FACTORS INFLUENCING VOTING INTENTION FOR INDONESIAN PEOPLE'S REPRESENTATIVE COUNCIL ELECTION 2019: THE CASE OF FIRST VOTER IN

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Abstract. This study measures the eight factors adopted from Newman and Sheth's model (1985) that will influence voting behavior intentions in 2019 Indonesian people representative council election, given the moderating effect of the media to strengthen the influence of the eight factors to the voting behavior intentions. A final total of 267 first voters in Bandung that participated in the 2014 Indonesian people representative council election were surveyed using a questionnaire, and the sample from population is taken using a convenience sampling method. Binary logistic regression analysis was performed to test the influences among the research variables. The result of this survey indicated that the proposed factors adopted from Newman and Sheth's model (1985) as the independent variables did not provide a significant impact on first voter's intention in Bandung for 2019 Indonesian people's representative council election. The object of first voters has a very distinctive characteristics compared with the general voters in the previous research that formed the hypotheses of this study because of the difference in knowledge and information about election, so the research is expected to open new horizons for further research to examine other factors that can influence first voters. The findings will be a beneficial for political parties to ensure the regeneration of political parties and the provision of political education to young generation.

Keywords: Voter's Behavioral Intention, Political Party, First Voter.

Introduction

Research Background

Indonesian political and governmental system has a democratic system, where one of its characteristics is that every person can choose their representatives from a political party, directly through the election. The development of the democracy system in many countries in the world also has grown an interest of scientists to analyze the factors that shape citizens' voting behavioral intention, so that the political parties will gain voter's attention and support that would give them victory in the elections. The advancement of technology and mass media that affecting the lives of voter is the reason why the seven factors of Newman and Sheth (1985) model is more suitable to test the behavioral intention of voters. The voters will be easily assess the political parties and candidates' appearances that is more visible to voters through the mass media.

For the first voters who still have little experience in elections, this approach would be a good way to look at their behavioral intention because of the current political knowledge access can be accessed either through the mass media and technology, regardless of age and experience of the first voter. Although the first voters still have little experience in the elections; based on the evaluation of the 2014 elections, first voters have considerable potential in determining victory for a party.Based on the profile of 2014 election participants, there were about 40 to 42 percent of the vote coming from the youth who are classified as first voter. The high percentage of this age group can determine a

party's victory in elections, but yet there has not been a special approach in the science of political marketing to know the behavioral intention of the first voter.

The survey that has been carried out by Transparency International Indonesia towards 1000 first voters in Jakarta also supports the relationship between the media's influence on the first voter's intention. The negative or positive news that related to election, political party, and political figure, are the most chosen factors that affected to the first voter's intention. This factor is chosen by 58% of respondents (47% is affected, 11% is very affected).[1] The first voter's intentions that affected by the news in mass media also evidenced by the reduced percentage of party's seats the Indonesian People's Representative Council when the party is getting massive news in the mass media. We can see that in 2014 Election, there are several parties which eventually decreased their number of seats after they reported by the mass media involved in a scandal or cases; for the examples are Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS) and Partai Demokrat.
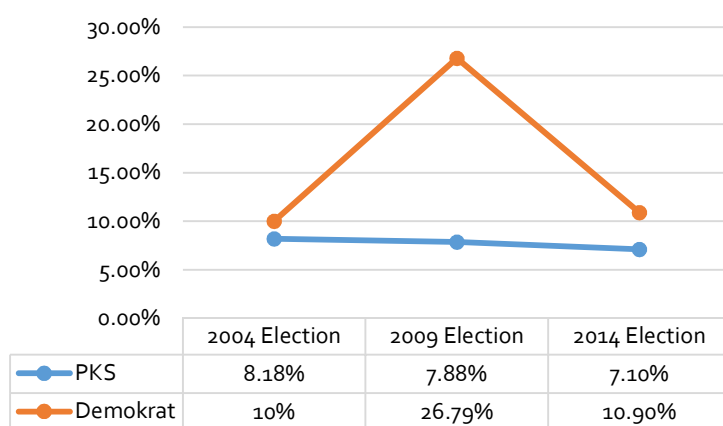

	2004 Election	2009 Election	2014 Election
PKS	8.18%	7.88%	7.10%
Demokrat	10%	26.79%	10.90%

Figure 1.2 Percentage of Indonesian People's Representative Council' seats that gained by PKS and Partai Demokrat in 2004, 2009 and 2014 Election[2]

In Figure 1.2., the seats percentage gained by PKS and Partai Demokrat are decreased in 2014 Indonesian People's Representative Council election. However, in Indonesia, Indonesian People's Representative Council election has an important contribution for a political party if they want to propose their own presidential candidate. According to UU Pemilu 2008, only a party that dominates more of 20% seats in Indonesian people's representative council election or win 25% popular votes can propose their own presidential candidate. Thus, PKS and Partai Demokrat are failed to propose their presidential candidate and have to make a coalition with the other party to propose a presidential candidate in 2014 election.

Statement of Problem
The presence of negative news and issues in media was allegedly able to influence the voter's behavioral intention. The party which has been contaminated by issues will reduce the intention of first voter to vote in the 2019 Indonesian people's representative council election, whereas the 2019 Indonesian people's representative council election has an important contribution for a political party if they want to propose their own presidential candidate.

Research Question
Based on problem statements that already explained, here are the research questions provided:
What are the factors that influence first voter's behavioral intention to vote?

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[1] Transparency International Indonesia (2014)

[2] Anata, Arifin, Suryadinata (2005), Komisi Pemilihan Umum (2005, 2009)

Does the media have any role in shaping first voter's behavioral intention?

Research Objective

The research objectives based on the research question are:

To investigate the impact of eight factors adopted from Newman and Sheth (1985) model on first voter's behavioral intention in Bandung for 2019 Indonesian people's representative council election. To investigate the impact of media as a moderating effect that will possibly makes the difference of first voter's behavioral intention in Bandung for 2019 Indonesian people's representative council election.

Limitation of Research

The following are the limits of this research:

Voter who will be the respondents in this study is a first voter (*pemilih pemula*). In this research, *pemilih pemula* are young people who use their voting rights for the first time, so that their age is about 17-21 years old. Due to limited time and access to reach the entire population of first voter in Indonesia, we will only take a sample of first voter in Bandung. Out of several approach to know the voter's behavioral intention, we will only test the eight factors adopted from Newman and Sheth (1985) model that will affect the first voter's behavioral intention.

Benefits of Research

The following are the benefits of this research:

As a reference for the other internal party to be a reference for the first voter in marketing political process. As a reference for KPU to know the first voter intention to respond Indonesian political conditions through their aspirations in election. As a reference of academic sub-discipline for the scholars to find the first voter's intention in marketing political process. Furthermore, to my knowledge, this is the first study to find first voter's intention in election.

Theoritical Foundations

Political Parties

After the resignation of President Soeharto, Indonesia have performed four elections (Pemilihan Umum – Pemilu) for its presidents and legislators at the national, provincial, and district levels. These elections are held every five years and run by the Indonesian Election Comission (Komisi Pemilihan Umum – KPU). KPU have been set the threshold of the party, which is 3.5% from national vote percentage so a party can send its legislators to the People's Representative Council. Afterwards, from 46 parties that registered to Pemilu Legislatif 2014, there are twelve parties that passed initial verification, administrative verification, and factual verification to be the participants of Pemilu Legislatif 2014.[3]

Table 2.1 Indonesian Political Parties for 2014 Election Period 2014-2019[4]

Serial Number	Name of Political Party
1	Partai Nasional Demokrat (Partai Nasdem)
2	Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (PKB)
3	Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS)
4	Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan (PDIP)
5	Partai Golongan Karya (Partai Golkar)
6	Partai Gerakan Indonesia Raya (Partai Gerindra)
7	Partai Demokrat
8	Partai Amanat Nasional (PAN)
9	Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (PPP)
10	Partai Hati Nurani Rakyat (Partai Hanura)

[3]Komisi Pemilihan Umum (2014[b])

[4] Komisi Pemilihan Umum (2013)

14	Partai Bulan Bintang (PBB)
15	Partai Keadilan dan Persatuan Indonesia

First Voter

There are some opinions about the characteristics of first voters. Based on Antara.com[5] statement, first voter tend to be critical, self-reliant, independent, anti-status quo: they are not satisfied with the establishment, pro-change and so on. However, because they have not had the experience of voting, first voter do not understand the various aspects related to the election. Based on LKR Kriya Solo survey, the remaining 60.51% of first voter in Solo stated not sure which to choose—which they are potentially to not vote, whereas 18% firmly stated to not vote. Based on Ramlan Subakti statement, Professor of Political Science in Airlangga University[6], first voter still have a high level of trust to the current political system. And based on Transparency International Indonesia (TII)[7] survey, first voter is a special segment that has a certain enthusiasm to use their right to vote in their first time election participation. *Influence from social media* (37%) and *media* (47%) was the variables with the highest percentage that greatly affect the decisions of the first voter[8].

Voter's Behavioral Intention

Several authors have argued that the marketing insight in consumer behavior is also relevant to other areas beyond the commercial domain. (Cass and Pecotich, 2005; Shama, 1973). The language of contemporary political campaigns frequently likens the voter to a consumer in the political market place (Nimmo, 1975). In the beginning of the implementation of consumer behavior theory in politics, theory of reasoned action (TRA) was one of the most common theories used to explain behavioral intention. The theory of reasoned action suggests that the cognitive and normative component, leads to attitudes, which in turn leads to behavioral intention and finally leading to actual behavior (Ajzen, 1985). Later, researchers were searching for more specific models that would predict voter's behavioral intention in the future. One of the first models to explore behavioral intention was the model by Newman and Sheth (1985) where they identified seven factors that affect voter's behavioral intention. In some research, the seventh factor is also known as the *Cognitive Domain Approach* or *Marketing Approach*, due to the researchers' objectives to develop a model of voter choice behavior which contains the seven factors that related to marketing and campaign. This approach is also related to the trust of voter choice behavior that sourced from the word of mouth and the strength of mass media.
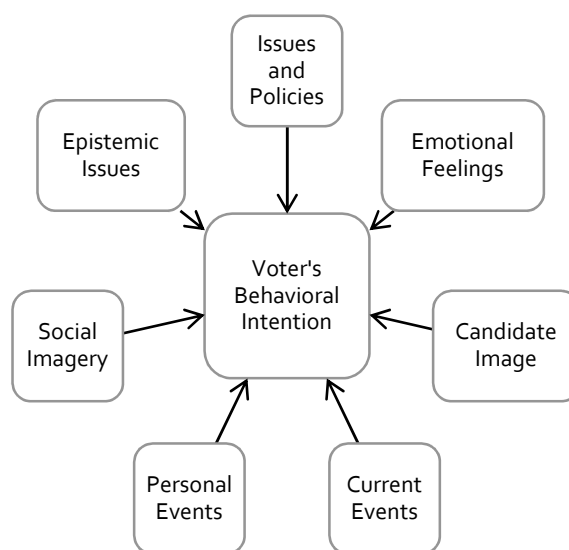

Figure 2.1 Newman and Sheth's Seven Factors to Affect Voter's Behavioral Intention
The following are the original seven factors of cognitive domains that shape the voter's

[5] Setper-2/1, Antara (2014)

[6] Kompas (2014)

[7] Transparency International Indonesia (2014)

[8] Transparency International Indonesia (2014)

behavioral intention by Newman and Sheth (1985):

Issues and Policies.
 Issues and policies refers to a list of national salient issues and policies that represent the rational or functional purposes of the candidate's platform. Fishbein and Coombs (1974) in their study found that the candidate's stand on the issues was one of the three factors that caused a candidate to be liked or disliked. Lindberg and Morrison (2008) also state that voters found to develop a prospective evaluations based on what a political party may bring in the future. Therefore, we can state the first hypothesis based on the previous research as follows:
H1:   There is a positive relationship between the candidate's views about issues and policies and first voter's intention.

Social Imagery
Social imagery refers to all relevant reference groups that will be likely to support the candidates. It can be based on demographics (age, sex, religion), socioeconomic (income, occupation), cultural/ethnic (race, lifestyle), or political/ideological group. In American politics, Odegard and Helms (1938) defined the political process as the translation of social pressures into policy, and emphasized the role of social group pressures on candidates. It means that most of candidates will be positively have a root of social groups that support them, and they will be likely bear the aspirations and hope of their supporters. This statement is also supported by survey result of Berelson et.al (1954) that demographic characteristics related to voting intention. Therefore, we can state the first hypothesis based on the previous research as follows:
H2:   There is a positive relationship between the reference group support in social imagery and first voter's intention.

Emotional Feelings
Emotional feelings represents the emotional dimension of voting, refers to affective feelings such as hope, responsibility, patriotism, etc. aroused by the candidate. The feelings that aroused was a product or result of their assessment and response to the familiarity of candidates and their platforms. Abelson et.al (1982) found that summary scores of affect were better than the candidate personality judgment in 1980 Presidential Election. Based on the previous research we can state the third hypothesis as follows:
H3:   There is a positive relationship between the voter's emotional feelings towards the candidates and first voter's intention.

Candidate Image
Candidate image refers to the image of the candidate based on salient personality traits that are thought to be characteristic of the candidate. There are a lot of studies that focused on the image of candidate in political election. Farrag and Shamma (2014) explained that most of literatures has highlighted that power, leadership, competence, intelligence, credibility and morality to be key attributes of a political candidate (Kinder, 1994; Pancer et al., 1999; King, 1997; Benoit and McHale, 2004). Candidate image is the Political scientists Natchez and Bupp (1968), drawing upon voting in American presidential elections from 1952-1964, concluded that the best single predictor of voting intention is candidate image. Based on the previous research we can state the fourth hypothesis as follows:
H4:   There is a positive relationship between candidate image and first voter's intention.

Current Events
Current events refers to the set of issues and policies that develop during a campaign that would cause the voter to switch his/her vote to another candidate. Anderson (2009) offered a relationship between events in a campaign to the voting behavior by a scandal that happens in an election

campaign, "Political scandal (Abramowitz 1988, Welch and Hibbing 1997) or changes in the salience of issues (Petrocik, 1996) can also affect voters' preferences." Campbell et al. (1960) also found that the immediate determinants of a voter's behavior were more likely to be his/her attitudes and perception of "objective" situational factors in the environment. Based on the previous research we can state the fifth hypothesis as follows:

H5:   There is a positive relationship between current events prevailing during elections process and first voter's intention.

Personal Events
Personal events refers to situations in the personal life of the candidate that would cause the voter to switch his/her vote to another candidate. Anderson (2009) in her study describes some results from previous research, state that "...if voters perceive that a political candidate is not being truthful, that politician is regarded as less credible amd citizens are less likely to vote for or re-elect that individual." (Abramowitz, 1991; Hovland & Weiss, 1951). Based on the previous research we can state the sixth hypothesis as follows:

H6:   There is a positive relationship between information concerning the candidate's personal life and first voter's intention.

Epistemic Issues
Epistemic issue refers to the new and different reasons that would justify the voter to vote for the candidate. Newman and Sheth (1985) state that in the 1976 presidential election, Carter was very successful at taping the curiosity of voters who saw him as a "fresh face" on the political scene. "The sliance of issues can also affect voters' preferences (Petroick 1996)" stated by Anderson, (2009). Based on the previous research we can state the seventh hypothesis as follows:

H7:   There is a positive relationship between epistemic issues prevailing during elections process and first voter's intention.

The seven factors of cognitive domains has also been tested in a survey by Newman and Sheth (1985) to the 839 voter with random sampling in Illinois, United States, and it is proved that those factors can be used to test its influence to voter behavior, because all of the factors have the significant impact to the voter behavior, though the issues were also could be different in case of time and locations. Farrag and Shamma (2014), researchers from Cairo, also critized the model of seven factors of cognitive domains by adding family and friends influence to the factors that influence voter's intention based on his in depth interview report with some journalists and some experts from political parties. The majority of interviewees (five out of six) agreed on this important factor in addition to the influence of family, as they indicated the importance of the family unit in the societies in general and their influencing role on the manner in which a vote is cast. This factor is also important to test the first voter's intention so we are going to add the factor of family and friends influence from this research as the eighth hypothesis:

H8:   There is a positive relationship between friends and family influence and first voter's intention.

Media Campaign in Indonesian Election
In the Indonesian elections, the implementation of campaign through the mass media have been set by the Electoral Commission (KPU) regulation Number 01 of 2013 about the guidelines for an implementation of the general election campaign members of parliament, local councils and regional parliaments. The media campaign was divided into two; the electronic media and print media.

The model of Newman and Sheth (1985) does not include the influence of the media campaign in election, meanwhile some previous research by Newman (1994), Ansolabehere et al. (1995), Mann and Orren (1992) and Negrine (1994) stated that influence of media become an important mediating factor and oftentimes directly influencing citizens' voter behavior. Therefore, media of campaign

has been included in this study as a moderating variable, due to previous research' statement from Ansolabehere et al. (1995), Harrison (1965), Kaid (1999), and Negrine, 1994 that the abilty of media that form to a large extent, voter feelings toward potential candidates.

H9:   The media strengthens the relationship between the factors influencing voters and first voter's intention.

Conceptual Framework

Based on the theoretical foundations that have been reviewed before, we can see that there are some factors that influence to the voter intention that shapes the conceptual framework as illustrated in Figure 2.2:
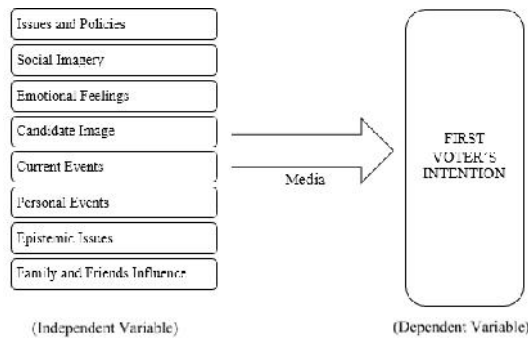

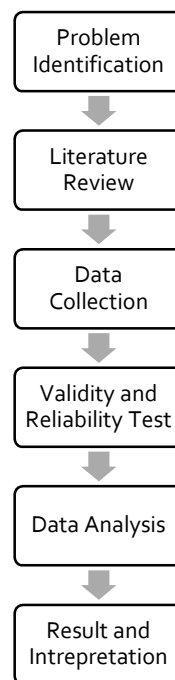Figure 2.2 Conceptual Framework

Figure 3.1 Research Method Systematics
Methodology

Research Method

Methodology

This section will explain the methodology of this research, which includes the determination of population and sample size, also the sampling method that used in this research.

Population

Population of this research is a total amount of first voter (*pemilih pemula*) in Bandung City. According to Komisi Pemilihan Umum (KPU) Indonesia, first voter is a category for Indonesian citizens who vote legislators and presidents in Pemilu for the first time; with a minimum age of 17 years old and just got the right to vote at that time. Based on the information from BPS Bandung, we can see that total population of Bandung city from 18 until 22 years old is 144.677 people.

Sampling
According to Uma Sekaran (2008), since there are 144.677 of population in this research, there will be 384 sample that will be participated in this survey. (95% and 5% margin of error).

Sampling Method
A convenience sampling method was employed for this study because such a method allowed the writer an opportunity to choose the appropriate sample considered representative of the population. (Williams, 2010) In this research, questionnaire will be given to Bandung population that meet the three criteria: 1) Male or Female, 2) Young people aged 18 to 22, 3) has voted 2014 Indonesian people's representative council election for the first time.

Data Collection Method
The method of data collection conducted in this research is *survey* with a *questionnaire* as the tools. The survey conducted on June 20th, 2015 through July 22nd, 2015, which yields 289 respondents.

Variable Operationalization
In the questionnaire this study, there are three section that arranged in different pages, where each page contains several item of questions to examine the first voter's intention. Here are the explanations of each section:
The first section is about the profile of respondents, included gender, age, occupation, and religion.
The second section deals with voter's participation in politics (their selected parties).
The third section consists of 34 strings of eight factors adopted from Newman and Sheth (1985) model that affect voter's intention. Respondents' response for the independent variables: *Issues and Policies,Emotional Feelings, Candidate Image,Current Events, Personal Events,Epistemic Issues, Family and Friends Influence, Media Campaign,* and the dependent variable, behavioral intentions whether they would choose the same party in 2019 Indonesian people's representative council election were assessed by binary scale, *Yes* (1) and *No* (0).

Data Validity Method
Validity of Data
Firstly, 30 samples of independent variables that will be examined for the logistic regression will be tested for its validity using SPSS software, by bivariate analysis. The result of this analysis will generate the significant value for each variable. Variable that get the significant value higher than 0.5 (by 95% level of confidence) considered valid.

Reliability of Data
The study uses Cronbach's α to measure the internal reliability of the questionnaire (Yang, et.al., 2009). To test the reliability of variables, we are going to use SPSS. The result will be the r value for each variable. Variable that get the r value higher than 0.361 (reliability of 30 samples with 95% level of confidence) considered reliable to use.

Data Analysis Method
We will use SPSS software to analyze data by Binary Logistic Regression Analysis. Binary Logistic Regression Analysis was used to test the proposed model. Eight factors adopted from Newman and Sheth (1985) model are the independent variables, meanwhile Voter's Intention (Yes/No) is set as

the dependent variables. When the dependent variable in an attrition study is dichotomous (i.e., degree earned or not earned), logistic regression, as opposed to either multiple regression or discriminant analysis, is particularly appropriate (Hosmer & Lemeshow, 1989). For logistic regression, regardless of the size or amount of value x, then the value of y will remain between 0 and 1. This means dichotomous variables were used only consists of two values, which represent the appearance or absence of an event that is usually given the number 0 or 1. In this survey, a value of 0 will be given to respondents who did not vote, while one for respondents who choose.

Analysis Method Evaluation
There are four evaluations or conditions of the Logistic Regression Model based on Peng (2002).
Overall model evaluation
Goodness-of-fit statistics
Statistical tests of individual predictors (independent variables)
Validations of predicted probabilities
The result will be compared before and after the variable of media campaign included into the binary regression as the mediating variables. If the fitness of the model and beta figures *increase*, we can state that the media campaign influence is *strengthen* the relationship between the eight factors and voting intention.

Data Analysis

Respondents Profile
Respondents in this study are voter who have had the right to vote and use their rights to vote in 2014 Indonesian people's representative council election as many as 289 people. There are 22 voter who did not meet the requirement above; therefore, those voter's response considered invalid. Most of them are female (69.3%), they are 21 years old (32.2%), work as a college students (94.4%), and Muslim (95.5%).

Descriptive Statistic
In the questionnaire, respondents were asked about parties and candidates' image that they have chosen in the elections of 2014. There are 34 items of questions in total. We can see the variable of questions with minimum and maximum score as the initial reference to determine respondents' response that will signified the voter's intention in logistic regression analysis.

Issues and Policies
For this factor, question code IP1 *(Issue of foreign mining company)* has the highest score of 239 which means that most of respondents really believe to their candidate's support to the issue of foreign mining company. Otherwise, question code IP6 *(Issue of local election)* has the lowest score of 67, means that the support of candidates to the issue of local election becomes a variable that respondents do not believe the most.

Social Imagery
For this factor, question code SI2 *(Age group)* has the highest score of 190 which means that respondents agree that one particular age group were most likely to choose their selected party. Otherwise, question code SI4 *(Political power support)* has the lowest score of 102, means that respondents think that the group which has a political power support in society was least likely to choose their selected party.

Emotional Feelings
For this factor, question code EF3 *(Patriotism feeling towards the working program)* has the highest score of 192 which means that respondents feel that their candidates owned sense of responsibility the most. Otherwise, question code EF3 *(Helpful feeling towards the working program)* has the lowest

score of 160, means that respondents think that the helpfulness become the least sense owned by their candidate.

Candidate Image
For the factor of Candidate Image, question code CI3 *(Candidate's Intellectuality)* has the highest score of 202 which means that respondents think that their candidates owned the good intellectuality the most. Otherwise, question code CI1 *(Candidate's charisma)* has the lowest score of 172, means that respondents think that the good charisma become the least image owned by their candidate.

Current Events
For the factor of Current Events, there is no variable that has the highest score. It means that most of respondents think that in case of a current events, respondent will switch their vote to another party. Otherwise, question code CE3 *(Candidate's coverage in media)* has the lowest score of 87, means that respondents think that if the candidate are having the bad media coverage, it will lastly affect their decision to choose the same party.

Personal Events
For the factor of Personal Events, question code PE2 *(Professionalism)* has the highest score of 178 which means that if their candidate are maintain the professional relationship with their working relations, respondent will not switch their vote to another party. Otherwise, question code PE1 *(Involvement in a personal scandal)* has the lowest score of 122, means that respondents think that if the candidate are having the personal scandal, it will lastly affect their decision to choose the same party.

Epistemic Issue
For the factor of Epistemic Issues, question code EI3 *(Submission of society's aspirations)* has the highest score of 154 which means that the reason of why they choose their party, mostly because of their candidates' ability to convey society's aspirations. Otherwise, question code EI2 *(Party's image)* has the lowest score of 125, means that respondents' reason of the party's image that could give the respondents a pride becomes the last reason for them to choose the same party.

Family and Friends Influence
For the factor of Family and Friends Influence, question code FI2 (Family's influence) has the highest score of 192 which means that the reason of why they choose their party, mostly because of their family influences. Otherwise, question code EI2 (Friends' preferences) has the lowest score of 184, means that respondents' reason of the friends' preferences becomes the last reason for them to choose the same party

Media Campaign Influence
For the factor of Current Events, there is no variable that has the highest score. It means that most of respondents think that there are no media campaign that really influence them to vote. Meanwhile, social media get almost a balance score means that partially of respondents are influenced by social media and other part are not influenced. Otherwise, question code MI2 *(Radio campaign)* has the lowest score of 21, means that respondents think that if a party is doing campaign in radio, it will lastly affect their decision to choose the same party.

Dependent Variable: Voter's Intention
In the last chapter on the questionnaire, respondents were asked whether they would choose the same party that they chose in the previous election. It turns out as many as 218 respondents stated that they would choose the same party while 49 other respondents state to not vote for the same party in the next election.

Instruments Testing

Instrument testing conducted on 30 respondents before the questionnaire is being distributed to the entire sample to determine the reliability and validity of questionnaire. Validity of questionnaire was tested by *bivariate correlations,* while the reliability was tested by *cronbach's alpha* using SPSS software. As the result, IP1, IP3 and IP5 of Issues and Policies and SI4 of Social Imagery do not have significant value at the minimum level of 0.05. Therefore, these variables will not be analyzed further in Logistic Regression Analysis.

Logistic Regression Report

An overall evaluation of the model

In this survey, we are using likelihood ratio test to evaluate the simultaneous of model. We compared the likelihood ratio from Block 0 (intercept-only) and Block 1 (logistic models with independent variables) of the result.

Table 4.17 Simultaneous Table

Iteration History	-2 Log Likelihood	Termination of Estimate
Block 0	254.553	4
Block 1	249.031	4
Block 1 (after inserting Media)	247.155	4

Through the simultaneous table 4.17, we can calculate the likelihood ratio with the formula -2 (L0-L1) as follows:

-2 (L0-L1) = 254.553-249.031 = 5.522

With α = 0.05 and a degree of freedom (df) = k-1 = (8-1) = 7 where k is the number of predictor variables, χ^2 value (p) of the chi-squared distribution table is 14.067. Because the χ^2 value (p) was 5.522 < 14.067 or -2 (L0-L1) < χ^2 (p), it can be concluded that simultaneously, the eight predictor variables are not significantly influence the dependent variable (voter's intention).

We were also conducted the equation of overall evaluation of model after media as the mediating factor. The result of χ^2 value (p) was 7.398 which it is also smaller than the χ^2 value (p) of the chi-squared distribution table. Although the value is smaller, the influence of media is strengthen the overall evaluation of model.

Goodness-of-fit test statistics

Table 4.18 Hosmer and Lemeshow Test (before the mediating factor was inserted)

Step	Chi-square	df	Sig.
1	6.200	8	.625

Hosmer and Lemeshow test was used to test the goodness of fit; or in other words, to test whether the model that we use is fit with empirical data. The null hypothesis in this test is a "model has been sufficiently explain the data (fit)" with the test criteria to reject the null hypothesis if the probability value is less than or equal to a predetermined level of significance (p ≤ 0.05). Based on the table 4.17, the chi-square value is 6.200 with a probability value of 0.625. The value is higher than 0.05, so that we accept the null hypothesis. It also means that the model used was fit to the data (p 0.625> 0.05).

Table 4.19 Hosmer and Lemeshow Test (after the mediating factor was inserted)

Step	Chi-square	df	Sig.
1	16.988	8	.030

Based on the table 4.19, the chi-square value is increased into 16.988 but the probability value is decreased from 0.625 into 0.030. The value is still higher than 0.05, so that we accept the null hypothesis that the model used was fit to the data (p 0.030 > 0.05). But we can also state that the

model before the mediating factor was inserted is more fit to the data. Statistical tests of individual predictors (independent variables)

Table 4.20 Variables in the Equation (before the moderating variable was inserted)

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	95% C.I.for EXP(B)	
								Lower	Upper
Step 1[a]	Issues_Policies	-.010	.347	.001	1	.976	.990	.502	1.953
	Social_Imagery	.264	.423	.390	1	.532	1.302	.569	2.981
	Emo_Feelings	-.235	.413	.324	1	.569	.790	.351	1.777
	Candidate_Image	.003	.463	.000	1	.995	1.003	.405	2.482
	Current_Events	.066	.398	.027	1	.868	1.068	.490	2.329
	Personal_Events	.419	.419	1.000	1	.317	1.520	.669	3.452
	Epistemic_Issue	.489	.363	1.818	1	.178	1.631	.801	3.319
	Friends_Family	-.240	.371	.418	1	.518	.787	.381	1.627
	Constant	1.107	.596	3.449	1	.063	3.025		

a. Variable(s) entered on step 1: Issues_Policies, Social_Imagery, Emo_Feelings, Candidate_Image, Current_Events, Personal_Events, Epistemic_Issue, Friends_Family.

Table 4.21 Variables in the Equation (after the moderating variable was inserted)

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	95% C.I.for EXP(B)	
								Lower	Upper
Step 1[a]	Issues_Policies	-.026	.348	.006	1	.941	.974	.493	1.926
	Social_Imagery	.237	.425	.311	1	.577	1.267	.551	2.913
	Emo_Feelings	-.296	.418	.502	1	.479	.744	.328	1.687
	Candidate_Image	.021	.462	.002	1	.964	1.021	.412	2.527
	Current_Events	.063	.398	.025	1	.874	1.065	.488	2.326
	Personal_Events	.388	.421	.848	1	.357	1.473	.646	3.361
	Epistemic_Issue	.547	.367	2.224	1	.136	1.728	.842	3.547
	Friends_Family	-.313	.375	.696	1	.404	.731	.350	1.526
	Media	.527	.397	1.764	1	.184	1.694	.778	3.688
	Constant	1.084	.597	3.291	1	.070	2.955		

a. Variable(s) entered on step 1: Issues_Policies, Social_Imagery, Emo_Feelings, Candidate_Image, Current_Events, Personal_Events, Epistemic_Issue, Friends_Family, Media.

The result from the logistic regression of voter's intention as the dependent variable are presented in Table 4.20. As shown in Table 4.20, there are no significant variables that affect the dependent variable since the significant value of all the variables are higher than 0.05. (To be significant, the p-value must be lower than 0.05). And even if all of the variables is insignificant, the influence of media do not strengthen the relationship because only three of eight factors that have the increase in beta figures.

Table 4.22 Model Summary (before the moderating variable was inserted)

Step	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square
1	249.031[a]	.020	.033

a. Estimation terminated at iteration number 4 because parameter estimates changed by less than .001.

Table 4.23 Model Summary (after the moderating variable was inserted)

Step	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square
1	247.155[a]	.027	.044

a. Estimation terminated at iteration number 4 because parameter estimates changed by less than .001.

Through the Table 4.22, the value of Nagelkerke's R Square is 0.033. This indicates that the variability of the dependent variable (voter's intention) which can be explained by the variability of independent variables (nine factors of cognitive domains) is amounted to 3.3%, while the remaining 96.7% is explained by other variables outside the variability of the eight independent variables. After the mediating factor was inserted, the Nagelkerke's R Square is increasing into 0.044 although the variability of independent variables value is still weak to explain the variability of the dependent variable (4.4%).

Assessment of the predicted probabilities
Table 4.24 Classification Table[a]

Observed			Predicted		
			Vote_Behavior		Percentage Correct
			Will not vote	Vote	
Step 1	Vote_Behavior	Will not vote	0	49	.0
		Vote	0	218	100.0
	Overall Percentage				81.6
a. The cut value is .500					

Classification table (Table 4.24) shows the agreement between predicted and actual result. This table shows that the wrong answer is never predicted. The overall percentage or possible correct answers of 81.6% shows the value that is the same as the intercept model (the test when the independent variable is not included), which is amounted to 81.6%.

The Final Model of Logistic Regression Analysis
Based on the statistical test for individual predictor (independent variable) that have been described above, it is known that there is no significant independent variable that affect the dependent variable. Therefore, the final model of Logistic Regression Analysis for this study cannot be formed, which also rejected all of the hypotheses of this study that has been described in the chapter theoretical foundations.

Interpretation of Result
In this study, there are no independent variables that significant to voter's intention. In contrary, a political party needs the right strategy to win in Indonesian people's representative council election, because the atmosphere in the election is very competitive considering there are many contestants who compete for the strategic position in parliament. The right strategy is also important to be implemented by a party, because if they have many seats from the Indonesian people's representative council election, they will have a higher probability to propose their own presidential candidates. Therefore, getting the vote from first voter may help to secure some seats in the government. In addition, first voter still have much longer opportunity to vote in elections, so that if the respondents have decided to choose a significant party for the first time, the effort to persuade the first voter to vote for them in the next election is assumed to be easier. In the absence of independent variables that affect the dependent variable, it can be said that the whole hypotheses presented in this study was also rejected. Here are the explanations regarding the rejected hypotheses:

Issues and Policies and Media Campaign Influence
There are some possibility of reasons why there is not a positive relationship between the candidate's views about issues and policies and voting intention. From the previous study of

Fishbein and Coombs (1974), the issues and policies will positively influence the voting intention. Their study was not intended to examine the intention of voters in a particular age group, so there is a possibility that the age group beyond the first voters have more knowledge about political issue than the first voters that influence them to vote. This finding also support the survey of Antara.com (2014) stated that the first voters have not had the experience of voting and they do not understand the various aspects related to the election. The previous study was also aimed to examine the intention of the respondents in the presidential election. In the legislative elections, there are more candidates of political parties that competing to win over voters, while the opportunities and their funds are limited to convey their alignments in the issue and the design of their policies. According to the two reasons, we reject the first hypothesis of this research. The following is an example of the difference in funds spent on media campaigns expenditure by the party in presidential election and legislative election:

Table 4.25 Allocations of Funds for Media Campaign in Election
(The Example of Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan)

Election Type (in 2014 Election)	Total Funds for Media Campaign	Allocation of Funds
Presidential Election (Candidate Joko Widodo & Jusuf Kalla)	Rp 151.280.157.963	For candidate of president and vice president in national area (one pair)
Legislative Election (Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan)	Rp 60.728.578.437	Divided for candidate of legislators in national (770 candidates), regional (2.590 candidates) and district area (21.170 candidates)

Source : Komisi Pemilihan Umum, 2014

Through the difference of funds allocation, the amount and intensity of media campaign that available on the legislative election will be fewer than the media on the presidential election. It is proved from the regression analysis result that the fitness of model dropped significantly for almost 95% and it is also not contribute to the significance value of independent variables. Based on those reasons, we reject the ninth hypothesis that the media strengthens the relationship between the factors influencing voters and voting intention.However, the media campaign is a main media for a party to influence the voters so that the presence cannot be eliminated from the factors that influence the first voters. Based on the findings of this survey, we can see that the campaign on social media is a great way to influence the first voters, as described by Sanur (2014): "Nowadays, social media is still not optimized for use by politicians, but it is possible that social media will be the main gate of candidates' campaign in the future." Meanwhile, the campaign on electronic media such as TV and radio, even the banner, does not have much effect on the intentions. Therefore, it can be a solution for a party to utilize campaign funds more wisely through the use of social media for introducing their policies and alignment on issues because it will be less costly but more efficient to influence first voters.

Social Imagery
Based on the findings, the factor of social imagery also has no effect on first voter's intention. It means that the first voters think that most of candidates do not have a root of social groups that support them. The rapid growth of Indonesian democracy and the ease of license and procedures for a group of individuals to establish a new party is increasing the amount of political parties in Indonesia. This condition also resulted in the loss of party identification, as described in the study of Kawamura (2013). Political parties that formed have no longer affiliations to a social group in Indonesia that represented by demographics (age, sex, religion), socioeconomic (income, occupation), cultural / ethnic (race, lifestyle), or political / ideological group. To gain a lot of attention

and votes, a party seeks to support from society as much as possible and offer various forms of benefits for a wide range of social groups. Based on this reason, it is a small possibility to increase the influence of social imagery factor, unless the number of parties in Indonesia are limited or several parties form a coalition into small groups that will increase their party identification of a social imagery. Therefore, through the findings and reasons above, we reject the second hypothesis.

Emotional Feelings and Candidate's Image
The lack of media campaign intensity and the incompatibility of media campaign with target voters to present a candidate profile, resulting in the absence of the influence of emotional feelings and candidate image on first voter's intention. In contrast to the presidential elections in previous studies, legislative candidates are really struggled to attract voter's intention because in the legislative election, there are more candidates who are struggling to get a seat in parliament. Unfortunately, the media campaigns that they used to display candidates' profile were similar in both contents and design. This resulted in a lack of specialization, image, and characteristic of candidates in their media campaign, so this condition will not evoke emotional feelings and influence the intention of first voters. Therefore, based on this reason, the third and the fourth hypothesis is rejected.

Regarding the conditions above, there are several recommendations stated by Junaidi (2012), "The Election Commission (KPU) should make a clear regulations about the forms of campaign equipment and supplies that can be used, as well as the spaces and times for the campaign. This restriction is to ensure the right for voters to obtain balanced information. Creativity is required for the candidates so that it will influence voter's intention."

Current Events, Personal Events, and Epistemic Issues
Political scandal in current events factor that occurred in the election becomes an important factor to be studied because it is one of the underlying background of this research that influence voter's intention. It is also not much different with the scandal of a candidate in personal events factor and the particular reason of intention that comes up in an election for the epistemic issue factor. Contrary to hypotheses derived from previous studies, the findings stated that the three factors did not influence first voter's intention.

The reason of rejecting these hypothesis is because the first voters may not know about the candidates' track record, their possibility to be involved in a scandal, and their merits to be chosen as the leader. This indicates the possibility of candidates' campaign and socialization that is still not evenly distributed to all of age groups, or simply it is because the reluctance of first voter to all matters relating to the candidates' scandal and privileges possessed by the party's candidate. The reluctance of first voter to know the track record and merits of their candidates in the elections can also be caused by poor performance of the representatives in the government and the political parties were not optimal in carrying out their functions in the regeneration and political education to the first voters.[9]

Family and Friends' Influence
From the survey that has been conducted by Farrag and Shamma (2014), the family and friends' influence factor was proposed to be included in the list of factors that influence voter's intention because most of respondents' intentions was derived from manners taught by family and influenced by behaviors of the closest friends. For the first voters who still have little experience in elections, family and friends also become a source of information that is closest and trusted to provide preferences and information about the intention to vote in elections.

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[9] Setiawaty (2014)

Based on the findings, family and friends do not significantly influence the first voter's intention so we reject the eighth hypothesis. But the influence of family and friends will be possibly giving a lot of contributions in education to the first voter about knowledge and information in election and politics. By giving a knowledge and information to their family and friends, they will spread the knowledge and information of election to the first voters.

Conclusion

Conclusion
Explanation described in this chapter is the answer for the research questions that has been described in the first chapter, which is to examine the impact of eight factors adopted from Newman and Sheth (1985) model and media campaign influence as a moderating factor on first voter's intention in Bandung for 2019 Indonesian People's Representative Council election. After logistic regression analysis is conducted to test the response of the first voter as the respondents, finally we can answer the research question and determine the acceptance of the hypotheses that have been presented in theoretical foundations chapter as follows:

The result of this study rejecting the first hypothesis, "There is a positive relationship between the candidate's views about issues and policies and first voter's intention."

The result of this study rejecting the second hypothesis, "There is a positive relationship between the reference group support in social imagery and first voter's intention."

The result of this study rejecting the third hypothesis, "There is a positive relationship between the voter's emotional feelings towards the candidates and first voter's intention."

The result of this study rejecting the fourth hypothesis, "There is a positive relationship between candidate image and first voter's intention"

The result of this study rejecting the fifth hypothesis, "There is a positive relationship between current events prevailing during elections process and first voter's intention."

The result of this study rejecting the sixth hypothesis, "There is a positive relationship between information concerning the candidate's personal life and first voter's intention."

The result of this study rejecting the seventh hypothesis, "There is a positive relationship between epistemic issues prevailing during elections process and first voter's intention."

The result of this study rejecting the eighth hypothesis, "There is a positive relationship between friends and family influence and first voter's intention."

The result of this study rejecting the ninth hypothesis, "The media strengthens the relationship between the factors influencing voters and first voter's intention."

We can conclude that the Newman and Sheth (1985) model this model cannot be used specifically to test the first voter's behavioral intention, even when added two factors that influence first voter's behavioral intention based on the previous research. The difference in level of knowledge and information acceptance about elections by the first voters and voters in general at the previous research is a major concern which allegedly able to make the nine factors did not influence the voting intention.

Recommendation
Recommendation for Indonesian Political Parties and KPU
Providing education and information about election for the first voters becomes a very important thing to gain first voter's intention. After knowing the information, it will raise their awareness to politics and election, so that they will be more objective in assessing the party through the influence factors, and hopefully their choices will not be utilized by certain parties anymore. This is also a collective responsibility; not only for KPU as an organizer of election, but also the responsibility for the political parties to carry out the regeneration of the values and political education to young generation.

Meanwhile, Indonesian people's representative council election is like an initial stepping stone towards the success of the party's plan to take control of national governments. Because the more

votes obtained in the Indonesian people's representative council election, then the possibility to propose the name of the president candidate from the party will increase. Therefore, the strategy of the party to win the elections need to be enhanced, starting from the Indonesian people's representative council election.

Here are the recommendation for Indonesian political parties and KPU based on the findings:
To maintain an alignment of party's candidate against the issues and policies in the right media campaign.
The political parties may select the right media for their target voters. Social media would be the effective media campaign to influence voters, especially first voter's intention. Showing support for community alignments against the national issues and explain their future policies through the social media will strengthen the influence on voter's intention.

To enhance the emotional feelings of voters and candidate's image with the right and effective use of media campaign.
The right and effective use of media campaign will also strengthen the certain image of candidates and evoke the feelings of voters towards the candidates. A party's candidate must show their unique and fresh image, so that it will differentiated him from the other candidates. Based on the findings, a party should maintain its candidates' intellectuality and the plan of working program that will be able to give solution for society's needs because that was the factors of emotional feelings and candidate image that are most considered by the first voters.

To maintain a political party's credibility that lead to the intention of vote by maintaining the current events, personal events, and epistemic issues of a candidate.
A party must maintain its credibility in public by maintaining the credibility of its candidates in personal and political scandals. When the candidate's scandals occur in the election, it will reduced the intention of voters. The candidate of a party may develop a certain reason of why voters have to choose him. The clear and certain reason from the epistemic issues will influence the voters; especially the first voter, to choose him in the election.

To give the information about politics to the first voter's family and friends that will support the election education of the first voter.
The influence of family and friends is the closest and trusted to the first voter's intention. Therefore, the education of election not only be able to make directly to the first voters but also through their family and friends. Among of parents, family, and friends, they are more influenced by their family's preferences.

Recommendation for Future Research
This model may influence the respondent with another characteristics of profile (age, demographics); or in the other words, not specifically use to test the intention of first voter. Therefore, there are some possibilities of sample with specific characteristic that can be used in future research:
Sample of respondents which drawn with the equal distribution based on political party that they vote.
The number of samples which taken broadly with comparable targets of wider population that represent other regions in Indonesia.
Other age groups above the age category of first voter.
Meanwhile, because this model is not feasible to test first voter behavior, the future research may renew the existing factors and doing a research to find a model that contains some factors that will influence first voter's intention in Indonesian people's representative council election.

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