

# HOW PEOPLE ELECT CANDIDATES: THE ANALYSE OF ATTITUDE, SUBJECTIVE NORM, AND INTENTION TO BEHAVIOR THE CASE OF PILGUB IN CENTRAL JAVA

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## Abstrak

*Pemilihan gubernur wakil dan gubernur di Jawa Tengah dengan sukses diselesaikan dalam satu ronde. Antar lima kandidat calon, Bibit-Rustri dengan sukses mencapai perolehan suara yang paling besar. Sedangkan pada awal mulai peta pemilih selalu menunjuk Bambang-Adnan, perubahan dan penguatan sikap ke arah Bibit-Rustri dengan menarik dianalisa. Studi ini memperkenalkan dua peramal yaitu hubungan norma dan sikap. Walaupun beberapa teori memberikan alasan, penemuan tidak secara penuh mendukung teori karena tidak ada pengaruh sikap yang penting ke arah niat. Bagaimanapun temuan diusulkan bahwa peran para rekan kerja dan keluarga-keluarga adalah berpengaruh pada waktu membuat keputusan.*

**Keywords:** *sikap, hubungan norma, dan niat tingkah laku*

## INTRODUCTION

June 22, 2008 is the date which never forgotten by people in Central Java, partially for five pairs of governor and/or deputy governor who strived to be the number one in the province. That day people in Central Java met their obligation to participate on the election, which hopefully produced the right man supported by the majority.

The election itself participated by five pairs recommended by parties. HM Tamzil-Rozak Rais proposed by the coalition of PPP and PAN, Agus Suyitno-Kholiq Arif advocated by PKB, Bambang Sadono-Muhamad Adnan recommended by Golkar, Sukawi Sutarip-Sudhattyo proposed by the coalition of Partai Demokrat and PKS, and Bibit Waluyo-Rustriningsih recommended by PDIP.

The 'vote get map' since the beginning always gave advantage to Bambang Sadono-Adnan. Some independent researches, for instance Lembaga Survei Indonesia (LSI), up to a couple of days before the H-day preferred Bambang Sadono-Adnan as the potential champion. Likewise, surveys performed by broadcasts and mass media prioritized the couple to be a winner. However, quick counts carried out by independent researches on June 22, 2008 in the afternoon gave surprisingly result, even though predictable, positioning Bibit-Rustri as the favorable couple. It was surprisingly, since the final result did not meet the initial survey. Likewise it was predictable, since the closing to the H-day the growing voice in the street desiring the favorite candidates.

The change of choice of the constituents from the perspective of consumer behavior might fall to two conditions. Firstly, the more favorable attitude towards the candidates. If it was the case, some factors might belong to the contribution, such as the need of stability. While Central Java supposed as a barometer of political condition in Indonesia, because of its heterogeneity, the political and social stability needed a strong man. The strong man likely connoted to somebody coming from army (retiree), which Bibit was one of the two candidates having military background.

The other factor that gave contribution to the developing of image was the smart strategy in positioning. Bibit was positioned as 'Back to village develop the village'. It was generally understood that the majority of people in Central Java were living at villages. The major issue for such people was particularly about economy. While living at cities were still bounded by problems such as inappropriateness of job opportunity, poverty, and healthy, the offering of better living opportunities at villages became an interesting solution. While no other contestants focused on the grass root such as Bibit, it was understandable that the growing of better image towards Bibit-Rustri was inevitably.

The gender issue considered crucial as well in developing better image. Among the contestants, whether supposed to be a governor or a deputy governor, Rustriningsih was the only woman. While the raising awareness of the enhancing role of women in the country, the existence of woman in the election might look like a magnet, particularly for women who were statistically more than men. Moreover, the movement of women emancipation initially took place in Central Java, the motivation of women not to be overlooked in giving contribution to the development could be represented by Rustri. Consequently, having such strategic issues, the victory for Bibit-Rustri absolutely held on hand.

Secondly, the favorable subjective norms. The condition denoted to a person's belief which was in accordance with families, friends and colleagues. While families, friends, and colleagues tended to develop a similar idea, the impulse of adapting own opinion to be in line with them became a need. Particularly for lay people, which were the characteristic of major people in Central Java, a dispute was virtually not common. It was not convenient when isolated since possessing different belief. To reject the bad feeling people needed to immediately comply. As a result, what the society supposed to do, then individual supposed to do either.

The theory of reasoned action put the intention as an antecedent to behavior. The behavior is easily predicted through intention than attitude or subjective norm. Even both attitude and subjective norm are favorable the behavior might be not in accordance. The study explored the line of attitude, subjective norm, intention, and behavior, particularly in an election. Since in the political domain serves a lot of unpredictable aspects, the findings of the study are probably not in conformity with the theory. Enlightenment of attitude, theory of reasoned action, several empirical investigations, and explanations are reported.

### **Attitude**

Researches generally examine attitudes by asking questions or making inferences from behavior. It is likely not directly observable, but should be inferred from what people say or what they do. In short it can be expressed that: "An attitude is a learned predisposition to behave in a consistently favorable or unfavorable way with respect to a given object." (Schiffman & Kanuk, 2000: 200). The word object explicitly then refers to attitude towards object.

Peter & Olson (2002: 134) give other explanation: "Attitude is a person's overall evaluation of a concept." This definition does not directly denote to an object, since the term of concept implicitly encompasses the term of object. In some extent it refers to behavior. The explanation is as follows. Attitude is an evaluation which implies to affective responses at relatively low levels of intensity and arousal (Peter & Olson, 2002). These evaluations might be generated by both the affective and cognitive system. While the affective system produces affective responses as immediate, direct responses to certain stimuli, the affective responses whether favorable or unfavorable are generated without conscious. When it is associated with a product, the evaluations in turn creating an attitude (Peter & Olson, 2002).

Attitude, thereby, comprises of 3 components, cognitive, affective, and conative (Schiffman & Kanuk, 2000: 202). The cognitive component is:

The knowledge and perceptions that are acquired by a combination of direct experience with the attitude object and related information from various sources. This knowledge and resulting perception commonly take the form of beliefs, that is, the consumer believes that the attitude object possesses various attributes and that specific behavior will lead to specific outcomes.

The affective component refers to a consumer's emotions or feeling about particular product or brand. Whereas the conative component is concerned with the likelihood or tendency that individual will undertake a specific action or behave in a particular way with regard to the attitude object. In other words, the affect refers to feeling responses, the cognitive component denotes to mental (thinking) responses, and the conative indicates to action (Peter & Olson, 2002).

Logically, attitude is in line with behavior. It means that if some body's attitude is favorable towards an object, it leads to favorable behavior as well to purchase. In other words, attitude is prerequisite of behavior to buy. Nevertheless, the assumption does not always work. The incongruity actually had been explored several decades ago by LaPiere's study (1934, in Christian, 2003). He took an extensive tour of the United States in the company of young Chinese couple. At the time, there was much anti-Chinese sentiment and so (unknown to his companions) LaPiere made notes of the way they were treated. During their travels, LaPiere and his companions visited 250 establishments, yet only one occasion were they refused service. When LaPiere subsequently wrote to the same establishments, 118 (of the 128 replies) said they would not accept members of the Chinese race as guests at their establishment. He then concluded that there was a large gap between attitudes and behavior, and that questionnaire data could not always be trusted to be reliable. The question then arises is why a favorable attitude toward object does not lead to favorable behavior (buy product).

Scientists examine that attitude toward an object is diverse with attitude toward behavior (Peter & Olson, 2002; Schiffman & Kanuk, 2000). The attitude toward a product is a function of the presence (or absence) and evaluation of certain product-specific beliefs or attributes. It means that consumers generally have favorable attitudes toward those brands that they believe have an adequate level of attributes that they evaluate as positive, and they have unfavorable attitudes toward those brands they feel do not have an adequate level of desired attributes or have too many negative or undesired attributes. Whereas attitude toward behavior is the individual's attitude toward behaving or acting with respect to an object.

A lot of studies find that attitude toward object are not a good predictor of behavior. One study is Corey's study (1937). His finding indicates that the relationship of attitude to behavior is only  $r = 0.02$ . It leads to Wicker's study (1969) who concludes that attitude considerably is unrelated or only very slightly relates to behavior. The Wicker's study likely triggers other researchers, such as Baron & Kenny (1986) to further investigate the existence of third variable as moderator or mediator.

Baron & Kenny (1986) propose that a moderator variable partitions a focal independent variable into subgroups that establish its domains of maximal effectiveness in regard to a given dependent variable. The stronger attitudes are likely to be more predictive of people's behavior than are weak attitudes. Some researches then are ignited to further explore. Corner & Sparks' study (2002) indicates that attitudes are generally more predictive of subsequent behavior if they are univalent rather than ambivalent. Likewise, attitudes are more predictive if they are accessible in memory (Kokkinaki & Lunt, 1998). Furthermore, attitudes are more predictive if they are personally involving (Thomsen, Borgida & Lavine, 1995).

Fishbein & Ajzen (1975) introduce the principle of correspondence. To measure the relation of attitude-behavior the measurement should match one another in terms of specific actions. For instance, global attitudes (such as attitude to religion) can not be used to predict

very specific actions (e.g attending church). This principle when applied to researches produces more favorable correlation.

The other role of the third variable supposed as mediator. The term mediator refers to a variable that represents the generative mechanism through which the focal independent variable is able to influence the dependent variable of interest (Baron & Kenny, 1986). While a lot of researches executed, most just introduce one variable, namely behavioral intention. Behavioral intentions are regarded as a summary of the motivation required to perform a particular behavior, reflecting an individual's decision to follow a course of action, as well as an index of how hard people are willing to try and perform the behavior (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980; Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975). The idea that behavioral intentions mediate the attitude-behavior relationship representing a significant move away from the traditional view of attitudes, rather than attitudes being related directly to behavior, attitudes only serve to direct behavior to the extent that they influence intentions (Christian, 2003).

### Theory of Reasoned Action

The theory of reasoned action is initially declared by Fishbein & Ajzen (1975). They infer that beside attitude as the determinant of behavioral intention, the social pressure is also likely to determine people's intention. Thus within this theory, behavioral intentions are determined by attitudes (overall positive/negative evaluations of behavior) and the perceived social pressure from significant others, subjective norms.

The model ascertains that individuals may possess a large number of beliefs about a particular behavior, but that only a subset are likely to be salient at any one time. Therefore, both attitudes and subjective norms are determined by salient underlying beliefs. Salient behavioral beliefs are held to determine attitudes. Each behavioral belief consists of two components, i.e an outcome belief and an outcome evaluation.

The outcome belief concerns beliefs about the likelihood of particular outcomes occurring, for instance the perceived likelihood that one will lose weight if one diets, or the likelihood that smoking causes cancer. Outcome beliefs are weighted (multiplied) by outcome evaluations to form each behavioral belief. This is based on the rationale that only outcomes that are valued are likely to impact upon one's attitudes.

Normative beliefs consist of two components as well, i.e referent beliefs and motivation to comply. Likewise the behavioral belief the two components should be multiplied to develop normative beliefs, since a person is only like to experience social pressure from particular referents if he or she is motivated to comply with those particular referents.

Accordingly, the model of theory of reasoned action comprises of four variables, behavioral intention which have two determinants, attitude and subjective norm, posted as an antecedents of behavior. The proposed model is as follows.

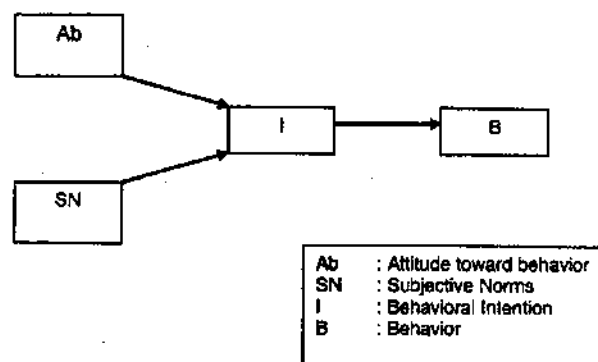


Figure 1  
The Proposed Model

**Hypothesis**

Based on the proposed model, hypotheses are formulated as follows:

- H1 : Attitude toward behavior (Ao) influences Behavior Intention (I)
- H2 : Subjective Norms (SN) influences Behavior Intention (I)
- H3 : Behavior Intention (I) influences Behavior (B)

**Method**

The population was those who actively attended in the election day and voted Bibit-Rustri. Sample was drawn through purposive sampling, particularly judgment and convenient technique (Cooper & Schindler, 2001). Data collected by questionnaires, distributed to 150 respondents which its composition is as follows: Semarang 30 respondents, Ungaran 30 respondents, Salatiga 30 respondents, Ambarawa 30 respondents, and Boyolali 30 respondents. After being examined based on data completion, it remained 145 which supposed liable to be further administered.

The variable Attitude, Subjective Norms, or Behavioral Intention measured in accordance with Fishbein & Ajzen (1975). The variable Behavior described by one item asking the execution. The Likert scale was employed corresponding to a five-point scale ranging from 1 (= completely disagree) to 5 (= completely agree). The instrument, which denoted to indicators, would firstly be justified through confirmatory factor analysis. Further, data were analyzed by employing Amos 5.0.

**Confirmatory Factor Analysis**

The confirmatory factor analysis was partially executed, not simultaneously. The confirmatory factor analysis of Ab produced not commendable  $\chi^2$  score 43.209 ( $p = 0.000$ ). Likewise, the GFI, AGFI, TLI, and RMSEA were not in accordance with good indices, which indicated that there was a difference between covariance sample matrix and population covariance matrix estimated (Table 1). The analysis of SN produced  $\chi^2$  score 46.621 ( $p = 0.000$ ). Similarly, the GFI, AGFI, TLI, and RMSEA were less than the cut-off point (Table 2). The remedy developed by constraining the error of each indicator generated a fit model (Table 1 and Table 2). On the basis of critical ratio which supposed to be at least 2, each indicator was truly reliable explaining the variable (Table 3).

Table 1  
Confirmatory Factor Analysis of Ab

	$\chi^2$	p	GFI	AGFI	TLI	RMSEA
Initial	43.209	0.000	0.853	0.116	0.595	0.541
1 <sup>st</sup> change	0.000		1.000			

Source: data analysis

Table 2  
Confirmatory Factor Analysis of SN

	$\chi^2$	p	GFI	AGFI	TLI	RMSEA
Initial	46.621	0.000	0.844	0.066	0.297	0.563
1 <sup>st</sup> change	0.000		1.000			

Source: data analysis

Table 3  
Regression Weights: Ab and SN

			Estimate	S.E.	C.R.	P	Label
Ev	<---	Ab	.344	.068	5.064	***	par_1
B	<---	Ab	.287	.071	4.057	***	par_2
NB	<---	SN	.372	.065	5.756	***	par_1
MC	<--	SN	.427	.071	5.997	***	par_2

### The Structural Equation Model

The initial structural equation model yielded  $\chi^2$  score was 163.490 ( $p = 0.000$ ) indicating that there was a difference between covariance sample matrix and population covariance matrix estimated. Other indicators of fit such as GFI, AGFI, and TLI, likewise, did not suggest good indices, since all were  $< 0.90$ . Similarly the RMSEA score, which was  $> 0.08$  (Table 4).

Table 4  
The Goodness of Fit

	$\chi^2$	P	GFI	AGFI	TLI	RMSEA
Initial	163.490	0.000	0.831	0.661	0.701	0.237
2 <sup>nd</sup> model	84.016	0.000	0.882	0.735	0.843	0.172
3 <sup>rd</sup> model	27.105	0.007	0.955	0.864	0.953	0.093
4 <sup>th</sup> model	13.356	0.271	0.978	0.929	0.992	0.039

Source: data analysis

Based on the modification indices, a remedy carried out by constraining the  $e_1$ - $e_4$  and  $e_2$ - $e_3$ . The solution was likely theoretically justified since the effect of the measurement led to be similar. The new model produced better indices, though were not still in accordance with the requirements. A remedy continued by constraining  $e_1$ - $e_3$ ,  $e_2$ - $e_4$ ,  $e_4$ -Ab,  $e_3$ -Ab, and  $e_1$ -SN, which likely still theoretically justified. The last model gave favorable index, where the  $\chi^2$  score was 13.356 ( $p = 0.271$ ). Similarly, the GFI, AGFI, and TLI were  $> 0.9$ , while RMSEA was  $< 0.08$  (Figure 2).

### Evaluation of the Structural Model Assumption

The evaluation carried out by some conditions. Firstly, normality. Based on the text output, a normal distribution existed, since all variables had critical ratio less than 2.58 on the level of significance 0.01. Secondly, evaluating outliers. While the criterion of  $\chi^2$  (8, 0.001) was employed, the Mahalanobis distance of all observations indicated less than 26.12448156, except the observation number 9 which was 29.306. Even though an outlier existed the observation number 9 was not dropped since it supposed no argument to exclude. Thirdly, evaluating multicollinearity and singularity. The determinant of sample covariance matrix pointed to 10.402, which supposed was still in distance from zero, indicating that no multicollinearity and singularity existed.

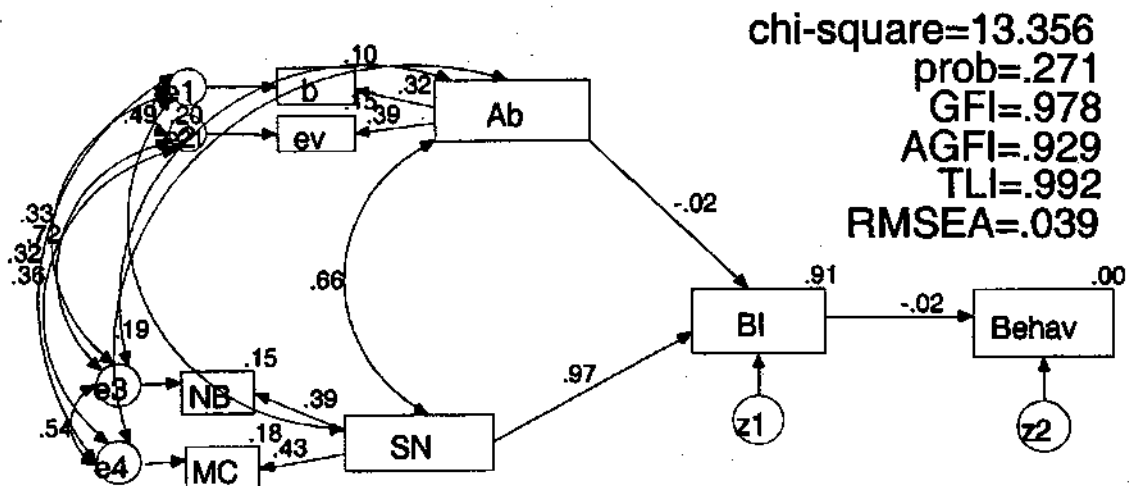


Figure 2  
 The Structural Equation Model

Parameter Estimation

The regression weights output indicated that not all hypothesis were supported by empirical data. Surprisingly, that the influence of Attitude to Behavioral Intention was not significant. Moreover, the relationship was very weak and negative. The relation of Behavior Intention and Behavior was similar, very weak and negative. Accordingly, the hypothesis supported by empirical data was just only H2 (Table 5).

Table 4  
 Regression Weights: (Group number 1 - Default model)

			Estimate	S.E.	C.R.	P	Label
BI	<---	Ab	-.011	.019	-.591	.555	par_6
BI	<---	SN	.702	.024	28.803	***	par_7
B	<---	Ab	.287	.070	4.108	***	par_1
Ev	<---	Ab	.344	.068	5.064	***	par_2
NB	<---	SN	.330	.055	5.954	***	par_3
MC	<---	SN	.405	.069	5.834	***	par_4
Behav	<---	BI	-.012	.064	-.190	.849	par_5

Source: Coefficient Parameter Output

## Discussion

While the relation between Attitude and Behavioral Intention is not significant, it leads to the presumption that in that case the theory of reasoned action does not work. Since it is still temporary, it obviously needs further investigation. However, for a while, the finding suggests to highlight the social pressure. In the case of Pilgub in Central Java, it is likely in accordance, since it refers to the traditional culture. The society is characterized by 'wong cilik' that is the lowest class, such as farmers, labors, low salary employees, and low income class. In some extent, it is very frequent for such society, personal attitude is blur since it is easily conformed to social attitude as a whole.

Whether the measurement is not valid, or the probability of mistakes in data gathering, it needs further consideration to generate other measurement, even other determinants.

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