be negative which may be evidence of candidates' lack of capability is unaccountability. A candidate may be seen as unaccountable if he does not possess characteristics needed in order to lead. An employee from a rural area said:

*The politician is not so accountable (Rural\_07/Daughter/Employee).*

As a leader it is almost vital to be accountable as they are someone who is looked up to. They should be the very people in the country who are setting the right examples. However, this is not always the case; many politicians are not so accountable which leads to distrust.

### ***Indecisive***

A person who aspires to be a political candidate has to have the skills and ability to be a leader. As a leader, problems may come without warning and need to be solved immediately. Recognizing the nature of leadership, participants in this research may try to judge the reaction time of political candidates in solving problems. As a result, the high demand of time shown by the candidate is

perceived negatively. People tend to want a leader who is able to solve problems quickly and with clear judgment. An example of a participant's comment is as follows:

*He is not silent, but he is too long to think, so the impression is hard to directly make a statement on the issue (Urban\_05/Daughter/Student).*

Although it is important to consider things first, it is just as important to use less time to think because this will show their intelligence in solving problems which will help them gain trust, as thinking too long gives the impression that the leader is struggling to lead and make the right decision and it suggests that they always change their mind.

### ***Inexperienced***

As its name shows, this characteristic perfectly represents supporting evidence in the lack of capability factor. This characteristic may be more general than the others; however it shows the research participants' point of view, seeing their distrust in relation to candidates' inability to fulfil capability requirements. A young employee mentioned:

*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 'golput' (abstain) (Urban\_06/Son/Employee).*

Sometimes it can be hard to find a candidate who fits people's personal criteria perfectly as different people have different expectations. However, it is always required that a candidate is capable and has experience in what they are doing because being a leader is a hard job, especially when it comes to leading a

country. If there are no candidates with the right ability to lead, this will become a problem as people will tend to be abstain.

### ***Weak***

A candidate is also perceived to be incapable if he does not show adequate firmness. In this case, firmness means that the candidate has a strong point of view and beliefs about certain things and make sure that his point of view, beliefs, and plan are applied well. In reality, participants in this research may see that political candidates show lack of firmness because they try to please different people with different purposes and are therefore inconsistent in making sure that people's values and beliefs are taken into consideration. This characteristic may also influence one's ability to solve problems quickly, as mentioned by a participant below:

*The leaders now have complicated bureaucracy. There is always another new problem before the previous one solved. They are not firm enough (Urban\_07/Son/Employee).*

Many problems will occur throughout a leader's time in power. Solving problems is not easy, however not being firm will make it more difficult because it will have an effect on others too.

### ***Absurd***

The next characteristic mentioned by participants as supporting a political candidate's lack of capability is his absurdity. As political candidates promote themselves during the campaign, they may make promises, show the best of themselves, and promote unreal images of themselves. After they are chosen and get the position, they perform differently. This is what is perceived to be absurd

by people. Political candidates' absurdity is regarded to be evidence that candidates' lack of capability may lead people to distrust them.

*The politicians are absurd! They are noisy among themselves in a meeting. They even say 'bangsat' (a swearing word) (Urban\_08/Son/Student).*

It is shown that politicians are absurd by their attitudes. It can be such a disappointment when politicians claim to be someone full of promises and show the best of themselves but when they have achieved their target and get the position that they wanted by being fake, they perform differently and those promises are slowly forgotten. This absurdity cannot continue, otherwise people will completely lose trust and might not want to vote any more in the future which could end up as a disaster for the country.

### ***No control***

As a leader, a political candidate is expected to possess various leadership characteristics. One of the basic leadership skills is the ability to control. The absence of controlling skill is perceived to be significant in decreasing people's trust towards that political candidate. Control in this case may have internal and external meaning. Internal control is the ability of a person to control himself, to react according to the rules and common values, whereas external control means the ability of a person to control other people as well as his environment in order to be able to achieve his goals. The following statement may describe a politician's lack of internal control:

*Indeed because of that freedom, they have no control. But it is okay because according to psychology people, it is free... because they want to speak as a result of pressure. Like Ruhut's character. He doesn't like to see something not right (Urban\_08/Son/Student).*

***No consideration***

Another characteristic mentioned by participants in this research is a candidate's lack of consideration. In this case, lack of consideration means that a political candidate does not use careful consideration before taking actions. This characteristic is regarded as being negative and therefore influences people's distrust towards the political candidate. A student from an urban area explained:

*He directly talks about that without any consideration  
(Urban\_08/Son/Student).*

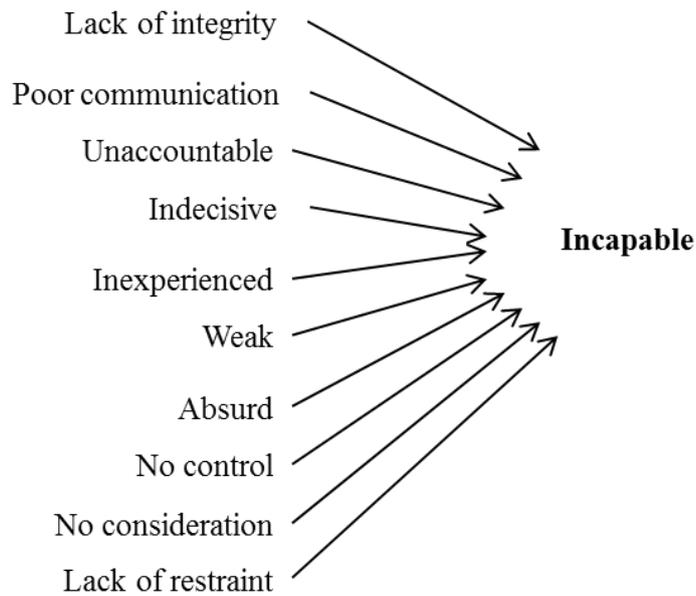
It is one of the main roles of a leader to be able to make decisions. There are many variations of decisions; some are bigger and more important than others which is why it is important to think before making any drastic decisions or taking drastic action. A leader should consider everything as their decisions could impact a lot of people.

***Lack of restraint***

Finally, the last characteristic regarded as being able to support the lack of capability factor is a lack of restraint that is shown by the bad attitude of politicians. In Indonesia's political world, politicians may behave in any manner as long as their own purpose is achieved. Therefore, it is not uncommon to find politicians with a bad attitude. This fact influences people's perception about politicians and leads to people's distrust for political candidates. The following statement may describe the situation further:

*If we look at their attitudes, then they are less good. They stab each other. That's the case since the beginning, right?  
(Urban\_08/Son/Student)*

A leader is someone to look up to and it is an important job for them to use this as a benefit and influence people in a good way such as with their attitudes but this cannot be achieved if a leader has a poor attitude. As illustrated above, politicians have very bad attitudes towards each other and this is not what people want to see from their leader. If the leader does not respect other politicians then it is most likely that they will have the same attitudes towards the people.



**Figure 5.11. Components of incapable**

A distrustful attitude towards political candidates has been identified in this study due to incapability of the candidate such as lack of integrity, poor communication, unaccountable, indecisive, inexperienced, weak, absurd, no control, no consideration, and lack of restraint as illustrated in Figure 5.11.

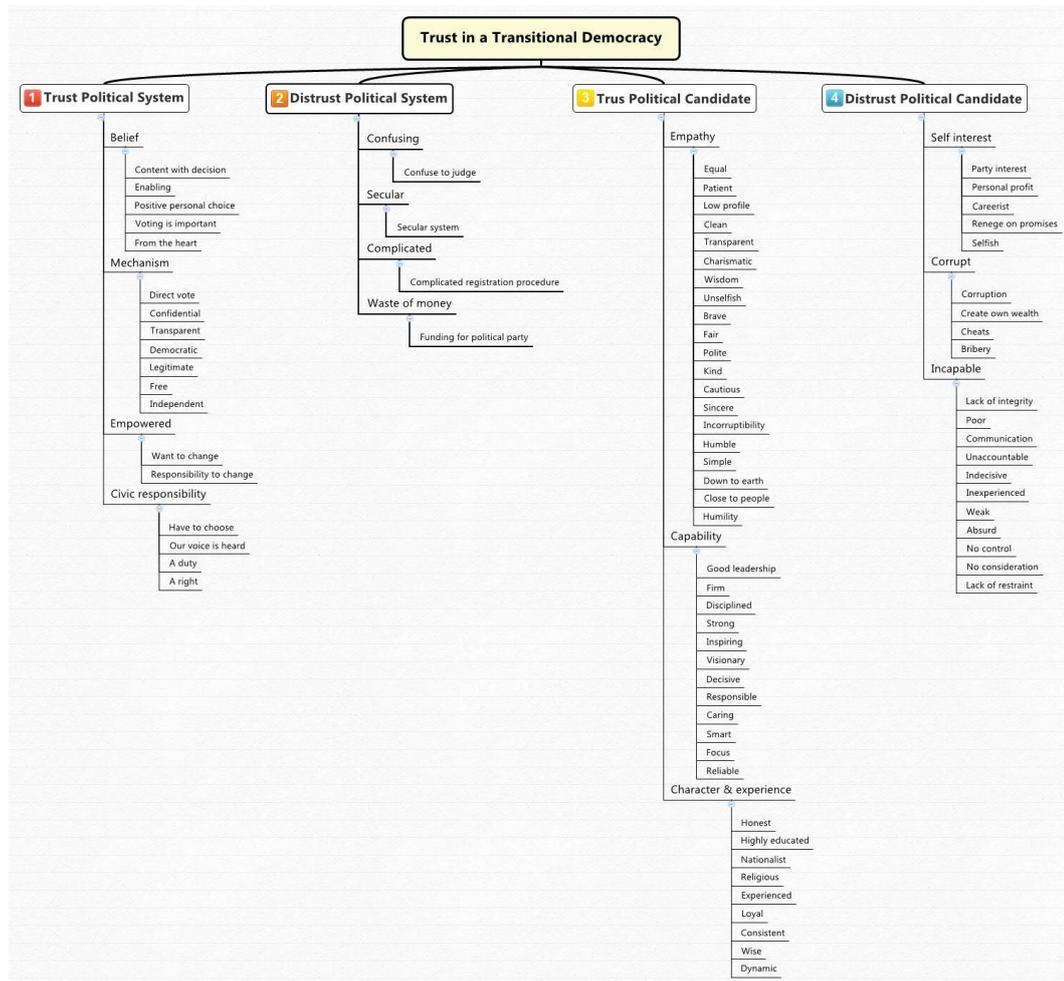
The last antecedent of distrust in political candidate is incapability of the candidate. Again, this study identified that young people not only distrust the political system but also do not trust the political candidates. This study has again confirmed that young people were more cynical about politics in line with

literature on young people (Berman, 1997; Dermody and Hanmer-Lloyd, 2005a, b).

The antecedents of distrust in political candidate including self-interest, corrupt, and incapable emerged from both of parents and children. Therefore, there is no difference between parents and young voters in terms of distrust in political candidate. There is also no difference between voters who live in rural and urban in terms of distrust in political candidate.

The results of this study have revealed that trust in the context of electoral behaviour is divided into two main categories, namely trust in political system and trust in political candidates. Trust in political system is trust in the new political system which is a direct electoral system. Trust in political system is one of the factors that determines the increasing public participation in the general election. Meanwhile, trust in political candidate shows that the politicians have good behaviour and performance.

Figure 5.12 illustrates the concept map describing the summary of themes and sub themes emerged from coding data and analysis.



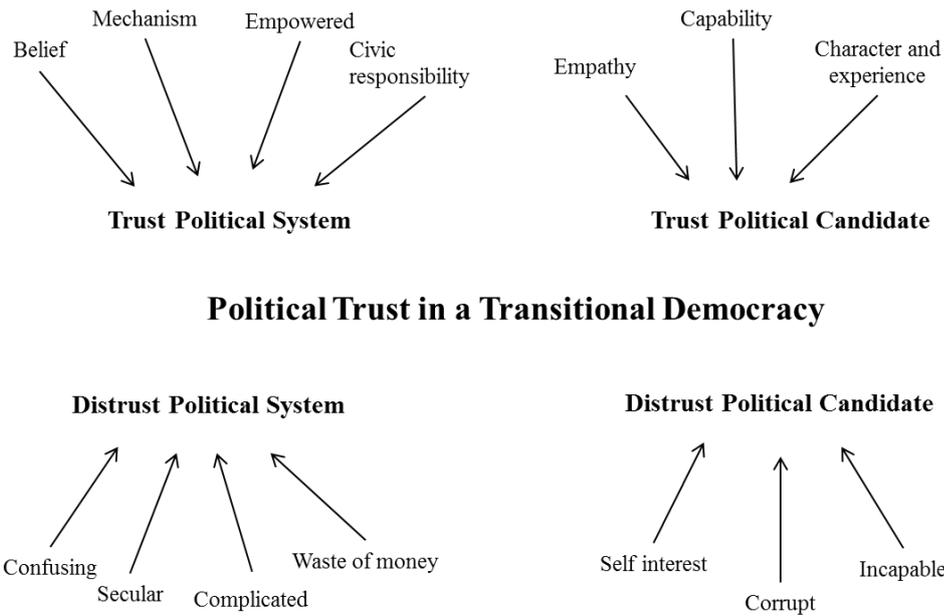
**Figure 5.12. Summary of emerging themes and sub themes**

As described above, the concept of trust is divided into two categories, namely trust political system and trust political candidates. Furthermore, the concept was split into two categories. Trust political system consists of two categories: trust in political system and distrust in political system. Meanwhile, trust in political candidate was also broken down into two categories which are trust in political candidate and distrust in political candidate. Thus, political trust in democratic transitions is grouped into four categories namely trust in political

system, distrust in political system, trust in political candidate, and distrust in political candidate.

Trust in political system has four antecedents including belief, mechanism, empowered, and civic responsibility. Meanwhile, distrust in political system also has four antecedents which are confusing, secular, complicated, and waste of money. To trust a political candidate, there are three antecedents: empathy, capability, and character and experience of the candidate while the antecedents of distrust political candidate are self-interest, corrupt, and incapable.

As mentioned previously, the results of this study revealed that trust in the context of electoral behaviour is divided into two main categories, namely trust in political system and trust in political candidates. The study has also found two main antecedents of trust in electoral behaviour which are the antecedents of trust and distrust in political candidate and the antecedents of trust and distrust in political system. Figure 5.13 shows the dimensions of trust in electoral behaviour in a transitional democracy which is describing the summary of emerging themes and sub themes in this study.



**Figure 5.13. Dimension of trust in electoral behaviour**

Results of this study have revealed that the Indonesian people have a different attitude towards the political conditions in the transition period. Most people trust in the new political system but others do not. Similarly, regarding the politicians, some people trust in the political candidates and others distrust them.

In summary, there are some components of trust in the context of electoral behaviour in Indonesia referring to parents' and children's perspective. Empowerment is one of the antecedents of trust in the political system and this emerged particularly from the parents' perspective whilst belief, transparent institutional mechanisms, and civic responsibility was important for *both* parents and children. Young Indonesian people also reflected the general malaise of cynicism and lack of interest in the political system. They were more likely to be 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 and also have a similar attitude regarding the

antecedents of distrust in political candidate which are self-interest, corrupt, and incapable.

#### **5.4. Relationship between Trust and Electoral Behaviour**

This study found five groups which described the electoral behaviour in a transitional democracy. The first group are those who trust in political candidates and participate in the election. The second group are people who distrust political candidates; they are not going to vote. The third are those who trust in the political system and so they vote. The fourth group are the ones who distrust the political system and did not vote. The fifth group are people who distrust political candidates but are still going to vote.

Based on the results of this research, as explained before, both options are chosen by participants. Some participants positioned themselves in the voting category for several reasons. They mentioned that they can choose the best among the candidates, choose a candidate who is close to their preferred characteristics, and choose a candidate with conditions or give suggestions to the candidates. In contrast, some participants choose not to vote because they do not like the election system, choose to be abstain or neutral, and do not like the candidates.

##### **5.4.1. Trust Political Candidate and Vote**

Dermody and Hanmer-Lloyd (2005a, b) argued that trust is a key determinant of electoral behaviour. People who have high trust in politicians or government will engage in politics and tend to participate in elections. In contrast, people who distrust politicians, parties, or government will disengage in politics and tend to not vote.

As explained earlier, changes in the political system from an indirect to direct election system are allowing people to choose a candidate directly. People may evaluate the candidate and that is what makes them trust or distrust politicians and make a decision whether to vote or not. People are also searching for information about the political candidates through the media to make sure that they make the right decision in the election.

This section discusses the relationship between trust in political candidate and electoral behaviour. As discussed in an earlier section, there are several factors that have shaped trust in a political candidate. Furthermore, the findings demonstrate that trust in a political candidate can be a substantial factor affecting electoral participation.

Trust in a political candidate is trust regarding the candidate's character and capabilities. Citizens evaluate candidates by assessing their past performance. Trust in a political candidate is related to the characteristics of a good candidate. The results of this study showed that there are a number of components of trust in political candidate including empathy, perceived capability, and candidate character and their experience that affect electoral behaviour.

As argued by Dermody and Hanmer-Lloyd (2005a, b), trust will lead to voter engagement in politics and eventually form the intention to vote. This study revealed that people who trusted in political candidates participated in the election.

As mentioned before, the first group that are describing electoral behaviour in the context of transitional democracy are the people who trust in a political candidate and then participate in the election. This is the group that uses rationality in their decision making. They search for information about the

candidate and have some criteria for the candidate whom they are going to vote for. This group makes decisions when dealing with a series of alternatives and makes decisions when dealing with some of the alternatives, putting the available alternatives into a sequence according to their own preferences and then selecting the highest ranked preference among the possible alternatives. One respondent stated:

*I would still choose the best among them. Mr Habibie. In my opinion, he is good in leadership and in politics as well. The first is honest. He also must be able to protect the people and be responsible (Rural-01/Daughter/Employee).*

This respondent is a female employee living in a rural area. She is educated but not really interested in politics even though her father was an activist of the Indonesia Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P *Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan*). She is more focused on her job rather than following her father as a political activist. She commented:

*I rarely talk about politics with my friends. We just talk about our job or sometimes news of accident Yeah...My dad is active talking about politics, I just listened faithfully (laughing). He is very concerned with politics and trying to influence to his children, including me...I responded with a heart (Rural-01/Daughter/Employee).*

This was evidence of parental socialization in politics. Young people, however, have no experience of their own in politics as Achen (2002) argued that young people need a prior belief that is usually acquired from their parents. Furthermore, Achen (2002) considered that “partisanship in the electorate is well established for much of the citizenry in most successful democracies, since most parents transmit their party identification to their children” (p. 152).

The respondent above provides evidence of parental socialization in politics. Her father tried to influence his daughter by giving her an example about the politician. She commented:

*For example, my dad told me about President SBY (Susilo Bambang Yudoyono), he was like this....and I asked my dad "is it true?" Then my father said "Yes, you can check in the newspaper". I asked again "what the newspapers?" He said "Solopos, the date, in this page" So I can find and read in my office... Anything that my dad knew about politics, he always delivered to the family especially when my siblings at home... in every chance, my dad always wanted to talk about politics to the family (Rural-01/Daughter/Employee).*

With regard to this study, in Indonesia's transitional democracy, parental political socialization has occurred. However, young people did not always accept the ideas of their parents in terms of electoral decision making. Many of the young participants tended to have their own preference about the politicians and political parties. Intergenerational transmission does occur but is reconsidered when young people become interested in making their own electoral decision. She continues to explain:

*There is a new insight, my dad has delivered on that and my dad was reading the newspaper about it, then I check in newspaper in my office. The problem is when I read at the office it's just briefly. (Rural\_01/Daughter/Employee)*

The respondent stated that she is actually curious about politics but not really interested. She checks what her father says in the newspaper but only briefly. She does not avoid information about politics, but she already has a preference in decision making.

This group has expectations in terms of criteria for good politicians to be elected. Another respondent in this group was dissatisfied with politicians who are not educated. He believed that highly educated people have a vast knowledge

hence he can manage a lot of people. In other words, he believed that the highly educated politicians will be able to manage the country because they know what is right and wrong. He is going to vote for the candidate who is near enough to his criteria as he commented:

*I would choose a person that's near enough who is possible to manage a lot of people...The important thing is they could do all things that I've said but if their education has higher level, they must have knowledgeable. If it's just normal people with low academic background, their knowledge must be limited. So how can they decide what's right and wrong. (Rural\_03/Son/Student).*

Trust in a political candidate is clearly illustrated by the respondents in this study. Two respondents, a female employee and male student who live in rural areas above, recognized a good politician among the candidates. They were the few young people who represented voter trust in political candidates. They tend to vote for a political candidate in elections based on their evaluation and comparison among them and will choose the candidate who is quite close to those criteria. They mentioned some of the criteria of a good politician, which are good in leadership, honest, able to protect the people, responsible, and who can manage a lot of people. A male student also added another criteria, which is highly educated. He believed that the politicians who have high education have considerable knowledge to manage the country because they know which way is right and wrong. To sum up, this group are going to vote for a politician who has good character, is capable, and has experience or has a high level of education.

A male student who lived in a rural area adds some criteria of a good politician. He is going to vote for the candidate:

*who is understand the problems in the country and know what should be done, then know what is all our problem, from there look at our resources to solve the problem, he must know the potential and the internal so we're*

*not relying on other country, he must know the characteristic of Indonesians because they're so easy getting temperamental so when they're dealing with small issues they can do it without making any more problem, someone who know how to solve it slowly for example the demolition of shops in station, not much people knows about it. Where is it from and when. They should give information before so they know about it (Rural\_03/Son/Student).*

This thesis provides evidence that trust in a political candidate influences people to participate in an election. Therefore, this thesis argues that trust in a political candidate increases the intention to vote. In other words, trust in a political candidate does correlate strongly with electoral participation.

This thesis supported Dermody and Hanmer-Lloyd's model of dimensions of political engagement and alienation. Their model presents a conceptual framework that described young people's behaviour (Dermody and Hanmer-Lloyd, 2005a, b). In their model, high trust of young people in the performance of governments, political parties, and leaders will lead to engagement in politics and turn into their intention to vote in the election.

Although there is little doubt when respondents are faced with the fact that there are a number of politicians reported by the media as corrupt, there is faith that there are still some politicians who have good characteristics and performance. The direct election system gives flexibility to the voters to evaluate and compare the politicians offered by political parties and voters try to rank and select the best politicians according to their beliefs.

This study revealed that voters in Indonesia make a decision based on both rational and irrational considerations. A young voter who lives in a rural area is willing to participate in the election and

*Choose the (candidate that) near enough (Rural\_03/Son/Student).*

The other respondents also said:

*I vote the one that I know a bit (Rural\_07/Daughter/Employee).*

*I will still choose with conditions. They need to have the ability to develop their skills in serving people (Rural\_08/Son/Student).*

The quotation above shows that voters make a rational decision by ranking several alternatives and choosing the best among the available alternatives. They vote for the candidate who they know, albeit just a little, and expect candidates to develop their ability.

In contrast to the evidence above which describes rationality in electoral decision making, other respondents choose a candidate based on irrationality. This confirms Dean and Croft's argument that some voters may make a decision based on dogmatic assertions and lack of consideration (Dean and Croft, 2009). One of the respondents chooses a political candidate who is descended from Sukarno's family, the first President of Indonesia. For Aristotle quoted by Dean and Croft (2009), this proves the component of vegetative irrationality which is where voters make a decision stimulated by classical conditioning rather than desiderative irrationality which is stimulated by a learning process of reward and punishment. He believes that every member of the Sukarno family has a good character as a political leader.

*The thing is... from the beginning I always choose those from Sukarno's family. So I don't want to know other people. You can say I am a fanatic or not.... (Urban\_03/Son/ Noodle seller).*

Dean and Croft (2009) recognized that there is an inter-relationship between rationality and irrationality in the electoral decision-making process. Rational voters will consider the benefits and costs with their respective

advantages. Meanwhile, irrational voters make a decision more emotionally. In terms of irrationality in the electoral decision-making process, Dean and Croft (2009) emphasized:

*If a person does not think through the arguments and just makes dogmatic assertions, through either a lack of consideration or interest, this is also considered irrational (p. 139).*

Political trust basically involves a positive evaluation of political institutions such as government's performance, political parties, and political leaders.

*As a citizen I would like the candidate who is honest..., strong and equal (Rural\_04/Son/Employee).*

One respondent above stated that he preferred to evaluate the political candidate rather than the party. He participated in the election because he trusted the candidate who is honest, strong, and respects and applies the rule of equality.

As discussed in the literature, there are a number of elements that contribute to the growth of trust and distrust and can be seen as a separate dimension (Lewicki et al., 1998). This study revealed some components that contribute to increasing trust in political candidates and causing people to vote.

People vote for a candidate from several aspects. This study found that people vote for the candidate because the political candidate has an empathy, has capability, and has a good personality or character as a politician. People also vote for the political candidate because of the experiences of the candidate and their background.

In politics, it is essential for the candidate to show how ‘good’ they are to ensure that they will be elected to office. Trust is a key determinant of voting behaviour (Dermody and Hanmer-Lloyd, 2005a, b). This study exhibits that trust in a political candidate affects voting behaviour. People who trust the candidates will vote for them in the election.

With regards to this study, it reveals that trust in political candidate is an important factor that affects electoral participation in Indonesia’s transitional democracy. Some people are going to vote because they trust those politicians who have the ability and good character.

One respondent always participates in elections as she said:

*Yes, (I) always (participate in election) (Rural\_06/Daughter/Teacher).*

And will choose the candidate who has a

*Soft (character), patience, not aggressive and inspiring. They should be sincere because they become a leader, automatically they should be a good example for their community, honest and reliable. They do not need to be smart, clever, but they should have ability to work and not high profile but down to earth with their people. Essentially he must be closed to people even if they don't meet all criteria (Rural\_06/Daughter/Teacher).*

The quotation above demonstrates that people vote for politicians because they trust the candidate who has a good character such as soft, patient, and inspiring. In this case, soft reflects Indonesian culture. As many Indonesian people still hold their culture strongly, a candidate’s character may be measured by their held cultural values, norms, and beliefs. Softness, especially in Javanese culture, is a positive character trait. A person with a soft personality may be seen as a kind person and this may be one of the reasons people vote for a political candidate.

More generally, this study provided various explanations for the reason why people are willing to participate in election. People evaluate the political candidate from some perspectives. The quotation below well illustrates why people are going to vote.

*(The candidate should be) visionary, high nationalisms and religious. I am sure there is someone like that so he will only concern about this country. Firstly, he/she must be religious. We can see the character of good leader, right? This been proven for leading something...I vote the one that I know a bit (Rural\_07/Daughter/Employee).*

In addition to the relationship between trust and electoral participation, one of the respondents who lives in an urban areas stated that he was happy when he could choose the candidate directly. He was a very loyal follower of Sukarno, the first President of Indonesia. He absolutely believes that the candidate from Sukarno's family is the best politician. Sukarno was the Indonesia's first president and his family also became politicians. For example, Sukarno's daughter, Megawati Sukarnoputri, was elected as the fourth president of Indonesian and currently she is the leader of the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (*Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan/PDI-P*). Some descendants of Sukarno continue in their father's footsteps to become politicians, such as Puan Maharani (Megawati's daughter) and Guruh Sukarno Putra (Megawati's brother). The respondent stated that he is fanatical about the family of Sukarno, as he commented:

*I am happy I can choose directly. The thing is from the beginning I always choose those from Soekarno's family. So I don't want to know other people. You can say I am a fanatic or not. But that's the case (Urban\_03/Son/Noodle seller).*

This respondent believes that the politicians of the Sukarno family joined in the PDI-P have a good character and are capable of managing the country, as he stated that the politicians from PDI-P are:

*Firm and didn't let other countries to interfere. Firm, honest, fair. Firm is about the law of course. The law should be firm. Honest so that there is no corruption. For example, employing really honest people. Fair, for example there is an underdeveloped area and how can it be solved (Urban\_03/Son/Noodle seller).*

The level of trust in political candidates was not explored in this study. However, this study found that people who trust in political candidates are willing to participate in elections. One respondent, typical in this group, always participated in elections even in the lowest level such as elections in the level of sub villages as she stated:

*I always vote, even in level of sub village (RT) because it is the instruction of state for the state's interest, I never absent for it (Urban\_05/Daughter/Student).*

Nevertheless, she has some characteristics of a good politician that she will choose.

*They should be smart, consistent, and charismatic. A good talk. That is important, if a politician cannot talk how they develop their organization and how they share. When they talk they should have proven in the implementation. Wisdom. Yes as I said, consistent, honest, charismatic, quick problem solving, and not too much thinking. Yes quick to solve the problem (Urban\_05/Daughter/Student).*

People vote for politicians also by considering a politician's educational background. A highly educated candidate will be evaluated more positively by people because they are more experienced than others, at least in education. The positive evaluation made may increase his probability of being chosen in the election.

One respondent has some reasons for choosing a candidate as he said he choose the candidate by considering:

*The academic background. If the person has high academic background, he should have a broad knowledge. The same when I chose the head of neighbourhood in here. We can't choose the one who is uneducated, so we shouldn't be careless in choosing someone. It is good if the person understands Javanese culture so he knows 'tepo seliro', not selfish. My expectation is a person who can take care of the staffs, who can make the staffs prosperous. Automatically the staffs will appreciate the leader so that we can have mutual feeling. If the leader loves us, we also respect the leader. My description about the nation's leader is like that hopefully. So my criteria for me, depends on the community. It means, what do the people need and how; not only think about their own and their groups' needs (Rural\_03/Father/Teacher).*

He finally makes a decision:

*I will use my right to vote, no one knows who I chose (Rural\_03/Father/Teacher).*

A quotation above shows that people also vote for the politicians because they trust in the candidate who is 'smart' and has experience. A candidate's track record can be used in order to assess whether the candidate is experienced or not. According to the participants in this research, political candidates should also be experienced. Having experience as a leader, especially at a certain level, it may prove that the person is capable and has first-hand experience in being a leader. Therefore, people may trust candidates with more experience. In addition, the candidate has to be firm which means that a person has a strong decisive ability and has the ability to maintain his decisions.

One respondent who trusts in political candidates still admires a leader from the military. He still remembered the 'heyday' of the new order under the leadership of President Suharto. In his view, a leader from the military is firm and

disciplined. He stated that he preferred to choose the candidate from ABRI (Armed Forces).

*Originally from ABRI, who is firm and disciplined, the way they practice is very discipline. Well, discipline is important for sure. When they were just practising, they were already discipline because if you're not discipline, you'll miss the point. For example Mr. Harto, he's discipline in the government and the people are also discipline, the reality is they're all prosperous (Rural\_02/Father/Farmer).*

However, he realized that he could not predict who would win the election. This clearly shows that he has the opportunity to choose an alternative political candidate. He is conscious his candidate probably is not going to win in the election but he is happy with his choice.

*If I think about it, I'd choose this one. Whether my decision is a winner or not, I choose this one because if I vote, I can't predict who'll win and who will not. The important thing is I'm sure with this choice. Well, the main thing is I'm happy with that choice (Rural\_02/Father/Farmer).*

This study also identified that people need a 'new' politician who has a reputation for incorruptibility, is honest and down to earth or wants to be grounded. People believe that Joko Widodo, better known by his nickname Jokowi, one of the Indonesian politicians who is reported on by the media, is a humble person. Jokowi has followed the practice of 'unscheduled visit' known as *blusukan*. He is also seen as a 'new and clean' leader compared with the 'old' style of politics in Indonesia and has been ranked third in the annual World Mayor Prize. He represents a good politician who was elected as mayor of Surakarta district by direct election in 2005 and won again in 2010. He was also elected Governor of Jakarta in 2012 defeating the incumbent governor and recently people have promoted him as a strong potential candidate for the Indonesian presidential election in 2014.

*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 (Urban\_06/Father/Salesman).*

Parents who are familiar with the political conditions in the past would prefer to choose a ‘new’ politician in the new political system. They have a positive evaluation of new politicians who have good characters and can show their performance. The positive political attitudes and behaviour of the old generation implies that they are making a positive assessment towards the political candidate; hence they intend to participate in the election. A father who lives in an urban area revealed that he still experiences trauma about the old politicians, as he commented:

*To be honest, I do not like, because there is not candidate that fits my criteria, maybe if Prabowo Subianto (represent old politician) was not in the previous election, and he appears now, I will choose him, but after knowing him, I do not want to choose him (Urban\_06/Father/Salesman).*

In his view, Prabowo Subianto represents old politicians compared with Joko Widodo as a ‘new’ politician. Joko Widodo is currently the Governor of Jakarta who was elected by direct election. Compared with Prabowo Subianto, Joko Widodo, in his point of view, was much more suitable and promising as a future political leader. This clearly shows that he would rather choose a ‘new’ politician rather than the old one.

In this case, voters are also searching for information about the candidate before making a decision. This is one of the characteristics of the rational voter. Even though he wants to choose the candidate that he has been waiting for for a long time, he changes his mind after he receives more information about the

candidate. This finding supports Duch's argument which stated that political information is an important factor of the heterogeneity of voting behaviour (Duch, 2001). People are able to change their decisions depending on how much information they have.

The new election system which is direct election gives the opportunity for people to choose the candidate directly. Therefore, the direct system allows the 'new' politicians to prove that they are clean and have capability because people able to evaluate their character, performance, and their experience then choose directly depending on their beliefs.

One respondent from the older generation believes in horoscopes on *Satrio Piningit* (Hidden Knight). In the researcher's perspective, Hidden Knight is a new politician as many people in Indonesia are always looking for a good leader for the country. In transitional democracy, the terminology 'hidden knight' reveals that people do not trust in the old politicians and prefer to choose a new one. As discussed before, Joko Widodo is believed by one respondent in this study to be a hidden knight because he was considered a knight who is kind, sociable, and polite.

*He is kind and sociable... not cold and selfish. Yes... who knows? "Satrio Piningit" (Hidden knight) really comes out? It's unexpected, like Mr. Jokowi? Suddenly become a governor there. Who knows if he's the Satrio Piningit. Oh, yes (I participated in election)... I am a good citizen (laughing)...I think the person is polite (Urban\_03/Mother/Caterer).*

An important antecedent of trust in political candidates is the personality of the candidate and their experience. There are a lot of components of personality or character which reflect a good characteristic of politicians such as honesty,

wise, and dynamic. All of the components exhibit how people really want to choose the best politician who will become their political leader or their representative in parliament. Some of the components of character of the political candidate have also been identified in the literature previously.

This study demonstrated that people are going to vote because they trust in the political candidates who have good character and also have capabilities as a politician. One respondent stated:

*I tend to base my choice in the character. He is intellectual, has character, and has been tested. In party, for example, there are three political schools... right, left, and neutral. If you don't want to be in the right or left, there is a moderate way to solve problems. Finally, people create programs not based on race, ethnicity, religion, etc. (Urban\_08/Father/Lecturer).*

An army retiree believed that there are lots of good candidates and he will participate in election as he argued:

*Regardless of like or dislike, it is better to choose. Yes, they have to. There are lots of candidates, how come you couldn't choose? 2014 I will be choosing. The important thing is we use our voice. It was more to nepotism I will still choose. As an Indonesian citizen, we should choose. Although it's not what we wanted, we still have to choose (Rural\_08/Father/Army retiree).*

One respondent was willing to participate in the election in order to change the political leader. He wants a new leader who is “firm in law”.

*I just want a change...In my opinion I prefer the current system, direct election, not selected by DPR...I say, firm in law... Last time I vote for Mr. Bambang (Rural\_04/Father/Wood processer).*

Similar to the respondent above, one respondent, who claimed to be a good citizen, would rather choose a politician who is ‘smart’, firm, and can solve problems. He also has a right to be elected as he has already retired from the military. He cited the case of Timor Timur (East Timor).

*(A political leader) should be smart, experienced. For example, in Timor Timur case. Army's struggle in Timor Timur was huge, as if Timor Timur land was fertilised by the army... until the last battle and finally it gets its independence. Actually if you look at army's capability, we could. So there are some people come to Indonesia and some still live in Timor Timur, actually they are disappointed why it should get its own independence. Should be firm and can solve problem...I will still choose. As an Indonesian citizen, we should choose. Although it's not what we wanted, we still have to choose (Rural\_08/Father/Army retiree).*

Likewise, a retired soldier, one respondent who did not allow the researcher to record the interviews but had similar characteristics of a good politician such as firm, care, and think about people rather than himself, was at the time of the interviews a member of a winning team of politicians. He is a voter who represents the older generation who still trust in political candidates and are willing to participate in elections.

To sum up, trust in a political candidate is a key determinant of electoral participation and the components are the empathy, their capability, and the candidate's character and their experience. The dimensions of trust in political candidate are similar to Aristotle's category in the art of rhetoric (Cope, 1867) which is pathos for the empathy, logos for the perceived capability, and ethos for the candidate's character and experience. 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."

This thesis has provided empirical evidence that trust in political candidates has a positive impact on electoral participation. This study is also in line with Gronlund and Setala's (2007) research that found the relationship between trust and electoral participation by differentiating between attitudes

towards a democratic system and attitudes towards political actors. Their study confirmed that trust in political actors explains turnout at the aggregate level. Voters who positively evaluate politicians tend to vote for a candidate. In other words, the likelihood of voting will increase if voters have a perception that politicians fulfil the voters' expectations.

#### **5.4.2. Distrust Political Candidate and No Vote**

The second group is distrust in political candidate and no vote. This group represents people who distrust political candidates and ultimately are not willing to participate in the elections. This group consists most of children that reflect the electoral behaviour of young people. In line with literature, young people were more cynical about politics.

There is no doubt that Indonesian people desire change to a real democracy. Indonesia has conducted direct elections since 1999 and these have proceeded smoothly until now. The implementation of direct election in Indonesia has shown a commitment to implement democracy.

However, some people perceive politicians to be unprofessional. As people choose politicians to represent them and be their voice, politicians' unprofessionalism is negatively perceived so that people's trust towards political candidates may decrease. Politicians are concerned only about their own interest.

*To be honest, I do not like, because there is not candidate that fits my criteria... I do not want to choose him... I do not like any parties (Urban\_06/Son/Employee).*

In transitional democracy, people look for a good politician because they expect that changes in the political system will affect the mechanism of choosing

the candidate by the party. The party will offer the best political candidate that reflects the party's platform. However, some politicians did not fit with the voter's expectations. By direct election system, people are going to choose the candidate directly so they have some criteria of a good politician. If they do not find the politician who meets their criteria, people tend to be abstain.

*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 'golput' (abstain)....Yes, I will still be abstain (Urban\_06/Son/Employee).*

Cynical attitudes towards political candidates develop from their incapability. One respondent commented that politicians are not firm enough to solve the problem.

*The leaders now have complicated bureaucracy. There is always another new problem before the previous one solved. They are not firm enough....I will not participate in the election, I'll be neutral. What's the point of choosing, then? I will not choose if there's no one suit my ideals. Or I can choose them all too (laughing). I cannot accept that. It should be completely suit to my criteria (Urban\_07/Son/Employee).*

Two quotations above described how young people do not trust in political candidates and tend to abstain in elections. In their view, there are no politicians who fit with their criteria such as the capability of the candidate. Consequently, they are sceptical about politicians and are not going to participate in elections. They tend to abstain and will still abstain in the future elections if they do not find the ideal candidate.

Young people were cynical about the candidate in line with literature on young people's behaviour (Berman, 1997; Dermody and Hanmer-Lloyd,

2004; Dermody et al., 2010; Fieldhouse et al., 2007; Hooghe et al., 2011). According to Berman (1997), cynicism towards the government will appear in the following conditions. First, citizens believe that the government is using its power against them or the government does not help them. Secondly, people do not feel part of government, or they feel neglected. Third, people find services and government policies ineffective. Meanwhile, Dermody and Hanmer-Lloyd (2004) identified that the causes of cynicism among young people are multifarious and multidimensional depending on the level of trust and distrust.

This study indicates the existence of distrust in political candidates. Distrust in political candidates is one of the factors that influence non-voting behaviour. People consider that many politicians are incapable and corrupt. Politicians are considered to be selfish because they are perceived to think only about their own interests rather than people's interests. In transitional democracy, people expect that politicians are changing and becoming 'good' politicians, however, there is much evidence reported in the media that some politicians are still corrupt and think of their own interests. Thus, that is why people do not participate in elections.

As Lewicki et al (1998) argued that trust and distrust can be seen as a separate dimension, this thesis provides empirical evidence which supports their argument that trust in political candidates can be viewed as a separate dimension, either trust in political candidate or distrust in political candidate. There are a number of elements that contribute to the growth and decline of trust and also of distrust in political candidates. Dermody and Hanmer-Lloyd developed a model of

engagement and alienation that presents contemporary conceptualization of trusting-distrusting relationship based on the Lewicki's arguments.

In addition, Dermody and Hanmer-Lloyd's engagement and alienation model considered the differences between the political attitudes of young people and older voters, hence attempts to recognize these differences to build trust and reduce distrust in order to develop trust-building strategies. This study extends Dermody and Hanmer-Lloyd's model which seeks to explain the relationship between trust and electoral behaviour.

Findings of this study revealed that distrust in political candidates affects electoral participation. This thesis argues that people who distrust a political candidate since the political candidate is self-interested, corrupt, and incapable, are not willing to participate in elections.

This study also confirmed that young people were cynical about the candidates. As mentioned in many literatures, cynicism is a result of a negative orientation (Miller, 1974; Berman, 1997) and this study explained that some people have a negative view about the political candidates.

Another factor that influenced people to not vote in the election is corruption. People perceived that corruption is seen to be common in Indonesian politics.

*Yes, exactly. President's cabinets are waduk (lake). The brain is already good. Waduk as the executor...but people in the middle are corrupt. DPR also take an advantage...Nowadays, everything is unclear. DPR also waste money. Basically if you get the money, you are expected to do the favour for the money giver. I remember the New Order era. Well, it doesn't mean that I adore it, but when something wrong occurs, it will be directly demolished. Therefore, we experience a peaceful situation. It doesn't mean I support the past times, but that was the truth. Now who can be our role model? Not degraded but*

*CRASHED! Of course. Now we can see DPR people in budgeting division...how could they all receive the (corrupted) money. This is based on television...I will not vote! I don't care who will win. I will just acknowledge. I don't even know the track records of the chosen one? The campaign team influences the candidate... if you become the supporter of a corrupt person, people will laugh at you and say you are stupid... I have had my election right since 1971. How long has it been? Now, new party which hasn't done anything could easily accepted by KPU. Now, they run to HANURA. Nowadays people think they CAN and ABLE. You pay attention. The legislative candidates. All think they are great. Professor or doctors has a high pride. Their sayings are clear but nothing happened. Who should we choose? Some seem religious but they finally corrupt the money like the imported meat case. You can see how PKS people are extremely religious but still corrupt. Then who should we choose (Urban\_07/Father/Retiree).*

A quotation above confirmed that corruption remains a big problem in democracy and makes people disappointed. One respondent commented angrily about the politicians and the political condition. He thought that government and Members of Parliament were corrupt. He was very stressed by the political situation recently because there were so many cases of corruption at various levels.

#### **5.4.3. Trust Political System and Vote**

In transitional democracy in Indonesia, electoral behaviour is not only influenced by the candidate performance but also importantly by the changing of election system. Previously, people could not choose the candidate directly. People could only choose the party instead of the candidate. The changes of political system to direct election made people happy and let people choose the candidate directly. Consequently, trust in the political system will encourage people to participate in politics and most importantly in elections. The level of participation in elections is the main indicator in democracy. High participation rates show support for the survival of democracy, and vice versa.

This study found that people who believe in the new direct election system are willing to come to the polls and to choose the candidate they want. People

support the new election system and this is crucial in the context of transitional democracy. People do not care whether the selected candidate wins or loses. The important thing is that they participate in the election.

One respondent from a rural area commented:

*That doesn't matter, won or lose that doesn't matter, the important thing is I'm happy with my decisions (Rural\_02/Son/Employee).*

He confirmed that the new election system is good for him. He was happy with his decisions in the election because the political system allowed him to choose the candidate directly.

Another respondent also maintained:

*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... Even though I don't know the person. It'll be clear... but there shouldn't be any party that dominates. In the past, between those three there is one which... what is it... if it's a leader then it's a dictator. Force this group to follow this party... there shouldn't be too many parties, a little. The more parties there are the more government's money should be spent. Winning or losing is about the party's journey when it is in power. If it's good then it should be winning all the time. If there isn't any progress then the followers will move to other parties (Urban\_03/Son/Noodle seller).*

Even though he was pleased with the new electoral system, there were concerns about the number of political parties. There should not be too many parties in elections.

In addition, there is some evidence that people adapted the democratic process and the level of trust has changed particularly in the political system. The older generation, in this study represented by parents, who are familiar with the old system would have preferred a new political system than the old political system.

*I'd rather do direct election. In the past it was just level, what was it..? Not choosing the president, like Harto (President Suharto). But now we can choose who we're going to choose. For example, now choosing organization which one is the best one? Which one is honest? If I think about it, I'd choose this one. Whether my decision is a winner or not, I choose this one because if I vote, I can't predict who'll win and who will not. The important thing is I'm sure with this choice. Well, the main thing is I'm happy with that choice (Rural\_02/Father/Farmer).*

*To be honest, for me recently is more democratic because we can elect directly, compared with the previous one where the DPR (House of Parliament) choose the president...but people could choose depends on their belief whereas the previous one, the people did not know therefore the people just accept the regulation from DPR (Urban\_04/Father/Entrepreneur).*

These respondents represent the older generation who are familiar with the old system. One of the respondents above is more trusting of the new political system rather than the old election system which is indirect election. This evidence supported the established perspective that trust has changed over time in transitional democracy. He preferred the democratic one which is direct election system due to a belief in the new system and tended to participate in elections whether the candidate wins or loses. He supported the new political system and wanted to learn and engage in the democratic process as he stated that he did not mind about the result of the election.

People support the new election system and this is crucial in the context of transitional democracy. People do not care whether the selected candidate wins or loses. The important thing is that they participate in the election. This view confirmed that people trust the political system and support the system as one respondent claimed:

*Yes, I did vote...That doesn't matter, won or lose that doesn't matter, the important thing is I'm happy with my decisions (Rural\_02/Son/Employee).*

People participate in elections because they are happy with the new election system. The new election mechanism is characterized by the opportunity for people to vote directly. In this case, directly means that citizens are able to recognize the real people, the leader candidates and choose one among them. They believe that whoever they choose represents their ideal leader even though the candidate might not win.

*Quite happy because we vote it directly but when it's from the party, I'm not happy about that. I think voting directly is better; whoever we chose will be our leader. So we can choose and judge who we're going to elect.... I would choose a person that's near enough, who is possible to manage a lot of people (Rural\_03/Son/Student).*

Direct election as a new election system encourages people to participate in the elections because people think that direct election is better than indirect election. Trust in a political system is demonstrated in this study and influences voters to participate in elections. However, information about the candidates needs to be available as much as possible. One respondent living in a rural area commented that he did not even know the candidate but he still tends to participate in elections because direct election allows him to choose the candidate directly not represented by other people. Once again, political information is an important part of the transitional democracy process as people are enthusiastic for the new political system and want to learn and engage in the democratic process but unfortunately political information levels are likely to be less in an early democracy (Duch, 2001).

One of the citizens' rights and obligations is to be involved in elections. Therefore, in order to be a good citizen, one should participate in elections, at least using one's voice. In Indonesia, being good and looking good in the society

is important and therefore one of the reasons for people participating in elections is because having to choose is a sign of a good citizen and represents civic responsibility.

*There are positives in direct election because one can know the figure that he wants to choose, but the negative is that poor people do not really know the figure...I will still choose. There will be no perfect leader, indeed. A leader not only fight until he is chosen but he needs to listen to people's aspiration so that he can develop his skills as a leader. I will still choose with conditions. They need to have the ability to develop their skills in serving people (Rural\_08/Son/Student).*

A young person makes a positive evaluation about the new political system and one of the reasons is that he can directly choose the candidate even though he realized that there is no perfect leader. However, he can still choose as long as the candidates can show their ability to develop their skills as a leader. The respondent above stated that he will still choose with the condition that the candidate has to listen to citizens' aspirations.

Furthermore, one respondent who never participated in elections before stated that she is still going to vote for the candidate. These findings proved evidence that the new political system make people enthusiastic to learn and engage in the democratic process by participating in the election.

*I has never been there I guess. But still we have to choose. I vote the one that I know a bit (Rural\_07/Daughter/ Employee).*

The continuation of being a good citizen and having civic responsibility are that people have rights and obligations or duties. Being involved in an election is regarded to be one a little of both. It is a right, as people have the ability to voice their opinion. It is also a duty as people have the responsibility and role to

determine where the country should be going, as described in the previous section. Therefore, one of the components of a good citizen is people seeing participation in an election as a duty of a good citizen.

*As a good citizen we should vote, give our voice... give suggestion (Urban\_01/Son/Student-internship).*

*With this kind of transparency, people can judge by themselves...I choose the president once. Besides that, it is the governor election... I think that if I don't choose then the result might be draw. So I have to choose so that person can win. I am the last voice, that's the analogy. Maybe that's illogical...I think as if my voice is the last one... So I have to choose...I will still choose but it must be below my own standard, but the closest one to my criteria (Urban\_08/Son/Student).*

People participate in elections because the new election system is confidential. According to participants' view, they feel happy and secure because they are able to voice their opinion and choose freely without having to worry that their choice is going to be known or judged by other people. The new election mechanism is also transparent. As people know the real candidates for national leader, they are not choosing blind. People are able to assess the capability of the candidates and therefore the election system is transparent.

*I will use my right to vote, no one knows who I chose, if there's detection from somewhere saying who you choose. Different with New Order that has already been led even though it appears to be neutral but it has been led, after that I should not be into politics because then my boss will immediately ask me to what's my intention to do that and so don't take any risks, might as well not talk about it or do anything that's related to politics...When the system is free and independent, it really is from my own heart. For example in 2004 and 2009 actually because I admit that it is my choice. But during the New Order regime, I have to wear this shirt – this, this also if I don't choose this one, I lied to myself, I felt uneasy, going here and there but that's not what I choose...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 choose because we are independent, untied from the office and else (Rural\_03/Father/Teacher).*

In a transitional democracy, Indonesian citizens believe that a new election system is better than the old one. The new election system which is direct election makes people happy with their choices because they choose candidates directly. This system can guarantee that people are certain about their choice and feel free without any force from any organization or other people.

Trust in the political system will encourage people to participate in politics and most importantly in elections. Level of participation in the elections is the main indicator in a democracy. High participation rates show support for the survival of democracy, and vice versa. This study found that people who believe in the new direct election system are willing to come to the polls and choose the candidate they want. People support the new election system and this is crucial in the context of transitional democracy. People do not care whether the selected candidate wins or loses. The important thing is that they participate in the election.

#### **5.4.4. Distrust Political System and No Vote**

This study also revealed distrust in the political system. These people assume that the new electoral system is not only a waste of money but also believe the complexity of registration procedures results in a lot of voters who are not registered.

Indonesia is a Muslim majority country. Therefore, Islamic influences are quite high and there are many people who still hold the Islamic rule and way of life strictly. The interpretation of the rules in Islam may differ between one person and another, but some people see that democracy represents a secular system which is not supported by Islam. This point of view is then reflected in people's

trust – which is distrust in the system and leads to their behaviour, which is not voting.

*No, I don't like voting system...Yes I did not vote because its s secular country which is difference to what I have learned from Al Quran. Waa Atiulloh Wa Atiu Rosul Waa ulil amri mingkum, Obey Allah, Obey Prophet and Obey your leaders...I am not going to vote...Every action will be taken responsibility therefore if I don't vote I will be free for responsibility (Rural\_05/Son/Entrepreneur).*

Although there is an argument that democracy is incompatible with Islam, Goddard (2002) gives another perspective about democracy in Islam. Goddard has seen the extent of diversity of opinion among Muslims concerning the relationship between Islam and democracy. Rather than democracy being anathema to Islam, the second opinion is more persuasive which argues that Islam is incompatible with democracy. This perspective seems like the first perspective which is negative about democracy. In this perspective, Islam and democracy are contradictory and there can be no reconciliation between the two. However, it is impossible to put together. Democracy is acceptable as long as it is considered righteous or a sort of democracy under God or what is calls 'theo-democracy' and it may produce a kind of Islamic democracy (Goddard, 2002).

Another view of the relationship between Islam and democracy is that Islam and democracy are compatible (Buehler, 2009). This opinion is much more positive about democracy. There are two arguments supporting Islam being compatible with democracy which are *ijma'* (consensus) and *bay'a* (pledge of allegiance). *Ijma'* is a concept that states that if the scholar representatives of Muslim community agree on a point of law, the law will be legally binding on all Muslims. Meanwhile, *bay'a* is a loyalty oath to serve people.

The concept of *ijma'* is believed by the majority of the Muslim community to be one of the foundations of *sharia* law. It is a confirmation or precedent in Islam for elective democracy. Society decides who becomes the ruler by consensus. In this case, the election can be interpreted as a consensus to elect a leader even though at first *ijma'* is a concept that relates to the law and is not related to the reality of the political leadership.

The second argument is the concept *bay'a* or the pledge of allegiance. This is similar to the concept of classical Islamic thought *bay'a* (oath of allegiance) in which each new caliph or successor to Prophet Muhammad should have to swear allegiance to secure its people. This is also a precedent for a democracy, because the idea of a sort of contract between the rulers and the ruled can support and validate the election process.

The problem of this view is that in the classical period *bay'a* served as the oath of allegiance to the ruler that may have been established by various methods. Rulers at that time were not necessarily elected by the people. However, if *bay'a* as a traditional Islamic concept can still be used to establish the compatibility between Islam and democracy it can produce a concept of 'religious democratic government' by recognizing some reinterpretation and reformulation of the concept.

The fourth perspective on the relationship between democracy and Islam suggests that Islam demands democracy or democracy is very important for Islam. It is essential that Islam should develop democracy in order to ensure world peace and the establishment of an international system of morality. In Bassam Tibi's point of view, democracy and human rights are the two essential components of

international morality. In addition, Tibi asserted as quoted by Goddard (2002) that “there can be no stable regional political order in Islamic civilization without some measure of democratization” (p.8).

The one respondent whose point of view was that the election system is a secular system can be understood as a sceptical perception about democracy. He cannot accept the system because he believes that the voting system is a secular system as Abraham Lincoln said that democracy is “the government of the people, by the people, and for the people”. The respondent believes that in Islam all things are governed by Allah (God) so he must follow the command of Allah. Therefore, he does not trust in the political system and does not want to participate in election. He thought that he would be free from liability if something bad happened because of the election.

The election process requires people to be registered before they can vote. There are millions of people in Indonesia who have the right to vote. Collecting data of who can vote and where they should vote is not easy. Government officials may try to update the data every time before the elections but it may not be perfect so that there are still some people who are unregistered as voters although they supposed to be able to vote. The missing data on rightful voters usually happens in areas where there are many newcomers and in poor areas. This complication in the procedure may influence people to be sceptical about the new democracy system.

*There is something wrong about the election, for example now I know about idol, which idol is good but he loses because of the text messages. For example we choose the best, but there is more election in upper level, maybe our candidate wins here but loses at the upper level, like that...For example there are a lot of party win. But when there is a really good person, he can lose because of rich people who*

*can take care of more people...Yes, like the idols, the voice is good but loses because of texts that support the one with bad voice, like that, what is it then?...Jungle law, the powerful is the one who wins. You can describe the powerful ones...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...I haven't. But the recent news is about Jokowi I am a little bit happy. Because there are two leaders; and the vice is different. The difference, I mean, because the one is in the office and the other is outside the office. It becomes the headline, I see that. But if it's about the whole political problems, I haven't been there yet...What can I do? I got the election card. I didn't know who the best is (Urban\_02/Son/Employee).*

The complexity of the election procedure does not lead people to trust the political system and influence people not to vote in election. A respondent in this study stated that some people particularly in the poor areas are unregistered as voters.

The new election process surely needs more money than the previous ones. First of all, in order to form a party, politicians need financial support whether from their own resources or from other investors. Parties also need money during the campaign time in order to gain supporters. From another point of view, government also needs money to regulate those parties and conduct the election. It is more expensive because now there are more parties and therefore the workforce needed to regulate the parties is bigger.

Respondents in this research thought that as there is a lot of money involved, politicians or whoever is involved in the election process may focus on the money rather than the politics itself. Politicians may think of how to get the revenue rather than thinking about citizens.

#### 5.4.5. Distrust Political Candidate and Vote

As described before, results of this study also indicate the existence of distrust of candidates. People consider many politicians are incapable and corrupt. Politicians are considered to be selfish because they are perceived to think only about their own interests rather than people's interests. Although many participants generally do not trust in politicians, they still participate in the elections. This finding is important because it involves public support for change. The democratic transition will continue to progress because even though people do not fully trust the politicians, they still participate in the election because they trust in the political system. This shows that the citizens support democracy.

*From professional, now is from the party so he is concerned with his own party first. If it's from professional, he will know the everyday experience...Well some of them are professional but the majority of them are less professional or less satisfactory and more concerned about their own party.... Yes, I did vote...That doesn't matter, won or lose that doesn't matter, the important thing is I'm happy with my decisions (Rural\_02/Son/Employee).*

One respondent stated that he is still participating in elections even though he does not trust in the candidates. In the respondent's view politicians are only concerned with their own party and are unprofessional. He doubts the capability of the candidates. He thinks that the candidates do not have good experience.

Even though there are negative perceptions about the candidates, people still participate in elections because people are able to evaluate the candidates. They are able to assess the candidate who is the best among them and choose directly. By direct election people will certainly choose the good one among the candidates.

*There are a lot of negative, a lot of corruption, but there is a positive too that going to media but even so there's still some negative... I think voting directly is better; whoever we chose will be our leader. So we can choose and judge who we're going to elect.... Quite happy because we vote it directly but when it's from the party, I'm not happy about that... I would choose a person that's near enough, who is possible to manage a lot of people (Rural\_03/Son/Student).*

When the researcher asked about who are they are going to vote for, one respondent said that the more important in the election is the candidate rather than the party.

*Lack of everything, lack of integrity...Just heard it from local people, these candidate are just look for the position only , as a citizen I would like the candidate who is honest however it's hard to find a honest candidate in this current time which use money politic to buy voters. Just like buying cigarette... Last time I have voted where there was political party and I forget about the last one. In my opinion the important one is the leader rather than the party (Rural\_04/Son/Employee).*

The direct election system is allowing people to choose political candidates directly. Although political candidates are still nominated by political parties, people tend not to see that he comes out of the party; what is important for voters is the candidate.

People realized that there are no perfect leaders. People still vote with conditions, meaning that the candidate has to develop the ability. As a highly qualified political candidate is difficult to find, people sometimes choose a candidate with certain conditions. The conditions put by people may be relevant to the candidate's ability to improve his performance during his serving time. An example of a participant's opinion regarding this case is as follows:

*The politician is not so accountable... I has never been there I guess. But still we have to choose. I vote the one that I know a bit (Rural\_07/Daughter/Employee).*

*Lots of corruption!!!... Politicians in Indonesia are smart, in corruption...I will still choose. There will be no perfect leader, indeed. A leader not only fight until he is chosen but he needs to listen to people's aspiration so that he can develop his skills as a leader...There are positives in direct election because one can know the figure that he wants to choose, but the negative is that poor people do not really know the figure...I will still choose with conditions. They need to have the ability to develop their skills in serving people (Rural\_08/Son/Student).*

There was evidence of people being passionate about politics. Even though they realized that they cannot find a perfect leader, they still vote for the candidate. People still trust in political candidates and they just wish that the politician will develop the skill to serve the citizens' interests.

*There are many politicians who do the corruption and the people think that they do not take a good care to the people and they just dig their own wealth... I would prefer the democratic one, not the authoritative, we can choose with our heart ...Yes, I have. Do you mean 'Nyoblos'? (the way to vote) (Urban\_04/Daughter/ Unemployed).*

The reason mentioned by participants in this research that encourages them to get involved in the election process as voters is the opportunity to choose the best. In this case, choosing the best means that they choose the best candidate among the candidates offered in the election. The candidate chosen may not meet all their standards and requirements, but he is the best in comparison with the others. The opportunity to choose, at least, a candidate with the best ability among others may be the reason people choose during the election.

*The politicians are absurd... I choose the president once. Besides that, it is the governor election... I think that if I don't choose then the result might be draw. So I have to choose so that person can win. I am the last voice, that's the analogy. Maybe that's illogical...I think as if my voice is the last one... So I have to choose. I will still choose but it must be below my own standard, but the closest one to my criteria...They are noisy among themselves in a meeting. They even say 'bangsat' (a swearing word)...Indeed because of that freedom, they have no control. But it is okay because according to psychology people, it is free... because they want to speak as a result of pressure. Like Ruhut's character. He doesn't like to see something not right... he directly talk*

*about that without any consideration... If we look at their attitudes, then they are less good. They stab each other. That's the case since the beginning, right? My friends and I believe that Indonesia will be a light house in 2025 and it starts to move forward to it. People are more detail about politics. It is different from the previous era where there are political clouds, people rarely know about it. With this kind of transparency, people can judge by themselves (Urban\_08/Son/Student).*

There was a genuine understanding that there is trust in the political system; even though people do not trust in political candidates they still participate in the election. The respondent above indeed remarked that the politicians are absurd which means that they do not have any capability as a politician.

*I absolutely disagree with their leader as official government but never take care their people, just prefer to their own interest, their party... Yes, I do, I always vote for presidential election even my candidate was not elected as a president, the most important thing as a good civilian must vote its leader... Yes, if it is a duty from a country I will, if none is good I will vote for the candidate with not really bad, because he is the only remaining (Rural\_06/Father/Entrepreneur).*

The reason mentioned by participants in this research to encourage them to be involved in the election process as voters is the opportunity to choose the best. In this case, choosing the best means that they choose the best candidate among the candidates offered in the election. The candidate chosen may not meet all their standards and requirements, but he is the best in comparison with the others. The opportunity to choose, at least, a candidate with the best ability among others may become the reason for people to choose during the election.

*There's nothing good in politics nowadays. If I watch the TV, a lawyer defends his client, the powerful is the winner...After Mr. Harto was not the president, I was confused why politics can be powerful like this. Defeating each other is common. Sometimes they provoke and defeat each other. In Mr. Harto's era, that kind of politics didn't exist. The army was on top. If there is a figure that was regarded to be threatening, he'd better be dominated first. Now it is difficult, right?*

*Everyone is smart and wants to win...They (politicians) want to win, defeat each other... there are good ones and bad ones...It cannot be like that. As a good Indonesian citizen we cannot be apathy like that. Not choosing is the choice of people who are frustrated and still hold grudge against the previous authority, such as in New Order regime. Regardless of like or dislike, it is better to choose...Yes, they have to. There are lots of candidates, how come you couldn't choose? 2014 I will be choosing. The important thing is we use our voice. It was more to nepotism...I will still choose. As an Indonesian citizen, we should choose. Although it's not what we wanted, we still have to choose (Rural\_08/Father/Army retiree).*

The reason mentioned by participants in this research to encourage them to be involved in election process as voters is the opportunity to choose the best. In this case, choosing the best means that they choose the best candidate among the candidates offered in the election. The candidate chosen may not meet all their standards and requirements, but he is the best in comparison with the others reflecting the notion of rational choice and preference ordering. The opportunity to choose, at least, a candidate with the best ability among others may come as a reason for people to choose during the election.

Besides the reasons previously mentioned, people may also decide to vote because participating in the election is a sign of a good citizen and an opportunity for people to give suggestions in relation to the nation's future. For certain people, taking part in an election means that they contribute to their country. The suggestion given is not in the form of a formal written one, but more about the idea of what kind of leader suits Indonesian conditions best nowadays.

*I used to be involved in party as well... one of the political parties, but lots of good and bad things as well, right? There are also promises; this and that... finally we are disappointed, right? In the reality it isn't proved and it's my personal disappointment and hopefully will not happen in the future... I always participate because I think it is a form of our concern for our country because it will define the future faith of this country (Urban\_01/Mother/Trading service).*

*Anti-corruption! Say not to corruption..! But what's the reality? .... I like it (direct election) because that system is good... there used to be threat, right? But it was before... we should be like this, this... right? Now it is okay depends on us...I don't know... when I was asked to elect then I choose, like that?? I was really naive, really... I don't care about anything... when my children were little, I just think about earning for family, now it's like freely breathe the air. For me it's like this... everything is related. Between that it's related, right? The person is also supported by the party... like that...Oh, yes (participate in election)... I am a good citizen (laughing) (Urban\_03/Mother/Caterer).*

*To be honest, there are many politicians in Indonesia who do not count on their promises for example they promised to take care and prosper the people in their promotion before the election in DPR or else, but after they are elected, they usually forget with their promises...But in Indonesia there are only a few people like that, mostly they just think about themselves not their people...I would like to participate as the people of the country. The right thing is that a good leader has to be chosen which fit with our criteria, who want to think and fight for the people especially for the people with low economic status and their job, and while the people are in less and then the leader need to take the responsibility, however, the leader has to solve the problems...Perhaps, I will not choose. On the other hand, If we do not choose, automatically we do not have the leader, so that's why I need to choose because it's the rule, for example for this regional head for this village, even though there is no candidates which fits with my expectation, but we have to choose, otherwise we do not speak our right (Urban\_04/Father/Entrepreneur).*

There is evidence of people's distrust of political candidates, especially regarding self-interest. This is the belief that politicians are concerned only about their own party. Therefore, people perceive politicians to be unprofessional. As people choose politicians to represent them and aspire to be their voice, politicians' unprofessionalism is negatively perceived so that people's trust towards political candidates may decrease. However, people still participate in elections because they support the new democratic system.

*Actually the persons are qualified, good education, but they forgot about their responsibility for public, just for personal interest. Yes, a politician has faced with billions of money to disadvantage the country. Basically the problem was from the underground, a politician is seen from merely educational background, not from their good behaviours, so they do not know what responsibility is. In other words, they just prefer for worldly life not for here after purposes.... I always vote, even in level of RT (sub village) because it is the instruction of state for the state's interest, I never absent for it... I personally prefer direct*

*election...It is suit to the heart, but a bit disappointed if there is a bias for the figure. But we can elect and know how far his loyalty to the public (Urban\_05/Father/Trading service).*

*Most of parliaments use people money and used the government car to use in their personal business ... Yes, I did (vote) although there was not a suitable candidate in my opinion (Rural-05/Father/Entrepreneur).*

With regard to this study, in transitional democracy, some people did not see any change in politicians even though the political system has already changed. The old generation is still traumatized by the political conditions of the past specifically for the parents who have experience with the old system. People think that politicians still just prefer their own interests and do not count on their promises as also happened in the past. There was a strong remark that the old generation do not want to repeat the political situation of the past which was full of cheats. A father who lives in a rural area commented:

*I am not talking about Suharto's era, but the fact is that today's political condition is so unkempt. 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 (Rural\_07/Father/Trader).*

In addition, people think that politicians tend to have a lack of commitment to their promises. During the campaign, it is the norm for politicians to make promises to citizens. They usually make promises about the country's development and better conditions for people. However, according to participants in this research, politicians break their promises. After they are chosen and get their position in the parliament or in an executive function, they do not fulfil their promises.

*To be honest, there are many politicians in Indonesia who do not count on their promises for example they promised to take care and prosper the people in their promotion before the election in DPR or else, but after they are elected, they usually forget with their promises (Urban\_04/Father/Entrepreneur).*

The findings have also demonstrated the antecedents of trust and distrust that affect the electoral participation and provide a model of trust in the context of electoral behaviour. This supports the conceptual model of Dermody and Hanmer-Lloyd (2005a, b) which is that cynicism will grow if there is no trust. This then will lead to alienation and can cause non-voting intention. Trust, on the other hand, will lead to engagement which in turn can cause the electorate to vote (Dermody and Hanmer-Lloyd, 2005a, b). This model is extended to include antecedents of trust in political system and trust in political candidate. This study identified the antecedents of trust in the context of Indonesian electoral behaviour and extends Dermody and Hanmer-Lloyd's model, which seeks to explain the relationship between trust and electoral behaviour. The engagement and alienation of the Dermody and Hanmer-Lloyd's model focuses more on trust and distrust of political candidates in a mature democracy specifically in young voters' behaviour. Rather than comparing with the model, this model rather illustrates the component of trust in the context of electoral behaviour, not only on trust in political candidates but also in a political system, specifically in a transitional democracy in Indonesia. This study reveals that trust plays an important role in levels of political participation and in showing how trust influences electoral participation. This study also explains how the decision-making process in elections occurs.

### **5.5. Conceptualizing Trust in a Transitional Democracy**

In a democratic transition, for Duch (2001) political information and political trust are important factors. In economic voting theory, voters can punish the incumbent who failed to deliver the expected economic results. Duch (2001) maintained that "voters are the principal and have the power to sanction or reward

their agents. Politicians are the agent and are subject to voter oversight and sanctions. Elections are essentially a referendum on the economic performance of the incumbent government.”

This study demonstrates that trust plays a crucial role in levels of participation thus building a healthy democracy. 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. This thesis provided an empirical model which seeks to demonstrate how the citizen makes their voting decision. The model explains how the decision making process occurs in an election in a transitional democracy. If there no trust in the candidate then the belief in the political system takes over and the citizen will vote, this was particularly evident for parents who remembered the previous 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 did not approve of the new system therefore they abstained. As an Islamic country there was some evidence that a secular political system was frowned upon although further research is required to understand the prevalence of this view.

This thesis argues that the democratic transition in Indonesia is not explicitly contributing to the improvement of the economic results of political trust. Although voters also evaluate the performance of the incumbent government they do not focus on the economic performance. Voters rather evaluate the politicians' performance, their empathy, their capability, and their character and experience. Voters also still 'enjoy' the process of transition to democracy so that

they are excited by the direct election system and want to learn and get involved in the democratic process.

An important finding of this study is that the behaviour of voters in the democratic transition is complex and trust is the key determinant of the electoral behaviour. Voting behaviour is also influenced by many factors, as understood in the theory of consumer behaviour (Assael, 2003) and behavioural decision theory (Butler and Cantrell, 1984a) that consumers in decision-making tend to go through a series of steps or processes that start from the problem identification, information searching, evaluating products and making a decision. As revealed by many researchers in the field of political marketing that voting behaviour differs from the behaviour of consumers (Lock and Harris, 1996; Dean and Croft, 2009), political marketers need to adapt the consumer behaviour framework to implement the voter behaviour framework.

In particular, this study provides evidence that there are different patterns of behaviour among the older voters and young people in the democratic transition. Older voters who are familiar with the old political system tend to have increased confidence in the new political system and politicians and want a new, honest and capable administration. Meanwhile, some younger voters tend to be cynical towards both the political system and political candidates. Trust is shaping an electoral behaviour of parents in terms of electoral participation. Youth voters tend to stay home when there are elections because of their cynicism and distrust of the system and political candidates. They tend to abstain because they think that the new political system is confusing, complicated, secular, and wasting money.

However, the study also identified that not all the young respondents are cynical about politics. Some young people also stated that they were quite happy with the new political system. They feel the new political system makes them feel empowered because they feel they will determine who the leader is. This is an important finding in this study. Although respondents did believe in a political candidate, they choose because they still believe in the new political system. This study finally concludes that trust in the political system is far more important than trust in political candidates.

Trust in political candidates is still important because this is one of the factors that influence them to participate in the elections and the key components are their empathy, capability, and the candidate's character and experience. For marketer politics, this finding is important as a basis to build a political marketing strategy for politicians who want to be elected. Efforts to enhance the positive image of a politician can be a challenge for marketer politics and one thing that can be done is to build brand personality. Lock and Harris (1996) also state that consumers and voters are considered different in attitude formation and decision making.

The results of this study indicate that parents fairly easily adapt to the new political system even though they lived for many years in the old political system with all its consequences. The new political system for the older generation is considered better than the old political system. Consequently, they believe in the emerging new political system which is the direct election system because the new system provides an opportunity for citizens to get involved in the democratic process. They also feel that they can make a change. The new political system is

also supported by institutional mechanisms that enable change of political leadership that involves people directly.

For young people, in line with the existing political literature, the result of this study indicates that young people are more cynical towards the political system and the political candidates. Cynicism in the Indonesian context arises because of many factors such as it being confusing to judge the best party and political candidate, complicated procedures for voters, assuming that democracy is a secular system, and also it is considered a waste of money. Therefore, there is a tendency to abstain from voting in the election.

This study identified a number of factors that contribute to trust and distrust in the context of electoral behaviour. More specifically, this study conceptualized trust into two categories, namely trust in political system and trust in political candidate. Each category has a different antecedent which explains why people trust and do not trust in the political system and also in the political candidate.

There are four antecedents of trust in the political system. The first antecedent is people's belief that the new political system is more acceptable than the old one. The second antecedent is the existence of institutional mechanisms which is fairness, freedom, and confidentiality that allow citizens to vote for a candidate directly. The third antecedent of trust in political system is that the new political system makes citizens feel empowered as people directly involved in determining political leaders at both local and national. The fourth is that the new political system provides space for citizens to show that they have a civic responsibility as good citizens.

There is a strong belief of citizens that the new political system promises a better mechanism to recruit leaders who are honest and trustworthy. Belief in the new political system is very important in the transition to democracy as a form of public support for the change of the political system which is essentially a political capital that guarantees the democracy in the future.

Trust in the political system is also shaped by the electoral mechanism which is direct, free, and confidential. The general election mechanism that allows people to vote directly for their leaders is an important part of the institutional mechanisms of democracy. As explained earlier, democracy requires institutional mechanisms to recruit leaders and ensure that the elected leader is a leader who is honest and trustworthy. The mechanism of elections conducted directly makes people trust in the new political system because they can get involved by participating in a 'real' election.

People's involvement in politics means that people want to learn and get involved in the democratic process by participating in politics particularly in the election. By participating in the election, people believe that they can make changes. In other words, the new electoral system makes people feel empowered. By feeling empowered, people will have a strong willingness to engage in the political process and form trust in the political system.

Having good citizens is the dream of every country that upholds democracy, for being a good citizen means having a positive attitude towards politics and government. The results of this study provide evidence that civic responsibility establishes trust in the political system. Indonesia's democratic

transition went quite well because one of the supporting factors were many good citizens who were aware of their duties and obligations as citizens.

In addition to the antecedents of trust in the political system, the results of this study also identified a number of antecedents of trust in political candidate. There are three antecedents of trust in the political candidate including the candidate's empathy, perceived capability, and the candidate's personal character and experience.

Direct election allows people to evaluate the political candidate from any aspect of the candidates and one of them is their form of empathy. Respondents in this study highlight many components of the candidate's empathy. Political trust involves a positive evaluation of the performance of the government, political parties, and politicians. Building political trust means to build the image of the positive things in politicians and government. To gain the trust of voters, political candidates need to build a personal connection to the citizens by showing qualities of equality, patience, gentleness, humility, clean, transparent, unselfish, brave, fair, sincere, and becoming a charismatic leader.

The second antecedent of trust in political candidates identified in this study is the perceived capability of the candidate. Direct election lets people to evaluate the performance of political candidates. According to the respondents in this study, the capability of the candidate is very important and a necessity as it relates to the ability of a leader who will fight for the interests of the people and their welfare. This study provides evidence of the perceived candidate's capability to establish trust in the political candidate.

Trust in the political candidate is not only moulded by the perceived capability of the candidate but also shaped by their character and experience of the candidate. In transitional democracy there is a requirement for leaders who are aware of issues both nationally and internationally and also understand about the problems that occurred in the past. Respondents evaluate each candidate based on his experience and background dealing with life. Trust in the political candidate is formed by the character, background and reputation of the candidate so the better the character and experience, the higher level of public trust in the political candidate. For example, if there is evidence of dishonest politicians and also the government cannot work efficiently to serve the citizens' interests, there will be no public trust of them. Politicians with good and strong personal character will be trusted by the citizens.

With regards to the distrust in the political system, the respondent in this study revealed that the first antecedent is confusing. In democratic transition in Indonesia, after the government freed citizens from a party, came many parties running in the election after the earlier decades when there were only three parties. More than thirty parties participated in the elections with the new direct election system. This made it confusing for the people to judge and choose the party and politician that fits the individual's criteria. There are many parties that were formed, and people may become confused about choosing the party or person to represent the party in the elections. It may be understandable because when there are a lot of people and a lot of parties that will be assessed to choose the best, one might be confused by the sheer choice.

Indonesia is a predominantly Muslim country. Therefore, the influence of Islam is quite high and there are many people who still hold the Islamic rules and strict way of life. Interpretation of the rules in Islam may differ from one person to another, but some people see that secular democracy is a system that is not supported by Islam. This point of view is reflected in the public distrust in the system.

Indonesia is now the world's third largest democracy after India and the United States of America and the largest Muslim democracy (Buehler, 2009). Scholars are exciting to discuss about the wave of democratization in Muslim countries. Some call it the "fourth wave" of democracy; continue the Huntington's thesis of the third wave of democracy (McFaul, 2002). Indonesia plays an important role in the "fourth wave" of democracy, not only because Indonesia is the largest Muslim country in the world, but also because of Indonesia appears as the first example in this fourth wave. Because of this unique position, some statesmen refer to Indonesia as an ideal model for Muslim democracy (Ramage, 1995; Baswedan, 2004; Webber, 2006; Mujani & Liddle, 2009).

Therefore, Islam is an important element of the discourse and practice of Indonesian politics and also has a strong role to play in influencing electoral decision making. In other words, the influence of Islam is quite high; however, the interpretation of the rules in Islam may differ from one person to another. There are many people who still hold the Islamic rules and strict way of life and some people are more moderate. Woodard (2001) identified five basic religious orientations in the Indonesian Muslim community. First, indigenous Islam, where religion is completely integrated component of a larger cultural system. Second,

the traditional Sunni Islam of *Nahdlatul Ulama* is rooted in the study of legal texts, theology, and mystical classic. The third is the Islamic modernist of *Muhammadiyah*, which rejects mysticism and praised modern education and social services. Fourth, Islamist groups support the highly politicized and anti-Western interpretation of Islam. Finally is neo-modernism which is trying to find the foundation of Islam for many features of modernity, including democracy and religious and cultural pluralism.

The question of whether Indonesia will become a role model for Muslim democracy would still be a debate. There are many issues that still need to be addressed in democratic transition in Indonesia such as corruption, complexity of election mechanism, transparency, and also there may be tensions emerging from the secular-religious dichotomy. For Buehler (2009), Islam and democracy in Indonesia seem to go well together if a moderate form of Islam is practiced. Woodard (2001) emphasized that “what is clear is that whatever path Indonesia may follow in decades to come, it will be one rooted in Islamic theology and discourse”(p.37).

The process requires the voters to be registered before they can vote. There are millions of people in Indonesia who have the right to vote. Collecting data about who can vote and where they should vote is not easy. Government officials may try to update the data every time before the election but it might not be perfect so there are still some people who are not registered as voters even though they should be able to vote. Missing data on voters usually occurs in areas where there are a lot of newcomers and poor areas. These complications can affect the procedures and make people sceptical about the new democratic system.

The new election process definitely needs more money than ever before. First of all, in order to form a party, politicians need financial support either from themselves or from other investors. Parties also need money during the campaign to get supporters. From another perspective, the government also needs money to organize parties and elections would be held. It is more expensive because now there are more parties and therefore the labour required to manage larger parties. Respondents in this study thought that because there is a lot of money involved, politicians or anyone involved in the electoral process can focus on their own money rather than politics. Politicians may think about how to get the revenue instead of thinking about the citizens.

This study also identifies the elements that contribute to distrust in the political candidate. The elements are self-interest, corrupt, and incapability.

As mentioned earlier, the first factor mentioned is the reason why people do not trust politicians because they are just thinking about themselves rather than thinking about public interests. This study provides evidence that politicians in Indonesia tend to prioritize themselves. Politicians are more concerned about their own party, there is a tendency to gain advantage for them, their priorities are for their own interests, a lack of commitment to their promises, and a tendency to not care about people.

The second factor that affects a person's distrust towards political candidates mentioned by the participants of this study is corruption. Corruption is seen as becoming a common thing in Indonesia. Cases of corruption are everywhere and people tend to associate these with political corruption. Therefore, politicians as actors in world politics are also considered to be at fault. Corruption

as a factor in public mistrust of the political candidates has different evidence. Evidence found in this study is the fact that there are a lot of corruption reported by the media, the politician's intelligence of corruption, their motivation to increase their wealth, their cheating behaviour, and they get more money by giving money.

The third factor that affects the public distrust of the political candidates is a perceived lack of ability shown by the candidates. There are several characteristics mentioned by participants in this study and included as evidence supporting this factor. The characteristics are the lack of candidate's integrity, lack of communication, unaccountability, indecisive, lack of ability, lack of firmness, absurdity, lack of control, lack of judgment, and lack of restraint. The characteristics are seen as evidence that evaluation of character is important and at least one of the bad characteristics can prevent voters from choosing a candidate.

As explained in the previous chapters, this study uses an intergenerational perspective to explore the differences between parents who are familiar with the old political system and young people who only know the new political system. The results showed that there are also clear differences between parents and children, young people being more cynical about the political system and candidates in accordance with the literature on young people elsewhere in the world. For the parents, trust in the new political system tends to increase. Parents are more pleased with the new political system because they can choose their leaders directly. Although the level of trust of parents in the new political system tends to increase, they are still traumatized by politicians who in their view are still far below their expectations. Politicians are considered as still being self-

interested or party-interested rather than having the public interest at heart. Politicians are now also considered to be still involved in the corruption and showing a lack of demonstrated ability as a potential leader. Therefore, in the new political system they want to have 'new' politicians who are honest, incorruptible, trustworthy, have ability and a good background and good track record from the past.

This thesis provides evidence that trust in the political system will encourage people to participate in politics and most importantly in elections. The level of participation in elections is the main indicator in democracy. High participation rates show support for the survival of democracy, and vice versa. This study found that people who believe in the new direct election system are willing to come to the polls and to choose the candidate they want. People support the new election system and this is crucial in the context of transitional democracy. People do not care whether the selected candidate wins or loses. The important thing is that they participate in the election.

This study also revealed information about distrust in the political system. Some people assume that the new electoral system is not only a waste of money but also the complexity of registration procedures cause difficulty for a lot of voters who are not registered.

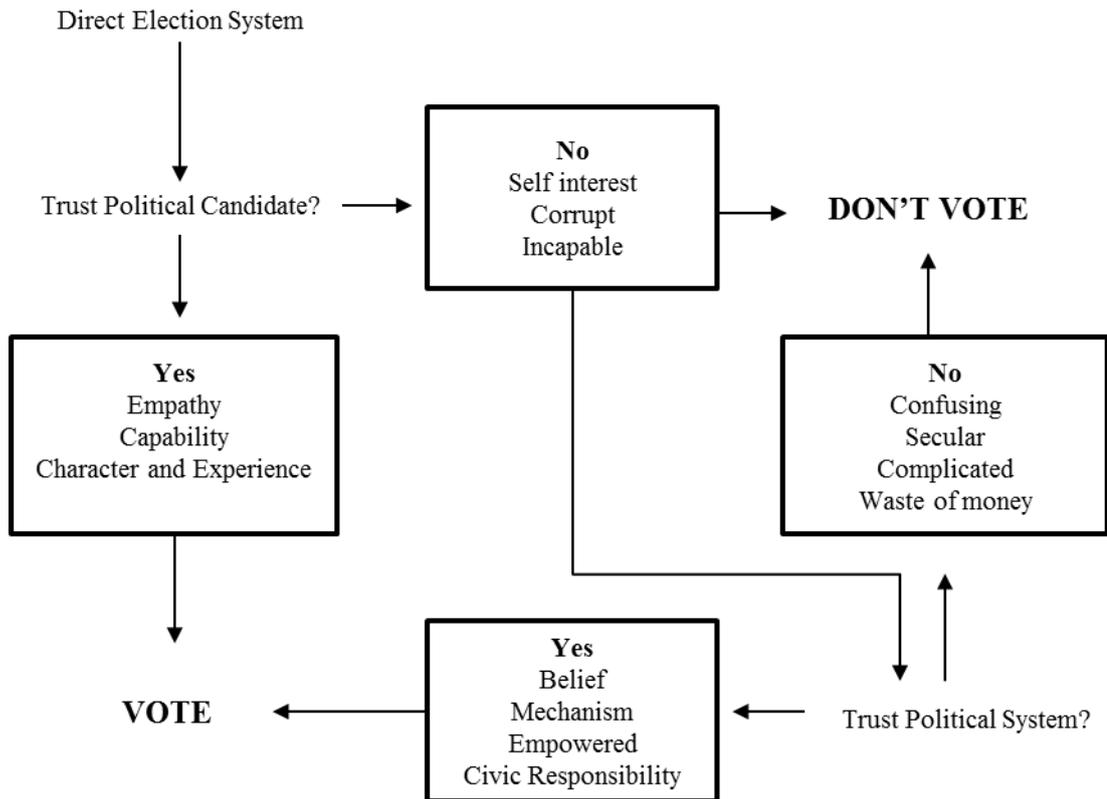
This study found that people who trust in political candidates participated in the election. Trust in political candidates or politicians are clearly illustrated by the respondents in this study. Although there is little doubt that respondents are faced with the fact that a number of politicians are reported by the media as the politicians are corrupt, there is faith that there are still some politicians who have

good characteristics and performance. The direct election system gives flexibility to the voters to evaluate and compare the politicians offered by political parties and voters trying to rank and select the best politicians according to their beliefs and this mobilises people to vote.

Results of this study also indicate the existence of distrust of candidates. People consider many politicians are incapable and corrupt. Politicians are considered to be selfish because they are perceived to think only about their own interests rather than people's interests. This thesis exposed that distrust in political candidate influences the electoral behaviour. For some people, they do not participate in elections because they do not trust the politicians. Abstention is preferred when candidates do not have appropriate criteria.

Although many participants in this research generally do not trust in politicians, they still participate in the elections. This finding is very important because it involves public support for change. The democratic transition will continue to progress because even though people do not fully trust the politicians, they still participate in the election because they believe in the political system. This shows that the citizens support democracy.

Figure 5.14 shows the empirical model of trust in electoral behaviour. The model explains the relationship between trust and electoral behaviour and explains how the decision-making process in elections occurs in a transitional democracy.



**Figure 5.14. An empirical model of trust in electoral behaviour in a transitional democracy**

## 5.6. Summary

This chapter captures the antecedents of trust in the context of electoral behaviour and discussed the relationship between trust and electoral participation. This study conceptualized trust into two categories which are trust political system and trust political candidate. As Lewicki et al. (1998) argued that trust and distrust can be seen as separate dimensions, this study support their argument by providing the antecedents of trust and distrust in the context of electoral behaviour in a transitional democracy in Indonesia.

This study also extends Dermody and Hanmer-Lloyd's model, which seeks to explain the relationship between trust and electoral behaviour. This study indicates that trust in the political system is more important than trust in political

candidates; if there no trust in the candidates then the belief in the political system takes over and the citizen will vote, and this was particularly evident for parents who remembered the previous political systems. There were also clear differences between parents and children; young people were more cynical about the political system and the candidates in line with the literature on young people elsewhere in the world.

Four elements of trust have been identified as the antecedents of trust in political system such as belief in the new system, good institutional mechanism, empowered, and civic responsibility. Meanwhile, there are also four antecedents of distrust in political system that has been identified in this study which are confusing, secular system, complicated procedure, and waste of money. This study also found the antecedents of trust in political candidates including empathy, perceive capability, and personal character and experience of the political candidate. The last components are the antecedents of distrust in political candidate namely self-interest, corruption, and incapability of the candidate.

This study argued that trust plays an important role in levels of participation. There is some evidence that described the relationship between trust and electoral participation. This study found five groups of electoral behaviour in democratic transition in Indonesia. The first group is people who trust in political candidates and then participate in election. The second group is people who distrust in political candidate and there is no vote. The third group is people who trust in political system and vote. The fourth group is people who distrust in political system and there is no vote. The last group is people who distrust in political candidate but still participate in elections.

The next chapter will present the conclusion and research contributions not only in the theoretical contribution but also in practical and research methodology. This will continue by presenting the limitations and exploring the potential for future research.

## CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSION

### 6.1. Introduction

This study was intended to conceptualize trust in the context of electoral behaviour particularly in Indonesian democratic transition. This study investigated the construct of trust and attempted to operationalize the theoretical framework of trust in electoral behaviour. This chapter will conclude the findings of the study and provide a contribution to political marketing literature. This study also provides a managerial contribution for government institutions and political candidates. This chapter also highlights the limitations and proposes a recommendation for future research.

### 6.2. Key Findings

#### 6.2.1. Research Objectives 1

The first research objective of this study is *'to investigate the construct of trust in the context of electoral behaviour.'*

A theoretical framework of trust has been developed by Dermody and Hanmer-Lloyd (2005a, b) to explain the relationship between trust/distrust and electoral behaviour. This research extends the conceptualization of trust and the understanding of how trust affects electoral behaviour in a transitional democracy through investigating the construct of trust. It also establishes the components of trust and distrust in the context of electoral behaviour in a transitional democracy.

This research highlights the importance of trust in a political transition situation particularly in the Indonesian context. Based on grounded theory approach, this research clarifies and operationalizes the antecedents of trust in the context of electoral behaviour in Indonesian's democratic transition. Based on the categories revealed in this study, the antecedents of trust have split into four groups which emerged from two categories, trust in political system and trust in political candidate.

The first group is antecedents of trust in political system. This includes four features: belief in the new political system, a good institutional mechanism, empowered, and civic responsibility. 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 leading to a proliferation of publishing and people enjoyed the freedom to express their opinion. A direct election ensures that every citizen can make choices according to their own beliefs and values. 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.

The second group is antecedents of distrust in political system which includes four features: confusing, secular, complicated, and waste of money. The direct election system was viewed with distrust most notably due to the complicated and unwieldy registration process, the variety of political parties they

needed to evaluate, and it was seen as an expensive process and the money could be better spent. The new political system was also perceived by people as a secular system that was inconsistent with Islam. In addition, the election process requires people to be registered before they can vote. There are millions of people in Indonesia who have the right to vote. Collecting data of those who can vote and where they should vote is not easy. Government officials attempt to update the data before elections but some citizens remain unregistered even though they are entitled to vote. Registering voters is a vast operation but added to this is the confusion of so many political parties. This led to much confusion about what the policies were. The complexity of registration, the large number of political parties, combined with the vast, diverse geographical distance which challenged the logistics of ballot collection increased some participants' cynicism about a free and fair election. This cynicism also emerged when some participants considered the cost of democracy. Political parties and politicians need financial support whether independently sourced or from supporters. They may have a vested interest so may influence policy development unfairly and increase the propensity for corruption.

The third group is antecedents of trust in political candidate which also consists of three features: empathy, perceived capability, and personal character and experience of the political candidate. Trust in the political candidate relates to the candidate's character and their capabilities. People 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 their empathy, perceived capability, and candidate character and experience. There were a number of aspects of empathy that were

specific to traditional Indonesian culture that related to humility. For example, softness, especially in Javanese culture, is a positive character trait and a person with a soft personality would be seen as a kind person. Other related characteristics were patience, humble, and charismatic. Universal characteristics such as capability and character were also desirable qualities that inspired trust.

The last group is antecedents of distrust in political candidate. This includes three features: self-interest, corruption, and incapable. People consider many politicians to be incapable and corrupt. Politicians are considered to be selfish, focusing on self-interest rather than the citizens' or national interest. Corruption was seen to be endemic in Indonesian politics and all participants mentioned this for instance, politicians engaging in corrupt activities, cheating, or using under-hand methods to increase their own wealth. Not only are politicians perceived as corrupt, they were also seen to be incapable.

### **6.2.2. Research Objectives 2**

The second research objective in this study is *'to develop a model that explains the relationship between trust and electoral participation in a transitional democracy in Indonesia.'*

This study presents the role of trust in shaping for engagement in electoral behaviour. In a simple way, the model in Figure 5.14 demonstrates how the decision-making process in elections occurs in a transitional democracy. In this transitional democracy the overarching concern is to support the political system despite their trust in a political candidate. If people do not trust a candidate then the trust in the political system takes over and the citizen will vote. This indicates

that trust in the political system is far more important than trust in a political candidate.

Trust in the political system encourages people to participate in politics. Hence, the level of election participation becomes the main indicator in a 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. People supported the new election system and this is crucial in the context of transitional democracy. People did not mind whether their selected candidate won or lost. The important thing was that they were able to participate in the election.

In addition, the findings also indicate some clear differences between parents' and children's perspective in politics. Parents quite easily adapt to the new political system and young people were more cynical about the political system and the candidates. However, many participants, particularly the older generation, appear to be traumatized by the previous authoritarian political system. However, although the older generation believe that politicians' behaviour was indicative of the earlier system, their behaviour hasn't changed. For many participants politicians were corrupt, selfish and failed to keep their promises. Hence politicians from the previous political system were associated with the corruption which meant both the system and the politicians were distrusted. This study also indicates that there was a positive perception of the new direct election system; this was particularly evident among the older generation who remembered the previous election system.

In summary, the key point highlighted is that for democracy to survive a transitional stage, trust becomes crucial. The government institutions and candidates really need to ensure that trust is enhanced and the systems are relevant and meaningful for the people.

## **6.2. Research Contributions**

### **6.2.1. Theoretical Contribution**

The theoretical contribution highlights that in a transitional democracy, trust is crucial for engagement in electoral behaviour. It reveals the antecedent of trust both in political system and political candidate in the context of electoral behaviour. The antecedents of trust in political system include ‘belief, institution mechanism, empowered, and civic responsibility’. The antecedents of trust in political candidate consist of ‘empathy, perceived capability, and personal character and the candidate’s experience’.

While trust in political system is important, this research also found some issues with distrust. Distrust becomes a barrier to trust which has a significant influence on electoral engagement. This work extends the concept of trust/distrust discussed by Dermody and Hanmer-Lloyd (2005a, b). This study presents the operationalization of the concept of trust in the context of electoral behaviour, particularly in Indonesia. The empirical model of trust adds deeper understanding of electoral behaviour in a transitional democracy. The model explains how the decision-making process in elections occurs in a transitional democracy and if there is no trust in the candidate then the belief in the political system takes over and the citizen will vote; this was particularly evident for parents who remembered the previous political systems. Clearly in this transitional democracy

the overarching concern is to support political systems despite their trust in a political candidate.

### **6.2.2. Managerial Contribution**

For the political marketer, it is important to understand how voters adapt to the democratic process and what mobilises them to vote. Trust is a key factor in electoral behaviour. However, there are some issues with distrust and these are barriers to trust which lead to electoral engagement. For government, reducing distrust is very important as people assume that the new political system is confusing, complicated, a waste of money and even considered as secular which was inconsistent with Islam. People also consider that politicians are self-interested, corrupt and incapable.

#### **Policy maker**

With regard to reducing distrust in the political system, the government as a policy maker should clarify policy and procedures to reduce voter confusion. Policy makers should also simplify the process for electoral engagement and registering to vote to ensure that the election procedure registration is not complicated. To ensure that the elections are not a waste of money, the government needs to show transparency in how the money is spent and demonstrate that there are cost effective mechanisms to support and strengthen democracy. The government also needs to regulate party funding and monitor the election process in order to ensure the elections are efficiently run and free of corruption. Another crucial issue is secularism. Policy makers should ensure that democracy can accommodate Islam as Indonesia is the largest Muslim democracy in the world. In a country that is secular but the constitution is based soundly

upon Islamic principles there may be tensions emerging from this secular/religious dichotomy. Care needs to be taken to manage this tension.

For the government, this research is very important to improve the trust of the people, particularly with regard to the new political system that is being built and headed towards the next stage of democratic consolidation by increasing the institutional mechanisms that support the on-going democracy in the future. There are still plenty of problems found in the democratic transition, of which the election mechanism is still considered to be complicated. Voter registration should be made easy and the accuracy of its data guaranteed. Although it is not easy to reach remote areas, in this case the government election commission should be able to demonstrate that they are trying to fix the election mechanism for the better. Government regulations for the formation of political parties must also be kept in the review and amended to ensure that people are guaranteed the freedom to organize parties and to ensure that the number of parties is not too great because some respondents stated that they were quite confused because of the many parties there were, without obvious differences in their platforms. The Indonesian direct election system with the large population spread over a large geographical area requires a large amount of funding to deliver democracy to the regions. Therefore, the effectiveness of campaign logistics needs to be improved to reduce the public perception that elections are just wasting money. Therefore, the government needs to regulate party funding and monitor the election process whilst providing access to all citizens.

### **Political candidates**

This study found that trust in political candidates is formed by three main components, namely empathy, perceived capability, and candidate character and experience. Although the characteristic is difficult to assess, the behaviour of a politician can be a measure of whether he has a good or bad character and performance. Good characteristics of candidates have been identified by respondents in this study including equal, soft, patient, low profile, clean, transparent, charismatic, wisdom, unselfish, brave, polite, kind, fairness, cautious, sincere, incorruptibility, humble, simple, down to earth, close to people, and humility are represent empathy of the political candidate. Certainly not all of these characteristics are attached to political candidates, however it can at least provide guidance that is trusted by the electorate and ensure that to be elected, and a politician should have good qualities. To ensure that political candidates are elected, they also need to have such capabilities such as good in leadership, firm, disciplined, strong, inspiring, visionary, decisive, responsible, good care, smart, focus, and reliable. In addition, political candidates must also have experience and a good track record. The respondents in this study stated that a politician should be honest, highly educated, nationalist, religious, experienced, loyal, consistent, wise, and dynamic.

The political candidates can use the characteristics of good politicians to ensure that they have the characteristics that will ensure they are able to be elected. The political candidates can emphasize their character through political communication methods in designing political campaigns for future elections.

The ideal political candidate, particularly presidential candidate, 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.

### **6.2.3. Research Methodology Contribution**

There is a large quantity of research on trust by marketing and management scholars tending to use quantitative methodology to understand the relationship between trust and the other dimensions. Meanwhile, political marketing scientists focus more on the development of a conceptual framework rather than to test the model that has been developed.

This thesis has made a contribution to methodological aspects through a qualitative research by grounded theory approach to develop a theory about trust in electoral behaviour. By using grounded theory approach, this thesis has also built an understanding of the component of trust and how people make their decisions.

This study used an intergenerational perspective which involved parents and their children. This is a new approach in the research methodology perspective. This method used in this study was in order to compare the differences between parents who were familiar with the previous political system and children who were only exposed to the new democratic system.

### **6.3. Limitations and Future Research**

This research used a qualitative approach and has provided an empirical model of trust. As a result, this research has generated an empirical model.

However, the study has no intention to provide a model for generalization in the first place. The use of qualitative approach with grounded theory has led to two characteristics. Firstly, the grounded theory method provides the opportunity to draw robust findings from the data. However, it could somehow reflect the second characteristics which deal with the issue of bias. The bias could possibly appear during some stages such as the interpretation of interview transcripts and the development of the concepts or the categories. The limitation has opened up an opportunity to conduct further research to see whether the conceptual model of trust in electoral behaviour can work in different cases. In other words, this research identified that trust in political systems overrides any concerns of the political candidate and further research is required to examine if it could be replicated in different political systems or different contexts.

Future research could begin with testing the model in the context of early democracy system, transitional democracy, and mature democracy, both in Indonesia and an international environment. It could further explore the level of information and how trust would influence electoral behaviour in different levels of information. Future research would also ideally anticipate different levels of trust between voters and non-voters in the first place. Despite different voters' perspectives of trust emerging from this study, further elaboration on the relationship between trust and different social and economic backgrounds such as education level, income, and so on would give more interesting findings.

This study highlighted the potential tension between a secular political environment and a constitution built upon Islamic values. The findings indicate that this research has opened opportunity for research in the future in particular in

the context of religious and secular relationship. Further research is needed both in Indonesia and other democracies that have a religious/secular dichotomy to see how this can best be managed.

This study also identified the idea of the charismatic leader. This has been examined in the management literature and also the political science literature. It would be interesting to explore this from a political marketing perspective.

In summary, this research has challenged the current model of trust and electoral behaviour relationship. It provides an illustration of how trust operates in a transitional democracy and its influence on electoral behaviour or the other way around. Future research will provide a deeper understanding of electoral behaviour from voters' and politicians' perspectives through more varied methods.

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Appendix

Appendix 1. Inform Consent Form



This consent form is to check that you are happy with the information you have received about the study, that you are aware of your rights as a participant and to confirm that you wish to take part in the study.

Please tick as appropriate

		Yes	No
1	Have you read the research information leaflet?		
2	Have you had the opportunity to discuss further questions with a researcher?		
3	Have you received enough information about the study to decide whether you want to take part?		
4	Do you understand that you are free not to answer any questions?		
5	Do you understand that you may withdraw your participation in this research at any time without giving your reasons?		
6	Do you understand that a researcher will treat all information you provided as confidential?		
7	Do you agree to take part in the study?		

I confirm that quotations from the interview can be used in the final research report and other publications. I understand that these will be used anonymously.

Signature \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

Name in block letters, please \_\_\_\_\_

Please provide an email address and phone number below.

Email: \_\_\_\_\_

Phone: \_\_\_\_\_

## Appendix 2. Research Information



### Research Information

#### General Information

This research is being conducted as a part of studies towards a PhD degree in the Hull University Business School, United Kingdom.

Student: Ihwan Susila

Supervisors: Dr Dianne Dean ([d.m.dean@hull.ac.uk](mailto:d.m.dean@hull.ac.uk)) +44 (0) 1482 463 340  
Dr David Harness ([d.harness@hull.ac.uk](mailto:d.harness@hull.ac.uk)) +44 (0) 1482 463 485

Research topic: Conceptualising trust in electoral behaviour in a transitional democracy

#### Introduction

I would like to invite you to participate in my research concerning conceptualising trust in the context of electoral behaviour in Indonesia. This research is being undertaken as part of my PhD study at the Hull University Business School, University of Hull, United Kingdom.

#### The purpose of this study

This study aims to explore how trust should be conceptualised. The result of this study will provide a coherent model that explains the relationship between trust and electoral participation in the context of electoral behaviour in Indonesia.

#### Why you have been chosen?

As a voter, by participating in an election, you are making decisions to choose a member of parliament and president. Your experiences and views about the politicians will provide a greater understanding of the role trust in politics.

#### Must you take part in this study?

You can decide whether willing to participate or not in this research. If you are interested in taking part in this study, I will ask you to sign an informed consent form. You are also free to withdraw your participation at any time during the research process without providing any reasons.

#### What will happen if you agree to take part in this study?

I will record the interview. I will also ask you to provide me with your contact number and the appropriate time to contact you. You have the option to determine time and place to conduct interview.

**What are you required to do?**

You will be asked to participate in a prolonged in-depth interview. I will ask your permission to record the interview by digital recording.

**What is the duration of the in-depth interviews?**

The interview will take approximately 1 – 2 hours. I will ask some questions relating to your experiences in the previous election. All interviews will be recorded, then it will be transcribed and you have an opportunity to amend any parts that may be inaccurate.

**How do I keep the confidentiality of your participation?**

The University of Hull, where I study provides an ethical guideline to be followed by student prior to conducting research. I can confirm that I will follow the ethical and legal practices recommended by the university in my research. Prior to the interviews, I will record the process by digital recording and take some notes. All recording, transcriptions, and notes will be placed in a safe place in a safe lockers and I will be the only person who has access to those records. Your details will be kept anonymous and identified only with a code. I will cite some parts of the interviews transcription in my thesis, but I will not mention your name or provide information which might directly or indirectly be able to be used to identify you as a participant.

**Will you be informed of the result of this study?**

I plan to publish some parts of this study in some academic journals. If you like a copy of those publications, I would be grateful to send them to you if available.

**How do you raise any questions or complaints that you may have?**

If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact me for further information through my email: [i.susila@2009.hull.ac.uk](mailto:i.susila@2009.hull.ac.uk) or you can contact my research supervisor by emailing Dr Dianne Dean at [d.m.dean@hull.ac.uk](mailto:d.m.dean@hull.ac.uk). If you have any complaints during this study, you can make formal complaint to the Research Ethics Committee, University of Hull, Cottingham Road, Hull, HU6 7RX, telephone: (+44) 0 1482 463410, fax.: (+44) 0 1482 463689.

Thank you for your time.

Yours sincerely,

**Ihwan Susila**

PhD Student at the Hull University Business School  
University of Hull, Cottingham Road, Hull, HU6 7RX  
United Kingdom

### Appendix 3. Interview Guide



1. Can you tell me a little bit about your life?
  - a. Activities?
  - b. Hobby?
  - c. Work?
  - d. School?
  - e. Something else?
  
2. Where do you live?
  - a. Is it in inner city or rural area?
  - b. Are there any issues that are important for you?
  - c. Can you tell me what do local people need?
  
3. Can you tell me about your family?
  - a. Member?
  - b. What kinds of topic do you usually talk about with your family?  
→Probe: family life style, work, live, friends, interaction
  
4. How about your friend?
  - a. Do you involve in organizations?
  - b. What kinds of topic do you usually talk about with your friends?
  
5. Do you like to travel?
  - a. What are the benefits of travelling for you?
  - b. Can you tell me the most interesting place during travelling?
  
6. Do you have someone or people that you admire?

- a. Can you tell me about him/her?
  - b. What characteristics are they?  
→ Probe: normative and comparative
7. What issues are important in Indonesia?
- a. Can you tell me about it?
  - b. Is it important to you?
  - c. Does it have any impact on your life?
8. Did you also follow the international issue recently?
- a. Can you give a more detail description of what happened?
  - b. Does it have any impact on your life?
9. Can you tell me about politics?
- a. Is it interesting for you or not?
  - b. What happened in there?
  - c. What do you know about people protest, boycott, petition, and voting?
  - d. How happy are you with political system?
10. How do you hear about political issues?
- a. From TV?
  - b. From newspapers?
  - c. Internet?
  - d. Travel?
  - e. Friend?
  - f. Family?
  - g. Political campaign?
11. What about the politicians?
- Probe: what is the ideal person?
- What are the criteria of good politician?
12. How do you know the politicians?

→ Where you got information? (From your family, friends, media, and travel)

→ How you got the information?

13. Do you ever participate in election?

→ Probe: when, what election?

→ Who did you vote for?

14. Do you think that you choose the right person?

→ Probe: personal politicians (president; governor; major)

15. What make you choose that person?

→ Probe: the criteria

16. Are you happy with the outcome of the election?

→ Probe: what makes you happy or unhappy?

17. In the future, if you participate again in election, will you choose the person who have similar characteristic?

→ Probe: why

18. How if there are no person with the characteristic?

→ Probe: would you still vote?

19. Is there anything else that you feel we should have discussed?

#### **Appendix 4. Publications: Papers and Presentation**

Susila, I., Dean, D., & Harness, D. (2011), "Trust and cynicism model in political marketing", *The 7<sup>th</sup> Annual Doctoral Colloquium*, Lancaster University Management School, UK, 12 -13 July 2011.

Susila, I., Dean, D., & Harness, D. (2011), "Conceptualizing trust in political marketing perspective", *British Academy of Management Conference*, Aston Business School, Aston University, Birmingham, UK, 13 – 15 September 2011.

Susila, I., Dean, D., & Harness, D. (2013), "Conceptualizing trust in electoral behaviour in a transitional democracy", *The 1<sup>st</sup> PhD Marketing and Business Strategy Conference*, Hull University Business School, UK, 4 December 2013.

Susila, I., Dean, D., & Harness, D. (2014), "Conceptualizing trust in electoral behaviour in a transitional democracy: an intergenerational perspective", *Academy of Marketing Conference*, Bournemouth University, UK, 8 – 10 July 2014.