Post Election Behavior? Is it Possible? A Framework Based on Hirschman (1970)Model

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A B S T R A C T

Post-Election Behavior is a new definition to be introduced in this study which has not been widely used before. There is debate among scholars who do not agree whether voters respond to the events of the past more than the future, or vice versa. In the marketing field, it has been proven and widely accepted that after the purchase decision had been made, it does not end there, it will continue to affect consumer behavior. Even from a theoretical perspective, the study of post purchase process provides a better understanding on role of past experience (satisfaction or dissatisfaction) in determining the future purchase decisions. However, there are deficiencies in existing voting theories. This study attempts to provide a variation of what happens after an election or what is known as post-election. This is something new which have not been studied and used before. This study applies Hirschman (1970) as the basis framework of the study. The main goal of this study is to determine the usefulness and effectiveness of the model in the context of Post-Election Behavior. Based on factor analysisperformed onthe items in thedependent variableofthe Post Voting Behavior, findings from these testsprovide thre emajor components that are Exit,Voice and Loyalty Response.These findingsare in lineandsupportthemodelproposed byHirchman(1970) wherethere are threemajor componentsExit, Voice andLoyalty. This findingalso supportsthatmodelHirchman(1970) is relevant whereit is widely used as the basisformost of the studiesin the review ofPost-Purchase Behaviorandseveralother areas in thefield of marketing.

INTRODUCTION

There are a lot of politics and political sociology approach used to understand a political phenomenon. However a study using marketing theory to view political problems, especially in Malaysia is very limited. Therefore, this study attempts to explore a new approach in studying the phenomenon of electoral politics, by using marketing theory.

In marketing, most of previous studies in consumer behavior only focuses on pre-purchase decision-making process (for example, search for information, beliefs, attitudes, purchasing preferences and purchase intentions). Post-purchase activity usually involves a series of steps in which users are considered in evaluating the performance of the product over the expected level of performance (the norm) and then act in a way that is influenced by congruence or discrepancies (Gilly & Gelb 1982; Woodruff, Cadotte, & Jenkins 1983; Bearden & Teel, 1983, Oliver, 1980).

Why should we look at the post-purchase? From a theoretical point of view, the study of the post-acquisition process provides a greater understanding of the role of prior experience (past satisfaction or dissatisfaction) in determining the outcome of future purchases. In addition, it provides marketers or managers, with a better understanding of the psychological processes that lead to loyalty and repurchase (voting again in the context of the election). It was found that there are not many researches on the importance of post-purchase process, especially in matters related to voting and voter behavior and its general effect and the activities toward election.

Problem Statement:

Post-Election Behavior is a new definition to be introduced in this study for which it has not been widely used before. Many studies have been conducted on voting behavior in political science and marketing, but most theories of voting in political science (eg, Berelson, Lazarsfeld, & McPhee, 1954; Downs 1957; Campbell,

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Converse, Miller, & Stokes 1960 Keys 1966; Wolfinger & Rosenstones 1980) only look at the situation before an election or pre-election and predictions about the results and the outcome of an election. There is debate among scholars who disagree whether voters react to the events of the past more than the future, or vice versa (Lewis-Beck, 1988; Powell & Whitten, 1993).

Because of the deficiencies in the existing theories of voting, this study attempts to provide a new perspective from marketing point of view, in which focuses on what happens after an election or what is known as post-election. This is something rather new which have not been tested and used before. This study aims to look at whether it is possible to set up a framework to describe what term is as Post-Election Behavior based on Hirschman Model (1970).

literature review:

According O'Cass & Pecotich (2005), the assumption exits a similarity between the psychological and behavioral principles that include voting and the purchase has been widely accepted but minimum are tested. This study aims to emphasize the concept of marketing, particularly in the field of consumer behavior in the study of voters.

In the field of marketing, has been shown extensively what happens after the purchase decisions not only ends there and will continue to influence consumer behavior. Even from the theory, the study of the post-purchase process provides a greater understanding the role of prior experience (past satisfaction or dissatisfaction) in determining the outcome of future purchases (Schiffmann & Kanuk, 2000).

Hirschman (1970) have discussed the conceptual model in political parties, especially in situations of the two-party system, but this has not been proven empirically. What is different and to be highlighted in this study that the theory was used to explain the reaction in various domains including work, political organization, and the relationships between individuals (interrelationships) (Allen & Keaveney 1985; Rosse & Hulin 1985 ; Rusbult & Farrell 1983; Rusbult, Zembrodt & Gunn 1982 Tronvoll, 2008). There are also studies that use the similar theory to study the political situations, (eg Hirschman 1995; Lee 1972 O'Donnell 1986, Scott 1986, Evans 1988; Ross 1988; Eubank, Gangopadahay & Weinberg 1996, and Kato 1998) but neither of the study adapted the whole model nor tested (Dowding, John, Mergoupis & Vugt 2000), to see the situation after an election (post-election). Furthermore, in Malaysia there is no comprehensive study to see the behavior of the voters using marketing approach, especially in the post-election study.

What needs to be emphasized in this study is that the changes that occur after the election. The Hirschman model (1970) already proposes a response or reaction to an experience in which there are three responses for those who are not satisfied with the circumstances. According to Hirschman (1970) (p. 62), each user will experience a change no matter how big or small as a result of their experiences. The model is extensively tested in different situations or areas for example in the organization or job, where workers will be looking for a better job or quit (exit), continue to work to improve the situation by voice, or remain in the organization, supporting the organization (loyalty). In the field of marketing, the user would switch to another provider or change the brand (exit), voiced their complaints to the supplier or dealer, or remain buy brand or item (loyalty). In such countries, the citizens can move out, migrate to another country, voicing their dissatisfaction, or continue to remain in the country. In the contact of relationship, if person is not happy, they would leave their partner, talk to their partner to fix the problem, or remain loyal to their spouses. This study attempt to explore the political situation, especially after the election is it possible that three responses proposed by Hirschman are appropriate in describing the behaviors of the voters after the election.

This study clearly intended to see the behavior of the post-election, in which the results of this research will provide a clear understanding of what is defined as the post-election behavior. One of the reasons why the voting behavior is studied is to provide political marketers with the knowledge that will allow them to use marketing tools and strategies necessary to attract voters (O'Cass, 2005). Does this model can explain the response to the decision made by the voters? The model has already been used extensively in the study of post-purchase where Hirschman (1970) has been supported by numerous studies (Andreasen 1985; Blodgett, Wakefield & Barnes 1995; Singh 1990; Singh & Wilkes, 1996, Tronvoll, 2008) and is the implicit basis in the consumer complaint behavior research.

According to Hirschman's model (1970), he highlighted that organizational characteristics and individual characteristics will affect response to consumer dissatisfaction. More specifically he discusses the basic elements and issues of a political party in the chapter "On Spatial Duopoly and the Dynamic of Two Party System". This study attempts to explore more in depth the characteristics of individual voters whether it would also affect the behavior of post-election. Finally, this study wanted to prove what has been tested in marketing, relevant and can be adapted and applicable in the voting.

This research use Hirschman (1970) model, based on a literature review, a proposed framework is as follows:
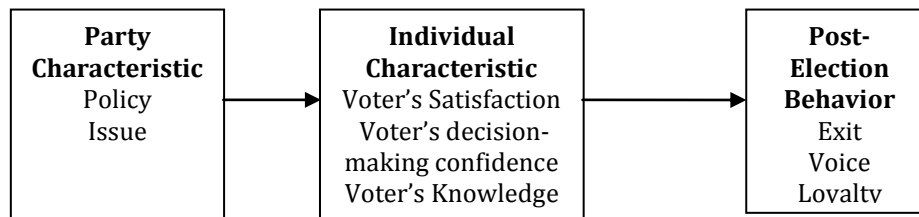
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┌──────────────────┐      ┌──────────────────┐      ┌──────────────────┐
│      Party       │      │    Individual    │      │      Post-       │
│  Characteristic  │      │  Characteristic  │      │    Election      │
│      Policy      │─────▶│ Voter's Satisfaction │──▶│    Behavior      │
│      Issue       │      │  Voter's decision-   │   │      Exit        │
│                  │      │  making confidence   │   │      Voice       │
│                  │      │ Voter's Knowledge │      │     Loyalty      │
└──────────────────┘      └──────────────────┘      └──────────────────┘
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Fig. 1: Research Framework.

Research Framework:

In order to look at the micro level, a relatively dynamic Parliamentary constituency in Northern Malaysia was chosen as the location of this study. Historically, this is traditionally won by the Barisan Nasional, fell to the PAS and then there was an election. The sample for this study included registered voters with the Election Commission (EC) on the Malaysia 12th General Election. Study only focuses on the data collected one year after the Malaysia 12th General Election, exactly after March 2009 in order to see the changes that occurred.

Validity Analysis:

All constructs were gone through validity test and reliability test. An instrument is considered valid if it measures what it is to be measured (Nunnally, 1978; Sekaran, 2000). Measurement instruments in social science are typically used to meet the three (3) functions, which represents the natural content (universe) building certain statistical relationship with specific variables and measurement properties. Thus, three (3) types of validity is required, namely content validity, predictive validity, and construct validity (Nunnally, 1978; Sekaran, 2000). Given that this study was not intended to build predictor, then the predictive validity will not be tested.

According to Nunnally (1978), content validity refers to the adequacy of the content of a specific domain in a sample, where the instrument contains items that cover all aspects of measuring a variable. Content validity cannot be determined through numerical analysis because it is subjective and judgmental discretion. It depends more on how the items may be linked and how it is presented.

Construct validity refers to the degree of a measure to assess the construct to be measured (Murphy & Davidshofer, 1994). A valid measure of a construct if it assesses the magnitude and direction of the constructs features that is found in the sample. In addition, the measure is free of error and elements of other constructs. According to Churchill (1979), factors analysis is used by researchers to confirm dimensions and determine the number of dimensions of a concept. The key concept of factor analysis is that multiple observed variables have similar patterns of responses because of their association with an underlying latent variable, the factor, which cannot easily be measured. These methods are effective and widely used as a technique to examine the interdependent between the variables (Kim & Mueller, 1978; Johnson & Wichern 1992). In addition, according to Bennett & Bowers (1976), it brings a more parsimonious solution. Accordingly, this study uses the factor analysis technique to verify all constructs used in this study.

Before the factor analysis conducted, each construct gone through fitness test and an identity matrix test. For the purposes of these tests, the metric data are reviewed to ensure that sufficient data have inter-correlation for enabling factor analysis conducted. Factor analysis Kaier Meyer Olkin (KMO) measure, which is a measure of sampling adequacy, is one measure to assess the degree of correlation between the item and the appropriateness. If KMO value is small means that each item cannot be explained or predicted by other items without being involved with a significant error, then factor analysis may not be appropriate. As a guide, the KMO value in the range of 0.90 to 1.00 is considered marvelous; 0.80 to 0.89 meritorious; 0.70 to 0.79 middling; 0.60 to 0.69 mediocre; 0.50 to 0.59 miserable, and 0.00 to 0.49 is not acceptable (Hair, Anderson, Tatham & Black 1998). In addition, Bartlett's Test of Sphericity was also used to test that the correlation matrix is not the identity matrix.

In this study, principal components analysis (Principal Axis Factoring) (PAF) with varimax rotation was applied to analyze the validity of the constructs. According Tacq (1997), PAF is considered suitable for this analysis which focuses on a unique data filtering and not homogeneous (common) from the original data. Due to this, unique component of a feature will be collected. The eigenvalues which exceed of 1.0 for each factor or component is considered as significant (Hair *et al.*, 1998).

Validity of the constructs will be assessed by examining each item in each factor or component that has been established through factor analysis. If there is just one factor formed, the variable is considered to have a single dimension. If any item in the single dimension with the load factor of less than 0.40 it will dropped and void to represent the construct (Churchill, 1979).

If the corrections between the dimensions of the original variables found to be significant, then the constructs considered to have validity characteristics (Murphy & Davidshofer, 1994). In addition, each dimension may be compared with the original dimensions when the constructs were constructed. If these factors may be identical to or match the original dimensions, then the constructs will be considered valid for this study. Any factor that is not identical to or match the original dimensions, the items were dropped from the questionnaire.

Sampling:

Sampling is the process of selecting a sufficient number of elements from the population so that by studying the samples, and understanding the properties or the characteristics of the sample subjects, it would be a possible to generaize the properties or characteristics to the population elements (Sekaran, 2000). The purpose of sampling is to estimate the number of features that are not known about the population (Zikmund, 2000). According to Zikmund (2000), sampling is sufficient to represent the entire population based on the following reasons, i. pragmatic reasons such as budget and time constraints, cannot be achieved or impossible to collect all the information, ii. The sample is adequate, accurate and reliable information on the research findings, and iii. Damage the unit being tested.

Systematic sampling method used in selecting the sample. Population frame obtained from the Election Commission (EC). According to data obtained, number of voters in the 12th General Election for this Parliamentary seat is about 55, 471 voters. When referring to Roscoe (1975), the appropriate sample size for a study ranged from 30 to 500. While the sample size is too large i.e more than 500 will cause problems, which will lead to a Type II error. In other words, Sekaran (2000) noted that the sample size is too large, a weak relationship will reach a significant level despite actually is not. This will affect the true picture of the population. Therefore, he suggested that the amount is not too small and not too large (500) is ideal for a study. Based on statistical analysis of Cohen (1988), the effective sample size should be taken into account to analyze the data. Effective sample size necessary to reduce Type II sampling error for rejection of the null hypothesis at the 0.05 significance level. Adequate sample size is essential to meet the rule of thumb (Roscoe, 1975, in Sekaran, 2000) which sets out a number of features to determine the effective sample size as follows:

i.   Sample size larger than 30 and less than 500 are appropriate for most research.
ii.   Where samples are to be broken into subsamples (males/females, juniors/seniors, etc.), a minimum sample size of 30 for each category is necessary).
iii.   In multivariate research (including multiple regression analysis) the sample size should be several times (preferably 10 times or more) as large as the number of variables involved in this study.
iv.   For simple experiment research with tight experimental controls (matched pair, etc.), successful research is possible with a small sample size as 10 to 20 in size.

Ary, Jacob & Razavieh (1996) argues that the two main characteristics of a sample of the research were the efficiency and representation. Adequacy means the ability of a sample to draw conclusions about the characteristics of the studied population. To allow researchers to predict the parameters or characteristics of the population according to acceptable limits, the sample size should have a large amount. In terms of representation, the researcher must ensure that the each population has an equal chance of being selected as the sample.

A total of 1500 respondents, which above proposed total of 375 in Krejcie & Morgan (1970). Krejcie & Morgan (1970) greatly simplified the sample size decision by providing a table to ensure a good decision model (Sekaran, 2000). The larger size is needed to overcome the possibility of respondents did not return back the questionnaire to the researcher.

Most studies on voting using a method other than a questionnaire, for example Crosby, Gill & Taylor, (1981), Newman & Sheth (2001) used the telephone interview, while Davy & Shipper (1983), Tan, Ho, Kang & Yu (2000) used a face to face interview, and in-depth interview method by Dean (2004), Peng & Hackley (2006). There are also studies using the questionnaire through the drop-off and pick-up, which O'Cass (2002), and O'Cass & Pecotich (2005), and methods of questionnaires by mail of Montgomery (1989).

This study provides variation from most studies using data collected by using a questionnaire by mail as is done by Montgomery (1989). According to Sekaran (2000), the advantages of using a mail questionnaire is that anonymity is high, wide geographic regions can be reached, token gifts can be enclosed to seek compliance, respondent can take more time to respond at convenience, and can be administered electronically, if desired. The disadvantages of this method is that the response rate is always low, a 30% rate is quite acceptable, cannot clarify questions and follow up procedures are necessary. To avoid the lower return rate, the number of selected respondent was tripled so that it will get the desired number of return questionnaires.

Based on the number of voters registered with the Election Commission of Parliament was of 55.471 people, while the number of respondents for this study suggested by Roscoe (1975) and Sekaran (2000) is about 500 people, and not forgetting the usual questionnaire is received is only 30% (Montgomery, 1989), the amount required in this study is set to 1500 in which respondents were selected at random from the voters list of the

Parliament. Systematic sampling method used in selecting the sample which involves selecting every n element in the population (Sekaran, 2000). Therefore, every 37th voter selected from the electoral roll was selected as the sample (55.471 / 1500 = 37).

Administration and Field Work:

The list of respondents with address prepared and organized for the purpose of the post. Each name in the list to be sent a copy of the tagged questionnaire and a stamped together with return addressed envelope to researcher's office. All respondents were asked to fill out a questionnaire and send back within two weeks. After two weeks, if the questionnaire was not returned, then a reminder letter followed. The data collection process will be terminated when the number of samples has reached a sufficient numbers.

Data Analysis:

Data collected was analyzed by SPSS software. Data first is "washed" to remove data that does not fit or questionnaires that are incomplete. Factor analysis was conducted. If two or more factors are formed, each of these factors will be through Pearson Product Moment Correlation test. If the Corrections between the dimensions of the original variables found to be significant, then constructs accounted validity characteristics (Murphy & Davidshofer, 1994). In addition, each dimension may be compared with the original dimensions when the constructs were built. If those factors corresponding to the original dimensions, then constructs accounted valid for the purposes of this study.

Factor Analysis:

Factor analysis is the most popular method to determine the validity of the constructs. Basically there are two types of factor analysis, exploratory and confirmatory. According to DeCoster (1998), exploratory factor analysis seeks to find the nature of the constructs that affect a set of responses, while confirmatory factor analysis test to test whether a certain set of constructs influence through a predictable response. In expressing the latent structure of the variables included in this study, exploratory factor analysis was performed on all variables.

Factor analysis is a technique of filtering and data reduction, which is used for large data fell into several smaller data sets (Coakes & Steed, 2003). According to Coakes & Steed (2003) there are seven methods can be used for the purpose of factor extracts; Principal Components (PCA), Unweighted Least Squares, Generalised Least Squares, Maximum Likelihood, Principal Axis Factoring (PAF), Alpha and Image Factoring Factoring. The method most frequently used is the Principal Axis Factoring and Principal Components (PCA). The most widely used method is PAF (Sage Publication, 2007). Principal Axis Analysis rotates the principal components of the primary standard for the structure of the sub-optimal detection, based on the direction of selected rotation (Statistick, 2005).

The main goal of factor analysis is to replace the original variables with the smaller number. Several small data sets are required factors for the formulation of the information contained in the variables of interest. In addition, factor analysis was also used to confirm the number of dimensions in a concept (Churchill, 1979). Some statistical information is examined to confirm a factor analysis test. One of these is the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO), which measures the size of sampling adequacy. According to Hair *et al.* (1998), the minimum acceptable value of KMO is 0.50 or above. In addition, Bartlett's Test of Sphericity should produce a significant chi square value.

Further, in determining the amount of factors to extract, several criteria were used. One of these is the latent root criteria. By using these criteria, only factors that have latent roots or eigenvalues greater than 1 are considered significant. Moreover, the theory associated with certain variables will be considered in determining the amount of factors to be extracted. In connection with the load factor, according to Hair *et al.* (1998) practical rules (rule of thumb) is that loading +-0.50 and above is better.

In this study, the constructed items have been through reliability and validity test. Items are analyzed using the Principal Axis Factoring (PAF) with varimax rotation to identify the complex components. Items that have rotated factor loadings of less than 0.40 in all components excluded from further analysis. Each component was given a name and assumed to be an isolated constructs to be tested in a multiple regression post-election behavior model.

Firstly factor analysis test performed on the independent variables. Table 1 in the appendix shows the construct items for the independent variables after a process of factor analysis. Factor analysis with rotation is done for the purpose of verifying whether the respondents felt that the two constructs are different. The results show the two factors with Eigen values greater than 1.0 and the total variance explained was 60.823% of the total variance. The KMO measure of sampling adequacy was 0.917 indicating that inter-correlation is sufficient, while the Bartlett Sphericity test (Bartlett's Test of Sphericity) was significant (Chi square = 3458,239, p <0.01). The criteria used by Igbaria *et al.*, (1995) to identify and interpret the factors are as follows: each item should contain 0.50 or greater on one factor and 0.35 or lower on the other factor. These results confirm that the

constructs are not singular. The results of the factor analysis conducted, the items tested were split into two smaller parts. Each component is marked as Party Issue (1) Policy Party (2).

Next factor analysis performed on mediators variables. Table 2 in the appendix shows the items to construct intermediate variables after a process of factor analysis. Factor analysis with rotation conducted, the items tested were split into components that become smaller by 3 main components. Each component is parallel to the original instrument of Voter Satisfaction (1), the Level of Voter Knowledge (2), and finally the Level of Voter's Decision-making Confidence (3).Factor analysis with rotation performed to verify whether the respondents felt that the three constructs are different as recommended. The results show the three factors with Eigen values greater than 1.0 and the total variance explained was 70 668% of the total variance. The KMO measure of sampling adequacy was 0.861 indicating that inter-correlation is sufficient, while the Bartlett Sphericity test was significant (Chi square = 5464,807, p <0.01).

Finally, factor analysis was performed on the dependent variable. Table 3 in the appendix shows the items to construct the dependent variable after a process of factor analysis. A table in the Appendix shows the items to construct the dependent variable after a process of factor analysis. Factor analysis conducted on the items in the dependent variable, shows the items tested were split into components that become smaller by 3 main components. Each component is denoted as Voice Response (1), the Exit Response (2), and finally the Loyalty Response (3).The results show that three factors with Eigen values greater than 1.0 and the total variance explained is 61.89% of the total variance. The KMO measure of sampling adequacy was 0.833 indicating that inter-correlation is sufficient, while the Bartlett Sphericity test was significant (Chi square = 5968,996, p <0.01).

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Based on principal components analysis performed on the measurement items, the Party Characteristic consists of two dimensions, namely the Party Policy and Party Issues. In addition, the characteristics of the voters are divided into three dimensions: the Level of Voter's Satisfaction, Level of Voter's knowledge, and the Level of Voter's Decision-making Confidence. Finally, the dependent variable in this study is broken down into three main dimensions. Through factor analysis performed on the items in the dependent variable of the Post-Election Behavior, findings from these tests provide three major components response Exit, Voice and Loyalty. These findings are in line and support the model proposed by Hirchman (1970) where there are three major components Exit, Voice and Loyalty. This finding also supports that model Hirchman (1970) as appropriate and possible where it is widely used and the implicit basis for most of the studies in the Post-Purchase Behavior and several other areas in the field of marketing (Day & Landon Jr.. 1977b; Landon 1977; Fornell & Didow 1980 Jacoby & Jarrard 1981; Richins 1983b; Day 1984; Andreasen 1985, Baxter 1985, Richins 1987 Singh 1990; Ping 1990; Blodgett *et al*. 1995; Singh & Wilkes 1996, Stewart 1998; Alajoutsijarvi Möller & Tähtinen 2000, Volkov Harker & Harker, 2002).

The study confirms that this theory can be used in the field of politics particularly in examining situation after an election in this study was termed as the Post-Election Behavior as essentially this theory has been used to explain the reaction in various domains including work, political organization, and the relationships between individuals (interrelationships) (Allen & Keaveney 1985; Rosse & Hulin 1985; Rusbult & Farrell 1983; Rusbult, Zembrodt, & Gunn, 1992, Tronvoll, 2008). Post Voting Behavior is the new definition in explaining voters after they cast ballots in an election and the situation is very similar to the situation in the post-purchase goods and services.

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Appendixs:

Table 1: Output From Factor Analysis.

	Component	
	1	2
All races		.638
Religion		
Fair		.780
United Malaysian		.689
Equitably		528
Cost	.755	
Crime	.825	
Immigrant	.797	
Social	.794	
Goods Price	.768	
Eigenvalue	3.522	2.561
% of variance = 60.823%	35.216	25.607
Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin = 0.917		
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity Approx. Chi Square = 3458.239; df = 45; Sig = .000		

Table 2: Output From Factor Analysis.

	Komponen		
	1	2	3
Party			.509
Candidates			.554
Politics in general			.901
Political party in general			.794
Know a lot		.738	
Expert		.883	
More about		.916	
Knowledgeable		.913	
A little			
Right party	.868		
Right candidate	.834		
Confidence	.864		
Decision	.823		
Eigenvalue	3.815	3.219	2.242
% of variance = 70.668%	29.349	24.070	17.249
Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin = 0.861			
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity Approx. Chi Square = 5464.807; df = 78; Sig = .000			

Table 3: Output From Factor Analysis.

	Komponen		
	1	2	3
Ending my relationship		.725	
Change my party		.828	
Looking for a new party		.834	
Consider a replacement		.888	
Exiting from my party		.852	
Evaluating other party		.608	
Not vote the same party		.581	
Suggest changes	.694		
Talk to my party	.838		
Work jointly with them	.879		
To correct any problems	.878		
Discuss	.917		
Working together	.805		
Not do anything			.679
Disregard			.840
Can't do much			.588
Recommend		-.405	
Eigenvalue	4.410	4.391	1.720
% of variance = 61.89%	25.943	25.828	10.118
Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin = 0.833 Bartlett's Test of Sphericity Approx. Chi Square = 5968.996; df = 136; Sig = .000			