Voting Behaviour and Political Culture among Students

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Abstract

The objectives of the study are to identify and rank the factors that influence students' voting behavior, to determine the type of political culture among students and to discover the relationship between demographic variables with factors that influencing students' voting behavior. The data are collected using survey questionnaires. This study is conducted by focusing on students at International Islamic University Malaysia (IIUM) prior to the students' representative council election 2014. The number of respondents is 206 students. The methodologies used are descriptive statistics, factor analysis and non-parametric techniques using Kruskal-Wallis test. The results from factor analysis show four new factors which influence students' voting behavior. Those factors are being labeled as 1) Manifesto, 2) Group Affiliation, 3) Candidates and 4) Status-Qua. The Kruskal-Wallis test results show that there are significant mean differences between years of study with group affiliation, type of faculty with group affiliation and students involvement in society with candidates.

Keywords: Voting behavior, Political culture, Manifesto, Candidates, Group affiliation.

1. Introduction

Student representative council is considered as one of the major student bodies that being established in every higher education institutions or universities in Malaysia. The body is being managed by the elected students from different faculties or Kulliyyah under the supervision of the university authorities. Usually, all the members of the student representative council are those students who are elected from the campus general election which is being organized in every one academic year.

Campus election is a best stand for the university students to show their maturity in thinking and where students are directly expose to the real meaning of democracy. The former Higher Education Minister of Malaysia, Muhammad Khaled Nordin (Bernama, 2012) stated that campus election is very important because it is basically can educate students to the general election process in the country. Through the campus election, students need to vote for the potential candidates that they believed have very outstanding characteristics that can lead and protect them.

Moreover, the campus election is held in order to choose the student representative council members. However, selecting the leaders to represent the whole students' community is not an easy process. Students must indicate their own preference during the voting exercise. Therefore, this study is being undertaken in order to identify and rank the factors that influence students voting behavior, to determine the type of political culture among students and to discover the relationship between demographic variables with those factors that influencing students voting behavior.

This paper is being organized in the following fashion. Section two provides a literature review onstudents' election in IIUM. Section three, describes the method that this paper uses to run the study. Section four focuses the finding based on the data collected from the students. Last but not least, in section five this paper concludes the discussion of the results.

2. Students' election

The involvement of the students in the campus politics is a way to build their leadership character. The campus election usually exposes students to their rights where many of the students sometimes do not know the rights that they possess in the university. The involvement in the campus election is considered as a beneficial learning process that students cannot get anywhere. This is in line with recommendation by the former Prime Minister of Malaysia, Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohammad who encourages students to prepare and actively taking part in the students' activities particularly in the students election because this students election is the stepping force in the campus politics.

However in Malaysia, students' election is strongly regulated by the university. The procedures are introduced to ensure the fairness and clean election. Those regulations relate mainly to the candidates, the campaign process and the involvement of political party.

2.1 Candidates and election

Candidates refer to qualified person seeking or nominated for election to a position. Election law provides different qualification for person to contest in election. At IIUM, several criteria are used to permit the nomination of students for election candidates. The first criterion is the CGPA qualification. A student who obtains a CGPA of 2.70 and above during the time of nomination is qualified to be the candidate (IIUM Constitution, 2011).The decision is made because the authorities wants to encourage good students to join the election. Secondly, the candidates also must never been found guilty for any disciplinary offence which carries the minimum fine of RM200.00 or will be subjected to suspension by the authority (IIUM Constitution, 2011). Lastly, the students must have at least one academic year of his study to qualify as candidates. However, those conditions are only to qualify a candidate for election. The person also must have other personal qualities in order to win the election.

2.2 Manifesto and campaign process

During election, campaign is very important for the candidates to introduce their objectives through manifesto to the voters. Manifestos are the messages used by candidates and parties to implement if they win the election. The manifesto contains the promises use to attract voters (Muhamad Fuzi, 2007). Those manifestos usually highlight issues like religion, good governance, economics, social services and many others. Moreover, parties or candidates will try to promote their capabilities compare to their opponents through the content of the manifesto.

2.3 Group Affiliation

In ordinary election, political parties always play important role in getting people to vote (Roskin et al., 2000). However, during the students election, party is not allowed to contest. As the result of these policies students will form their own groups to help them mobilizing their supporters during the election.

2.4 Political culture

During the election, not all students turn out for voting exercise. Many will prefer to ignore the process of election. The main reason for this is the perception of the students towards polities. Those who strongly belief that election can make changes to them can be identify as participant type of political culture. However, those who are indifference are known as apolitical or parochial.

3. Methodology

This study is based on a survey through questionnaire on 206students' respondents from International Islamic University Malaysia. SPSS is used to perform statistical analysis on the data collected from the survey forms. The methodologies used are descriptive statistics, reliability analysis, factor analysis and non-parametric technique using the Kruskal-Wallis test.

The data is significant because it is distributed to quite a big sample and even more compare to what has being suggested by Coakes and Ong[1]. In this study, the main focus is to look at the factors influencing students voting behaviour among the International Islamic University Malaysia undergraduate students. The reliability analysis results in table 1 shows that the cronbach's Alpha is 0.844 for 30 items.

Table 1: Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's Alpha	N of Items
0.844	30

The reliability coefficient that always been used is more than 0.6 (Mohd Salleh Abu and Zaidatun Tasir, 2001). This suggestion also being mentioned by Kroz et al, (2008) who state that the cronbach's Alpha value for questionnaire should be more than 0.65. Throughout this study, the reliability analysis result is 0.844 which indicates the internal consistencies of the scales.

In this study, factor analysis is being used to construct the new factors influencing students' voting behaviour. The study used the factor analysis to explore the nature of the independent variables that affect students' voting behaviour. Study by Hogarty et al. (2005) stress that this method is commonly used in the fields of psychology and education. The purpose of factor analysis is to summarize the information in a large number of variables into a smaller number of components. According to Chua (2009) factor analysis is the procedure that has always been used by researchers to identify big items from the questionnaire. Factor analysis is a useful tool to investigate variable relationships for complex concepts such as socioeconomic (Rahn, 2013).

4. Results

The results are divided into several subsections which are descriptive statistics, factor analysis and demographic variable and factors influencing students' voting behaviour.

4.1 Descriptive Statistics

The respondents for the study are 206 students of International Islamic University Malaysia (Table 2). A total of 60 (29.1%) males and 146 (70.9%) females responded to the questionnaires distributed. The respondents' age ranges between 18 to 26 years old. Most of the respondents are 20, 21 and 22 years old, respectively with 51%, 13.6% and 19.4%. 122 (59.6%) respondents are first year students, while the second year students are 31 (15%) students and third year students are 35 (17%) students. The fourth year students are only 18 (8.7%) students. From this study, it has shown that overall performances of the respondents' academic achievement are between 2.5 to 3.49 CGPA. Only 0.5% of them are getting CGPA less than 2.00. However, there are 5.8% or 12 students that do not have the CGPA. This is because there are still in the first year and first semester of their study.

Respondents from Kulliyyah of Economics are 98 and Kulliyyah of Human Sciences is 107 respondents. Most of the respondents are the intake from the Center of Foundation (77.2%) and only 22.8% of them are from the direct intake. Amongst the respondents, 110 (53.4%) students are active in society compare to 96 (46.6%), who are not active in society. In term of voting experience, 73 (35.4%) respondents have voted one time and 63 (30.6%) respondents have voted more than one time. Lastly, 70 (34%) of the respondents have no voting experience.

[1]Coakes and Ong states that one hundred sample size are acceptable. According to them, to run the factor analysis, the sample size must be more than two hundred respondents. For this study there are 206 respondents that more what have being suggested by Coakes and Ong.

Table 2: Profiles of the respondent

Demographic factor		Frequency	Percentage
Gender	Male	60	29.1
	Female	146	70.9
Status	Single	198	96.1
	Married	8	3.9
Age	18	2	1.0
	19	3	1.5
	20	105	51.0
	21	28	13.6
	22	40	19.4
	23	16	7.8
	24	11	5.3
	26	1	0.5
Voting Experience	First Time	73	35.4
	More than One	63	30.6
	Never	70	34
Year of study	First year	122	59.2
	Second year	31	15.0
	Third year	35	17.0
	Fourth year	18	8.7
CGPA	3.5 to above	30	14.6
	3.00 to 3.49	98	47.6
	2.5 to 2.99	52	25.2
	2.00 to 2.49	13	6.3
	Below 2.00	1	.5
	None	12	5.8
Intake	Ex-Cfs	159	77.2
	Direct Intake	47	22.8
Membership of group	Active	110	53.4
	Non-Member	96	46.6
Kulliyyah	Economics	98	47.6
	IRKHS	107	51.6

Table 3 present the students' attitude towards election using TwoStep cluster analysis. The table indicates that the overall model quality is "fair" and there are two clusters based on twelve input items that are selected. Cluster 1 reflects *participant* type of political culture while cluster 2 implies *parochial* type of political culture.

Table 3: Students attitude towards election

Items	Cluster 1 (Participant)	Cluster 2 (Parochial)
Election provides platform to students contribution to university	6.38	5.24
Election can ensure students welfare is protected	6.32	5.23
Election important to elect students leaders	6.77	5.85
Election is an opportunity for me to make a decision	6.45	5.10
Election indicate the practice of democracy in the university	6.35	5.23
I can nominate candidates to represent myself	4.94	4.56
Election bring no change	2.41	3.94
The elected candidate are not functioning well	2.65	4.32
Appointment is better than election	2.21	3.73
I prefer to do my work rather than going for voting	2.01	3.93
I never benefit from the elected candidate	2.13	4.17
I never care about the election in the university	1.84	3.60

Note: The overall model quality is "fair".

4.2 Factor Analysis

There are two tests that can be used to measure the sampling adequacy in order to determine the factorability of the whole matrix. The two tests are Bartlett's test of Sphericity and the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin. Table 4 reports the KMO and Bartlett's test respectively. The value of Bartlett's test of Sphericity is significant (p=0.000) while, the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin value is 0.857.

As being suggested by Coakes and Ong (2011), if the Bartlett's Test of Sphericity is significant (p<0.001) and if the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure is greater than 0.6 then factorability exists. Based on this result, it is applicable to continue with the Factor Analysis in order to study the factors influencing students voting behaviour.

Table 4: KMO and Bartlett's Test

Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy.		.857
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	Approx. Chi-Square	1641.510
	Df	153
	Sig.	.000

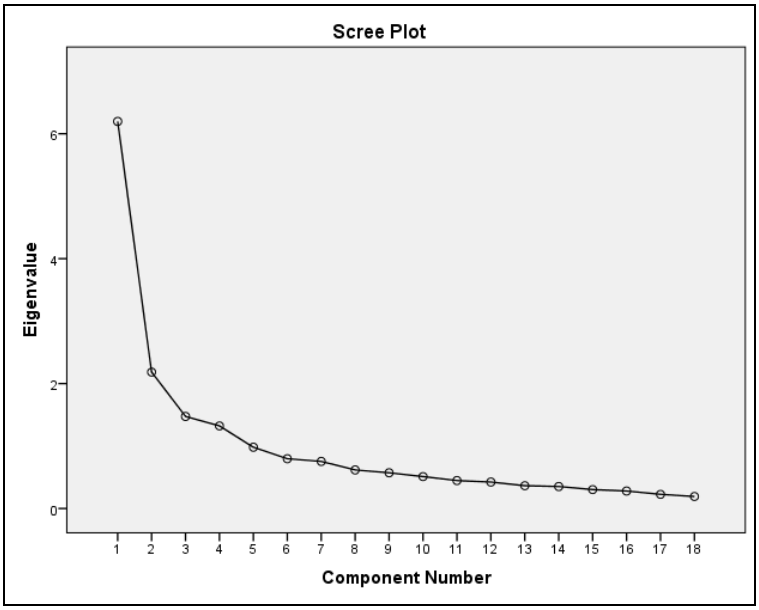
Table 5 represents the total variance explained at four stages for factors influencing students' voting behaviour. Four factors were extracted because their eigenvalues are greater than 1. Figure 1 shows the scree plot for the factor analysis. By using the Catell's (1966) scree test, it is decided to retain four components for further investigation. As can be seen in figure 1, there are four numbers of factors that are greater than 1. This is consistent with the result in table 5 that shows the four factors that can be extracted using the Principal Component Analysis method. Overall, four factors are extracted, and then 62.101 percent of the variance would be explained.

Table 5: The Total Variance Explained

Factor	Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	3.195	17.751	17.751
2	2.898	16.103	33.854
3	2.851	15.837	49.691
4	2.234	12.410	62.101

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Figure 1: Scree Plot



In this rotated factor matrix, there are factor loadings that must be selected. The results show that there are four new factors that are successfully constructed using factor analysis (Principal Component Analysis). These four new factors are the factors influencing students' decision for voting. There are 18 items that belong to these four factors.

According to Tabachnick and Fidell (2001) factor that loadings 0.32 and below is considered less good. While, variable with factor loadings equal 0.32 to 0.45 is considered average. So, the study removes items with loading less than 0.40.

To identify which items belong to what factor, the study performs the Varimax Rotation Method with Kaiser Normalization. After performing this method, Factor 1 comprised of four items with factor loadings ranging from 0.651 to 0.836.Factor 2 comprised of four items with factor loadings ranging from 0.753 to 0.853.On the other hand, Factor 3 comprise of six items with factor loadings ranging from 0.508 to 0.771.The last factor that loadings ranging from 0.559 to 0.792 are belong to Factor 4. Those items are listed below in Table 6.

Table 6: Rotated Factor Matrix

Items	Component			
	1	2	3	4
Manifesto must be stated clearly	.836			
The manifesto must be achievable	.827			
I prefer a manifesto that is related to students need	.783			
A good manifesto can influence the voters	.651			
I prefer candidate that represent the Jamaah		.853		
I choose candidate that have strong Jamaah influence		.818		
I vote for Jamaah that promote strong Islamic values		.807		
I prefer Jamaah that have good connection with the university authority		.753		
I prefer candidate with good personality			.771	
I prefer a candidate that have high academic achievement			.682	
Candidate must have wide experience in activities and society level			.679	
I prefer a candidate with free disciplinary action			.614	
I prefer candidate that have good public speaking	.442		.540	
I prefer a candidate that can influence the authority decision making	.406		.508	
I vote based on group interest				.792
Qualities of the candidates must be on group affiliation				.726
I prefer manifesto that highlight the university policies				.632
I have easy access to the content of the manifesto				.559

Table 7 answers the objective of the study to identify and rank the factors that influence students voting behaviour. The first factor shows the highest percentage of variance explained with 17.751% when it is extracted. From this table, 17.751% of the variance would be explained for manifesto factor. So manifesto factor is the first factors influencing students' voting behaviour followed by group affiliation factor, candidates' factor and the last factor is status quo factor.

Table 7: Name of New Factors with the Percentage of Variance

Factor	Name	Percentage of Variance
1	Manifesto	17.751
2	Group Affiliation	16.103
3	Candidates	15.837
4	Status Quo	12.410

4.3 Demographic Variable and Factors Influencing Student Voting Behaviour

In this section, the researcher tests the mean difference on the demographic factors on factors influencing students' voting behaviour. The researcher use Kruskal-Wallis Test to determine whether there are statistically significant differences between the independent variable on a continuous or ordinal dependent variable. Before using a Kruskal-Wallis Test, the study run the normality test to check whether the data can be used for analysis using a Kruskal-Wallis Test or not.

Normality Test

The four new factors influencing students' voting are tested using the normality test. From this normality test there have two tests for normality. For dataset smaller than 2000 elements are suggested to use the Shapiro-Wilk test, otherwise, the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test is used. In this study, the dataset is smaller than 2000 element so the Shapiro-Wilk test is used.

Table 8 represents the results of the normality test for the four new factors influencing students' voting behaviour. Coakes and Ong (2011) explained the data is normal only when the significant p-value for the variable is bigger than 0.05. From table 8, the results for Normality using the Shapiro-Wilk showed that the normality assumption for the four new factors did not fulfill the normality assumption.

Table 8: Normality Test for the New Factor

	Shapiro-Wilk		
	Statistic	df	Sig.
Factor 1	.901	206	.000
Factor 2	.946	206	.000
Factor 3	.969	206	.000
Factor 4	.984	206	.019

Kruskal-Wallis Test

As being mention before, the new factors did not fulfill the normality assumption. So the non-parametric test using the Kruskal-Wallis Test has been used. This test is performed to test the mean difference on the demographic factors on factors influencing students voting behaviour. The variables analyzed in this study include the years of study, involvement of society, type of Kulliyyah and students' attitude towards election.Table 9 specifies the relevant hypothesis for this analysis.

Table 9: Statement of hypotheses

No	Null Hypothesis
1.	There is no significant mean difference between year of study on factors influencing student' voting behaviour
2.	There is no significant mean difference among students involvement in society on factors influencing students' voting behaviour
3.	There is no significant mean difference among type of Kulliyyah on factors influencing students' voting behaviour
4.	There is no significant mean difference among students attitude towards election on factors influencing students' voting behaviour

4.3.1 Year of Study and Factor Influence Student Voting

The first null hypothesis statement suggests that there is no significant mean difference between years of study on factors influencing students' voting behaviour. Table 10 represents the results of the non-parametric test using the Kruskal-Wallis Test for the four new factors influencing students' voting behaviour.

From table 10, it is shown that there is a significant mean difference between year of study and group affiliation (Factor 2), ($X^2 = 13.610$, $p<0.05$, $p=0.003$).On the other hand, the results also show that there are no significant mean differences between years of study on all other factors other than factor 2 that influence students vote. ($p>0.05$).

Table 10: Krukal-Wallis Test between years of study

Factor	Chi-Square	Asymp. Sig.
Factor 1	2.395	0.495
Factor 2	**13.610**	**0.003**
Factor 3	1.370	0.713
Factor 4	2.876	0.411

Table 11 represents the mean rank for Factor 2; group affiliation factor. The mean rank for first year students on group affiliation factor is 114.83, second year students (83.65), the third year(79.49) and fourth year(107.61). So students in first year had the highest mean rank compared to other years of study for group affiliation (Factor 2). This means that the first year students will vote based on the group affiliation compared to other level of students.

Table 11: Mean Rank between year of study for Group Affiliation

Factor 2		N	Mean Rank
Group Affiliation	First year	122	114.83
	Second year	31	83.65
	Third year	35	79.49
	Fourth year	18	107.61

4.3.2 Involvement in Society and Factor Influence Student's Voting

The second null hypothesis statement suggests that there is no significant mean difference among students involvement in society on factors influencing students' voting behaviour. Table 12 represents the results of the non-parametric test using the Kruskal-Wallis Test for the four new factors influencing students' voting behaviour.

From table 12, it is shown that there is a significant mean difference among students involvement in society and candidates (Factor 3), ($X^2 = 11.847$, $p<0.05$, $p=0.001$).On the other hand, the results also showed that there are no significant mean differences among students involvement in society on all other factors other than factor 3 that influence students voting behaviour. ($p>0.05$).

Table 12: Krukal-Wallis Test between involvements in society

Factor	Chi-Square	Asymp. Sig.
Factor 1	0.224	0.636
Factor 2	2.606	0.106
Factor 3	**11.847**	**0.001**
Factor 4	0.030	0.862

Table 13 represents the mean rank for Factor 3; candidates' factor. The mean rank for students who active in society on candidates' factor is 116.85 compared to students who do not active in the society (88.20). Based on this finding, students who active in society or club will look at candidates' factor during the election compared to non-active students.

Table 13: Mean Rank between involvement in society for Candidates

Factor 3		N	Mean Rank
Candidates	Active	110	116.85
	Non-active	96	88.20

4.3.3Kulliyyah and Factor Influence Student Voting

The thirdnull hypothesis statement suggests that there is no significant mean difference among type of Kulliyyah on factors influencing students' voting behaviour. Table 14 represents the results of the non-parametric test using the Kruskal-Wallis Test for the four new factors influencing students' voting behaviour.

From table 14, it is shown that there is a significant mean difference among type of Kulliyyah and group affiliation (Factor 2), ($X^2 = 13.278$, $p<0.05$, $p=0.000$).On the other hand, the results also showed that there are no significant mean differences among type of Kulliyyah on all other factors other than factor 3 that influence students' voting behaviour. ($p>0.05$).

Table 14: Krukal-Wallis Test between Kulliyyah

Factor	Chi-Square	Asymp. Sig.
Factor 1	3.406	0.065
Factor 2	**13.278**	**0.000**
Factor 3	1.066	0.302
Factor 4	0.769	0.381

Table 15 represents the mean rank for Factor 2; group affiliation factor. The mean rank for students in Kulliyyah of Economics on group affiliation factor is 118.78 compared to students in Kulliyyah of IRKHS (88.55). The findings show students at different Kulliyyah may have different support to candidate based on group affiliation. Students from Kulliyyah of Economics give more priority to candidates on group affiliation compared to IRKHS students.

Table 15: Mean Rank between Kulliyyah for Group Affiliation

Factor 2		N	Mean Rank
Group Affiliation	Kulliyyah of Economics	98	118.78
	Kulliyyah of IRKHS	107	88.55

4.3.4 Students Attitude towards Election and Factor Influence Student's Voting Behaviour

In this section, the study uses Mann-Whitney Test to determine whether there is a statistically significant difference between attitudes towards election with factors influencing students' voting behaviour. Table 16 presents the results of non-parametric test using Mann-Whitney Testfor the four extracted factors that influence students voting. The table shows that there are significant mean differences between attitude towards election on manifesto factor (factor 1), ($Z = -2.156$, $p<0.05$, $p=0.031$) and candidates factor (Factor 3), ($Z = -4.064$, $p<0.05$, $p=0.000$). On the other hand, the result also shows that there is no significant mean difference between students' attitudes towards election on the status quo and group affiliation factor. ($p>0.05$)

Table 16: Relationship between attitudes towards learning with factor analysis

Factor	Z	Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)
Factor 1	**-2.156**	**0.031**
Factor 2	-0.542	0.588
Factor 3	**-4.064**	**0.000**
Factor 4	-0.239	0.811

Table 17 presents the mean rank among attitude towards election for manifesto (factor 1) and candidates (factor 3). Based on Table 17, the mean rank for participant students for manifesto factor and candidates' factor are higher as compared to the parochial students. So, students with participant type of political culture depend more on manifesto and also candidates to make a decision for vote in the election as compared to parochial students.

Table 17: Mean rank among attitude towards election for the Manifesto and Candidates

	TwoStep Cluster Number	Mean Rank
Factor 1	Participant attitude	114.51
	Parochial attitude	96.22
Factor 3	Participant attitude	124.26
	Parochial attitude	89.77

5. Discussion and Conclusion

The results showed four new factors are successfully constructed using factor analysis and assigned as the factors affecting the students to vote, which are 1) manifesto, 2) group affiliation, 3) candidates and 4) status quo. There is a significant mean difference between year of study and group affiliation (Factor 2). First year students will vote based on the group affiliation compared to other level of students.

In addition, there is also a significant mean difference among students involvement in society and candidates (Factor 3). Based on this finding, students who active in society or club will look at candidates' factors during the election compared to non-active students.

Furthermore, there is a significant mean difference among type of Kulliyyah and group affiliation (Factor 2).The finding shows students at different Kulliyyah may have different support to candidate based on group affiliation. Students from Kulliyyah of Economics give more priority to candidates on group affiliation compared to Human Sciences students.

Lastly, there are significant mean differences between attitude towards election on manifesto factor (factor 1) and candidates factor (Factor 3).So, students with participant type of political culture depend more on manifesto and also candidates to make a decision for vote in the election as compared to parochial students.

Based on this finding, it is recommended that an efficient and attractive manifesto can influence more the voters. Candidates also must establish strong group supports in order to ensure the victory in the election. Candidates also must use different approach when there are campaigning during the election. The new voters may be influenced by their group feeling compare to more experience voters. Candidates must exhibit his strong personal quality in order to attract people who are active in the society. As a conclusion, university authority must provide better educational trainings to students to change their political culture from parochial type to participant type.

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