

# The effect of political products on the decision to choose political party through the role of the candidates of legislative members as mediating variable

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## ABSTRACT

This study attempts to analyze; 1) the effect of political product on the decision to choose the candidate of legislative member; 2) the effect of political product on the decision to choose political party; 3) the effect of the decision to choose the candidates of legislative members on the decision to choose political party; and 4) the role of mediating variable of the decision to choose the candidate of legislative member on the affect the decision to choose political party. The data were analyzed using inferential statistical analysis of Generalized Structured Component Analysis (GeSCA). It shows that 1) the political product has an effect on the decision to choose the candidate of legislative member; 2) the mediating variable of the decision to choose the candidate of legislative member plays a very important role for the constituents in taking the decision to choose political party. However, of the existing three indicators, only personal characteristic can explain the strength of the effect of political product on the selection of political party. Yet, the second hypothesis test result shows that the path coefficient is significant and provides evidence that the second hypothesis is accepted. The decision to choose political party is increasingly stronger as a result of the decision to choose the candidate of legislative member which is in accordance with the expectations of voters. Acquisition of the party vote will increase after the constituents know the candidates proposed. The higher the popularity and quality of the candidate is, the greater the electoral gains of a party.

## ABSTRAK

Penelitian ini mencoba untuk menganalisis; 1) pengaruh produk politik terhadap keputusan untuk memilih calon anggota legislatif; 2) pengaruh produk politik terhadap keputusan untuk memilih partai politik; 3) pengaruh keputusan untuk memilih calon anggota legislatif terhadap keputusan untuk memilih partai politik; dan 4) peran mediasi variabel keputusan untuk memilih calon anggota legislatif terhadap mempengaruhi keputusan untuk memilih partai politik. Data dianalisis dengan menggunakan analisis statistik inferensial dari Generalized Structured Component Analysis (GeSCA). Hasilnya menunjukkan bahwa 1) produk politik berpengaruh pada keputusan untuk memilih calon anggota legislatif; 2) variabel mediasi dari keputusan untuk memilih calon anggota legislatif memainkan peran yang sangat penting bagi konstituen dalam mengambil keputusan untuk memilih partai politik. Namun, dari tiga indikator, hanya karakteristik pribadi yang dapat menjelaskan pengaruh dari produk politik pada pemilihan partai politik. Namun, hasil pengujian hipotesis kedua menunjukkan bahwa koefisien jalurnya signifikan dan memberikan bukti bahwa hipotesis kedua diterima. Keputusan untuk memilih partai politik yang semakin kuat sebagai akibat dari keputusan untuk memilih calon anggota legislatif yang sesuai dengan harapan pemilih. Perolehan suara partai akan meningkat setelah konstituen tahu calon yang diusulkan. Jadi, semakin tinggi popularitas dan kualitas calon, semakin besar keuntungan pemilihan partai.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Political system in Indonesia today is more open and transparent than that in the previous decade.

The people have become more critical of scrutinizing political issues since the reform was initiated in 1998. Coercion and intimidation practices can no

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longer be done nowadays. The public, now, can see the capabilities, reputation, and background of the contestants before confirming their political choice. Hence, the political pattern has even shifted to be more participatory (Firmanzah 2010).

In 2014, the legislative electoral system was changing again, especially in the procedure of granting voting rights. The voting method in 2009 was done by ticking the ballot, but in 2014, it was back to the previous method that is by piercing the ballot with a nail. However, a proportional system with the open candidate list and majority voting system is still maintained. According to Anung (2013), the implication of the changes in electoral system that leads to the open proportional with the majority voting system is the emergence of merchants, entrepreneurs or capital owners who participate as contestants. In this condition, the capital size enables the candidates to have more access to the mass media, the range, and intensity to the community, and the availability of campaign material or capital intensification. In general, it is unbalanced and unfair when compared with the candidates who have limited financial availability.

The ongoing political reform has an impact on the tight political competition, both among the existing parties and among the newly established political parties. Such condition encourages the existing political parties to always improve themselves and adjust to the wishes of the voters. On one hand, this increasing number of political parties and candidates of political leaders will directly have an implication on the tactics and strategies to win the struggle for political power. On the other hand, with the increasing diversity of patterns and the number of parties, as if the parties were experiencing a decline in identity or ideological bias.

Marshment (2009) noted that, since 1960s, there have been fundamental changes in political market, such as: (1) the decline in party membership, support for the party, and levels of its activity, (2) the decline in the identity of the party, (3) the decline in the participation of modern politics and attendance (through voting), but there is an increase in the participation in a new movement group or group pressures, (4) the youth today shows the war attitude against traditional politics, (5) the voting behavior today becomes unpredictable, (where voters change their choice of the party from one election to another) and there is an increase in independent voters (in which their choice depends on other issues rather than identifying the party), (6) an in-

creased role of television and internet media as a medium to update political information, (7) the rapid growth of several media outlets and the competition that have become commercial and competitive fields, (8) the basis of the traditional segmentation of the voters, such as class, geography and family background have been eroded. Meanwhile, the newly complex segment such as the reasons of ethnicity, race, lifestyle, and other factors begin to emerge, (9) the voters are more critical toward political elites and political parties.

Butler and Collins (2001) saw the trend of increased volatility or changes in voting behavior in any election that would make the voters, in selecting the candidates and political parties, become more unpredictable. The instability of the voter behavior is strongly influenced by the growing erosion of the voters' ideological ties on the party. The end of the ideological war, political pragmatism and the increasing materialistic have caused the voters today tend to be pragmatic, and tend to vote for the party or candidate that is able to offer better political product (Firmanzah 2010).

According to Niffenegger in Firmanzah (2010), 4P's concept in business marketing mix, in this research, is adopted into the political marketing mix. This consists of political products, political placement, political price and political promotion. Yet, the political product, in this research, includes party platform, past records and personal characteristic. In business marketing, according to Kotler and Keller (2009), product is anything that can be offered to a market for attention, acquisition, use, or consumption that might satisfy a want or need. While in political marketing, according to Wring (1997), political product is a "mix" of variables in its own right, combines three key aspects: "party image", "image leader" and "policy commitments"

Based on the explanation above, the problem in this study is whether political product has an effect on the decision to choose political party through the role of the candidates of legislative members as mediating variable. Yet, this study tries to analyze the effect of political product on the decision to choose the candidate of legislative member, to analyze the effect of political product on the decision to choose political party, to analyze the effect of the decision to choose the candidate of legislative member on the decision to choose political party, and to analyze the effect of the decision to choose the candidate of legislative member in mediating the effect of political product on the decision to choose political party.

## **2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND HYPOTHESIS**

### **Voter Behavior Shifts in Legislative Election**

Changes in legislative electoral system also encourage political parties to perform changes, repositioning and continuous improvement. The changes are not only in the programs offered but also in the form of party campaigns or the changes in the way how the parties market their products to prospective voters. It is believed that the memory of the voters is very limited to recognize the character of political parties that are getting more and more. It is even more difficult when they are forced to recognize the list of candidates offered by political parties.

In legislative election, political party or the candidate who wins the election is only the party or candidate who, according to the voters' perception, offers something different and is better than the other, or he must be different. Therefore, the political world should open itself to new approaches which are oriented to the needs of the market. Through the structure changes of competitive political market, political parties are no longer easy to control voters like the election before the new order. The victory of a political party is obtained by possessing a majority of voters in the election. According to Niffenegger (1989), political product includes party platform, past records and personal characteristic.

In the 2014's election held in Jember, the decision of the Constitutional Court to cancel Article 214 of Law No. 10 of 2008 on the determination of the legislative candidates elected, in which the election of the candidates and parties is based on the majority of votes. For example, it requires the candidates and political parties to use political marketing approach. However, this approach has not been fully used by the parties and candidates so that the votes or seats obtained are still less optimal. Some researches (Barbera 2010; Marsh 2003) showed that there are two forces that can influence the behavior of voters in the general election, namely candidates and political parties. Even the candidates emerge as a significant variable in boosting the number of votes for the political parties.

Anung (2013) argued that the success of the candidates to convince the public is largely determined by the ability of the party in building a communication strategy, especially during the phase of campaign. Parties and candidates are a unified whole of campaign organizers who have the same necessity to convince and capture the most votes in the election.

In principle, the purchase decision and election decision made by consumers and voters in the political world are not much different. The notable difference that appears is the dominant factor of the candidate, hence Bergman and Wickert (1999) in Nursal (2004) stated that the man is the message or the leading candidate is the platform. As in the 2014's legislative election, the voters were allowed to choose the party symbol or candidate name or both, and then it appears that the candidates will play a very important role to mediate constituents to elect certain political party

### **Political Product and Voting Behavior**

Niffenegger (1989), political product consists of party platform, past record and personal characteristic as stated by some researchers, such as Winham and Cunningham (1970), Graetz and McAllister (1987), Bean and Mughan (1989), Stewart and Clarke (1992) and Mughan (2000). They studied the effect of party leaders on voting behavior at the case occurring in some countries such as Britain, Canada, and Australia. Other studies which are in contrast with the study and revealed that the role of the leader is very low after being controlled by the variable of party identity. This occurred in the case in Germany and the UK, which was the independent impact (Kaase 1994; Rose and Suleiman 1980).

Firmanzah (2012) revealed that the importance of the candidate's ability and capacity is the decisive factor for the public in choosing a political party or candidate. The same statement was also expressed by Fuholin (2001) that the candidate's credibility is one of important factors in a political campaign. Karp (2002) argued that the role of a leader in a political party is very important, because it can give a brief overview of the quality of his party.

A study conducted by Lidle and Mujani (2005) regarding voter behavior indicates that the most important factor for voters in the legislative and presidential elections in 2004 is the attachment of voters in individual of party leaders. This study became the main emphasis because the election is selecting an individual or a political figure, so that the profile or personality of the leader is very dominant to influence the voters to choose a political party or candidate. Similarly, in legislative elections held in Indonesia, most people prefer to see who the party leader is. The Development of solid party organization is not necessary because political parties have the ability to manipulate the voter sentiment through a charismatic leader.

Nursal (2004) revealed that strong leadership

will shape the attitude of a voter toward the figure so that he can determine his political party choice. It is because the leader, as a figure in the party, that has a very close relationship with his party. That is why; the leadership or party leader is one of the factors that influence one's attitude in the decision to choose a political party, so that the leadership or a figure in political party influences the attitude to the figure of the party in determining the decision to choose a political party.

The next is about ideology. It is defined as an organization of opinions, attitudes and values, a way of thinking about man and society (Adorno et al. 1952). A more comprehensive understanding was described by Loewenstein (1953) that consistent integrated pattern of thought and beliefs can explain the man's attitude toward life and his existence in society, and advocating a conduct and action pattern which is responsive to and commensurate with such thought and beliefs. Ideology can also be the identity that unites a group or class as well as a differentiator with another group (Gerring 1997).

Another factor is political image which is defined by Firmanzah (2012) as a construction of representation and a public perception on a political party or individual concerning all matters related to political activity. Thus, political image is one of the important aspects in general election. This image can be categorized as a positioning strategy of a party among other parties. Furthermore, according to Harrop (1990), image can reflect a certain level of confidence and competence of political party.

Fuholin (2001) revealed that an essential part of the campaign strategy is the image or the target of the candidate profile. In this case, the profile is the sustained building of desired associations about the candidate in the minds of the target groups, ie the voters. The statement stresses that there is a link between the image of political party and candidate profile. A candidate who has a bad image will make the party also get bad assessment, and vice versa. Similar with the results of research conducted by Giola and Thomas (1996), image is one of the factors that influence the choice of political party, because the image is strongly associated with the identity that is used to distinguish the political party. Voters will compare the various political parties based on the party's image because the image is attached to the identity of the political party.

Candidate credibility, as asserted by Fuholin (2001), is one of the important factors in the political campaign. The credibility of a candidate or leader is one factor that can influence the attitude of

voters. Because, like the attitude concept proposed by Ajzen and Fishbein (1980), voters currently have a high level of intelligence in assessing the goodness and badness of a figure. This statement is supported by Liddle and Mujani (2005) who conducted research in Indonesia. They get the result that the most important factor for the voters in the legislative and presidential elections in 2004 in Indonesia is the attachment of the voters to the individual of the party leader.

Barbera (2010) examined the voter behavior in three cities: Barcelona, Seville and Santiago in the election of 2007. The study was intended to look at the behavior of voters in parliamentary election. The results show that the voters in Barcelona who choose political parties were 52.1% and those who choose the candidates are 35.6%, in Seville those who choose were 45.8% and those who choose the candidates were 39.7%, while in Santiago those who choose the party are 34.5 % and those who choose the candidates are 52.6%. The results show that the voters have placed the candidate as a figure that is expected to bring changes to their political choice. The percentage differences in the three cities are caused by the different demographic factors, particularly age, education, and employment. In addition, access or ease of information is also the reason in the result differences.

LSI also released research findings that, in the elections in 2009, the voters who choose candidates are 36% and those who choose the party are 44%, while those who choose the party and the candidate at the same time are 12%. However, when it is linked with the educational background of the candidates, the voters who choose the candidate are 53% and those who chose the party are 23%. The results of this study can be concluded that the role of the candidate has taken into account by the voters in the legislative elections.

LP3ES and Puskopal UI (2009) also studied the voting behavior. It was revealed that the tendency of voters, in the 2009 legislative elections, who ticked the names of the candidates was 36.3%, and those who ticked the political party was 23.0%, and those who ticked the name of candidate and party at the same time was 14.1%. The results showed that voters are rational and have a sufficient preference to determine their choice. The high number of voters who ticked the name of candidate also indicates that, in the election, the role of candidate in political parties is an important factor in obtaining votes and the number of seats.

However, Marsh (2005), in his research on the Candidate or Parties, found that the choice based

on personal attributes as the basis of the voters in determining their choice was 41%. Meanwhile, those who chose on the basis of political parties were 33%, and on the basis of the policy was 24%. The results also indicate that the role of the candidate dominates the reason for the constituents to determine their political choices.

Voting is the main form of political participation in a democratic country. Analysis related to the pattern of voting behavior focuses on the determinant factors on why and how the process so that the individual decides to give his choice. Sociologists tend to see that the factors of socio-economic, class, occupation, ethnicity, gender, and age as a determinant of an individual to choose. Meanwhile, experts from the field of political science tend to focus on political influences, such as issues, political program, election campaign, and the popularity of the party leader as the factors that contribute to the voting behavior. Nonetheless, the two fields of science do not exclusively use the factors respectively, but tend to overlap and mutual use of research to each another to be used as an analytical approach (Harrop and Miller 1987).

An analysis of voting behavior, in the context of Indonesia, conducted by Mujani and Liddle (2005) put the leadership, the party's identity, religious orientation, political economy, social class, ethnicity, rural-urban segmentation, age and sex as predictors. The study uses the data of four opinion surveys in legislative election of 1994 and 2004, and two rounds of presidential election in 2004. The variables involved such as leadership, party's identity, and religious orientation became the focus of the largest research.

### The Decision to Choose Political Party Approach

In reference to the theory of behavior, some approaches or models that can also be used as indicators in the decision to choose are based on the concept of Response Hierarchy Models (Kotler 2009). There are four models in this concept, namely; AI-DA model, Hierarchy of Effects Model, Innovation-Adoption Model and Communication Model. These concepts are commonly used to analyze the stages of purchasing behavior by consumers, in which in this study is adopted as the stages in the decision to choose candidates and political parties. In general, all these concepts can be grouped into three stages; cognitive stage, affective stage and conative stage of the four concepts, this study used only two concepts, namely the Hierarchy of Effects Model and Communication Model. This is because these two concepts are closer to the theory of atti-

tude that will be able to explain the decision to choose. Russell H. Colley introduced Dagmar Model (Defining Advertising Goals for Measured Advertising Result) which is used to describe The Hierarchy of Effects Model which is formulated by Robert J. Lavidge and Gary Steiner in 1961 explained that the phases of consumer response are awareness, knowledge, liking, preference and conviction.

Nursal (2004) adopted Kotler (1995) and Peter and Olson (1993) in The Hierarchy of Models Effects, that there are several stages of voter responses to the stimulation, such as:

1. *Awareness*. It is when someone can remember and realize that a certain party is a contestant of election. With the great number of election contestants, awareness is quite difficult to be built, especially for new parties. As has become the iron law of political marketing, in general, voters are not going to spend the time and energy to memorize the names of the contestants. It is obvious that a voter will not choose the contestant who does not have the brand awareness.
2. *Knowledge*. It is when a voter knows some important elements regarding the contestant's product, both substance and presentation. The elements will be interpreted so as to form a certain political meaning in the minds of the voter. In marketing commercial products, this stage is also called the stage of forming brand association and perceived quality.
3. *Liking*. It is a stage where a voter likes a particular contestant due to one or more political meaning that is formed in his mind in accordance with his aspiration.
4. *Preference*. It is the stage where a voter assumes that one or more political meaning formed as the interpretation towards a contestant's political product cannot be satisfactorily produced by the other contestants. Thus, the voter has a tendency to choose the contestant.
5. *Conviction*. The voter is until on the belief to choose a particular contestant.

The second concept is the Communication Model. The model formulated by Philip Kotler describes the stages of consumer response consisting of exposure, reception, cognitive response, attitude and intention. According to Simamora (2007), before responding the purchase, a consumer requires the exposure and the understanding of the product that will push toward the reception of the exposure and his understanding. Reception illustrates the extent to which the stimulus will affect one's knowledge and attitudes. The consumer who obtains the informa-

tion or the consumer who has cognitive response tends to be more motivated to vote. Meanwhile, the attitude will maintain the consistent belief and attitude. Intention will explain that the massive stimulus tend to produce greater purchase intent as well. Any model always describes the grouping attributes of each stage, namely cognitive stage, effective stage, and conative stage (behavior).

### Hypothesis

As stated by Niffenegger (1989), O'Cass & Pecotic (2005), Nursal (2004), Fuholin 2001 and Alie (2013), political product influences a person's behavior in the decision to choose a candidate. In the district delegate system, a candidate is considered a figure in his area. Thus, the formulation of the hypothesis is:

H<sub>1</sub>: Political product influences the decision to choose the candidate of legislative members.

As stated by Niffenegger (1989), O'Cass & Pecotic (2005), Nursal (2004), Fuholin (2001) and Alie (2013), that political product influences a person's behavior in the decision to choose a political party. In the government party system, someone is chosen because of his party, not because of his ability and competence. Thus, the formulation of the hypothesis is:

H<sub>2</sub>: Political product influences the decision to choose political party.

Marsh (2003), Barbera (2010), Liddle (2012) and LSI (2009) stated that in addition to choosing a party, with the existing electoral system it is also possible to choose the candidate, so that the formulation of the hypothesis is:

H<sub>3</sub>: The decision to choose the candidate of legislative member influences the decision to choose political party.

As stated by Niffenegger (1989), O'Cass & Pecotic (2005), Nursal (2004), Fuholin (2001) and Alie (2013), that political marketing mix consisting of political product, political price, political placement, and political promotion will influence the decision to choose a political party. The decision to choose a candidate will encourage the voter to choose a political party. Thus, the formulation of the hypothesis is:

H<sub>4</sub>: The decision to choose the candidate of legislative member mediates the effect of political product on the decision to choose political party.

## 3. RESEARCH METHOD

### Population and Sample

The population in this study is 19.154 voters registered in the Final Voters List (DPT) of Summersari

Village, Summersari Sub-District, Jember Regency in legislative election 2014, with the sample of 200 respondents. The sample criteria are the individual voters who have been using their voting rights and are in a group that is considered to represent the plurality of the voters. And these criteria are in urban areas. Sampling is done in two stages, namely purposive sampling to determine the number of samples and systematic sampling to determine the respondent's name in the list of voters per polling.

### Research Variables

This study uses two types of variables, namely exogenous variable and endogenous variable. The exogenous variables are the political products, namely party platform, past records and personal characteristic. Meanwhile, the endogenous variable used is the decision to choose a political party and the decision to choose a candidate of legislative member. The decision to choose a candidate of legislative member is measured by indicators of awareness, knowledge, liking, preference and conviction. The decision to choose a political party is measured by indicators of exposure, reception, cognitive response, attitude, and intention.

The criteria used to test the validity and reliability is the correlation calculation of Product Moment Pearson using computer assistance, namely SPSS Version 19. The correlation coefficient between the score of an indicator and a total score of all indicators is greater than 0.3 ( $r > 0.3$ ), so the instrument is considered valid. To measure the reliability of the research instrument is using Cronbach alpha formula with the criteria of Cronbach's Alpha  $> 0.60$ .

The results of validity and reliability test on the instrument of political product consisting of 13 statement items as shown in Table 1.

The result of validity test using the product moment correlation coefficient shows that the instrument of political product consists of 13 items and all these are valid. The result of the instrument reliability test on this variable is 0.841, or quite good because it has a reliability coefficient greater than 0.60. Thus, it can be concluded that the 13 items of the political product instrument can be used for analysis. The results of validity and reliability test of the instrument of decision to choose the candidates of legislative members consists of 5 statement items as shown in Table 2.

The result of validity test using the product moment correlation coefficient shows that the instrument of the decision to choose the candidates of legislative members consists of 5 items, and all

**Table 1**  
**Results of Validity and Reliability Test of Political Product Instrument**

Indicators	Items	Correlation Coefficient	Description	Reliability Coefficient
Party Platform (X1.1)	X1.1.1	0.568	Valid	0.841
	X1.1.2	0.694	Valid	
	X1.1.3	0.466	Valid	
Past Record (X1.2)	X1.2.1	0.555	Valid	
	X1.2.2	0.560	Valid	
	X1.2.3	0.562	Valid	
	X1.2.4	0.794	Valid	
Personal Characteristics (X1.3)	X1.3.1	0.591	Valid	
	X1.3.2	0.666	Valid	
	X1.3.3	0.689	Valid	
	X1.3.4	0.576	Valid	
	X1.3.5	0.365	Valid	
	X1.3.6	0.630	Valid	

Source: Processed Primary Data 2014.

items are valid. The result of the instrument reliability calculation on this variable is 0.760, or quite good because it has a reliability coefficient greater than 0.60. So it can be concluded that the 5 items of the instrument of decision to choose the candidate of legislative member can be used.

The results of validity and reliability test of the instrument of decision to choose political party are shown in Table 3.

The result of validity test using the product moment correlation coefficient shows that the instrument of the decision to choose political party consists of 5 items, and all items are valid. The result of the instrument reliability calculation on this variable is 0.698, or quite good because it has a reliability coefficient greater than 0.60. Thus, it means that 5 items of the instrument of decision to choose political party can be used for analysis.

#### **Data Analysis Technique**

The study used inferential statistical analysis of Generalized Structured Component Analysis (GeSCA). The use of this analytical tool is based on the essence that GeSCA is a new method of component-based SEM which is very important and can be used to calculate the score (not to scale) and can also be applied to a very small sample. In addition, GeSCA can be used on structural models involving variables with reflexive and or formative indicators. An analysis using GeSCA component-based SEM is a better alternative than the PLS, which has a better recovery parameters (Hwang et al. 2010 in Solimun 2012).

#### **4. DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION**

Before discussing each of the variables in Table 4,

the measurement results of each item are as follows:

##### **a. Political Product**

The measurement of latent variables of political product in Table 5 shows that all three indicators, namely: party platform, past record and personal characteristics are used to predict latent variable of political product. An indicator which is significant in predicting the latent variable of political product is only from personal characteristics ( $X_{1.3}$ ), but two other indicators continue to be used, because in the formative measurement model, all indicators should be used. It is evidenced by the estimated value of the weight of all three variable indicators, it is only personal characteristics ( $b = 0.563$ ;  $CR = 2.09$ ) which has a value greater than 0.50 and the value of  $CR$  and significant at confidence level of 95%. The party platform indicator ( $b = 0.240$ ;  $CR = 0.83$ ) and the past record ( $b = 0.469$ ;  $CR = 1.76$ ) are not significant. Based on the direction of the coefficient, it is reflected that the correlations between all variable indicators are positive and significant in shaping latent variables of political product.

##### **b. Decision to Choose the Candidate of Legislative Member**

The measurement of latent variable of decision to choose the candidate of legislative member in Table 6 shows that the five indicators, namely: awareness, knowledge, liking, preference and intention are valid to be used for reflecting the measurement of latent variable of decision to choose the candidate of legislative member. It is evidenced by the estimated value of the loading that all five variable indicators have a value greater than 0.50 and the

**Table 2**  
**Results of Validity and Reliability Test of the Instrument of the Decision to Choose the Candidate of Legislative Member**

Indicators	Items	Correlation Coefficient	Description	Reliability Coefficient
Awareness (Y1.1)	Y1.1	0.823	Valid	0.760
Knowledge (Y1.2)	Y1.2	0.716	Valid	
Liking (Y1.3)	Y1.3	0.615	Valid	
Preference (Y1.4)	Y1.4	0.794	Valid	
Conviction (Y1.5)	Y1.5	0.624	Valid	

Source: Processed Primary Data 2014.

**Table 3**  
**Results of Validity and Reliability Test of the instrument of the Decision to Choose Political Party**

Indicators	Items	Correlation Coefficient	Description	Reliability Coefficient
Exposure (Y2.1)	Y2.1	0.665	Valid	0.698
Reception (Y2.2)	Y2.2	0.507	Valid	
Cognitive Response (Y2.3)	Y2.3	0.805	Valid	
Attitude (Y2.4)	Y2.4	0.493	Valid	
Intention (Y2.5)	Y2.5	0.400	Valid	

Source: Processed Primary Data 2014.

value of CR is significant at the confidence level of 95%. It is reflected that the correlations between all of the variable indicators are positive and significant in reflecting the latent variable of decision to choose a legislative candidate.

### c. Decision to Choose Political Party

The Measurement of latent variable of decision to choose a political party in Table 7 shows that the five indicators, namely: exposure, reception, cognitive response, attitude, and intention are valid to be used in reflecting the measurement of latent variable of the decision to choose a political party. It is evidenced by the estimated value of the loading that all five indicators have a value greater than 0.50 and the value of CR is significant at the confidence level of 95%. This reflects that the correlations between all variable indicators are positive and significant in reflecting the latent variable of the decision to choose a political party.

### Hypothesis Test

The structural model is built upon two equations in one mediation variable, namely the decision to choose a candidate. The first equation is the decision to choose candidate based political product. The second equation is the decision to choose political party based on the function of the political product and the decision to choose candidate. The result of estimated coefficient performed by GeSCA is a standardized coefficient which is called the path coefficients.

In the structural model with GeSCA, the feasibility of the model is demonstrated from the value of FIT, AFIT, GFI and SRMR. In this model, the value of GFI and SRMR is not counted because the two latent constructs have a formative relationship with their indicators. From the result of GeSCA output is obtained the FIT value of 44.4%, which means that the model established in this study can explain the total diversity of the structure of relationships in the model described by the six variables i.e. 44.4% and the remaining 55.6% is explained by other variables outside the research model.

The AFIT value of 43.8% is adjusted from FIT which is almost equal to the value of FIT. On model with exogenous variable which is more than one, it is better if the interpretation of the accuracy of the model is using FIT that has been corrected or adjusted FIT

Based on the three hypotheses in the study, the results of the analysis on the model will be used as a reference in answering the hypothesis existing in this study, as described in Table 8. From Table 8, it can be explained as follows:

H1: The Effect of Political Product on the Decision to Choose the Candidate of Legislative Member

Partially, the effect of political product variable on the decision to choose the candidate of legislative member has a path coefficient value of 0.276 and CR value of 4.76. The test result of this coefficient is significant ( $CR > 2$ ) and explains that the variable of decision to choose a legislative candidate can be



**Table 4**  
**Measurement of Items**

Variables	Loading Factors	Mean
Party Platform:		
I chose a candidate and a party whose ideology is the same as my ideology.	0.478	3.85
I choose a candidate or a party whose work programs fight for the interests of the people.	0.463	4.55
I choose a candidate or a party that has good leadership figure.	0.397	4.47
Past Record:		
I choose a candidate or a party whose political promises are fulfilled.	0.479	4.32
I choose a candidate or a party that cares.	0.468	4.22
I choose a candidate or a party that has generosity background.	0.441	3.92
I choose a candidate or a party that is active in social activities.	0.735	4.28
Personal Characteristic:		
I choose a party whose candidates have high education.	0.483	3.83
I choose a party whose candidates are Islamic boarding school graduates.	0.577	3.32
I choose a party whose candidates have a close relationship with my role model figure.	0.596	3.27
I choose a party whose candidates have personality.	0.470	3.61
I choose a party whose candidates have the same religion as mine.	0.228	3.83
I choose a party whose candidates are from the same tribe as mine.	0.527	3.05
Decision to Choose the Candidate of Legislative Member:		
I remember/realize that there is someone who comes forward to be the candidate.	0.687	3.56
I know the candidate profile.	0.558	3.43
I like the candidate profile.	0.388	3.59
I believe that the candidate I like is better than others.	0.634	3.28
I am sure that I will choose the candidate that I like.	0.398	3.94
Decision to Choose Political Party:		
I gain explanation of the political party in election.	0.390	3.60
I accept everything about political party presented.	0.244	3.94
I eagerly choose the political party that I know.	0.590	3.50
I believe in the party that I know.	0.131	3.33
I will choose the party that I believe.	0.067	4.06

explained by political product. Thus, the test result of existing coefficients in Table 8 provides a decision that the hypothesis H1 is accepted.

H2: The Effect of Political Product on the Decision to Choose Political Party

Partially, the effect of political product on the decision to choose political party has a path coefficient value of -0.032 and CR value of 0.53. Therefore, the test result of this coefficient is not significant ( $CR < 2$ ) and explains that the variable of decision to choose political party cannot be explained by political product. The test result of the existing coefficient in Table 8 provides a decision that the hypothesis H2 is not accepted.

H3: The Effect of Decision to Choose the Candidate of Legislative Member on the Decision to Choose Political Party

Partially, the effect of the variable of decision to choose the candidate of legislative member on

the decision to choose political party has a path coefficient value of 0.654 and CR value of 10.23. The test result of this coefficient is significant ( $CR > 2$ ) and explains that the variable of decision to choose political party can be explained by the decision to choose the candidate of legislative member. The test result of the existing coefficient in Table 8 provides a decision that the hypothesis H3 is accepted.

H4: The Decision to Choose Legislative Candidate Mediates the Effect of Political Product on the Decision to Choose Political Party

The Test result of path coefficient of indirect effect to analyze this hypothesis can be explained in Table 9.

The result of path coefficient test in Table 9 explains that the political product has significant and direct effect on the decision to choose the candidate of legislative member with the path coefficient value of 0.276 and CR value of 4.76. The decision to

**Table 5**  
**Results of Political Product Measurement Model Test**

Variables/ Indicators Product	Loading			Weight			SMC		
	Estimate	SE	CR	Estimate	SE	CR	Estimate	SE	CR
Party platform (X1.1)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.240	0.291	0.83	0.00	0.00	0.00
Past Record (X1.2)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.469	0.266	1.76	0.00	0.00	0.00
Personal Characteristics (X1.3)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.563	0.270	2.09*	0.00	0.00	0.00

Source: Processed Primary Data.

Description: \* = significant at  $\alpha=0.05$  (CR > 2), AVE = 0.000, Alpha =0.597.

**Table 6**  
**Results of Measurement Model Test of Decision to Choose Legislative Candidate**

Variables To Choose Candidate	Loading			Weight			SMC		
	Estimate	SE	CR	Estimate	SE	CR	Estimate	SE	CR
Awareness (Y1.1)	0.813	0.039	15.78*	0.297	0.041	8.95*	0.592	0.071	8.39*
Knowledge (Y1.2)	0.698	0.045	18.01*	0.302	0.033	9.29*	0.577	0.059	8.89*
Liking (Y1.3)	0.725	0.048	13.53	0.307	0.029	9.01*	0.495	0.075	7.01*
Preference (Y1.4)	0.587	0.067	9.01*	0.281	0.036	8.34*	0.401	0.090	4.42*
Intention (Y1.5)	0.702	0.049	12.75*	0.273	0.038	7.97*	0.463	0.067	6.67*

Source: Processed Primary Data.

Description: \* = significant at  $\alpha=0.05$  (CR > 2), AVE = 0.500, Alpha =0.744.

**Table 7**  
**Results of Measurement Model Test of Decision to Choose Political Party**

Variables To Choose Party	Loading			Weight			SMC		
	Estimate	SE	CR	Estimate	SE	CR	Estimate	SE	CR
Exposure (Y2.1)	0.698	0.047	17.65*	0.345	0.028	11.92*	0.573	0.072	9.79*
Reception (Y2.2)	0.752	0.045	16.17*	0.333	0.031	10.79*	0.488	0.068	8.67*
Cognitive Response (Y2.3)	0.623	0.051	10.89*	0.357	0.025	11.56*	0.462	0.081	6.13*
Attitude (Y2.4)	0.557	0.068	8.33*	0.325	0.034	8.21*	0.375	0.069	5.02*
Intention (Y2.5)	0.577	0.62	1012*	0.267	0.037	9.47*	0.363	0.082	4.78*

Source: Processed Primary Data.

Description: \* = significant at  $\alpha=0.05$  (CR > 2), AVE = 0.554, Alpha =0.690.

choose the candidate of legislative member also has significant and direct effect on the decision to choose a political party with the path coefficient value of 0.654 and the CR value of 10.23. The result of the two paths is significant (CR> 2), then the indirect effect of the political product on the decision to choose a political party through the decision to choose the candidates of legislative members is significant. The value of indirect effect is 0.181, which is obtained from the result multiplied by the two coefficients.

The nature of the mediation of the decision to choose the candidate of legislative member, in this relationship, is perfect (complete mediation), because the test result of path coefficient of the political product of the decision to choose the party is not significant (CR <2). From the result of this anal-

ysis, it is obtained the decision that H4 is accepted, which means that the decision to choose the candidate of legislative member mediates the effect of the political product of the decision to choose political party.

## Discussion

### a. The Effect of Political Product on the Decision to Choose the Candidate of Legislative Member and Political Party

The result of statistical test shows that this path coefficient is significant and provides the decision that hypothesis 1 (H1) is accepted. It can be explained that the political product, consisting of party platform, past record and personal characteristics, affects the decision of the voters in choosing the legislative candidate. However, of the existing

**Table 8**  
**Results of Path Coefficient Test of Direct Influence**

Hypothesis	Relationship	Estimate	SE	CR	Description
H1	PRODUCT>CANDIDATE	0.276	0.058	4.76*	Significant
H2	PRODUCT->PARTY	-0.032	0.061	0.53	Not Significant
H3	CANDIDATE->PARTY	0.654	0.064	10.23*	Significant

Source: Processed Primary Data

**Table 9**  
**Results of Path Coefficient Test of Indirect Effect**

Hypothesis	From	To	Direct Effect		Indirect Effect	Description of the nature of Mediation
			Coeff.	CR		
H4	Political Product	Decision to choose Candidate	0.276	4.76*	-	
Political Product → to Choose	Decision to choose	Decision to choose				
Candidate → to	Candidate	choose Party	0.654	10.23*	-	
Choose Political Party	Political Product	Decision to choose Party	-0.032	0.53ns	0.276×0.654= 0.181	Complete mediation

Source: Processed Primary Data.

Description: CR\* = significant at .05 level.

three indicators, only personal characteristic that can explain the strong effect of political product on the decision to choose the candidate of legislative member. It means that in the decision to choose, the constituents are very concerned with the personal characteristic that is reflected by educational qualifications (including non-formal education), figure embraced by the legislative candidates, having role model, the same belief, and the same ethnicity or origin. These findings are relevant to the findings of Lijpart (1977), Byrne (1986).

Meanwhile, other indicators such as party platform which is reflected from a common ideology, work programs and the figure of the party leaders are less support. The less involvement of interest in the common ideology is on the contrary to the findings of Lomesky (1987), Gering and Selinger (1987). The work program also less illustrates political product. It is contrary to the findings of Down (1987), Fuholin (1991) and Bartels (1988). The figure of the party leaders including the physical appearance also less describe political product. It is contrary to the findings of Efran and Patterson (2011) which state that the leader or the candidate who is physically attractive will get votes three fold than those who are unattractive. A good leadership figure should also bring primary effect which is very difficult to change in the minds of consumers.

According to O'Cass and Pecotic (2005) and Nursal (2004), the role model of the party candidate is the variable that affects voting behavior. It is also stated by Fuholin (2001) that the credibility of the

candidate is one of the important factors in political campaigns.

The party's image is reflected through the quality of party leader, the role model of the party leader, vision and mission, and work program of the party. According to Winham and Cunningham (1970), it is explained that the leadership is instrumental to voting behavior, as happened in the UK, Canada and Australia. Alie (2013) also stated that the quality of party leaders influences the voting behavior of political parties. Meanwhile, Liddle and Mujani (2005) in their research confirmed that the quality of individual of party leader is the factor that affects voting behavior. In relation to the work program, Down (1957), Franklin (1991), Bartels (1988), Alie (2013) confirmed that the work program affects the voting behavior of society.

According to Lomesky (1997) and Fiorina (1976), ideology and loyalty will influence voting behavior. Byrne (1966.1986) revealed that each individual will be attracted to something that has a value system and the same belief. Gerring (1997), Seliger (1976) and Alie (2013) also saw that there is entanglement between ideology and voting behavior of political parties and candidates.

In connection with the prominent personalities in the decision to choose candidate, the attention to this aspect becomes increasingly important when the majority voting system is used in the legislative elections in 2014. Therefore that it would encourage candidates to use campaign model based on the individual role model (Norris 2003; Hicken 2007).

In relation to its influence on the decision to choose political party can be explained that the result of statistical test shows that this path coefficient is not significant. It can be explained that the political product consisting of party platform, past record and personal characteristics do not have significant direct and significant effect on voters' decision to political party. Platform which is associated with religion, race and ethnic, tends to be chosen by constituencies. From the findings of this study, it can be explained that people tend to be more easily browse through a party through their views of the "good society" for example, rather than trying to examine the past. This relates to the absence of incentives to look for information.

#### **b. The Effect of the Decision to Choose the Candidate of Legislative Member on the Decision to Choose Political Party**

The test result on this coefficient is significant and it explains that the variable of the decision to choose political party can be explained by the decision to choose legislative candidate. The decision to choose political party is increasingly stronger as a result of the decision to choose legislative candidate which is in accordance with the expectations of the voters. However, in general, the effect of the electability of the legislative candidate is not as strong as the effect of the party itself. Party is an engine. The Effect of candidate accounts for only about 18% while the effect of the party is 82% (Indicator 2013). Therefore, legislative candidate in general is still very strongly dependent on the strength of the political party supporting him, although not denying the otherwise. The party vote will increase after the constituents know the legislative candidate. The higher the popularity and quality of the legislative candidate is, the greater the electoral gains of the party.

Since the Constitutional Court decided the majority voting system or open list proportional system in 2009. It could determine the candidate who gets a seat in the House of Representatives (DPR / DPRD). The effect of the vote for the legislative candidate will further improve the electability of the party. This is because the total number of votes of a party is the number of voters who only choose the party plus those who only choose the candidate and added by those who choose party as well as candidate at the same time. The process of the decision to choose the party in this hypothesis, according to Haroen (2014), is relevant to the decision-making process, which starts from the known, loved and chosen. From this process will be able to achieve top of mind, that is the candidate and the

party that are quickly called spontaneously and attached to the minds of voters.

The findings of this study also illustrate that the decision to choose the party tends to be unstable. Some of the causes that can be described are the psychological ties to political parties are very weak, the confidence in the political party is low, and the emergence of other parties.

#### **c. The Effect of Political Product on the Decision to Choose Political Party through the Decision to choose the Candidate of Legislative Member**

The mediating variable of the decision to choose legislative candidate plays a very important role for the constituents in taking the decision to choose political party. On the mediating model, it is explained that the role of the legislative candidate is very dominant in the decision to choose a political party.

These findings weaken LSI survey findings (2009) that 47% of respondents chose the party, 37% choose the candidate, and 16% chose both the candidate and political party. According to Hamdi Muluk, lack of loyalty to the party is due to the political party in Indonesia is only part of the democratic procedure. Political parties in Indonesia are the political parties that are owned and financed by the political oligarchy, so that the public support in the form of loyalty is low. The voters are skeptical, unwilling to parties to political parties. The basic reason is that the party is not able to fight for the aspirations of the people, the party's performance cannot be felt by the public and the party machinery function is not effective. In fact, according to the LSI (2009), in terms of the proximity to a political party, people who have close relations with political parties are only 5%, quite close to 17% and do not have any relationship with the party proximity of 59%.

The study conducted by Barbera (2010), on the voting behavior in parliament election in three cities: Barcelona, Seville and Santiago in the election of 2007, showed that the voters in Barcelona who chose political party was 52.1% and those who choose candidate was 35.6%, in Seville, the voters who choose the party was 45.8% and those who choose candidate was 39.7%, while in Santiago, the voters who chose the party was 34.5% and those who chose candidate is 52.6%. The results showed that the voters had placed the candidate as a figure that is expected to bring changes to their political choices.

#### **5. CONCLUSION, IMPLICATION, SUGGESTION, AND LIMITATIONS**

It can be generalized that the political products such as the party platform, past record, and per-

sonal characteristics, have an effect on the voters' decision to choose the candidate of legislative member in the legislative elections. However, of the existing three indicators, only personal characteristic that can explain the strong effect of political product on the selection of legislative candidate. Meanwhile, related to the effect on the decision to choose political party, it can be concluded that the political products do not have significant and direct effect on the voter's decision to choose political party. The decision to choose the candidate of legislative members affects the decision to choose political party. The decision to choose political party can be increasingly stronger as a result of the decision to choose the candidate of legislative member which is in accordance with the expectations of voters. The party's votes will increase after the constituents know the candidates offered. The higher the popularity and quality of the candidate is, the greater the electoral gains of a party.

The results of this study could be used as a basis by the candidates of legislative members and political parties to undertake careful planning to determine the strategy of winning through the identification of indicators determining the winning. From some of these indicators, it can lead us to see what indicators that needs to be optimized. This is consistent with the basic concepts of political marketing that political marketing is not an effort to guarantee the winning, but rather than a strategy to make a plan for achieving victory.

Considering that the object of the research was those in urban areas, this might lead to being biased when these results are generalized for overall condition for the voters' behavior in all regions, except it is for those in Jember

For political parties, in the recruitment of prospective candidates of legislative member, they should pay attention to the personal characteristic of the candidates. In this context, political parties also should be consistent with their platform and maintain the image of the party, because as based on the experience of the activities undertaken by the party (past record), they should be aware of this consideration for the voters to determine their choices. For example, they should consider which candidate and party that will be chosen. The prospective candidates of legislative members should spearhead the winning of the party.

For further research, the researcher suggests that it can broaden the study by adding the number of the respondents in rural areas that can certainly have different characteristics from the urban areas.

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