

Which is the Stronger Influence of Voting Intention: Candidate Credibility or Party Credibility?

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ABSTRACT

This research examines the influence of the political party credibility and presidential candidate personal credibility on voting intention in the presidential election setting. The dual credibility model which is taken from the marketing communication fields is tested with structural equation modeling using the online survey data of 422 respondents collected during the Indonesian presidential campaign held in 2014. The results suggest that only candidate credibility which has a significant influence on voting intention both directly and indirectly via attitude toward the candidate brand. In contrast, party credibility has no influenced on voting intention in the direct presidential election setting.

Type of Paper: Empirical

Keywords: Credibility, party, candidate, voting, presidential election, political marketing

1. Introduction

The role of credibility in influencing attitudes and intention has been discussed by many scholars in a political marketing context (Prete 2007; Yoon *et al.* 2005). However, there is still a dearth of research which empirically examine both the candidate and party credibility in influencing the voting intention. Majority of the previous study only focus more on the role of the political candidate in shaping voting intention (Householder & LaMarre, 2014; Funk & Coker, 2016; Swire, Berinsky, Lewandowsky & Ecker, 2017). Political marketing itself is a cross-disciplinary field between marketing, politics, and communications which tries to analyze the promotional features of modern politics and to explain the party or voter behavior (Scammell 1999). Credibility is important in any type of communication, especially in political marketing, as the communication process involves risks and uncertainty. Therefore, credibility, as the degree of confidence of the listener in the communicator's expertise and trustworthiness, is highly required (Hovland, Janis and Kelley, 1953). The credibility of the candidate and organizational factor are important in the presidential election (Juholin, 2001). Juholin (2001) provided evidence which explains the defeat of the leading candidates in Finland presidential election due to the organization problem (management, leadership, and

communication) and candidate credibility problem (personality, commitment, competence and appearance).

One of the theories from marketing communications that can be used to investigate both effects of personal credibility and organization credibility on customer attitude and intention is the Dual Credibility Model (DCM). The DCM has been particularly useful in determining the influence of personal and organizational credibility on audience attitude and purchase intention. In the context of political marketing, DCM may be applied based on the premise that the political market *also* consists of sellers and customers who exchange value between one and another (Scammell 1999). The parties and the candidates offer representation to the customers (i.e. voters) while the customers offer votes in return for the representation (Scammell 1999).

In 2014 Indonesian presidential election, there was a pattern candidate-centered campaigning. In a candidate-centered campaign, there is a presumption of candidates separation from parties; declining identification with parties and increasing split-ticket voting (Stonecash, Brewer, & Mariani, 2003). Thus, the above-mentioned DCM is applicable to be used in the study which examined both types of credibility including the presidential election in Indonesia. In other words, the current study aims to examine the effects of dual credibility of the candidates and their respective parties on voters' attitude and intention to vote through the application of the DCM theory. The research will provide an empirical evidence on the influence of the candidate credibility and the party credibility towards the voting intention using the application of DCM theory. The study practically assessed the effectiveness of the advertising in increasing voting intention of the voter in general election.

2. Literature Review

According to Harrop (1990), political marketing is basically a form of service in marketing. Currently, marketing strategies are utilized by the actors in the political fields in order to strengthen candidate position in the market (Juholin, 2001). There are three basic similarities between politics and marketing: both rely on the application of marketing tool e.g. marketing research, segmenting, targeting and positioning; voters can be assumed as the consumer in the political marketplace; both are dealing with stiff competition.

Philosophically, adopting one model into a different and relatively new context is permissible in order to investigate similar phenomenon (Johnson and Duberley 2000). This research tries to apply the DCM model into the Political Marketing context, especially related to the Indonesian political context. The reason behind the application of the DCM is based on the phenomena in the real world which shows that most of the voters do not only consider the credibility of the parties that support each (presidential) candidate, but they also consider the personality of the candidate as well. Therefore, it is not surprising that the political parties used each of their candidates as an endorser on their political advertisement in the previous legislative election (prior to the presidential election). The utilization of the presidential candidate as an endorser on the advertising campaign is based on the assumption that the credibility of the candidate might influence the attitude of the voters and their voting intention.

2.1 Dual Credibility Model

DCM theory states that customers do not assume the organization or individual as a single communicator, instead they see the existence of the dual credibility. In other words, they are able to identify and differentiate the differences between two sources of credibility: the individual and the organization/company being represented by the (individual) endorser (Lafferty *et al* 2002). The model that was developed by Lafferty *et al* (2002) shows that both credibilities (endorser and organizational) are able to influence the customers': (1) attitude toward the advertisement; (2) attitude toward the brand; and (3) intention to buy/purchase. While organizational credibility directly influences those three endogen variables; the endorser credibility only indirectly influences the attitude toward the brand and intention to buy through the attitude toward the advertisement's variable (Lafferty *et al* 2002). Based on those findings, Lafferty *et al* (2002) suggested to expand their findings by employing their model into a different context in order to validate the model.

The source credibility model shows that attitudes will lead to the intention to conduct certain behavior. This notion aligns with the ideas suggested by Ray *et al* (in Rothschild, 1978) which explained that in high involvement situation, it is the attitude that leads to the development of behavior. In contrast, in low involvement situation, it is the behavior that will lead to the development of the attitude. National races are considered as the high involvement situation compare to local or state races (Rothschild, 1978). Thus, the Indonesian presidential election is more involving for the voters. Therefore, the source credibility model is applicable to the Indonesian presidential election as the source credibility theory also implies how attitudes may lead to the intention to conduct certain behavior.

2.2 Candidate Credibility

Research in Marketing and Social Psychology have documented the effect of the endorser or source of credibility toward the effectiveness of advertising (Aronson *et al* 1963; Goldsmith *et al* 2000a; 2000b; Harmon & Coney, 1982; Hovland & Weiss, 1951; Lafferty & Goldsmith, 1999a, 2004; Lafferty *et al*, 2005; Lafferty *et al*, 2002; Sternthal, Phillips & Dholakia, 1978; Till & Busler, 2000).

In a modern political election campaigning, there is a growing significance of focusing on the construction of candidate's image (McNair, 2011). Peng and Hackley (2007), found a pattern of the centrality of the party leader's persona in an image-building strategy in not only in a western country with a parliamentary system like the UK but also in eastern countries with a presidential system like Taiwan. Hoopes (2001), in her survey to 2000 respondents, found that credibility of both the existing or new candidates is amongst 8 factors which are considered as important determinants of voting behaviour.

According to Mondak and Huckfeldt (2006), the competence and integrity of the candidates become the important factors to voter decision and subsequently influence the result of the electoral contest. Candidate character is important when voters have no perfect information regarding partisan and policy information (Mondak and Huckfeldt, 2006). Signaling the candidate character is believed to have a positive outcome on the election (Mondak and Huckfeldt, 2006).

Therefore, the following hypotheses are developed:

- H1a: The candidate personal credibility positively influences the attitude towards the advertising campaign.
- H1b: The candidate personal credibility positively influences the attitude toward the candidate personal branding.
- H1c: The candidate personal credibility positively influences the attitude toward the political party organization branding.
- H1d: The candidate personal credibility positively influences the voting intention.

2.3 Political Party Credibility

Lafferty and Goldsmith (1999) stated that the company or organization with high credibility would positively influence the acceptance of their new advertisement better than those which do not have good credibility. This finding is supported by the studies by Lafferty *et al.* (2002) and Goldsmith *et al.* (2000a). In the political context, to vote or to not vote for a political party is largely depends on credibility (Maathuis, Rodenburg, & Sikkel, 2004). Therefore, based on the above arguments, the following hypotheses were developed:

- H2a: The political party credibility positively influences the attitude toward the advertising campaign
- H2b: The political party credibility positively influences the attitude towards the candidate personal branding
- H2c: The political party credibility positively influences the attitude toward the political party organizational branding
- H2d: The political party credibility positively influences the voting intention

2.4 Attitude toward the advertising campaign, branding and voting intention

Previous researchers have found that there is a significant and direct relationship between attitude toward the ad and consumer intention to buy or purchase (e.g. Lafferty and Goldsmith, 1999; Goldsmith *et al.* 2000a; Lafferty *et al.*, 2002). From the consumers' perspective, positive perception of an advertisement might stimulate their propensity to buy or at least support the product. Shimp (1981) conducted an experiment which revealed that the attitude toward the ad is one of the important factors that determine consumer buying behavior. According to Vavreck (2001), paid advertising has been considered as one of the most effective means for the political candidates to send a message to the voters during campaigns. In contrast, Hoopes' study (2001) reveals that perception on the media was not proven to be important factors in voting behavior. However, as the majority of the study in marketing shows that advertising tends to give more positive influence on the attitude of the consumers, the third hypotheses are:

- H3a: Attitude toward the advertising campaign positively influences the attitude towards the candidate personal branding.
- H3b: Attitude toward the advertising campaign positively influences the attitude toward the political party organization branding.
- H3c: Attitude toward the advertising campaign positively influences the voting intention.

2.5 *Attitude toward the Candidate Personal Branding and Voting Intention*

Allan (2005) defines “branding” as every effort to make the consumer think and judge about the product beyond the product quality and price. In Marketing Communication literature, attitude toward a brand is validated to have a positive relationship with buying intention (Lafferty and Goldsmith, 1999b; Lafferty and Goldsmith, 1999a). Therefore, the fifth hypothesis is:

- H4: Attitude toward the candidate personal branding positively influences the voting intention.

2.6 *Attitude toward the Political Party Organization Branding and Voting Intention*

Consumers who perceive a company or organization as credible are more likely to evaluate a firm’s advertisement favorably and to buy the company’s products (Keller 1998, Lafferty, Goldsmith and Newell 2002). In the case of political marketing, the party acts as an organizational endorser of the individual, whilst the celebrity is running as a candidate for an identified political party (Hughes and Dann, 2005). Buying the company’s product, in this case, would be interpreted as voting for the presidential candidate who is supported by the political party. Therefore, the fourth hypotheses are:

- H5: Attitude toward the political party organization branding positively influences the voting intention.

2.7 *Research Framework*

Based on the above discussion, the following research framework shown in Figure 1.

3. **Research Methods**

3.1 *Sample and Unit of Analysis*

An online survey method was used to gather the data to assess two pairs of the candidate and political party based on the legislative election in April 2014. The questionnaire was sent to many mailing list groups followed by all the researchers. The pairs used as the unit of analysis/object of this study are 1). Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan (PDIP) – Joko Widodo (Jokowi) and 2). Partai Gerakan Indonesia Raya (Gerindra) - Prabowo Subianto. The respondents of this research are Indonesian citizens who have the right to vote during the presidential election on 9th of July 2014, either those who are experienced or first-time voter and those who are residing in Indonesia or abroad.

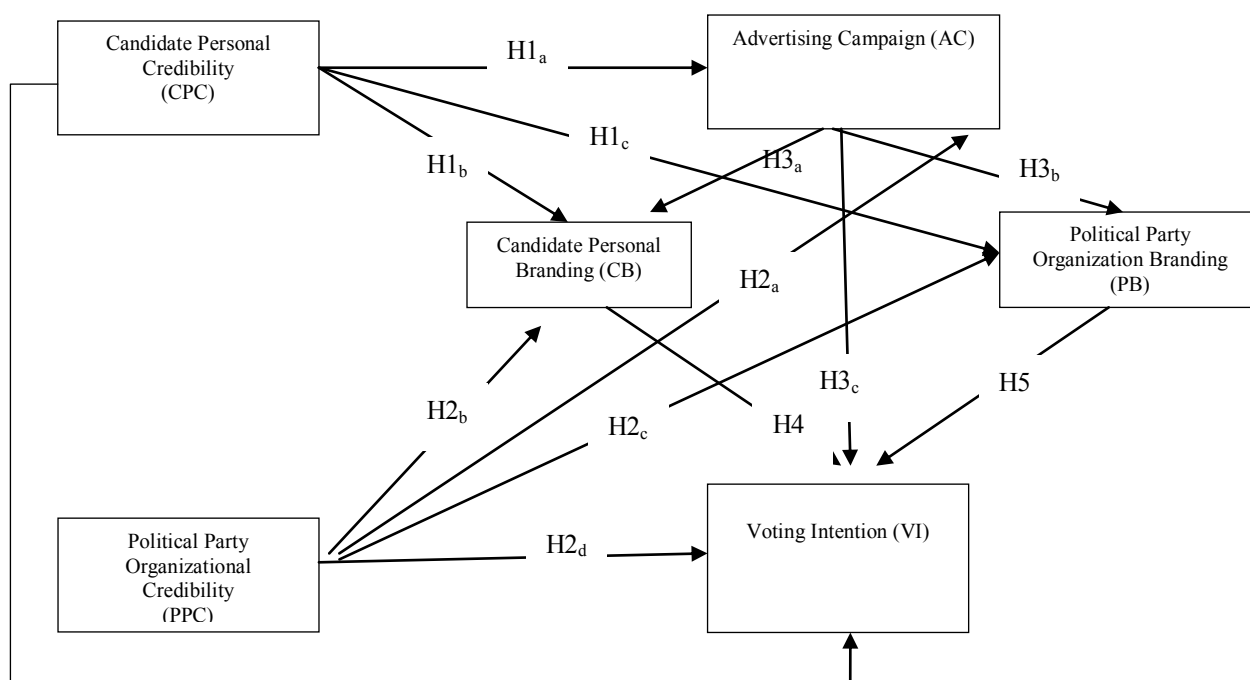


Figure 1. Research Framework

3.2 Research Instrument and Measurement

This research used a questionnaire to gain the information from the respondents/voters regarding their intention to vote a candidate during the presidential election. A total of 422 responses were received during the three-weeks span of time. Measurement instruments were adopted from previous literature. Some detailed information on the variables used are as follow:

Candidate's Personal Credibility – the measurement/variable and items is adapted from Lafferty *et al.* (2002) that measure the personal credibility of the ads endorser (endorser credibility) with relatively high reliability (0.93). This latent variable is derived into three dimensions, which are: expertise, trustworthiness, and attractiveness of the presidential candidate.

Political Party Credibility – the instrument that is used for measuring the variable is the organization credibility model developed by Newell and Goldsmith (2001) with two dimensions: expertise and trustworthiness of the political party.

Attitude toward the advertisement – the measurement tool that is used for this variable is the attitude toward the Ad – instrument that was developed by MacKenzie and Lutz (1989).

Attitude toward Political (Brand Name) Party – an attitude toward the political party (as a brand) is measured by the attitude toward the brand scale, developed by Lafferty *et al.* (2002).

Intention to vote – this variable will be measured through the self-reported likelihood to vote scale, which consists of one item that measures the tendency to vote with options, including: must be voted, possibility vote, 50:50, will not vote.

3.3 Data Collection

A survey using questionnaires were administered using the self-administered survey technique through online method to maximize the number of sample of this research. The link to the questionnaire was also spread.

4. Results

4.1 Respondent Profiles

In this section, the general profile of the respondents is discussed. Ultimately, of the 422 respondents who completed the questionnaire, 51.4% were males and 48.6% were females. In terms of age distribution, 48.4% (a majority) of the respondents were between 31-40 years old, followed by the age range of 20-30 years old (30.2%); 41-50 years old (17.4%); above 50 years old (3.2%) and the rest were below 20 years old (only 0.7%). In terms of education, the majority of the respondents in the sample group possessed a bachelor degree (45.5%) and postgraduate degree (master 33.4%; doctoral 8.1%); while 8.3% and 4.7% have finished their

Table 1. Respondent Profile

Demographic Variable		Frequency	Percentage
Gender	Male	217	51.4%
	Female	205	48.6%
	Total	422	100%
Age	< 20	3	0.7%
	20 – 30	127	30.2%
	31 – 40	204	48.4%
	41 – 50	74	17.4%
	> 50	14	3.2%
	Total	422	100%
Occupation	Student	38	9%
	Homemaker	29	6.9%
	Private Company	105	24.9%
	Entrepreneur	44	10.4%
	Public Company	74	17.5%
	Professional	66	15.6%
	Others	66	15.6%
	Total	422	100%
Income (optional) (283 out of 422)	<IDR 1.000.000	7	2.5%
	IDR 1.000.000 – 10.000.000	177	63.2%
	IDR 10.000.001 – 25.000.000	64	22.8%
	IDR 25.000.001 – 50.000.000	24	8.8%
	IDR 50.000.001 – 100.000.000	6	2.2%
	>IDR 100.000.000	5	1.9%
Education	Total	422	100%
	High school	20	4.7%
	Diploma Degree	35	8.3%
	Bachelor Degree	192	45.5%
	Postgraduate (Master) Degree	141	33.4%
	Postgraduate (Doctoral) Degree	34	8.1%
Domicile	Total	422	100%
	Indonesia	370	87.7%
	Foreign Countries	52	12.3%
Total		422	100%

Table 2. Assessment of Fit

GOF Index	Reference Value Good Fit	Estimation Result (Candidate 1)	Estimation Result (Candidate 2)	Conclusion
Chi Square		518,34	529,47	
p-value	> 0.05	0.00	0.00	
RMSEA	< 0.08	0,056	0,056	Good Fit
NFI	> 0.90	0,96	0,95	Good Fit
CFI	> 0.90	0,98	0,97	Good Fit
IFI	> 0.90	0,98	0,97	Good Fit
Standardized RMR	< 0.05	0,024	0,044	Good Fit
GFI	> 0.90	0,91	0,91	Good Fit
AGFI	> 0.90	0,87	0,88	Moderate Fit

Diploma and Senior high school. The main reason for the high proportion of university/postgraduate holders in the sample was probably due to the characteristics of the online respondents that mainly consist of well-educated people. In addition, it was observed from the sample that 63.2% of the respondent earn an income range between 1-10 million Rupiah which formed most of the respondents, followed by 10-25 million Rupiah (22.8%); 25-50 million Rupiah (8.8%); above 50 million Rupiah (4.1%) and the smallest group have an income below 1 million Rupiah (2.5%).

4.2 Assessment of Fit of the Measurement Model

After the full model has been specified and estimated, the next step is to evaluate the goodness of fit indices of the models. The result has yielded an adequate model fit for the data, with exception of the AGFI. The p-value associated with the chi-square was 0.00.

4.3 Reliability and Validity Analysis

Reliability was evaluated using Construct Reliability (cut off point 0.7) and Variance Extracted (cut off point 0.5). In general, all variables for both candidates have good reliability scores. Validity is confirmed by the factor loading of the observed variable which was above the cutoff point.

4.4 Hypothesis Testing

The statistical analysis result using Structural Equation Modelling by AMOS (see table 3) shows that in general the result for both of candidate are similar, showing the consistency of the general election pattern in Indonesia.

4.4.1 Candidate Credibility

As predicted in H1a, candidate personal credibility (CPC) positively affects attitude towards the advertising campaign (AC). The results supported the hypothesis for the first candidate ($\beta=1.41$; $t\text{-value}=8.77$; $p<0.05$), and second candidate ($\beta=0.95$; $t\text{-value}=7.07$; $p<0.05$), as the results exceed the critical value of one-tailed statistical significance at 0.05 or 1.64.

Table 3. Hypotheses Testing Results

Hypotheses	Path	Candidate 1			Candidate 2		
		Estimation	t-value	Conclusion	Estimation	t-value	Conclusion
H1a	CPC → AC	1.41	8.77	Supported	0.95	7.07	Supported
H1b	CPC → CpB	2.80	7.14	Supported	3.86	6.01	Supported
H1c	CPC → PoB	-0.18	-0.93	Not Supported	0.14	0.93	Not Supported
H1d	CPC → VI	0.58	2.14	Supported	0.58	2.14	Supported
H2a	PPC → AC	0.18	1.44	Not Supported	0.17	1.47	Not Supported
H2b	PPC → CpB	-0.53	-1.75	Not Supported	-0.98	-2.71	Not Supported
H2c	PPC → PoB	2.20	9.75	Supported	1.78	9.62	Supported
H2d	PPC → VI	0.16	1.02	Not Supported	0.16	1.02	Not Supported
H3a	AC → CpB	-0.07	-0.81	Not Supported	-0.06	-0.55	Not Supported
H3b	AC → PoB	0.01	0.12	Not Supported	0.08	1.25	Not Supported
H3c	AC → VI	0.07	1.10	Not Supported	0.03	0.49	Not Supported
H4	CpB → VI	0.35	4.39	Supported	0.30	3.90	Supported
H5	PoB → VI	-0.11	-1.87	Not Supported	-0.06	-1.04	Not Supported

Legends:

Candidate Personal Credibility (CPC)

Political Party Credibility (PPC)

Attitude towards Advertising Campaign (AC)

Attitude towards the Candidate Personal Branding (CpB)

Attitude towards the Political Party Organization Branding (PoB)

Voting intention (VI)

H1b proposed that candidate personal credibility (CPC) is positively and directly related to attitude towards the candidate personal branding (CpB). The results strongly supported this hypothesis for the first candidate ($\beta=2.80$; $t\text{-value}=7.14$; $p<0.05$) and the second candidate ($\beta=3.86$; $t\text{-value}=6.01$; $p<0.05$), which exceeds the critical value of one-tailed statistical significance at 0.05 or 1.64.

H1c proposed that candidate personal credibility (CPC) positively and directly influences attitude towards the political party organization branding (PoB). The results for the first candidate were insignificant ($\beta=-0.18$; $t\text{-value}=0.93$; $p<0.05$), which less than the critical value of one-tailed statistical significance at 0.05 or 1.64. The results for the second candidate were also insignificant ($\beta=0.14$; $t\text{-value}=0.93$; $p<0.05$). The result implies that the candidate personal credibility has no direct impact on the creation of the political party branding.

As predicted in H1d, candidate personal credibility(CPC) positively and directly influences voting intention (VI) ($\beta=0.58$; $t\text{-value}=2.14$; $p<0.05$) for the first candidate and ($\beta=0.58$; $t\text{-value}=2.14$; $p<0.05$) for the second candidate, which exceeds the critical value of one-tailed statistical significance at 0.05 or 1.64. Thus, H1d was supported.

4.4.2 Political Party Credibility

In contrast, the SEM results does not support H2a, that political party credibility (PPC) influences the voters' attitude toward the advertising campaign for both the first candidate ($\beta=-0.18$; $t\text{-value}=-1.44$; $p<0.05$) and the second candidate ($\beta=0.17$; $t\text{-value}=1.47$; $p<0.05$), with

less than the critical value of one-tailed statistical significance at 0.05 or 1.64.

The results of SEM also show that H2b is not supported as the impact of political party credibility (PPC) on attitude toward candidate personal branding (CB) is negative but significant of both candidates ($\beta=-0.53$, $t\text{-value}=-1.75$; $p<0.05$ of the first candidate and $\beta=-0.98$; $t\text{-value}=-2.71$; $p<0.05$ for second candidate). The results show that the political party credibility to some extent may create negative impacts towards the personal branding of the candidate.

H2c posited that political party credibility (PPC) positively and directly influenced attitude towards the political party organization branding (PoB) for the first candidate ($\beta=2.20$; $t\text{-value}=9.75$; $p<0.05$) and the second candidate ($\beta=1.78$; $t\text{-value}=9.62$; $p<0.05$), which exceeds the critical value of one-tailed statistical significance at 0.05 or 1.64. Thus, H2c is supported. The SEM results did not support H2d, that political party credibility (PPC) influences the voting intention (VI) to vote first candidate ($\beta=0.16$; $t\text{-value}=1.02$; $p<0.05$) and second candidate ($\beta=0.16$; $t\text{-value}=1.02$; $p<0.05$), with less than the critical value of one-tailed statistical significance at 0.05 or 1.64.

4.4.3 Attitude toward the advertising campaign, branding and voting intention

Similar insignificant results were also found on the effects of attitude towards the advertising campaign (AC) on the attitude towards the candidate personal branding (CpB), both for the first candidate ($\beta=-0.07$; $t\text{-value}=-0.81$; $p<0.05$) and the second candidate ($\beta=-0.06$; $t\text{-value}=-0.55$; $p<0.05$). These results indicate that the H3a is rejected.

The SEM results also did not support H3b, that attitude towards the advertising campaign (AC) influences voters' attitude towards the party organization branding (PoB) of the first candidate ($\beta=0.01$; $t\text{-value}=0.12$; $p<0.05$), and the second candidate ($\beta=0.08$; $t\text{-value}=1.25$; $p<0.05$), with less than the critical value of one-tailed statistical significance at 0.05 or 1.64.

The study also found insignificant influence of attitude towards the advertising campaign (AC) on voting intention (VI) for the first candidate ($\beta=0.07$; $t\text{-value}=1.10$; $p<0.05$) and also the second candidate ($\beta=0.03$; $t\text{-value}=-0.49$; $p<0.05$). Thus, hypotheses H3c is rejected.

4.4.4 Attitude toward the Candidate Personal Branding and Voting Intention

The SEM results support the H4a which tested the influence of attitude towards candidate personal brand (CpB) on voting intention (VI) for both the first ($\beta=-0.35$; $t\text{-value}=4.39$; $p<0.05$) and second candidate ($\beta=0.30$; $t\text{-value}=3.90$; $p<0.05$).

4.4.5 Attitude toward the Political Party Organization Branding and Voting Intention

The influence of attitude towards the political party organization brand (PoB) is significant for the first candidate ($\beta=-0.11$; $t\text{-value}=-1.87$; $p<0.05$) but non-significant for the second candidate ($\beta=-0.06$; $t\text{-value}=-1.04$; $p<0.05$). However, since the direction of the effects is negative, thus the H5 for both candidate is rejected.

5. Discussion

The results of the study show that it is the credibility of the candidates (CPC) which can significantly influence the voting intention of the voters in Indonesia directly or indirectly via the candidate personal credibility (CpB). Even though the impact of credibility of the candidates is positive in the formation of the attitude towards the advertising campaign (AC), the impact of anadvertising campaign (AC) on voting intention (VI) itself is insignificant. These results imply that the candidate and political party should utilize othertools to promote their campaign which might bemore effective compared to the advertising.

The results show that political party credibility (PPC) only has apositive impact on the formation of political party organization branding (PoB) but has no impact on voting intention (VI). The result implies that to some extent, to win the electoral vote, it would be better for the party to choose significant leader which has significant credibility as the party cannot rely on its own credibility and branding.

In addition to that, the study shows that the impact of political party organization branding (PoB) isnegative. It implies that it would be better for the candidate to avoid the attribution of their personality to the political party.

The result alignswith the study of Vavreck(2001) which showed that although in acertain condition political candidates may try to send signals through advertising which identify them to thecertain party as the identification of the candidate to the party will give the benefits as the voters may attribute the party successes to the candidate. However, in thecertaincondition, it might also necessary for apolitical candidate to avoid or show his/her partisanship to acertain party in the advertising especially when they believe that such information may hurt the electoral results.

6. Conclusion

The study findsthat from the context of political marketing, advertising is not an effective tool to influence the voters' intention to vote. Thus, the political party and the candidate can minimize the usage of print advertising in the political election as the impact on the voting intention is not significant. The study supports the previous study that found very little by way of conversion of electoral support from one candidate or party to another (Lazarsfeld, Berelson, and Gaudet, 1944). Subsequent studies have also reinforced those earlier conclusions, arguing that campaign advertising has little net impact on candidate preference either at the individual (Patterson and McClure, 1974) or aggregate levels (Finkel, 1993; Gelman and King, 1993). According to Markus (1988), the media probably only play a critical role in reinforcing preexisting dispositions. Furthermore, the findings from Finkel (1993) postulatedthat the changes produced by the media or other processes (including advertising in this case) served mainly to strengthen the probability that the individual will vote in accordance with his or her initial political dispositions.

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