

Theory of Reasoned Action and Citizen's Voting Behaviour

Dileep Kumar Mohanachandran^{1*} and Normala S. Govindarajo²

¹*Africa Business School, Mohammed VI Polytechnic University, Ben Guerir 43150, Morocco*

²*School of Economics and Management, Xiamen University Malaysia, Sepang 43900, Malaysia*

ABSTRACT

The Election Commission of India proclaimed the results of India's 2019 electoral decision of public on May 23, 2019 for the lower house of the Indian parliament. Bhartiya Janata Party led by Prime Minister Narendra Modi, has won a whopping majority—303 seats, out of 543. Looking into 2014 general election the party won only 282 seats. This indicates that Indian citizens have given a clear mandate to rule once again to Modi by centralized consolidation by a national party, the first since 1984. Past studies have focused on electoral voting behaviour of citizens with a political quotient. However, limited studies are conducted among citizens, especially on Y generation. Following theory of reasoned action, a study was conducted, incorporating variables of attitude and ethnicity on intention to vote, with the moderating effect of social media and gender. The study followed quantitative research method with *cross sectional study design to collect data from five locations of Gujarat. A sample size of 1680 voters were considered by applying purposive sampling.* PLS-SEM analysis results revealed that attitude and ethnicity relate to voter's behaviour assimilating social media and gender. Implications of the study extends better insight to

the politicians, political parties and leaders in understanding the political behaviour of citizens during elections.

ARTICLE INFO

Article history:

Received: 28 August 2019

Accepted: 3 December 2019

Published: 19 March 2020

E-mail addresses:

prof.dr.dil@gmail.com (Dileep Kumar Mohanachandran)

gnmala@yahoo.com (Normala S. Govindarajo)

*Corresponding author

Keywords: Citizen attitude, ethnicity, gender, political behaviour, social media, Theory of reasoned action (TRA), voting intention

INTRODUCTION

17th Lok Sabha (Lower House) of the Indian parliament, was held on May 23,

2019. The election result extended several questions to the researchers exit pole agencies as well as political leaders. The mandate of the people clearly indicates that they have given the second term to govern the country, for the existing the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), extending clear cut single party majority. This shows that, in comparison with the past elections, the ruling party got the majority, even with the high social media influence and policy controversies regarding demonetisation like challenging issues. People re-elected the ruling government without having much changes in voting behaviour, even with the high social media influence. The result provides a dynamic nature of human attitude and their intention to vote towards political parties as well as candidates in leading the government as well as the nation.

Voting is one of the most frequently used expressions in modern age of democratic politics. Voting behaviour is the way that different people tend to vote and it lies with subjective feeling. The subjective feeling of people varies in accordance with the rationality and expectations. People attitude towards political system, social structure and even political elections are influenced by numerous factors like economy, family, religious activities, peer groups, newspapers, television, religiosity, image of the candidate, social and political conditions. Studying the voting behaviour of Indians stresses the importance to understand multi-culture and multi-lingual community's expectations who are well exposed to media

and are dominated by ethnicity in the election outcome. A study was conducted in 5 locations of Gujarat, India, focusing into voters voting intention and behaviour. The result shows the evidence of attitude and ethnicity in its influence on voting intention among Y generation youth, directly and indirectly through social media and gender.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

Problem Statement

Indian political elections have not witnessed any changes among the citizens voting behaviour by looking into the 2019 by-election. The voters have not shown their switching over behaviour to opposition. This indicates that attitude and allied factors are very strongly aligned with the ruling party and there is less switching over behaviour among voters even with the influence of social media. In this context, a study was conducted to analyze the voter's intention and their switching over behaviour relating the factors like attitude, ethnicity, social media, and gender in its influence on voting behaviour in Gujarat state of India. Understanding the pulse of voters with the support of behavioural science theories provide a better knowledge on influential factors of citizens voting behaviour. The theoretical frame followed by the research is illustrated in Figure 1.

Research Questions

Based on the above deliberation study propose the following research questions:

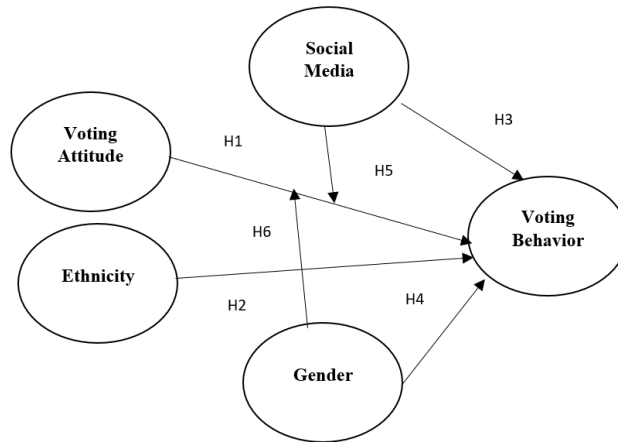


Figure 1. Theoretical Frame

1. Do voting attitude, ethnicity, social media and gender are related to voting intention of citizen's voting intention during political election?
2. Do social media and gender moderate the relationship between voting attitude and voting intention among citizen's during political election?
3. To analyse the relationship between voting attitude and voting intention among citizen's during political election.
4. To analyse the relationship between gender and voting intention among citizen's during political election.
5. To analyse the moderating effect of social media and gender in its relationship between voting attitude and voting intention among citizen's during political election?

Objectives of the Study

1. To analyse the relationship between voting attitude and voting intention among citizen's during political election.
2. To analyse the relationship between ethnicity and voting intention among citizen's during political election.
3. To analyse the relationship between social media and voting intention among citizen's during political election?

Theoretical Approach to Promote Voting Intention

According to the TRA's main expectations, an instant predictor of behaviours, is the intention to perform the respective behaviours. Intention and the behavioural intention are defined with two factors attitude toward performing the behaviour and subjective norm. How an individual's attitude stimulates favourably or unfavourably on an event or a situation that leads to that decides positive or negative feels toward the behaviour. It is argued in this research that people who find it challenging to vote for a diverse party in the upcoming election may more accustomed

with positive attitude to their current choice of political party in order to defend their existing voting behaviour. Intention to vote for a political party or a political candidate is thus influenced by favourable or unfavourable attitude.

Voting Intention

Based on the Theory of Reasoned action, individual's intention (voting intention) is to accomplish an assumed behaviour (Cast vote). Intentions (voting intention) are expected to apprehend the stimulating reasons that effect a behaviour; they are the clues of in what way people are eager to try, by what means an effort they are planning to exert, in order to perform the behaviour (Cast vote). In this context model established by Singh et al. (1995) was found to be influential in foreseeing voting intentions with the model's attitudinal components backing more to elucidate the deviation in voting intentions than subjective norms. Such deliberation further indicates that voting intention, which is decided by their attitude and subjective norms factors which lead to people voting behaviour.

Attitude and Voting Intention

Attitude is a social orientation - an underlying inclination to respond to something either favourably or unfavourably. Hence voting attitude in the context of behaviour (voting behaviour) is defined as the more favourable or unfavourable attitude with respect to individual's intention to perform the considered behaviour (Ajzen, 1991). Attitudes (Voting attitude) are a combination

of evaluations of a behaviour and beliefs about the outcomes of the behaviours. Evaluations can be positive or negative. Performing a behaviour (Casting vote) may depend on which beliefs are activated and whether those beliefs are positive or negative (Durnan & Trafimow, 2000). Based on this theoretical understanding of Theory of reasons action this particular research assumed in this research that the attitude of voters towards political parties, political candidates.

Hypothesis 1: Voting attitude has a direct and positive relationship with the voting intention among citizens.

Ethnicity and Voting Intention

In addition to the attitude, the second factor cited in the TRA is the subjective norm. In this research, the subjective norm variable is considered as the Indian culture. The current study interprets Indian culture into cultural politics with its close affinity with the politics, cultural, religious and linguistic grouping. The theory of ethnic voting behaviour used in this study is based on an extension of the theory of the ethnically homogeneous middleman group (EHMG) developed by Landa (1991) and Carr and Landa (1983). Voters belonging to a particular ethnic group are more likely to vote for candidates belonging to the same ethnic group, especially if the ethnic group is small relative to other ethnic groups, than other voters. Based on this theoretical understanding it is assumed in this research that culture has its influence on voting intention.

Hypothesis 2: Ethnicity has a direct and positive relationship with the voting intention among citizens.

Social Media and Voting Intention

According to Cazzava (2008), social media assume, firstly, the online publication of content and, secondly, the sharing of files, opinions, but also social interactions between individuals with common interests. Literature related to social media and voting behaviour indicates that persuasive behaviour of media influences strongly the attitude and perception of common people and their voting behaviour (Druckman & Lupia 2000). Regarding voting behaviour in the political arena, social media platforms facilitate widespread coverage of the news and its different form of interpretations and more voters to trust on the social media throughout the political process (Birkbak, 2012). The way a trustworthy reporting by media positively influences the voting behaviour, untrustworthy reporting will negatively affect people perception (Druckman, 2001). Such deliberation further indicates that social media has its influence on voting intention of people during election scenario.

Hypothesis 3: Social media has direct and positive relationship with the voting intention among citizens.

Gender and Voting Intention

The gender gap in voting behaviour is the difference between the percentage of men and women who voted for a candidate. The differences in voting behaviours of men

and women happen because of the different socialization processes of males and females (Burns et al., 2001). Mostly, people viewed male are more aggressive in a voice out the opinion and bold in deciding compared to the female. This is due to the stereotype of the gender-based in behaving and reacts (Esa & Hashim, 2017). While gender has proven to have little impact on voter-candidate affinities in some of the studies, at least not broadly and not using observational data (Goodyear-Grant & Julie, 2011). Citing a different trend, Burrell (2006) reported that women now made up a majority of voters, vote at higher rates than men, and could make the difference in who was elected. Such discussion more specifies that gender has its influence on voting intention of people during election scenario.

Hypothesis 4: Gender has a direct and positive relationship with the voting intention among citizens.

Social Media as Moderator

The political parties, as well as candidates, make use of social media during their campaigns to get mileage over the opponents. The political institutions are making use of all social media platforms, like Facebook and Twitter, to communicate with and engage voters. Voices of political leaders and parties are well projected through wide network and connect with other likeminded individuals. It is clearly identified in this research that social media users have been an increasingly important element in political communication, with due consideration to its impact on voting

intention. As it is discussed above voting intention to the political parties will be decided by voting attitude. Social media, as a powerful variable, may alter the voting intention of the voters, which is coming out of voting attitude. This indicates that social media can act as a moderator between voting attitude and voting intention.

Hypothesis 5: Social media act as a moderator between voting attitude and voting intention among citizen.

Gender as Moderator

Traditionally the past literature indicates that there is gender difference in voting intention and turnout among most established democracies. The voter turnout theory clearly indicates that male and female voters have significant difference in voting attitude and culminated into voting intention. The literature in the political science shows that gender disparities continue in some non-electoral forms of partisan involvements such as protest participation, partisan persuasion and campaigning (Beauregard, 2014; Córdova & Gabriela, 2017). However, some literature contradicts with the past observations that women vote at the same rate as men in most advanced democracies (Mayer, 2010; Verba et al., 1997). As a result, relatively little recent research tackles gender differences in voter turnout (Harell, 2009). Hence the role of gender as a moderator between voting attitude and voting intention needs to be studied.

Hypothesis 6: Gender act as a moderator between voting attitude and voting intention among citizen.

Methodology and Research Design

Cooper and Schindler (2014) expressed that research design held the components in a research project together. This research followed a descriptive cross-sectional study design as its plans of action which addressed the research questions posed. Following the positivist approach, the study thus considered quantitative research as its methodology.

Sampling

The study followed purposive sampling. The basic assumption of this technique was that the researcher would be able to select the cases that suited the needs of the study with good judgment and appropriate strategy (Tansey, 2007). Since the researcher placed great emphasis on the participants' commitment and suitability for the research topic, purposive sampling was used according to the characteristics utilized for selection in this study. A total number of 1680 of voter's purposely was selected. Further, the study given due attention to Krejcie and Morgan (1970) table, which represented a stable sample size of 384 for less than 1 million people. The sample size thus satisfied the stable sample size.

RESULTS

As guided by cited authorities, the study data met all the underlying assumptions of multivariate analysis, through SPSS such as data normality, homoscedasticity, unidimensional and multicollinearity. In addition, values of means, minimum, maximum and standard deviations were

calculated under descriptive statistical techniques. Furthermore, sample description was narrated through cross-tabulation. To draw inferences about study hypotheses, PLS-SEM technique was mainly employed for the data analysis.

Based on the questionnaire adopted the Table 1 shows that the Cronbach's Alpha for the voting attitude is 0.84 and Ethnicity is 0.80. Whereas the Cronbach's Alpha for social media is 0.93, Gender with 0.75, voting intention is 0.85. Overall scores show that the Cronbach's Alpha exceeding 0.7 (Nunnally, 1978). Hence, it can be assumed that internal consistency for this questionnaire is good.

The study used multiple regression analysis with the analytical support of SPSS.

Hypothesis 1: Voting attitude has a direct and positive relationship with the voting intention among citizens.

Based on Table 2, the R square value is 0.518 ($R^2= 0.518$) which means 51.8% of the voting intention can be explained by voting attitude. Furthermore, R is 0.720 indicates there is a significant positive relationship between the independent variable voting attitude and the dependent variable, voting intention among citizens. The results confirm the importance of voter's voting attitude and their intention to cast vote for political parties.

Table 1

Measurements

No	Variables	No. of Items	Cronbach's Alpha	Author
1	Voting attitude	16	0.840	Ajzen (2002); Hansen and Jensen (2008)
2	Ethnicity	12	0.800	Phinney (1992)
3	Social media	4	0.930	Esposito (2012)
4	Gender (Personal Attributes Questionnaire)	7	0.750	Spence et al. (1973)
5	Voting intention	6	0.850	Lampa et al. (2013)

Table 2

Model summary: Voting attitude and voting intention

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	SE
1	0.720 ^a	0.518	0.512	0.323

a. Predictors: (Constant), Voting Attitude

Table 3 shows about ANOVA whereby the result F Value is 31.621 with the significant is 0.000 level. Continued by the df (degree of freedom) whereby df represent the number of independent variables is 1 which is ethnicity. The result shows that there is a significant relationship between voting attitude and voting intention among citizens.

Table 4 indicated the coefficients level stated that the number in beta is 0.382 for voting attitude, which is a moderate, positive, significant correlation ($\beta=0.382$, $p < 0.05$) between voting attitude and voting intention. Thus, the result is positively significant between voting attitude and voting intention among citizens.

Hypothesis 2: Ethnicity has a direct and positive relationship with the voting intention among citizens

Based on Table 5, the R square value is 0.489 ($R^2=0.489$) which means 48.9% of the voting intention reporting can be explained by ethnicity. Furthermore, R is 0.699 indicates there is a significant positive relationship between the independent variable, ethnicity and the dependent variable, voting intention among citizens.

Table 6 shows that the F Value is 51.001 with the significant as 0.000 levels. Continued by the df (degree of freedom) whereby df represent the number of independent variables is 1 which is ethnicity.

Table 3
ANOVA: Voting attitude and voting intention

Model	Sum of Squares	Df	Means Square	F	Sig.
Regression	8.975	2	8.112	31.621	0.000 ^b
Residual	80.231	687	0.134		
Total	81.113	685			

- a. Dependent variable: Voting Intention
- b. Predictors: (Constant), Voting Attitude

Table 4
Coefficients: Voting attitude and voting intention

Model	Unstandardized Coefficient		Standardize Coefficient	t	Sig.
	B	SE	Beta		
Constant	3.229	0.211		11.311	0.000
Voting Attitude	0.382	0.096	0.397	5.431	0.000

- a. Dependent Variable: Voting Intention

Table 5

Model summary: Ethnicity and voting intention

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	SE
1	0.699 ^a	0.489	0.484	0.283

a. Predictors: (Constant); Ethnicity

Table 6

ANOVA: Ethnicity and voting intention

Model	Sum of Squares	Df	Means Square	F	Sig.
Regression	11.562	2	11.445	51.001	0.000 ^b
Residual	51.556	687	0.212		
Total	62.114	685			

a. Dependent variable: Voting Intention

b. Predictors: (Constant), Ethnicity

The result indicated that there is significant relationship between ethnicity and voting intention among citizens with the prediction equation, (F=51.001, p < 0.05). Voting intention variation is well predicted with the effect of ethnicity of voters.

for ethnicity, which is a strong, positive, significant co-relations ($\beta=0.533$, p < 0.05) between ethnicity and voting intention among citizens. Thus, the result is positive significant between ethnicity and voting intention among citizens.

Table 7 indicated the coefficients levels with the number in beta is 0.533

Table 7

Coefficients: Ethnicity and voting intention

Model	Unstandardized Coefficient		Standardized Coefficient	t	Sig.
	B	SE	Beta		
Constant	1.970	0.231		6.190	0.000
Ethnicity	0.533	0.056	0.401	6.320	0.000

a. Dependent Variable: Voting Intention

Hypothesis 3: Social media has direct and positive relationship with voting intention among citizens

Based on Table 8, the R square value is 0.471 ($R^2= 0.471$) which means 47.1% of the voting intention reporting can be explained by social media. Furthermore, R is 0.686 indicates there is significant positive relationship between the independent variable, social media and the dependent variable, voting intention among citizens.

Table 9 shows that the F Value is 31.216 with the significance is 0.002 level. Continued by the df (degree of freedom) whereby df represent the number of independent variables as 1 which is social media. The results have indicated that there is significant relationship between social media and voting intention among citizens

with the prediction equation, ($F=31.216$, $p < 0.05$).

Table 10 indicates the coefficients level which have beta number 0.338 for social media, which there is a strong, positive, significant co-relations ($\beta= 0.302$, $p < 0.05$) between social media and voting intention.

Hypothesis 4: Gender has direct and positive relationship with the voting intention among citizens.

Based on Table 11, the R square value is 0.437 ($R^2= 0.437$) which means 43.7% of the voting intention reporting can be explained by gender. Furthermore, R is 0.661 indicates there is significant positive relationship between the independent variable, gender and the dependent variable, voting intention among citizens.

Table 8

Model summary: Social media and voting intention

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	SE
1	0.686 ^a	0.471	0.468	0.314

a. Predictors: (Constant): Social Media

Table 9

ANOVA: Social media and voting intention

Model	Sum of Squares	Df	Means Square	F	Sig.
Regression	0.887	2	0.831	31.216	0.002 ^b
Residual	44.421	687	0.121		
Total	48.332	685			

a. Dependent variable: Voting Intention

b. Predictors: (Constant) Social Media

Table 10
Coefficients: Social media and voting intention

Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardize Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	SE	Beta		
Constant	1.430	0.200		7.390	0.000
Social Media	0.302	0.059	0.376	6.490	0.001

a. Dependent Variable: Voting Intention

Table 11
Model summary: Gender and voting intention

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	SE
1	0.661 ^a	0.437	0.340	0.322

a. Predictors: (Constant), Gender

Table 12 shows that the F Value is 31.001 with the significance is 0.002 level. Continued by the df (degree of freedom) whereby df represent the number of independent variables is 2 which is gender. The results indicated that there was significant relationship between gender and voting intention among citizens with the prediction equation, (F=31.001, p < 0.05). Voting intention variation is well predicted with the effect of gender.

Table 13 indicates the coefficients level stated that the number in beta is 0.421 for gender, which is a strong, positive, significant correlation ($\beta = 0.421$, $p < 0.05$) between gender and voting intention among citizens. Thus, the result is positively significant between gender and voting intention among citizens.

Table 12
ANOVA: Gender and voting intention

Model	Sum of Squares	Df	Means Square	F	Sig.
Regression	6.678	2	7.912	31.001	0.000 ^b
Residual	71.331	687	0.232		
Total	72.324	685			

a. Dependent variable: Voting Intention
b. Predictors: (Constant), Gender

Table 13
Coefficients: Gender and voting intention

Model	Unstandardized Coefficient		Standardize Coefficient	t	Sig.
	B	SE	Beta		
Constant	4.551	0.320		13.200	0.000
Gender	0.421	0.121	0.432	7.221	0.001

a. Dependent Variable: Voting Intention

Hypothesis 5: Social media moderates the relationship between voting attitude and voting intention

Based on Table 14, the model 1, R square value is 0.519 ($R^2 = 0.519$) which means 51.9% of voting intention among citizens is predicted by social media. While the model 2, R Square is 0.348 ($R^2 = 0.348$) which means 34.8% of voting intention is predicted by attitude with social media as moderator. Furthermore, when seen the summary model table, in model 1 which R is 0.721 ($R = 0.721$) continued the model 2 which R is 0.590 ($R = 0.590$). The study result clearly shows that when social media comes in between voter’s attitude and their intention to vote, it partially moderate the

relation between voter’s attitude and voter’s intention to vote.

Table 15 shows the ANOVA result. The model 1 have F Value for social media is 15.389 and the significant is 0.000 level. Continued by the df (degree of freedom) whereby df represent the number of independent variables is 1 which is social media. While model 2 have the F value for the social media, and attitude towards the voting intention are 16.336 and the significance is 0.002 level. Followed by the number of independent variables is 2 which is social media and attitude. The result indicated that social media moderated the influence of attitude towards the voting intention with prediction equation, ($F = 15.389, p < 0.05$) & ($F = 16.336, p < 0.05$).

Table 14
Model summary: Social media moderates’ attitude and voting intention

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	0.721 ^a	0.519	0.511	0.362
2	0.590 ^a	0.348	0.344	0.353

- a. Predictors: (Constant), Social Media
- b. Predictor: (Constant), Social Media, Voting Attitude

Table 15

ANOVA: Social media moderates' attitude and voting intention

Model	Sum of Squares	df	Means Square	F	Sig.
Regression	4.485	2	6.485	15.389	0.000 ^b
Residual	71.278	684	0.244		
Total	72.764	686			
Regression	7.745	1	4.372	16.336	0.002 ^c
Residual	66.122	685	0.221		
Total	69.332	686			

a. Dependent variable: Voting Intention

b. Predictors: (Constant), Social media

c. Predictors: (Constant), Social media, Voting Attitude

Table 16 portrays the coefficients level. The result show that social media have significant influence on voting intention, where the significant level is 0.000 ($\beta=0.300$, $p < 0.05$). When it comes into the moderation effect, social media moderate the effect of voting attitude and voting

intention. The result shows a significant relation because social media ($\beta=0.323$, $p < 0.05$) and the voting attitude ($\beta=0.309$, $p < 0.05$) is found partially significant as well. In conclusion, the table 16 has proven the fifth hypothesis (H5), social media moderates the effect of voting attitude and voting intention.

Table 16

Coefficients: Social media moderates' attitude and voting intention

Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficient	t	Sig.
	B	SE	Beta		
Constant	3.800	0.0120			0.000
Social media	0.300	0.0230	0.213	0.290	0.000
Constant	2.860	0.222		12.223	0.000
Social media	0.323	0.071	0.321	3.342	0.002
Voting attitude	0.309	0.056	0.310	3.212	0.000

a. Dependent Variable: Voting Intention

Hypothesis 6: Gender moderates the relationship between voting attitude on and voting intention.

Based on Table 17, the model 1, R square value is 0.490 ($R^2= 0.490$) which means 49.0% of voting intention among citizens is predicted by gender. While the model 2, R Square is 0.271 ($R^2= 0.271$) which means 27.1% of voting intention is predicted by voting attitude with gender as moderator. Furthermore, when seen the summary model table, in model 1 which R is 0.700 ($R=0.700$) continued the model 2 which R is 0.521 ($R=0.521$). The study result clearly shows that when gender

comes in between voter’s attitude and their intention to vote, it partially moderates the relation between voter’s attitude and voter’s intention to vote.

Table 18 shows about the ANOVA result. The model 1 have F Value for gender is 18.129 and the significant is 0.000 level. Continued by the df (degree of freedom) whereby df represent the number of independent variables is 1 which is attitude. While model 2 has the F value for the social media, and attitude towards the voting intention are 17.348 and the significance is 0.000 level. Followed by, the number of independent variables is 2 which is gender and attitude. The result indicates

Table 17

Model summary: Gender moderates’ voting attitude and voting intention

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	0.700 ^a	0.490	0.485	0.306
2	0.521 ^a	0.271	0.270	0.301

a. Predictors: (Constant), Gender

b. Predictor: (Constant), Gender, Voting Attitude

Table 18

ANOVA: Gender moderates’ voting attitude and voting intention

Model	Sum of Squares	df	Means Square	F	Sig.
Regression	6.112	1	7.012	18.129	0.000 ^b
Residual	71.001	685	0.241		
Total	72.091	686			
Regression	7.745	2	5.778	17.348	0.000 ^c
Residual	62.122	684	0.290		
Total	61.332	686			

a. Dependent variable: Voting Intention

b. Predictors: (Constant), Gender

c. Predictors: (Constant), Gender, Voting Attitude

that social media moderated the influence of attitude towards the voting intention with prediction equation, ($F = 18.129, p < 0.05$) & ($F = 17.348, p < 0.05$).

Table 19 portrays the coefficients level. The result show that gender has significant influence on voting intention, where the significant level is 0.000 ($\beta = 0.341,$

$p < 0.01$). When it comes into the moderation effect gender moderate the effect of voting attitude and voting intention. The result shows a significant relation because gender ($\beta = 0.321, p < 0.01$) and the voting attitude ($\beta = 0.309, p < 0.05$) is found partially significant as well.

Table 19

Coefficients: Gender moderates' voting attitude and voting intention

Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficient	t	Sig.
	B	SE	Beta		
Constant	2.990	0.019			0.000
Gender	0.341	0.033	0.334	0.321	0.000
Constant	2.860	0.218		11.178	0.000
Gender	0.333	0.092	0.319	4.328	0.000
Voting Attitude	0.321	0.088	0.300	4.621	0.000

a. Dependent Variable: Voting Intention

DISCUSSION

Major analysis in this research is made to test the TRA in the political field. The study result indicates that there is direct and positive relationship with all the independent variables on dependent variable voting intention. Voters attitude has a positive and significant effect on the voting intention with a predictive probability of 51.8%, ethnicity with a predictive probability of 48.9%, and social media with a predictive probability of 47.1% and gender with a predictive probability of 43.7%. The study also made the predictability assessment on the moderation effect of social media and gender on voter's intention. The study result shows partial moderation effect of social

media 34.8%. and gender 27.1% on voter's intention.

Attitude and Voting Intention

Based on the empirical result the research model proposed was observed to be by and large effective in forecasting the intentions of voters. People attitude towards voting is thus decided by their favourable and unfavourable belief towards political candidates and political parties (Durnan & Trafimow, 2000). People change their attitude based on unfavourable attitude which has come out of their emotional evaluations on political parties as well as political candidates during electoral days (Abele & Wojciszke, 2007; Fiske et al., 2007). Results shows the voters intention

to vote to the same party in the 2019 by-election. The voters have not shown their switching over behavior to opposition. This indicates that attitude and allied factors are very strongly aligned with the ruling party and there is less switching over behavior among voters even with the influence of social media. Hence voting behaviour is the resultant manifestation of people voting attitude which results from perceived evaluation of politics parties' political candidates, manifesto, and the likes which influence belief system of citizens.

Ethnicity and Voting Intention

Theories of racial voting commence with the evidence that ethnic signs induce identity-based reflections (Barreto, 2010; Perez, 2015). The racial and ethnic identity brings a feeling of insider and outside based on the ethnic orientation or social grouping. The findings clearly indicate that voting intention among the citizens are predicted by the ethnic background of the candidates as well as political parties. Present study is in line with studies conducted by recent research scholars which spells out the effects of candidate's racial/ethnic identity on voters' choices (Fraga, 2016). Such discussion on ethnic based candidates indicates that ruling political party thus has shown strong affiliation with the ethnic identities to float the candidates and that influence the voter's intention vote for certain political parties as well as the candidates. Highlighting a shared racial/ethnic identity and shared practices can support candidate's plea to specific racial/

ethnic group of people. Theory of Reasoned action component subjective norm (ethnicity in this research) has significant role in voter's decision making.

Social Media and Voting Intention

Social media has its role in influencing the belief system of voters. Social media influence the voter's decision favourably or unfavourably based on the information they receive. Social media which facilitates a political communication that stimulates negative evaluations and disrespectful belief towards the political parties and political candidates through the campaigns influence voter's intention to vote or switch over their decision to vote. In the political context, research on negative campaigning shows that disrespectful communication can cause damage to attackers' reputations (Mutz & Reeves, 2005), decreasing their likeability (Carraro & Castelli, 2010), perceived fairness (Brooks & Geer, 2007), and their audience's positive affect (Fridkin & Kenney, 2004). The candidates floated by the ruling parties got the back up and support from the media, which influenced voter's their decision to vote for ruling political party. Switching over behaviour is not thus entertained by the voters in this regard. Such deliberation with empirical results proves that voting pattern in Gujarat will be influenced by social media which produces respectful and disrespectful political campaigns through social media platforms on the political parties as well as ethnic-based candidates.

Gender and Voting Intention

Present study evaluates the gender differences in voting intention. Results show that males are more prone to voting intention in comparison with the females. The gender differences literature in the past clearly indicates the difference between men and women on issues related to several aspects like social welfare policy, free enterprise, and questions relating to the use of force. (Everitt, 1998, 2002; Wearing & Wearing, 1991). Based on the social-role theory analysis (Eagly et al., 2004), it is thus assumed in this research that any significant difference between men and women in the voting patterns is inconsistent with the continued female dominance of the domestic sphere, which shapes women's socio-political attitudes intrinsic in their customary domestic duties for example, promoting the welfare of children and families. It is thus inferred from the discussion that voting pattern is be influenced by gender differences in their preferences towards voting intention.

Attitude, Social Media and Voting Intention

The study results indicate partial moderating effect. The attitude towards the political parties and political candidates has formed with people after long years of interaction. Nevertheless, social media shares believable and unbelievable information about the political parties and political candidates during electoral days to deviate the focus of citizens. People are so calculative during the campaign days and their judgment is based

on their belief system rather information shared in the media. On the contrary, due to the partial influence of social media on the attitude of voters, some volume of voter's intention to vote also may change leading to switch over behaviour. Sometime this will develop such a scenario of marginal victory over the other current ruling political parties and their candidates. It is rightly pointed out in the context that if people are consuming content on social media it will reflect in their perception about the Political Parties or candidates (Sharma & Parmar, 2016). An indication of this moderated observation indicates that social media can partially influence the voter's decision towards a ruling parties' candidates. Theory of Reasoned action component attitude in its influence on voting intention is thus moderated by social media, showing its partial moderation.

Attitude, Gender and Voting Intention

The present results indicate a partial moderating effect of gender on attitude and voting intention. This indicates that gender is moderately influencing the voting intention of people during electoral days. The study highlights gender differences in voting intention where females tend to be less coherent than men at the ballot. Women may express politics differently – they may express anger differently, and consequently express this anger often by voting differently. Those who have high traditional gender identities may poll the votes intensely in comparison with those who does not have. There will be such a probability that the

attitude with a strong gender identity will be carried away with the judgement and evaluations on political party stands and the candidates' political profile, compromising the gender neutrality. The partial effect of gender in between attitude and voting intention indicates that voting intention based on gender influence is fractional and other factors related to woman in general, personal or institutional may be influencing. Theory of Reasoned action component attitude in its influence on voting intention is thus moderated by gender, showing its partial moderation effect.

IMPLICATIONS

Practical Implication

Significance of TRA application political psychology field is well established in this research. The study observations indicate that voting attitude is decided by political parties and candidate's credibility in the political field. Political marketers should explore these factors when they will be engaged in political campaigns. The qualities of political parties and their candidates considered vital by voters will be identified together with the various sources of effects. It was stated by Singh et al. (1995) that packaging, positioning, and promotion of candidates and political parties were a few of the factors which facilitate belief and attitude formation among voters during electoral days. This tactic is worthwhile for political marketers since personality dynamics have been found to be more significant than issue-based factors in political communications. It is

also examined in this research the impact of ethnicity on voting behaviour. It is clear from the study that voters of different ethnic backgrounds observe the ethnic source cue of a candidate in political campaigns and how such perceptions influence voting intention. In order to win the elections political parties may investigate the ethnic candidates where ethnicity will be playing an important role. The study also provides better understanding on the impact of social media, and gender image on voting intention and behaviour. The political parties can make a practical decision on for future political campaigns with due considerations on gender preferences of people wherever it is providing better mileage for win. Social Media like platforms like Facebook, Twitter, LinkedIn, WhatsApp, Line, etc. may be used for better political sway.

Theoretical Implication

The overall purpose of this study will be to test the ability of TRA in predicting voting intention. TRA envisages that attitude towards behaviour is a determining factor of behavioural intention, viz. the voting intention among citizens. Attitude is the resultant manifestation of belief. It is the belief towards the political parties as well as the candidature image which determine the voting attitude which result into voting behaviour. Individuals who observe them as members of a *political party* may adopt the group's standards or values and practice these as a guide for their own *attitudes* and behaviours. Further the subjective norm variable ethnicity in this research also

influencing voter's intention to vote. As suggested by past researchers' ethnicity may be considered central to peoples' decision making. The study supports the theoretical component, the normative variable, ethnicity and accept the claim made by the past researchers that ethnic orientation as a source of choice criteria that drive voting behaviour. The study thus test theory of planned behaviour components viz., attitude towards voting and subjective norms towards voting behavioural intention.

CONCLUSION

The objective of this research was to test the TRA components in its influence on voting intention among voter's during electoral campaigns. Research posed two research questions in order to test the 6-hypothesis proposed. Results indicates that all the direct hypothesis supported and prove the relevance of the TRA. Further in order to test the indirect effect study posed two factors viz., social media and gender as moderators. These effects also indicate that social media also partially moderates its influence on voter's attitude toward voting intention. Political parties are constantly interested to gain information around the elements that effect the voter to align their interest towards political parties and select political candidate of his/her choice. This study thus paves better understanding on the voters voting intention. Political campaigns a should consider TRA factors as well as influence of social media and gender orientations on issues in order to align their political marketing and

communications to gain advantage of the rivals during electoral days.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The authors acknowledge Africa Business School, (ABS), Mohamed VI Polytechnic University, Morocco and Xiamen University Malaysia (XMU), for their support in facilitating the research project.

REFERENCES

- Abele, A. E., & Wojciszke, B. (2007). Agency and communion from the perspective of self-versus others. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 93*(5), 751-763. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.93.5.751>
- Ajzen, I. (1991). The theory of planned behaviour. *Organizational Behaviour and Human Decision Processes, 50*(2), 179-211.
- Ajzen, I. (2002). Perceived behavioural control, self-efficacy, locus of control, and the theory of planned behaviour. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 32*(4), 665-683. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1559-1816.2002.tb00236.x>
- Barreto, I. (2010). Dynamic capabilities: A review of past research and an agenda for the future. *Journal of Management, 36*(1), 256-280.
- Beauregard, K. (2014). Gender, political participation and electoral systems: A cross national analysis. *European Journal of Political Research, 53*(3), 617-634. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1475-6765.12047>
- Birkbak, A. (2012). Crystallizations in the blizzard: contrasting informal emergency collaboration, In *Facebook Groups. Proceedings of NordiCHI '12*. Copenhagen, Denmark: ACM.
- Brooks, D. J., & Geer, J. G. (2007). Beyond negativity: The effects of incivility on the electorate. *American Journal of Political Science,*

- 51(1), 1-16. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-5907.2007.00233.x>
- Burns, N., Schlozman, K. L., & Verba, S. (2001). *The private roots of public action: Gender, equality, and political participation*. Cambridge, USA: Harvard University Press.
- Burrell, B. (2006). Looking for gender in women's campaigns for national office in 2004 and beyond: In what ways is gender still a factor? *Politics and Gender*, 2(3), 354-362.
- Carr, J., & Landa, J. T. (1983). The economics of symbols, clan names and religion. *Journal of Legal Studies* 12, 135-156.
- Carraro, L., & Castelli, L. (2010). The implicit and explicit effects of negative political campaigns: Is the source really blamed? *Political Psychology*, 31(4), 617-645.
- Cazzava, F. (2008, June 9). Social media landscape [Blog post]. Retrieved September 15, 2016, from <http://www.fredcavazza.net/2008/06/09/social-media-landscape/>
- Cooper, R. D., & Schindler, S. P. (2014). *Business research methods*. Boston, USA: Irwin McGraw Hill.
- Córdova, A., & Gabriela, R. (2017). Addressing the gender gap, the effect of compulsory voting on women's electoral engagement, *Comparative Political Studies*, 50(2), 264-290.
- Druckman, J. N. (2001). On the limits of framing effects. *The Journal of Politics* 63(9), 1041-1066.
- Druckman, J. N., & Lupia, A. (2000). Preference formation. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 3, 1-24.
- Durnan, A., & Trafimow, D. (2000). Cognitive organization of favourable and unfavourable beliefs about performing a behaviour. *The Journal of Social Psychology*, 140(2), 179-187.
- Eagly, A. H., Diekmann, A. B., Johannesen-Schmidt, M. C. & Koenig, A. M. (2004). Gender gaps in sociopolitical attitudes: A social psychological analysis. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 87(6), 796-816.
- Esa, N. B., & Hashim, R. B. (2017). Identifying the influence factors on the intention to vote among youths in rural areas. *Journal of Political Science Public Affairs*, 5(4), 292.
- Esposito, C. C. (2012). *Can political candidate's use of Facebook to influence real world outcomes? An analysis of uses and gratifications needs, online participation and offline outcomes on candidate's Facebook pages* (Unpublished Master thesis, University of Texas, USA). Retrieved June 21, 2019, from <http://dspace.uta.edu/handle/10106/11052>
- Everitt, J. (1998). The gender gap in Canada: Now you see it, now you don't. *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*, 35(2), 191-219.
- Everitt, J. (2002). Gender gaps on social welfare issues: Why do women care? In J. Everitt & B. O'Neill (Eds.), *Citizen politics: Research and theory in Canadian political behaviour Don Mills* (pp. 110-125). Toronto, Canada: Oxford University Press.
- Fiske, S. T., Cuddy A. J. C., & Glick, P. (2007). Universal dimensions of social perception: Warmth and competence. *Trends in Cognitive Science*, 11(2), 77-83.
- Fraga, B. L. (2016). Candidates or districts? Revaluating the role of race in voter turnout. *American Journal of Political Science*, 60(1), 97-122.
- Fridkin, K., & Kenney, P. J. (2004). Variability in citizens' reactions to different types of negative campaigns. *American Journal of Political Science* 55(2), 307-325.
- Goodyear-Grant, E., & Julie, C. (2011). Gender affinity effects in vote choice in Westminster systems: Assessing 'flexible' voters in Canada. *Politics & Gender*, 7(2), 223-250.

- Hansen, T., & Jensen, J. M. (2008). Consumer online grocery behaviour: Synthesizing values and TPB. In H. J. P. Timmermans (Ed.), *Recent advances in retailing and services science conference 2008: Conference proceedings. Zagreb, Croatia: Technische Universiteit Eindhoven / EIRASS*.
- Harell, A. (2009). Equal participation but separate paths? Women's social capital and turn out. *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy*, 30(1), 1-22.
- Krejcie, R. V., & Morgan, D. W. (1970). Determining sample size for research activities. *Educational and Psychological Measurement*, 30(3), 607-610.
- Lampa, S., Dahlö, M., Olason, P. I., Hagberg, J., & Spjuth, O. (2013). Lessons learned from implementing a national infrastructure in Sweden for storage and analysis of next-generation sequencing data. *GigaScience*, 2(1), 9.
- Landa, J. T. (1991). Culture and entrepreneurship in less-developed countries: Ethnic trading networks as economic organizations. In B. Berger (Ed.), *The culture of entrepreneurship* (pp. 53-72 & notes pp. 217-222). San Francisco, USA: ICS Press.
- Mayer, N. (2010). *Sociologie des comportements politiques* [Sociology of political behavior]. Paris, France: Armand Colin.
- Mutz, D. C., & Reeves, B. (2005). The new video malaise: Effects of televised incivility on political trust. *American Political Science Review*, 99(1), 1-15. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055405051452>
- Nunnally, J. C. (1978). *Psychometric Theory* (2nd ed.). New York, USA: McGraw-Hill.
- Perez, E. O. (2015). Xenophobic rhetoric and its political effects on immigrants and their co-ethnics. *American Journal of Political Science*, 59(3), 549-564
- Phinney, J. S. (1992). The multigroup ethnic identity measure—A new scale for use with diverse groups. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, 7(2), 156-176.
- Sharma, B. K., & Parmar, M. S. (2016). Impact of social media on voter's behavior-A descriptive study of Gwalior, Madhya Pradesh. *International Journal of Research in Computer Science and Management*, 4(1), 5-8.
- Singh, K., Leong, S. M., Tan, C. T., & Wong, K. C. (1995). A theory of reasoned action perspective of voting behaviour: Model and empirical test. *Psychology & Marketing*, 12(1), 37-51.
- Spence, J. T., Helmreich, R. L., & Stapp, J. (1973). A short version of the Attitudes towards Women Scale (AWS). *Bulletin of the Psychonomic Society*, 2, 219-220.
- Tansey, O. (2007). Process tracing and elite interviewing: A case for non-probability sampling. *Political Science & Politics*, 4(4), 765-772. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1049096507071211>
- Verba, S., Burns, N., & Schlozman, K. L. (1997). Knowing and caring about politics: Gender and political engagement. *The Journal of Politics*, 59, 1051-1072. <http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/2998592>
- Wearing, P., & Wearing, J. (1991). Does gender make a difference in voting behaviour? In Joseph Wearing (Ed.), *The ballot and its message* (pp. 341-350). Toronto, Ontario, Canada: Copp. Clark. Pitman.

