

How the Political Trust Before, at Pandemic and Vaccinations: Provincial Case Studies in Indonesia (2019, 2020 and 2021)

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ABSTRACT:

The Covid-19 pandemic caused various problems. Government and political systems were also disrupted, including political trust. This study aims to compare the level of youth political trust to government and parliament before pandemic (2019), at the pandemic (2020), and when the vaccine starts (2021), to collect data we used a questionnaire on institutional political trust in 1122 respondents taken at three different years. Data were collected using stratified cluster random sampling, which is spread across 14 districts in South Sulawesi. Then, the data were analyzed using the Anava test using SPSS 24.0. The results analysis show that youth's trust in government during 2019-2021 were ups and downs, which before the pandemic trust was at 62%, then when the pandemic fell to 55% and in 2021 it could be increased again by the government to 60% which it means that only a difference of 2% from before the pandemic. Youth trust in the DPRD during 2019-2021 has had ups and downs, wherein in 2019, the level of trust was at 50%. Then at the pandemic (2020), it increased to 53%, and in 2021 after vaccines and government programs running well, it decreased far from before the pandemic to 50%.

Keywords: Covid-19, South Sulawesi, Parliament, Political Trust, Youth

ABSTRAK:

Pandemi Covid-19 menyebabkan berbagai permasalahan. Sistem pemerintahan dan politik juga terganggu termasuk didalamnya kepercayaan politik. Penelitian ini, bertujuan untuk membandingkan tingkat kepercayaan politik pemuda pada pemerintah dan DPRD saat sebelum pandemi (tahun 2019), saatawal pandemi (2020), hingga saat mulaimunculnya vaksin (2021). Pengambilan data menggunakan kuesioner kepercayaan politik institusi pada 1122 responden yang diambil pada 3 tahun berbeda. Pengambilan data dilakukan dengan menggunakan *stratified cluster random sampling* yang sebarannya di 14 kabupaten di Sulawesi Selatan. Kemudian, data tersebut dianalisis menggunakan uji Anava dengan bantuan SPSS 24.0. Hasil analisis yang ditemukan menunjukkan bahwa pada kepercayaan pemuda pada pemerintah sepanjang 2019-2021 terjadi pasang surut, yang mana pada sebelum pandemi kepercayaan berada pada 62%, kemudian saat pandemi turun menjadi 55% dan pada 2021 bisa kembali di naikkan oleh pemerintah menjadi 60% yang dapat dikatakan hanya selisih 2% dari sebelum adanya pandemi.

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kepercayaan pemuda pada DPRD sepanjang 2019-2021 terjadi pasang surut, yang mana pada tahun 2019 tingkat kepercayaannya berada pada 50%, kemudian pada saat terjadinya pandemi (tahun 2020) malah meningkat menjadi 53% dan 2021 setelah adanya vaksin dan upaya yang dilakukan, malah merosot jauh dari sebelum pandemi menjadi 50%.

Kata Kunci: Covid-19, Sulawesi Selatan, DPR, Kepercayaan Politik, Pemuda

INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is a country that is full of national issues. Various social problems such as poverty, social inequality, inequality in the quality of education, politics can be seen everywhere today. Since March 2020, we are facing the Corona Virus Disease 2019 (Covid-19) pandemic. In addition to the health, economy, and education, the Covid-19 pandemic caused various effects and problems, one of which is the most felt in politics. It is related to how the community depends and makes the government a source of life during this pandemic. Politics is a subject of study that will continue to develop. Political roles are considered very important for the sustainability of government and the sovereignty of a country to maintain unity, unity and peace, and the sustainability of its society. Political trust is considered an essential thing to be fulfilled to run a good system and increase political participation. With a population based on a survey by the Central Statistics Agency, Indonesia shows that there are 268 million people ([Badan Pusat Statistik, 2020a](#))¹. Indonesia must fulfil all people's needs, including public trust so that all decisions and matters regulated by the government are carried out correctly and get community support. Indonesia must ensure that every citizen can feel represented by the government in political decisions in Indonesia so that disputes and conflicts do not occur that can divide the integrity of the nation and state. It causes political decisions made and implemented by the government will involve and affect the welfare of the people. When we look at the history related to how the people's low political trust can ultimately affect the stability of the nation and the state, as happened in May 1998 at that time, President Soeharto's government, which had ruled for 32 years (from 1966-

1998) from his position. In 1998, President Soeharto's government was deemed not going well due to Indonesia's economic decline and President Soeharto's policies, which were considered not pro-society. It caused public trust declined drastically and forced President Soeharto to resign from president. The end of President Soeharto's government was marked by the reading of his resignation letter dated 21 May 1998².

Problems related to the decline in the public political trust not only occur in Indonesia, as an example occurred in Brazil recently (2016). There is impeachment or the process of dropping an indictment against a high-ranking official, which can lead to dismissal. Brazilian President Dilma Rousseff was impeached because he was accused of manipulating financial and administrative data and issuing policies deemed not meeting public expectations. Public trust in the Brazilian president decreased and resulted in the public staging demonstrations to demand that President Dilma Rousseff be impeached. Finally, members of the lower house of Brazil (DPR Brasil) took action to file impeachment against President Dilma Rousseff. As a result, 367 out of 504 Brazilian DPR members approved the impeachment, which resulted in the dismissal of Dilma Rousseff as president of Brazil, which then resulted in chaos and economic instability in Brazil ([Costa, 2019](#)). The impeachment case of the President of Brazil strengthens the existing evidence that the power and influence of political trusts are significant to the legitimacy of the government or institution.

The concept of political trust itself is widely used to solve the problems faced by various countries adhering to a democratic system. The most crucial problem in democratic theory is political trust as an evaluation of political legitimacy and institutions running according to public expectations ([Akhrani et al., 2018](#); [Min et al., 2020](#)). Political trust is the community's hope that the government or institution given this trust can respond, mobilize and carry out tasks according to community expectations. A political trust is a form of public expectations of the government

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or leaders who are assessed through the performance, design, and political system in order to meet the needs of society that are appropriate and as expected and needed by the community ([Bakar, 2019, 2020](#); [Dalton, 2017](#)). Alternatively, when we look at other views, suggesting that political trust is a way of maintaining attitudes and behavior to make rules and programs that do not trigger and create distrust in society ([Krastev, 2012](#)).

Political trust, as previously reviewed, is crucial for the sustainability of the nation and state, as well as maintaining national security and peace, which includes youth because 1 in 4 Indonesians is youth ([Badan Perencanaan dan Pembangunan Nasional, 2017](#))³. It means that youths' strength and number are tremendous and need special attention related to political trusts—youth as the pioneer of the movement for change towards improving a country. Based on Article 1 of Law no. 40 of 2009 concerning Youth ([Undang-Undang No. 40 Tahun 2009 Tentang Kepemudaan, 2009](#)) states that “*Youth are Indonesian citizens who enter an important period of growth and development, aged 16 to 30 years. Youth is the forerunner of future leaders*”. Youths have a role in developing ethical and moral aspects, strengthening national insight, increasing legal awareness, raising awareness of responsibilities, rights and obligations as citizens, increasing participation in the formulation of public policies, and developing science and technology.

Youth plays a crucial role in the nation-building process going forward. When the youth have started to become apathetic about politics and government issues, it can cause various problems and disturbances in the future. All threats, disturbances, obstacles, and challenges can quickly enter and damage the Indonesian nation. One of the most visible manifestations of youth political trusts is the level of participation in elections or PILKADA⁴. a survey by Demos confirms this problem, found that the current state of youth in political participation was only 49.8% had high political participation ([Putra et al., 2014](#)). Alternatively, it can be concluded that only a portion of Indonesian

youth participate or have trust in the government.

A survey by the Centre for Strategic and International Studies (2017) shows that public trust in political parties is classified as very low, which is only 44.2%. Indonesian people's trust in the government, based on the Edelman of the trust index, shows an increase since 2012-2018, namely 36%, 49%, 49%, 65%, 58%, 71%, and 73%, respectively (Edelman, 2018) and in 2019 at 75% points (Edelman, 2019), which means that the time is increasing. (See Figure 1)

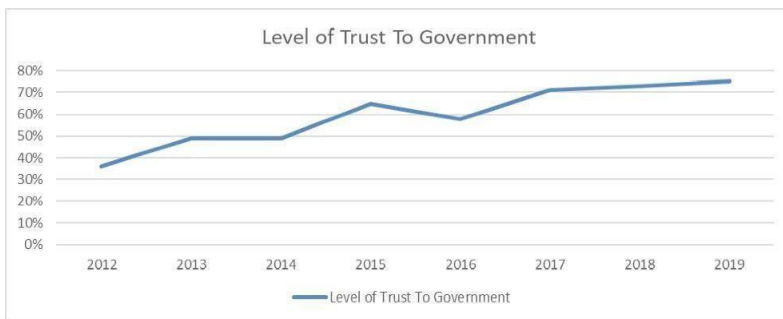


Figure 1. Level of Trust in Government

This problem can be seen from the Youth Development Index data released by the National Planning and Development Agency, an index that measures the status of youth development in Indonesia. Found that the civic participation of Indonesian youth is still relatively medium, with a score of 50.17 in 2016 from a scale of 0-100 (Badan Perencanaan dan Pembangunan Nasional, 2017). Even the data obtained is a slap in the face of youth and the Indonesian government. Indonesia is a large nation and faces a Demographic Dividend⁵, which means that Indonesian youth are counted very essentially but have not been appropriately empowered by the government.

Indonesian youth believe that advancing Indonesia is not only the government's responsibility, but all elements of society, especially youth. History has proven that young people play a role in bringing change for Indonesia. They are continuing the baton driving these changes. The government should be there to be a

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forum for ideas and a vehicle for realizing actions so that the youth have to be the object and subject of development especially In the Covid-19 problems currently being faced, which will undoubtedly affect the political trust of youth, which will impact national defence and security.

The loss of trust in politicians is especially acute among youth. In nearly 60% of countries surveyed in 2010–2014, youth have lower trust in political parties when compared to older people ([OECD, 2015](#)). Younger generations are under-represented in party membership and leadership, as well as in the legislature. Their marginalization from (and decreasing trust in) traditional political parties is of particular concern, as they could create or overhaul future models of representation ([International IDEA, 2018](#)).

One of the factors causing the fluctuation of trust in the government and DPRD is the current situation and condition. The year 2020 is quite a challenging year for all countries in the world, including Indonesia. March 2020 was the beginning of severe conditions, namely Corona Virus Disease 2019 (Covid-19). Of course, this is a shocking effect for the community, especially the government. It is based on the fact that various lifelines must change drastically, such as implementing lockdowns, large-scale social restrictions (PSBB)⁶, studying and working from home (WFH), etc. Of course, this makes the government confused about saving society from Covid-19 and saving the nation's economy. In addition, many community activities have been severely disrupted during 2020, including the society economy, which is essential. Finally, people put their hopes in the government to save the economy of society.

The government has taken various ways to meet these expectations. Some of the quick response from Indonesia government are Cash Transfer (BLT)⁷, pre-employment Program⁸, and other social assistance programs. Unfortunately, on 5 December 2020, Social Minister Juliari Batubara was arrested by the KPK⁹ through a hand-arrest operation (OTT) which was eventually made as a sus-

pectin the corruption case involving Direct Cash Assistance (BLT) worth 17 billion ([Mardiansyah, 2020](#)). As has been stated above, that assistance is very much needed by the community to help the economy during various limited community activities. In addition, there was also corruption committed by the Minister of Marine Affairs and Fisheries (KKP) Edhy Prabowo on 25 November 2020 ([KPK, 2020](#)).

This series of events can cause the public trust to decline because the public has given high expectations for the government in helping to predict economic problems. However, unfortunately, there have been cases of corruption. This situation ultimately confused the public, therefore the government made policies to have an impact on how people viewed the government. Automatically, this change in perspective dramatically affects how people trust the government.

At the end of 2020, outside the existing corruption cases. In this case, what does the government carry out in the form of coordination and prevention? The researcher assesses that the handling carried out by the government is quite good and can be categorized as measured and ready. It can be seen from how the government can adequately control and tracking the spread of Covid-19. In addition, there is also a new hope that at the end of 2020, the vaccine has been ordered. January 2021 has arrived in Indonesia and is ready for use on 13 January for the first time by President Joko Widodo.

This study aims to provide an overview of the level of differences in youth political trusts in 2019-2021 to be used as a reference for developing and increasing political trust in the future. In addition, this research is also a form of evaluation for the government and the DPRD, which have obligations under the law to meet the community's needs, increase participation, and public political trust. Seeing the very dynamic phenomenon of political trust, this is an exciting finding on how to get answers about the current state of political trust. This research focuses on looking at differences in the political trusts of youth before

the pandemic (2019), first-time pandemic (2020), and After vaccine existed that brings hope pandemic will be done (2021).

HYPOTHESIS

Based on the explanation above, the formulation of hypothesis can be as following:

- H1: There are differences in youth political trust in the government before the Covid-19 and the beginning of the Covid-19 occurrence
- H2: There are differences in youth political trust in the government at the beginning of the Covid-19 and the use of vaccines
- H3: There are differences in youth political trust in the government prior to the Covid-19 and the use of vaccines
- H4: There are differences in Youth political trust the DPR before the Covid-19 and the beginning of the Covid-19 occurrence
- H5: There are differences in youth political trust in the DPRD at the beginning of the Covid-19 occurrence and the use of vaccines
- H6: There are differences in youth political trust the DPRD before the Covid-19 and the existence of vaccines

LITERATURE REVIEW

POLITICAL TRUST

Political trust is the result of an evaluation of the government by individuals regarding social justice that occurs in society. Political trust is an individual trust in the goodness of an individual or group in carrying out duties and obligations for the common interest in the political system ([Wahyudi et al., 2017](#)). Trust in politicians is emphasized that politicians are trusted if they have attitudes and missions in political organizations, government, and running the government system ([Zavecz, 2017](#))

A political trust is a form of society's evaluative orientation to the political process or part of an ongoing process based on indi-

viduals who respond to the normative expectations of society ([Colquitt et al., 2007](#); [Hetherington, 1998](#)). The government and the inherent elements act in the individual or the public ([Letki, 2018](#); [Zavec, 2017](#)) and constitute a cognitive evaluation ([Van Der Meer, 2018](#)).

Political trust means that it can be defined as an evaluative form carried out by the government and an inherent element manifested in the form of positive expectations given to the government or specific institutions. It can be underlined that this trust focuses on evaluating people's expectations of the government, which is judged by the community to be implemented. The public's perception forms political trust that political institutions have satisfactory performance and have a clear impact ([Mishler & Rose, 2001](#)), yielding preferred results even if left unattended ([Shi, 2001](#)). Political trust is a way of maintaining attitudes and behavior to make rules and programs that do not trigger and create distrust in the community ([Krastev, 2012](#)).

Political trust can be divided into two, namely cultural perspective and institutional theory ([Mishler & Rose, 2001](#)). The cultural perspective explains that political trust is an interpersonal trust or trust formed through life stages that involve emotions that will lead to political institutions and influence the assessment of individual performance. The cultural perspective emphasizes the influence of the environment over a long period and affects individual differences in seeing political trusts. The cultural perspective explains that political trusts are influenced by individual background such as gender, age, education, political preferences, and minority status.

Institutional Trust explains that institutions with good performance will be trusted by the community, while institutions with poor performance or not according to community expectations will distrust the public and lead to skepticism. Political trust is formed on the fulfilment of people's expectations of the performance or performance of political institutions according to society's expectations, which means that political trust impacts

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institutional performances. Institutional and individual political trusts are categorization based on the object to which the trust is directed. Political trust also has variants based on various types of motivation that individuals have when trusting their institutions or political leaders ([Mishler & Rose, 2001](#)).

Two factors influence political trust, namely, rational and relational reasoning. Rational political trust involves interest-based calculations in which citizens evaluate the government or individuals acting according to the ideals of society's expectations ([Blind, 2007](#)). Blind argues that a trust is a form of rational action based on cognitive and assessment of the benefits of trusting other individuals. Trust built on a rational choice framework focuses on cognition that forms the basis of appropriateness judgments and decisions to place trust in others and the attachment of trusting relationships in networks, groups, and institutions ([Blind, 2007](#); [Cook & Santana, 2018](#)).

Rational trust is a measure based on competence, honesty, integrity, and perceived fairness under individual expectations of the government or individuals ([Weinhardt, 2015](#)). Rational trust is a process of imaginative anticipation of an individual or group performance based on reputation, evaluation, perception, action, and trust in self-perspective relational factors ([Blind, 2007](#)). Relational trust is affective factors, meaning that relational trust is based on ethics and individual goodness. Relational trust is more inclined towards relationships between individuals. Relational trust is an interpersonal trust that relies on assumptions about relationships with other individuals formed through a process of interaction regarding identity and affective ([Blind, 2007](#); [Weinhardt, 2015](#)).

Rathbun argues that relational trust is a personal attachment relationship that can develop over time. The basis of relational, political trusts is the individual's identity, which is the primary driver influencing the collaboration process ([Weinhardt, 2015](#)). According to Hardin, relational trust is based on individual optimistic expectations about other individuals from past

experiences with other individuals, which manifest as subjective trusts. Relational trust is trust in other individuals individually based on past relationships and events that arise under certain conditions ([Robbins, 2016](#)).

According to Grim and Knies, three characteristics can be used to measure institutional political trust, namely, perceived competence, benevolence, and integrity ([Grimmelikhuijsen & Knies, 2017](#))¹⁰. First, Perceived Competence is a condition in which society assesses and sees capable, practical, skilled and professional institutions. Individuals need trust in how well individuals perform institutional performance regarding highlighting specific tasks and situations that have construct properties. Second, Perceived Benevolence is a condition in which the community assesses and sees institutions that have exceptional attention to welfare and run programs under public interests, the desire of individuals to provide satisfaction that benefits society, including attention, empathy, trust, and acceptance. Third, Perceived Integrity is a condition in which society assesses and sees institutions as an honest group and fulfils all promises, related to how the habits of individuals who say or act according to facts reasonably, keep promises, are loyal, honest, and can be trusted ([Grimmelikhuijsen & Knies, 2017](#)).

Based on the description above, it can be concluded that an institutional political trust is a form of public expectations of the government that is assessed through the performance, design, and political system to meet community needs precisely and as expected and needed by society. Due to rational and relational factors, which in the end can be assessed from the three aspects of political trust, namely: Perceived competence, perceived benevolence, and perceived integrity.

INDONESIAN YOUTH

Youth as the pioneer of change movement towards the improvement of a country. Based on Article 1 of Law Number 40 of 2009 concerning Youth ([Undang-Undang No. 40 Tahun 2009](#)

[Tentang Kepemudaan, 2009](#)), “youth are Indonesian citizens who enter an important period of growth and development aged 16 to 30 years”. Then, continued in article 16, it is explained that “youth play an active role as a moral force, social control, and agents of change in all aspects of national development.”. It means that youth have a role in developing ethical and moral aspects, strengthening national insight, increasing legal awareness, raising awareness of responsibilities, rights, and obligations as citizens, increasing participation in the formulation of public policies, and developing science technology. The period of the younger generation or youth is marked by attitudes and mental maturity, the ability to participate in the context of community life.

There are many young people in Indonesia, and it is recorded that based on data from the Central Statistics Agency in 2020, the number of youths in Indonesia has reached 64.50 million people or 1 in 4 of Indonesia’s population is youth. There is more male youth than female youth, with a sex ratio of 103.18, which means that for every 103 male youth, there is 100 female youth. The percentage of youth in urban areas is more significant than in rural areas (57.83% compared to 42.17%). Based on the distribution by region, more than half of youth are concentrated in Java (55.11%) ([Badan Pusat Statistik, 2020b](#))¹¹.

In Indonesia’s historical records, the youth played a role in the struggle that began during the national movement, long before Indonesia’s independence. The concept of Indonesia was echoed by youth during the youth oath of 28 October 1928¹². The role and function of youth should be a concern for the government.

The related ministries/agencies should continue to make various efforts to develop all existing potentials through awareness, empowerment, development in various fields, including the most important is politics. It means that the role of youth even before Indonesia’s independence had a considerable role. The youth had great power in helping the government in efforts to improve various things in the future.

REGIONAL GOVERNMENT

The government is a public organization with the aim of public service through the government and bureaucratic system run by bureaucrats to achieve society's ideals (Martias, 2019). Based on Article 1 of Law No. 23 of 2014 concerning Local Government Law no. 23 of 2014 concerning Regional Government (2014) states that *“regional government is the head of the region as an element of regional government administration who leads the implementation of government affairs which fall under the authority of autonomous regions.”* The government is an organization or organization of individuals with powers and institutions that take care of state matters, the welfare of the people, and the state (Afifah & Yuningsih, 2016).

The functions and objectives of local government are the basis for the structure of a democratic political system and sustainable development with a role as the primary vehicle at a certain level to ensure increased understanding, participation, and public support for governance (Setiawan, 2018).

Based on this. It means that the government must meet the needs of its people, in this case, the people's expectations to fulfil the functions and objectives of the government to increase the participation and political trust of the people in the government to gain legitimacy from the community.

REGIONAL PEOPLE'S REPRESENTATIVE COUNCIL

The Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD) is regulated in the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. In the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, Article 22C Chapter VIIA concerning the Regional Representative Council states that *“members of the regional people's representative council are elected from each province through general elections.”* Then, in the general provisions of Law No. 7 of 2017 concerning the General Election states, *“Regional People's Representative Council, hereinafter abbreviated to DPRD, is the Provincial Regional People's Representative Council and Regency/Municipal Regional People's Representa-*

tive Council as referred to in the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia". Then, it is described in more detail in Article 363 of the Regional Representative Council and the Regional People's

Representative Council Law No 17 of 2014 concerning the People's Consultative Assembly, the Regional Representative Council, and the Regional People's Representative Council. States that "*Regency/city DPRD consists of members of political parties participating in general elections who are elected through general elections,*" and Article 364 that "*The Regency / Municipal DPRD is a regional people's representative institution which is positioned as an element in administering regency/ municipal government.*".

Article 1 paragraph (1) of Law No. 17 of 2014 concerning the People's Consultative Assembly, the People's Representative Council, the Regional Representative Council, and the Regional Representative Council. Confirms that "*DPRD functions to carry out legislative, budgeting and supervisory functions.*". Then continued in paragraph (2) that "*the three functions as referred to in paragraph (1) shall be implemented within the framework of people's representation in districts/cities*". In carrying out the functions of the City DPRD, it is required to be responsive and sensitive to the interests of the people it represents and the political organizations where DPRD members take shelter.

Based on the above discussion, it can be seen that the DPRD has the primary function, namely legislation, budgeting and supervision. In these three functions, one of the indicators and the most important thing is how the DPRD can bring the people's aspirations and make it happen to achieve political trust for the legitimacy of the DPRD itself.

RESEARCH METHOD

This research uses a quantitative approach by making comparisons in 3 different situations. This study uses data taken by researchers themselves based on a questionnaire that has been considered valid and refers to aspects of institutional political trusts.

RESPONDENTS, INSTRUMENTS AND DATA ANALYSIS

The data collection technique in this study used research instrument in the form of a Likert scale. Researchers assume that the information obtained from respondents is reliable. Self-administered questionnaires were distributed according to predetermined characteristics based on aspects of perceived competence, perceived benevolence and perceived integrity based on aspects of institutional political trust ([Grimmelikhuijsen & Knies, 2017](#)). The analysis used in this research is descriptive, and the hypothesis test used is the comparative test (T-test) using SPSS 24.0. This study involved 1121 respondents with respondent characteristics as described below (see *Table 1* and *Table 2*).

Table 1. Number of Research Respondents

Year	Respondent		
	2019	2020	2021
Number of Respondents	400	415	307
Total	1122		

The number of respondents in each study as described in *Table 1* that is, in 2019 as many as 400 respondents, 2020 as many as 415 respondents and 2021 as many as 307 respondents, so that the total respondents used in this study were 1122 young people with the criteria of living in South Sulawesi Province and 17-30 years old.

Table 2. Characteristics Based on Gender

Year	2019		2020		2021	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Total	191	209	187	228	173	134

Ket: M= Male, F= Female

In *Table 2*, the characteristics of respondents based on gender are described, it can be seen that in 2019, male respondents were 191 and 209 females, in 2020 males were 187 and females were 288, while in 2021, males were 173 and 134 females. All respondents are young people who live in Makassar City, aged 17-30

years(seeTable3).ThesampleinthisstudywastakenusingStratified Cluster Random Sampling.

Table 3. Characteristics by age

Age	2019	2020	2021
Mean	22.2	22.4	23.3

In Table 3, shows the mean age of all respondents, namely in 2019 the mean is 22.2 years, 22.24 years in 2020 and 23.3 years in 2021. This is important to show how the responses can be seen and state that each year does not have much difference.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

After carrying out data collection, the most crucial step is to select the appropriate test for statistical analysis. In this study, we are using the One-Way ANOVA Test with the help of SPSS 24.0. The usefulness of the Anova test is intended to see the differences as the hypothesis has been presented above.

Before conducting the Anova test, the researcher first calculates trust, which is then described as a percentage (%), to get a clear picture of the difference in percentage (See Table 4)

Table 4. Trust Level from 2019, 2020 to 2021 in the Government and DPRD

	2019		2020		2021	
Institution	PR	DP	PR	DP	PR	DP
Percentage (%)	62%	50%	55%	53%	60%	46%

Table 5. The Significance Value of Differences in Youth Political Trust in the Government from 2019-2021.

Variable	Sig.	description
KP 2019 -> KP 2020	0.000	Significance
KP 2020 -> KP 2021	0.001	significance
KP 2019 -> KP 2021	0.995	No Significance

Based on data in Table 4. It can be seen that the level of youth trust in the government in 2019-2021 has experienced ups and downs. However, each year the DPRD has decreased. Further-

more, the data is tested using one-way ANOVA to see whether the difference is significant or not, illustrated in the following table (See *Table 5*).

Based on data in *Table 5* shows that there was a significant difference in the political trust of youth in the government before the Covid-19 pandemic (2019) and when it occurred (2020), which was based on *Table 4*, the difference is quite far, namely a difference of 7%, meaning that there has been a significant decrease since 2019-2020. Then, youth political trust in the government in 2020 when the Covid-19 pandemic occurred and in 2021 also shows a significant difference. This means that a 5% increase in trust from 2020 to 2021 is said to increase significantly (See *Table 4*).

Furthermore, there is no significant difference in the political trust of youth before the covid pandemic (2019) compared to 2021. As we have seen in *Table 4*, there was a difference of about 2%, which is considered not a significant change. Furthermore, it can be concluded that the trust levels in 2019 and 2021 do not differ significantly despite the previous ups and downs.

Table 6. The Significance Value of Differences in Youth Political Trusts in the DPRD from 2019-2021.

Variables	Sig.	description
DPRD 2019 -> DPRD 2020	0.005	Significant
DPRD 2020 -> DPRD 2021	0.000	Significant
DPRD 2019 -> DPRD 2021	0.007	Significant

Based on data in *Table 6* shows that. There is a significant difference in youth political trust in DPRD in 2019 and 2020, based on *Table 4*. The difference is 3%, meaning that there has been a significant increase since 2019-2020. Then, the youth's political trust in the DPRD in 2020 and 2021 also shows a significant difference. This means that a 9% decrease in trust from 2020 to 2021 is said to have decreased significantly (See *Table 4*).

Furthermore, there is a significant difference in the political

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trust of youth before the covid pandemic (2019) compared to 2021. As we have seen in Table 4, there is a difference of about 4%, which is a significant change. Furthermore, it can be concluded that the level of trust in 2019 and 2021 will change significantly. Furthermore, youth's trust in the DPRD is not affected by the situation amid the pandemic. Based on the comprehensive research data found, it can be concluded that H1, H2, H4, H5 and H6 are accepted and H3 is rejected.

CONCLUSION

We found that youth's trust in government during 2019-2021 there were ups and downs. Before the pandemic, the political trust was at 62%. Then in 2020 (when the pandemic) fell to 55%. Furthermore, in 2021 it could be increased again by the government to 60%, which can be said that only a difference of 2% from before the pandemic (See Figure 2). This means that the government can resolve the issue of youth political trust quickly and adequately.

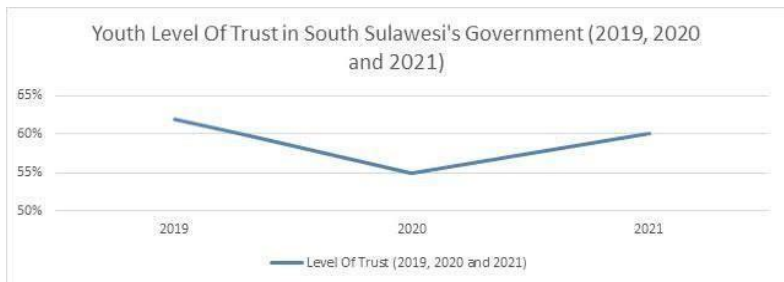


Figure 2. Youth Level of Trust in South Sulawesi's Government

It can be answered because, in 2020, a disaster will cause people to question the government's readiness to face various disasters, including the Covid-19 pandemic. This can be seen from the various policies that fluctuated at the beginning of the Covid-19, which automatically confused the public and ultimately lowered their political trust.

In addition, during the pandemic, various activities had to be

stopped (lockdown) and the holding of the PSBB, which ultimately made the community utterly dependent on the government. Because the community's expectations were not fulfilled, such as getting immediate assistance, this ultimately lowered the youth's trust.

This is also supported by the theory that political trust is formed by the perception of society those political institutions have satisfactory performance and have a clear impact (Mishler & Rose, 2001) and in carrying out their duties and obligations for the common interest in the political system ([Wahyudi et al., 2017](#)). Furthermore, the youth's trust in the DPRD during 2019-2021 had ups and downs, which is 2019, the level of trust was at 50%. At the pandemic (2020), it increased to 53% and 2021 after vaccines and efforts were made. It has fallen far from before the pandemic to 50% (See Figure 3). This is an exciting discover, because the level of youth trust in DPRD was not affected by the Covid-19 pandemic. However, there was a significant decrease.

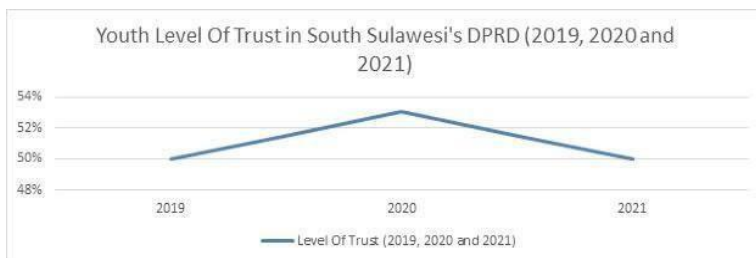


Figure 3. Youth Level of Trust in South Sulawesi's DPRD

From the two levels of trust in the government and DPRD in South Sulawesi, it can be seen that the results are very contradictory (See Figure 2 and Figure 3). This shows that the state of the Covid-19 pandemic influences the level of public trust in local governments through programs carried out by the local government itself. This means that youth expectations for the government are moving and formed here. The community judges these

expectations whether they are fulfilled or not so that there is an increase and a decrease, primarily when a pandemic occurs. This is seen from the third 3-point table, which states that the differ-

ence in 2019 and 2021 does not have a significant difference, meaning that through programs carried out by the government by procuring vaccines and accelerating the handling of the COVID-19 pandemic, these are apparent factors in increasing public trust meet his expectations. Political trust is a form of youth's evaluative orientation to the political process or part of an ongoing process based on individuals who respond to the normative expectations of society ([Colquitt et al., 2007](#); [Hetherington, 1998](#)). The government itself is closely related to [Colquitt et al., 2007](#) and [Hetherington, 1998](#), which in the government, the form of program expectations that influence public trust. Then, in the Government, Rational trust is something that is seen by youth in society. Thus, for trust in local governments, researchers agree that Rational trust is an aspect that is highly valued by the community as stated by ([Blind, 2007](#)) stated that Rational trust is a process of imaginative anticipation of an individual or group performance based on reputation, evaluation, perception, action, and trust in self-perspective relational factors

Meanwhile, at the DPRD, the community did not give their expectations because they saw that the DPRD did not have programs or matters directly related to the Covid-19 pandemic. It tends to appear that the expectations that form trust in the DPRD are not related to the pandemic itself because the DPRD is not directly related to the problem. With the public about the issue of the pandemic. Based on this, the researcher finally agrees that trust in the DPRD itself will focus on relational trust because it can be seen that public trust will fluctuate whether there is a pandemic or not, public trust will fluctuate and what is seen is the sympathy of youth in DPRD which has an influence. As stated by ([Robbins, 2016](#)) stated that Relational trust is trust in other individuals individually based on past relationships and events

that arise under certain conditions. This is seen in table 4, which explains that the DPRD's confidence level is still very volatile whether there is a pandemic or a vaccine. Even when the pandemic occurs (2020), the confidence level is higher than in 2019 and 2021. This clearly shows that The Covid-19 pandemic is not a factor in the ups and downs of youth's level of trust in the DPRD.

So, we can find that basically, the government is an institution that clearly will be very concerned with the community and the level of trust will depend on what the local government itself implements programs. appropriate to meet community expectations that are more focused on implementing programs according to community expectations. Meanwhile, in DPRD, community expectations are more focused on the form of collective views related to the behavior and attitudes of the DPRD itself.

Based on what we found, basically the youth of South Sulawesi had a low level of trust in the local government and the DPRD for the province of South Sulawesi. Even though the number of youths in Makassar is quite large, this is a serious matter that needs to be improved by the Government and DPRD. Especially for the Government, it is more likely to run programs according to the expectations of youth, because what we find is that youth will give confidence to see the programs being launched or implemented. In contrast to the DPRD, in order to increase its trust in youth, it prioritizes the emotional approach to the youth of South Sulawesi Province.

ENDNOTES

- ¹ The central statistical agency is the government statistical agency for providing data
- ² In This resignation, there are many factors and cause declining the level of trust and anger from the public
- ³ National Development Planning of the Republic of Indonesia. The Duty to organizes government affairs in the field of national development planning to assist the President in running the government
- ⁴ PILKADA is a regional head election conducted directly by residents of the local administrative area who meet the requirements
- ⁵ Indonesia's productive age population in 2035 will reach 70.7% of the total popula-

- tion of Indonesia or around 191 million and around 70 million of them are youth.
- ⁶ PSBB is Limitation of certain community activities in an area that is suspected of being infected with a disease and / or contamination in such a way as to prevent the possibility of spreading disease or contamination
- ⁷ BLT is government assistance programs provide cash or various other assistance for the poor or those affected by Covid-19
- ⁸ assistance with training costs for Indonesians who wish to acquire or upgrade their skills.
- ⁹ KPK or The Corruption Eradication Commission of the Republic of Indonesia is a state institution established with the aim of increasing the effectiveness and efficiency of efforts to eradicate corruption.
- ¹⁰ Researchers use this perspective as measurement because the research conducted by Grim and Knies in 2017 saw the similarities that researchers would do and also through research entitled "Validating a scale for citizen trust in government organizations". we consider it very appropriate to be used as the main reference informing the questionnaire.
- ¹¹ The Central Bureau of Statistics in its publication on 2020 Indonesian Youth Statistics
- ¹² Prior to 1928, the concept of Indonesia was not yet known. On October 28, 1928 which is the day of the pledge of Indonesian youth. At that time, it began to be determined that the entire territory that was colonized by the Dutch at that time was Indonesia and must be fought for, the unifying language used was Indonesian. and overall this was initiated by the Indonesian Youth through the Indonesian Youth Pledge

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