

The Waning *Gotong-Royong*: Assessing the Intergenerational Decline of Social Trust in the Contemporary Indonesia Society

Sigit Wisnu Tomo
 Graduate School

Universitas Negeri Yogyakarta
 Yogyakarta, Indonesia.
 wisnu1594@gmail.com

Amika Wardana
 Graduate School

Universitas Negeri Yogyakarta
 Yogyakarta, Indonesia.
 a.wardana@uny.ac.id

Deri Indrahadi
 Graduate School

Universitas Negeri Yogyakarta
 Yogyakarta, Indonesia.
 dindrahadi@gmail.com

Nadiyya Qurrotu Aini Zummi
 Graduate School

Universitas Negeri Yogyakarta
 Yogyakarta, Indonesia.
 nadiyyazumi@gmail.com

Yunike Sulistyosari
 Graduate School

Universitas Negeri Yogyakarta
 Yogyakarta, Indonesia.
 yunikesulistyosari96@gmail.com

Abstract—This study aims to investigate the level of differences in the intergenerational social trust in the context of a society in Indonesia – linked to the traditional value of *Gotong Royong*. The study uses data from the 5th edition of the Indonesia Family Live Survey (IFLS), which was published in 2014 and involving about 24,662 respondents spread across 13 provinces in Indonesia. The variables used are 1) Age variable which is divided into 3 generations (baby boomers' generation, x generation, and Millennial generation), 2) social trust variables which include a) measure the level of individual trust in their neighbors b) measure the level of individual trust in people of the same ethnic group. c) measure the level of individual trust in people of the same religion. The ANOVA test for data shows a downward trend in the level of social trust between baby boomers, generation X, and millennials; which means it is explained as a change in the value of cooperation in the rapid transformation of Indonesian society.

Keywords: *social trust, Gotong Royong, Indonesia, society, millennial generation*

I. INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is the fourth most populous country in the world. With a population of more than 250 million, it is also one of the most diverse in the world ranging from ethnicity, religion to streams of belief. Previous studies have reported that Indonesia is a country with a total of 1,200 ethnic groups identified scattered and inhabited on 6,000 islands. Several attempts have been made to identify the diversity of ethnic groups in Indonesia, that the Javanese and Sundanese are the majority ethnic group [1].

The plurality and complexity of the Indonesian nation are increasingly plural and complex if coupled with the existence of mass organizations, political parties, ideologies, schools of thought, streams of belief, and religious expression of each religious community. The diversity of schools and schools of belief automatically leads to the growth of diversity of expressions and practices of belief in the community. With diversity,

humans need a trust or mutual trust in every social interaction. Several researchers have reported that this trust will maintain the sustainability of a social system where social interaction takes place [2]. Previous research has reported that trust is also an important factor in increasing interpersonal relations that are more effective and efficient [3].

In the context of Indonesian society, social trust is the same as *Gotong-royong*. *Gotong-royong* is a form of social solidarity, where each community member will help one another in various activities in the community. *Gotong-royong* explains to us that humans are social beings who need each other and complement each other. with *gotong-royong* we can strengthen our brotherhood, increasing mutual trust between communities. Recent evidence shows that social solidarity is interrelated between community members or communities. If people trust each other, they will respect each other, become mutually responsible to help each other in meeting each other's needs [4]. As social beings, we cannot let go of relationships with other people around us, relationships or social interactions first start on the smallest scale, namely relationships between people in the family environment, then continue to relationships between neighbors, then relationships at work, until the scale the biggest one is relations between countries. The response of each relationship is based on mutual trust.

Mutual trust among members of the community allows a harmonious social life. simple examples of mutual trust between individuals in social life such as when we entrust the work of guarding the house when going on vacation, helping each other when a disaster occurs. this attitude of mutual trust is seen when we use their services, such as the services of an organization or institution, university, bank, police, hospital and pension services. findings of previous research call this as "public trust"; it describes "belief in the good of humans in general" [5].

In the past two decades, several researchers have attempted to investigate the effects of social trust, however, too little attention has been given to the growing trend of social trust which takes an intergenerational perspective [6]. A large amount of literature was published in early 2000. These studies themselves were hampered by difficulties in conceptual detailing, inconsistent stages of activity over time, and intermittent time series, and the absence of literature that had a research design that was its validity can be proven. However, research has consistently shown that there are differences in social belief, this is due to differences in generation, race, and religion. people tend to trust people from the same background, such as the same age, the same ethnic group, and religion. the findings of the study explain that diversity has the potential to lead to greater ethnic tensions [7, 8].

Recent evidence suggests that the decline in social trust in American society is caused by differences in generation factors. a group of people with the same characteristics, living at a certain time period will tend to have different levels of trust compared to previous generations. the decrease in the level of social trust is not specifically known, whether the decline occurred in the baby boomer's generation or because it was caused by a new generation of X generation and millennials. In another major study, social trust in Americans experiences different levels of trust from previous generations, this can be seen from the decline in the level of concern or participation in their community [9].

Several results of the study so far explain that there is a decrease in the level of social trust caused by differences in ethnicity, race, religion and social background. However, too little attention is paid to cross-generation aspects. what will happen if the decline in the level of social trust continues? certainly to see more clearly the downward trend in the level of social trust must be with a cross-generational perspective. For this reason, the researcher seeks to provide new evidence about generational disparities in differences in the level of social trust in the context of Indonesian society.

II. RESEARCH METHOD

This study uses a quantitative approach with ANOVA one-way analysis techniques to identify the level of inter-generational social trust differences and to describe generational distribution data. Research data sourced from the Indonesia Life Family Survey (IFLS). Indonesia's life family survey data used are IFLS 5 data published in 2014 which surveyed 13 provinces in Indonesia, IFLS data is a socio-economic and health survey on Indonesian people [10]. the reason for using this IFLS data is many respondents' participation, so it can be used to generalize the results of research. The variables used in this study are 1) the age variable, the age variable is divided into 3 (baby boomers generation, generation X and Millennial Generation), 2) social trust variables, namely a) measuring the level of social trust in neighbors, b) measuring the level of social trust people of the same tribe, c) measure the level of social belief of people of the same religion. Respondents are limited based on the year of birth of the baby boomer, x generation and millennial generation. This

resulted in a total of 24,662 respondents spread across 13 provinces in Indonesia.

III. RESULTS

The basic understanding of the grouping of generations is the premise that a generation is a group of individuals who are affected by historic events and cultural phenomena that occur and are experienced in their life phases, and these events and phenomena cause the formation collective memories that have an impact on their lives [11, 12, 13]. So historical events, social, and cultural effects along with these other factors will influence the formation of individual behavior, values, and personality [14].

TABLE I. INTER-GENERATIONAL SOCIAL TRUST

Generation	freq	percent
Millennial Generation	12.308	49.91
X Generation	9.387	38.06
Baby boomers Generation	2.967	12.03
Total	24.662	100.00

Source: IFLS 5, 2014 (processed by researchers)

Data in table 1. Between generations is divided into five categories. The total number of respondents is dominated by the y generation (Millennial), as many as 49.91% (12,308 people). This becomes very reasonable when considering that the generation y or millennial is a new generation born between 1980-1995. The generation x group represents 38.06% (9,387 people) is still a new generation born between 1960-1980. While the number of baby boomers as many as 12.03% (2,967 people) is smaller than the millennial and x generations, this is very reasonable because the baby boomer generation is among the first generation born between 1946-1960.

TABLE 2. ANOVA TEST DIFFERENCES IN INTERGENERATIONAL LEVEL OF SOCIAL TRUST

Dimensions of social trust	Average Value			
	Babyboomers	Generasi X	Millennia I	X ²
the neighbor	2.90 (0.00) ^a	2.90 (0.00) ^b	2.80 (0.00) ^c	101.61***
tribe	2.89 (0.00) ^a	2.73 (0.00) ^b	2.72 (0.00) ^c	94.21***
religion	3.10 (0.00) ^a	3.06 (0.00) ^b	2.94 (0.00) ^c	134.76***

a>b>c (significance)

Source: IFLS 5, 2014 (processed by researchers)

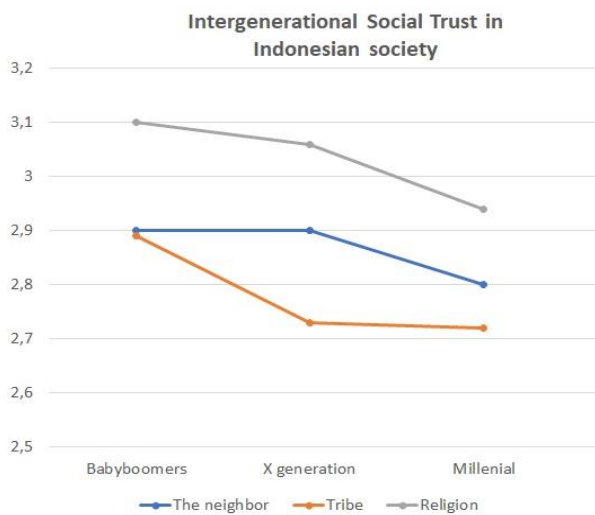
In general, Indonesian people experience a decrease in the level of social trust, social trust is measured by indicator questions, such as trust in neighbors, people of the same ethnic group and people of the same religion. In table 1. ANOVA test differences in the level of social trust between generations, the results show that the level of differences in social trust between generations in Indonesian society generally decreases the level of trust significantly between generations.

In the inter-generational social trust dimensions towards neighbors, it can be interpreted that there is a

decrease in the level of social trust, in the baby boomer generation and generation x have the same mean (2.90), but in the millennial generation the level of trust decreases, this can be seen from the mean value (2.80). In the ANOVA test results, the level of difference in social trust towards people of the same tribe overall showed a decrease in the level of inter-generation trust of the baby boomers with mean (2.89), generation x (2.73) and millennial (2.72). The same thing happened to the inter-generational social trust dimensions of people of the same religion, generally showing a decrease in the inter-generational level of trust from the baby boomers' generation with a mean (3.10) to generation x with a mean (3.06) and millennial generation (2.94).

This research shows a downward trend in the level of social trust towards neighbors, people of the same ethnic group, and people of the same religion, it can be explained that diversity makes inter-generational social trust decrease, this can be caused by differences in circumstances across generations. the difference in the situation can be from the age gap, ethnic diversity, and the existing religion.

GRAPH 1. INTERGENERATIONAL SOCIAL TRUST IN INDONESIAN SOCIETY



Source: IFLS 5, 2014 (processed by researchers)

The results obtained from the initial analysis of social trust can be compared that there are clear differences in the level of decline in social trust between generations. This decline is seen visually that trust in neighbors, people of the same ethnicity and religion, has reduced the level of social trust between generations. the downward trend in the level of trust can be caused by cross-generational variables. the baby boomer's generation has a higher social trust than the x generation and millennial generation.

IV. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Some literature explains that social capital can be interpreted differently, social capital can be explained as social relations. Social relations are synonymous with the bonds that are linked with the occurrence of social interaction, with social interactions that can increase mutual trust in one another. thus, social capital can be described as trust, norms, and networks. Previous studies

also noted the importance of social capital in the community as an effort to increase mutual trust, norms and cooperation networks for a more coordinated community life [16]. Previous studies have reported historical problems regarding the importance of social capital in a group, certain organizations and certain population groups [17, 18, 19]. With this latest spirit of science, this article examines the Indonesian population specifically in an analysis designed to explain differences in social trust between generations.

As mentioned in the literature review, research on social capital has become an interesting topic in recent decades, several research findings explain that there is a declining trend in social trust [7, 8, 9]. Previous studies that have noted the importance of homogeneity compared to multi-ethnic societies, interactions and bonds occur when people interact with the same background, such as the same age, ethnicity, and religion. different cases if the interaction is based on people with different backgrounds, the social trust will tend to go down and the decline in social trust has the potential to infer conflicts between ethnic and religious groups [15, 16]. The most important relevant clinical finding is that the results of this study show a downward trend in the level of social trust between generations. What is surprising is that this downward trend also occurs in Indonesian society, meaning that in Indonesian society the potential for inter-ethnic conflict is very likely to occur, given that Indonesia is a country that consists of many ethnic groups, cultures, languages, and beliefs.

Several attempts have been made to find evidence of a downward trend in the level of social trust that occurs in American society. American confidence, in general, has declined over the past forty years. This finding further supports the idea of a survey conducted by the "General Social Survey and the National Election Survey". This finding reinforces the idea of a 20 percent reduction in the social trust that occurred in America from 1964 to 2002 [20]. These results are consistent with those observed in previous studies, that a decrease in trust can be caused by the impact of the life cycle, generation, or history [21]. There are several possible explanations for the result of a decrease in the level of social trust, that individuals can change due to aging. increasing age can affect behavior patterns and decrease physical function, such as weakening of hearing, vision and movement and dependence on the help of others. Some authors speculate that the effects of generation are expected to occur because different generations, such as the Baby boomers, Generation X, and Millennials, have different levels of social trust. the reason is that a generation member lives in a different era.

Each generation has a different way of measuring social beliefs, this is caused by differences in the times and events they experience. This downward trend in the social trust is synonymous with changing times, where the millennial generation has replaced the position of the baby boomers, in accordance with the findings that trust will decline. and factors such as important events in history also influence the level of social trust, such as the Bali bombing and the demonstration of the governor Ahok. It is difficult to explain this result, but it may be related to the decline in social trust in individuals caused by the

replacement of generations. replacement of this generation is very influential on the high and low levels of social trust, this is influenced by what events experienced by the individual if the event is a tragic event, it will tend to reduce the level of social trust [7]. This finding is unexpected and shows some differences in beliefs throughout the course of life, that trust increases until around age 40 and then falls. however, there is a difference from the previous findings that the effects of generation are not like the effects of the life cycle, which means that the declining social trust of Americans in others will not easily recover [22]. The findings of this study consistently support previous research findings related to the decline in social capital and show some reduction in the general measure of social capital, namely a decrease in the level of social trust in individuals [23].

Previous studies have reported that social trust also depends on how often interactions are carried out with others. Findings from previous studies also explain that interaction and experience also show that people trust neighbors before strangers what makes trust decrease? Generational change is enough to provide many explanations for the decline in the level of social trust [24]. Millennial generation tends to be increasingly distrustful. the reason is that generation changes will be faced with technological change and development. X generation and the millennial generation, time spent watching television or the internet. the younger generation will spend more time than baby boomers. Most baby boomers and generation X grew up without television and the internet in their day [20]. What are the consequences if social confidence decreases? Considering that Indonesia is a diverse country of languages and cultures. The data reported here seems to support the assumption that social capital is closely linked to "a sense of togetherness", an attitude of mutual concern for each other, and mutual trust that the people who live their care about them [25]. Evidence from this study shows that positive attitudes and beliefs about one's neighbors contribute to social cohesion, and thus the desire of individuals to participate in local affairs and to work together in daily affairs is higher [7]. so that if there is a decrease in the level of social trust can cause conflict for people's lives.

Recent evidence shows that the social cohesion crisis in the UK can be overcome by looking for factors that can increase the level of social trust. and making policies that support common principles and shared values can be found in multiethnic, multi-religious and multi-cultural societies', the data reported here seems to support the assumption that more homogeneous communities have higher levels of social interaction higher which in turn leads to greater social capital [26, 27, 28]. the results of the study generally explained that the decline in social trust was due to ethnic and religious diversity. The clearest finding emerging from this study is that diversity, especially racial differences, seriously damages social cohesion. One of the more significant findings that emerged from this study is that a very strong negative relationship between racial diversity and levels of interpersonal trust in all states of America. The results of these investigations indicate that they refer to 'natural aversion to heterogeneity' [27]. Overall, these results indicate that diversity has a negative effect on

interactions between individuals, individuals prefer to interact with others who are similar in social backgrounds, such as in terms of income, race, or ethnicity, and this finding is confirmed in the results of the study [27, 28].

Experimental studies show that racial exchange involves significantly lower levels of honesty and reciprocity. One of the more significant findings that emerged from this study was that racial exchange involved a much lower level of trust and interaction. It was also shown that individuals living in homogeneous societies show intense interactions compared to individuals living in heterogeneous communities [29].

This article has the implication, that this article provides criticism and input on cooperation that has been considered as static and values that already exist and continue to exist in society, but, the decline [30]. This research has found that in general social trust is very important in social life. the downward trend in the level of inter-generational social trust has a negative effect which has the potential to cause conflict between social groups in society. This difference in social trust between generations shows that in the Indonesian context, the trend is very relevant, and efforts should be made to reverse the downward trend.

REFERENCES

- [1] Ananta, Aris, Evi Nurvidya Arifin, M. Sairi Hasbullah, Nur Budi Handayani, and Agus Pramono. "Changing ethnic composition: Indonesia, 2000-2010." In *XXVII IUSSP international population conference*, 2013, pp. 26-31.
- [2] Welch, Michael R., Roberto EN Rivera, Brian P. Conway, Jennifer Yonkoski, Paul M. Lupton, and Russell Giancola. "Determinants and consequences of social trust." *Sociological inquiry* 75, no. 4, 2005, pp. 453-473.
- [3] Mechanic, David, and Sharon Meyer. "Concepts of trust among patients with serious illness." *Social science & medicine* 51, no. 5, 2000, pp. 657-668.
- [4] Lawang, Robert MZ. "Buku Materi Pokok Pengantar Sosiologi Modul 4-6." *Jakarta, Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan Universitas Terbuka*, 1985.
- [5] Yamagishi, Toshio, and Midori Yamagishi. "Trust and commitment in the United States and Japan." *Motivation and emotion* 18, no. 2, 1994, pp. 129-166.
- [6] Youniss, James, Jeffrey A. McLellan, and Miranda Yates. "What we know about engendering civic identity." *American Behavioral Scientist* 40, no. 5, 1997, pp. 620-631.
- [7] Putnam, Robert D. *Bowling alone: The collapse and revival of American community*. Simon and schuster, 2000.
- [8] Costa, Dora L., and Matthew E. Kahn. "Understanding the American decline in social capital, 1952-1998." *Kyklos* 56, no. 1, 2003, pp. 17-46.
- [9] Clemens, Elisabeth Stephanie. "Loose Connections: Joining Together in America's Fragmented Communities.", 2001, pp. 474-476.
- [10] Strauss, J., Witoelar, F., and Sikoki, B., *User's guide for the Indonesia Family Life Survey*, Wave 5, 2016.
- [11] Noble, Stephanie M., and Charles D. Schewe. "Cohort segmentation: An exploration of its validity." *Journal of Business Research* 56, no. 12. 2003, pp. 979-987.
- [12] Twenge, Jean M. *Generation me-revised and updated: Why today's young Americans are more confident, assertive, entitled--and more miserable than ever before*. Simon and Schuster, 2014.
- [13] Dencker, John C., Aparna Joshi, and Joseph J. Martocchio. "Towards a theoretical framework linking generational memories to workplace attitudes and behaviors." *Human Resource Management Review* 18, no. 3, 2008, pp. 180-187.

- [14] Caspi, Avshalom, Brent W. Roberts, and Rebecca L. Shiner. "Personality development: Stability and change." *Annu. Rev. Psychol.* 56, 2005, pp. 453-484.
- [15] Coleman, J. S. "Foundations of social theory. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press." 1990.
- [16] Putnam, Robert D., Robert Leonardi, and Raffaella Y. Nanetti. *Making democracy work: Civic traditions in modern Italy*. Princeton university press, 1994.
- [17] Hall, Peter Dobkin. "Vital signs: Organizational population trends and civic engagement in New Haven, Connecticut, 1850–1998." *Civic engagement in American democracy*, 1999, pp. 211-48.
- [18] Crawford, Susan, and Peggy Levitt. "Social change and civic engagement: The case of the PTA." *Civic engagement in American democracy*, 1999, pp. 249-96.
- [19] [19] Wuthnow, Robert. "Mobilizing civic engagement: The changing impact of religious involvement." *Civic engagement in American democracy*, 1999, pp. 331-363.
- [20] Paxton, Pamela. "Trust in decline?" *Contexts* 4, no. 1, 2005, pp. 40-46.
- [21] Alwin, Duane F. "generations x, y and z: are they changing America?." *contexts* 1, no. 4, 2002, pp. 42-51.
- [22] Robinson, Robert V., and Elton F. Jackson. "Is trust in others declining in America? An age–period–cohort analysis." *Social Science Research* 30, no. 1, 2001, pp. 117-145.
- [23] Paxton, Pamela. "Is social capital declining in the United States? A multiple indicator assessment." *American Journal of sociology* 105, no. 1, 1999, pp. 88-127.
- [24] Buchan, Nancy R., Rachel TA Croson, and Robyn M. Dawes. "Swift neighbors and persistent strangers: A cross-cultural investigation of trust and reciprocity in social exchange." *American Journal of Sociology* 108, no. 1, 2002, pp. 168-206.
- [25] Portney, Kent E., and Jeffrey M. Berry. "Mobilizing minority communities: Social capital and participation in urban neighborhoods." *American Behavioral Scientist* 40, no. 5, 1997, pp. 632-644.
- [26] McGhee, Derek. "Moving to 'our' common ground—a critical examination of community cohesion discourse in twenty-first century Britain." *The Sociological Review* 51, no. 3, 2003, pp. 376-404.
- [27] Alesina, Alberto, and Eliana La Ferrara. "Participation in heterogeneous communities." *The quarterly journal of economics* 115, no. 3, 2000, pp. 847-904.
- [28] Costa, Dora L., and Matthew E. Kahn. "Civic engagement and community heterogeneity: An economist's perspective." *Perspectives on politics* 1, no. 1, 2003, pp. 103-111.
- [29] McPherson, Miller, Lynn Smith-Lovin, and James M. Cook. "Birds of a feather: Homophily in social networks." *Annual review of sociology* 27, no. 1, 2001, pp. 415-444.
- [30] Slikkerveer, L. Jan, George Baourakis, and Kurniawan Saefullah. *Integrated Community-Managed Development*. Springer, 2019.