

## The Influence of Social Media Marketing on Voting Intention in Indonesia

### Abstract

Purpose- The present research aims to describe the impact of social media marketing (SMM) on voting intention (VI) and the mediating effect of electronic word-of-mouth (eWOM), Candidate's image (CI), and religious beliefs (RB) in Indonesia.

Methodology- This research applies Structural Equation Modelling (SEM) and bootstrapping methods to examine the study's data. It is hypothesized that SMM, eWOM, CI, and RB have a significant positive effect on VI.

Findings- The result shows that eWOM, CI, and RB partially mediate the relationship between SMM and VI.

Contribution- This research affords better comprehension of the critical issues influencing Indonesian voters to vote for any candidate or party that SMM influences.

Keywords: social media, social media marketing, voting intention, election, Indonesia

### Introduction

With the rapid daily increase in internet users (Statistica, 2021a), social media have become an inseparable part of everyday life. Consequently, they have become one of the primary sources to help consumers form an opinion regarding various goods and services. The social media domain may contain but not be limited to political services such as choosing politicians and different forms of public policy (Safiullah et al., 2017). Furthermore, different social media such as YouTube, Facebook, and Twitter, provide extensive platforms for politicians to present themselves and their policies and for the voters to gather information (Tufail et al., 2015; Bélanger, 2019; Tenhunen and Karvelyte, 2015). This phenomenon has turned social media into a considerable tool for improving and sustaining democracy. As a result, one sees more and more emphasis on social media marketing strategies in political campaigns.

Social networking sites have been progressively assuming a fundamental role in the election process, as was clearly shown in the 2019 Indonesian Presidential Election Campaign (Sihombing and Pramono, 2021; Wildana, 2021; Irawanto, 2019; Salahudin et al., 2020; Virgy et al., 2020). Out of a general population of 268 million, 150 million actively used the Internet and social networking sites (Rizal, 2019). These users were mainly recognized as eligible voters between 18-34 years. Typically, they use numerous virtual newsrooms or social networking sites and spend over 50% of their internet time on social media (Statista, 2021b). The Indonesian people share their aspirations about the candidates and presidential elections until one week after the television's presidential debate. Some non-political nature accounts were also associated with political conversations, which increased the candidates' popularity (Rizal, 2019).

Prior studies have explained and focused on offline political action (Borah et al., 2018; McGuire, 2018; Jacobson, 2015), but few studies have dealt with social media's involvement in political actions (Bélanger, 2019; Marozzo and Bessi, 2018; Raymond et al., 2022; Cohen, 2021). Moreover, said studies lean more toward the political side of political marketing. This, in turn, leaves room for more studies on the marketing side. On another note, the body of literature on the role of social media in the Indonesian political market is still relatively young (Susila et al., 2020; Rahman and Prihatini, 2019). Therefore, there is still much to be discussed regarding the interaction between social media and political marketing, especially in the Indonesian political market. To add to that, Indonesia is among the few states that, while having a functioning democracy, also possesses a considerable religious populous. According to the latest statistics, with 231 million Muslims, Indonesia is among the top ten countries with the most number of Muslims.<sup>1</sup> In order to fill part of this gap, the present study discusses social media marketing's influence on voting intention with electronic word of mouth, religious beliefs, and the candidate's image as the mediating variables. Social media marketing activities include four aspects, namely entertainment, interaction, trendiness, and customization.

The remainder of the paper will be as follows. First, an analysis of the body of literature presents a conceptual framework for forming the voting intention. Next, the literature review is conducted, followed by the hypotheses development based on the body of literature. Afterwards, the methodology of the study is explained. Then, the results of the empirical model are discussed. Finally, the conclusions are provided, including the study's limitations and suggestions for further studies.

### The Conceptual Framework

Voting, in its essence, is a collective act. Therefore, it is best analysed based on collective choice theory (CCT). From social choice theory, CCT analyses how combining individuals' opinions, preferences, interests, or welfare results in a collective decision (Sen, 1977; Ganzer-Ripoll et al., 2019). There are several facades to a collective choice, or in other words, the outcome of a voting process. Among these are the normative indicators that play a crucial role in forming collective choice (Sen, 1977). They are part of the individual's set of institutions which help make decisions by decreasing transaction costs and improving predictability (North, 1992; Cian et al., 2020). North (1992), as one of the key figures in the literature on institutionalism, defines them as the rules of the games. They are the set of formal laws and regulations as well as traditions and norms that define the limitations of any form of interaction in society; for instance, a country's constitution, the criminal code of conduct, and the unwritten norms of the market, to name a few.

The collective decision-making process is based on the decision-makers' choice function, which comprises their trust in a particular candidate. Trust is a choice set where for any set  $X$  of nonempty sets, a choice function  $f$  is defined on  $X$  and maps each set of  $X$  to an element of the set.

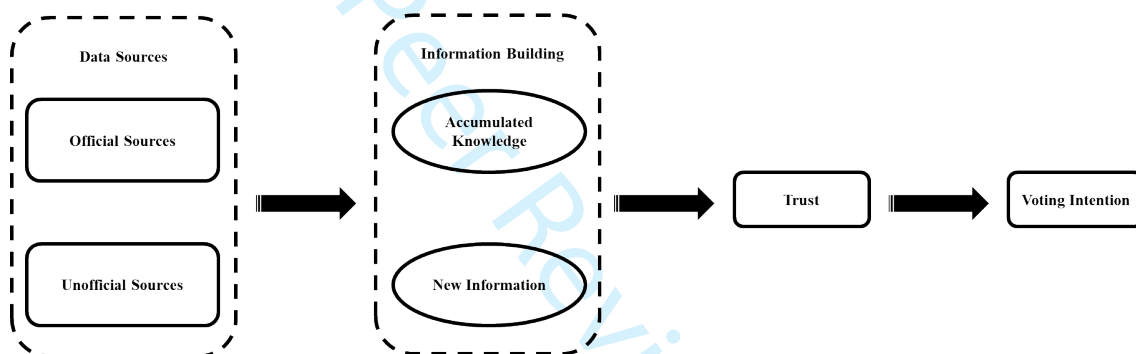
$$\forall X[\emptyset \notin X \rightarrow \exists f: X \rightarrow \cup X \quad \forall A \in X (f(A) \in A)] \quad (1) \text{ (Jehel, 2001)}$$

---

<sup>1</sup> World population review, <https://worldpopulationreview.com/country-rankings/muslim-majority-countries>

The electoral college is a three-membered set of alternatives (Kagal et al., 2001). Decision-makers (voters), decision-objects (candidates), and information-providers (media) are the three agents involved in an election. There are always going to be winners and losers in any informational system. “Structural holes” is the term used to describe this phenomenon in the academic literature (Burt, 2021). Because of these voids, recommendations are an integral part of any deliberation procedure (Kleinberg and Raghavan, 2005; Resnick et al., 2000; Bakos and Dellarocas, 2011; Dash et al., 2004).

One source of voters' confidence in candidates is the information they already have, and another is the information they learn about the candidates over time. This latter view emphasizes the role of political marketing as a promotional method of political communication in which candidates present their ideas and seek voter support (Ozturk and Coban, 2019). Campaign management is the study, planning, and execution of campaigns to shape public opinion according to specific demographics' preferences (Winchester et al., 2016). The following diagram provides a high-level framework for the basic argument.



**Figure 1.** The main idea behind the conceptual research framework (Source: Researchers Design)

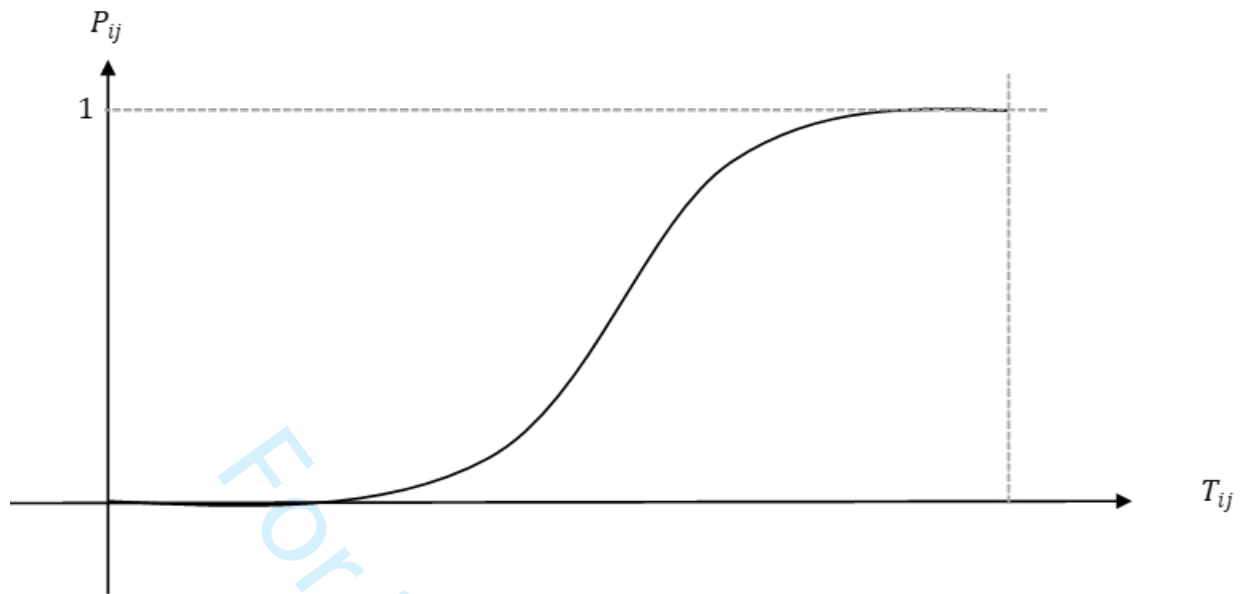
In figure 1, as will be discussed in the following sections, the source of information would be social media, electronic word of mouth and religious belief would be unofficial sources, and Candidate's image would be an official source which together comprises the structure of the voters' knowledge (new and accumulated). Furthermore, following the aforementioned debate and combining it with the logic of discrete choice models (Maddala, 1986, 22; Greene, 2019, 765), the study suggests a mathematical schematic depiction of the model in the next section.

### ***Mathematical Depiction***

Each voter  $i$  has the choice function  $Y_{ij}$ , which means voting for candidate  $j$ . The choice function has the following binary structure:

$$Y_{ij} = \begin{cases} 1, & P_{ij} \\ 0, & 1 - P_{ij} \end{cases} \quad (1) \quad (\text{Source: Maddala, 1986})$$

Where  $P_{ij}$  is the probability of voter  $i$  choosing to vote for candidate  $j$  (voting intention). Following the argument mentioned above, the probability of choosing to vote for each candidate is a function of the voter  $i$  trust in candidate  $j$ , henceforth indicated as  $T_{ij}$ . Being a binary equation suggests that the probability function follows a logistic structure.



**Figure 2.** The probability function of voter  $i$  choosing to vote for candidate  $j$   
 Source: Authors

Consequently, the probability of voter  $i$  choosing to vote for candidate  $j$  will be based on the following equation.

$$P_{ij} = \frac{e^{T_{ij}}}{1 + e^{T_{ij}}} \quad (2) \quad (\text{Source: Maddala, 1986})$$

Based on the following stochastic matrix, the overall system can be indicated based on the fact that “ $n$ ” voters are choosing between “ $m$ ” candidates.

$$\begin{bmatrix} P_{11} & \cdots & P_{1m} \\ \vdots & \ddots & \vdots \\ P_{n1} & \cdots & P_{nm} \end{bmatrix} \quad (3) \quad (\text{Source : Maddala, 1986})$$

Where each row indicates the probability of the voter voting for each candidate. The candidates act as substitutes for the voter. Therefore, the summation of each row ( $\sum_{j=1}^m P_{ij}$ ) equals 1. On the other hand, the columns indicate the probabilities of each voter choosing to vote for a certain candidate. Thus, the probability of all the candidates voting for candidate  $j$  ( $P_j$ ) equals to  $\prod_{i=1}^n P_{ij}$ . Consequently, the probability of candidate  $j$  being chosen as a function of candidates’ trust will be as follows.

$$P_j = \frac{e^{\sum_{i=1}^n T_{ij}}}{1 + e^{\sum_{i=1}^n T_{ij}} + \sum_{i=1}^n e^{T_{ij}} + \sum_i \sum_k e^{T_{ij} + T_{kj}} | i \neq k} \quad (4) \quad (\text{Source : Maddala, 1986})$$

## Literature review and hypotheses development

This part elaborates on each variable’s role in this research: social media marketing, electronic word of mouth, Candidate’s image, religious beliefs, and voting intention. These variables have been chosen based on the previous studies after reviewing different research endeavours on social media marketing (Kim and Ko, 2010; Zhu and Chen, 2015; Bernritter et al., 2016; Popp and Woratschek, 2016), voting intention

(Chuchu, 2015; Spackman and Larsen, 2017; Bukari et al., 2022), and Muslim majority states (Eulau et al., 2015; Morgan et al., 2010) and choosing the standard variables in said studies. Choosing too many variables would decrease the estimations' degree of freedom drastically. Therefore, the study includes the common factors according to the specific conditions of the population.

### ***Election and 2019 Indonesia general election***

An election is an official procedure of choosing an individual for public office or accepting or rejecting a political proposition by democracy through voting (Eulau *et al.*, 2015). An election is among the methods for choosing agents for different decision-making positions. They could be executive, legislative, or judicial. Furthermore, depending on the situation, they could be local, regional, national, or even international.

The Indonesian General Elections Commission (KPU) (2018) organized a general election on April 17<sup>th</sup>, 2019. This election was the first time in Indonesia's history when on the same day, the eligible voters elected the president, the vice-president, the members of the People's Consultative Assembly, and the members of the legislative and local representative councils. More than 190 million Indonesians took part in this historical and political milestone.

There were two candidates for the presidential election, and sixteen parties participated in the 2019 Indonesian general election. In September 2018, candidates' nominations for the general election, including the presidential election, were finalized. The campaign ran from October 13<sup>th</sup>, 2018, to April 13<sup>th</sup>, 2019, followed by an 'election silence' during the last three days ahead of the voting day.

The one in April 2019 was the fourth presidential election in Indonesia. The result comes from a direct and straightforward majority system. Based on the Indonesian government's official website, the country's election follows the provisions of Article 465 of Law Number 7 of 2017 on Election. Galih (2017) stated that the General Elections Commission (KPU) is a legally independent government agency responsible for organizing elections. According to the General Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu in Indonesian, 2017), this agency has the task and responsibility to monitor the vote. Bawaslu is also authorized to rule on any violations of the election regulations. (For instance, vote-buying and administrative errors).

### ***Political relationship marketing***

Since the late 1960s, classical marketing tools have gradually been applied in areas other than business. Kotler's (1972) "generic concept of marketing" encompasses all exchanges of values between two parties, turning conventional campaigning into sophisticated marketing activities. The former is seen as merely the art of attracting voters by intuition, whereas the latter is science in action (Kotler, 1982). Since then, political marketing has been typically characterized by sophisticated marketing strategies and activities to obtain the electorate's support (Parsons and Rowling 2015). Notwithstanding, there has been a paradigm shift in recent years caused by technological advances in mass communication and changing public expectations regarding political participation (Jackson and Lilleker 2009). As such, voters, like consumers of business products, tend to avoid exposure to mass advertisements and are instead increasingly looking for more authentic forms of political engagement.



1  
2  
3 Dalton (2008) and Welzel (2013), among others, argue that the social and political  
4 modernization of advanced capitalist societies has systematically altered the distribution  
5 of citizenship norms. More specifically, education and diversified knowledge in advanced  
6 societies have enabled individuals to make better-informed choices in life. This cognitive  
7 empowerment has fundamentally transferred individual notions of citizenship from being  
8 allegiant (duty-based) to being assertive (engaged) (Inglehart and Welzel, 2005; Dalton,  
9 2008). Allegiant citizens restrict their political lives to routinized, conventional forms of  
10 political activities. In contrast, assertive citizens are involved in a less conventional but  
11 more authentic expression of political participation, such as petitioning, protests, strikes  
12 and boycotts (Dalton, 2008: 81). Technological advances and new patterns of mass  
13 communication have accelerated this process of diversifying citizenship norms. Social  
14 media, in particular, have offered ample opportunities for assertive citizens (as well as  
15 candidates) to interact with others directly, bypassing the gatekeepers of traditional media  
16 outlets (Cogburn and Espinoza-Vasquez, 2011).  
17  
18  
19

20 The changing environment has brought about a greater emphasis on authentic  
21 relationship marketing, thus challenging political parties' conventional political  
22 marketing practices with their top-down, elite-to-mass style of political engagement with  
23 the electorate (Jackson and Lilleker 2009). The campaigns of Barack Obama and Donald  
24 Trump exemplify the effectiveness and importance of this new mode of political  
25 communication to establish authentic relationships with citizens.  
26  
27

28 In more recent years, political relationship marketing has evolved considerably.  
29 Different scholars have expanded on the matter elaborately in their studies. For instance,  
30 Dean et al. (2014) examine how image management is intertwined with political  
31 relationship marketing. Furthermore, Parsons and Rowlin (2015) take a more detailed job  
32 at the matter and study the stakeholders involved in political relationship marketing; and  
33 how said stakeholders could be targeted and observed. In addition, Johanse (2016) is  
34 among those who argue the potential in political relationship marketing for managing  
35 voters' participation and improving the quality of their participation. Finally, more recent  
36 studies such as Hughes (2018) and Lees-Marshment (2019), discuss how this concept  
37 provides a platform for direct marketing and a two-way relationship via developing  
38 political messages.  
39  
40

### 41 *Social media and social media marketing factors*

42  
43

44 Social media applications have become an essential part of daily life, changing  
45 the way of interpersonal interaction and challenging conventional forms of customer  
46 relationship management (Zhu and Chen, 2015). Social media platforms, such as  
47 Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, Line and WeChat, have become indispensable for a  
48 growing number of industries to conduct commercial activities and communicate  
49 effectively with target audiences (Chang et al., 2015). Recent research has highlighted  
50 the role of social media in enhancing brand awareness, brand equity and commercial  
51 transactions (Bernritter et al., 2016; Popp and Woratschek, 2016) and its importance in  
52 increasing public participation in the marketing process (Kumar et al., 2016).  
53  
54

55 Social media have also fundamentally changed how businesses communicate with  
56 current and potential customers. They have sophisticated relationship marketing and also  
57 outperformed conventional marketing strategies. In recent years, the traditional marketing  
58 concept of aggressively presenting products to reach the masses has been supplanted by  
59 a pull approach to entice consumers into conversations to build long-term relationships  
60

(Parsons and Rowling, 2015). Schulz (2016) notes that after decades of excessive advertisements on TV, in print and online media, consumers are exhausted and avoid exposure to any form of advertisements. Instead, successful marketing campaigns offer the general public opportunities to voice their opinion. Memorable encounters with real people in real-life situations (word of mouth) on social media platforms have proven more effective than excessively utilizing conventional advertising tools (Schulz 2016).

The rise of social media is indicative of the emergence of novel forms of media that facilitate active participation (Boyd and Ellison, 2007; Manning, 2014). Everyday people use them to communicate their tastes and opinions. They are helpful in gathering data and as an effective medium for sharing that data (Zhao and Collier, 2016). Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, and Instagram are currently the most widely used social networking platforms (Adobe Spark, 2021; Statista, 2021c).

Social media is an excellent tool for news dispersion and digital marketing (Zhao and Collier, 2016). Media marketing has been growing fast because of the high market demand and a crucial role in people's daily routines. The ease of access to information they provide makes social media a desirable substitute for traditional marketing methods such as TV ads or billboards (Cravens and Piercy, 2009). In other words, marketing strategies have expanded from traditional media planning, such as advertisements on television and radio, and in newspapers, to digital media marketing, such as the Internet or web-based advertisements, including social media (Wertime and Fenwick, 2008). Social media can also provide firms with crucial information regarding consumers' preferences and behaviour. That is because customers often use social networking to make decisions about particular products or services (Filo *et al.*, 2015).

In their study of luxury fashion brands, Kim and Ko (2010) discovered that social media marketing activities consist of five constructs: entertainment, trendiness, word of mouth, interaction, and customization. This research discusses the Indonesian election's social media marketing activities through a new framework proposed by Kim and Ko (2010). Political candidates in recent studies have been considered as a form of product (Fossen, 2019). Moreover, since the latter half of the 2010s political campaigns have gained a considerable social media aspect (Safiullah *et al.*, 2017; Okan *et al.*, 2014; Vesnic-Alujevic, 2013; Baines *et al.*, 2002; Husnal'Az'Hari, 2022). Therefore, in turn, social media marketing is a critical factor in studying the developments of political marketing.

Entertainment is perceived as the output of fun, interesting, and playful social media experiences (Bates and Ferri, 2010; Godey *et al.*, 2016). According to Park *et al.* (2009), entertainment is included in social media to enhance users' participation. Moreover, Song *et al.* (2014) discovered that the entertainment experience boosts the brand or organization's value through consumers' perception.

Daugherty *et al.* (2008) remarked that social interaction significantly affects user-created content. Further, social networking sites provide a desirable platform for exchanging ideas and conducting debates (Daugherty *et al.*, 2008; Godey *et al.*, 2016; Jiang *et al.*, 2010). Social networking websites' intensive interactions can motivate individuals to change their purchasing intention (Clark and Phillips Melancon, 2013). Social media can also increase an individual's trust in the organization (Jakic *et al.*, 2017). To that end, Kaplan and Haenlein (2010) discovered that feedback and interaction are essential aspects of all social media.

1  
2  
3 By providing quick access to fresh content and conversation starters, social media  
4 have rapidly replaced traditional search engines as the go-to resource for finding just  
5 about anything (Godey et al., 2016; Naaman et al., 2011). Mangold and Faulds (2009)  
6 state that users prefer corporate-supported correspondence over traditional promotion  
7 activities and view various social media as credible evidence sources. The same  
8 behaviour is also true when deciding which political candidate to vote for, and it can help  
9 voters become more knowledgeable about the issues at stake in elections. The voters are  
10 kept up to date on the party's current initiatives and plans. According to research by Song  
11 et al. (2017), a brand's ability to share trending content is crucial, as it can significantly  
12 boost consumer engagement.  
13  
14

15  
16 Zhu and Chen (2015) described customization as the users' act of posting  
17 messages on a social networking website. Further, they categorized posts into two types  
18 depending on the customization level, distinguishing the customized broadcast and  
19 message. The customized broadcast contains information or content that targets all  
20 interested users (for instance, tweets on Twitter). On the other hand, the customized  
21 message targets a particular user or group (for instance, postings on Facebook). Yahia et  
22 al. (2018) discovered that individuals tend to be somewhat picky in the information they  
23 consume. Furthermore, Godey et al. (2016) discovered that social media marketing  
24 customization is quite convenient, especially for consumers with specified tastes.  
25  
26

27 Online communication tools, such as social media, can affect how people engage  
28 and share their experiences through eWOM (Zhang et al., 2017). According to Zhang et  
29 al. (2017), eWOM is a particularly significant component of current communication  
30 tools. Active social media users are more likely to exchange their opinions or experiences  
31 and finalize their decision-making process by engaging in eWOM positively and  
32 negatively (Zhang et al., 2017). On the other hand, Kim and Ko (2012) revealed in their  
33 study that it is vital for the customer to share opinions and information on social media.  
34 Therefore, this study hypothesizes that:  
35  
36

37 *H1: SMM has a significant positive effect on eWOM*  
38

39 Wang et al. (2015), taking a publishing company's use of Facebook as a case  
40 study, discovered that social media marketing positively impacted the company's brand  
41 image. Moreover, other studies found that social media marketing significantly affects  
42 the organization's brand image (Perera and Perera, 2016; Seo and Park, 2018).  
43 Consequently, this study proposes a positive relationship between social media marketing  
44 and a person's image. Farrag and Shamma (2014) confirmed that media significantly  
45 delivered a political brand to voters. Also, there was an extensive impact when political  
46 candidates or parties used social media. Hence, it is hypothesized that:  
47  
48

49 *H2: SMM has a significant positive effect on CI*  
50

51 Hjarvard (2011) found that when media become producers and suppliers of  
52 religious substance, not only do the artistic, institutional, and technical qualities of the  
53 media impact religion's boundaries but also. They affect how users would interact with  
54 religion. Media may become a data source about religion. They might create virtual  
55 worlds and narratives which welcome individuals to have encounters with religious-like  
56 characters. On the other hand, social media could provide a platform for exchanges and  
57 community building between individuals with similar religious beliefs.  
58  
59  
60



1  
2  
3 Furthermore, according to Cheong et al. (2012), there is a complex relationship  
4 between digital media and religiosity on Web 2.0. Coman and Coman (2017) argued that  
5 the new media could be the space to transform the content of specific religions, rites, and  
6 beliefs. Social media could provide an extra benefit since they allow believers and non-  
7 believers to engage in easy interactions with each other by giving them such a platform.  
8 Hence, it is hypothesized that:  
9

10  
11 *H3: SMM has a significant positive effect on RB*  
12

### 13 ***Electronic word of mouth (eWOM)*** 14

15  
16 eWOM is an effective limitless tool for sharing information with one's peers  
17 (Hudson et al., 2015; Kim and Ko, 2012). According to Chu and Kim (2011), eWOM on  
18 social media is divided into three underlying behavioural motives: opinion-seeking,  
19 giving, and passing. As for decision-making, users with higher opinion-seeking behaviour  
20 are more likely to seek information and guidance from other users. Moreover, users with  
21 higher opinion-giving behaviour have the most significant impact on consumers'  
22 behaviour and attitudes. They are also defined as opinion leaders.  
23  
24

25  
26 Social media has an online electronic aspect. Contrary to previous forms of  
27 socializing in person, which took considerable time to form, social media allows users to  
28 instantly transform their thoughts and opinions to others on a massive scale. Users of  
29 social network services tend to use said platforms to spread their thoughts and feelings  
30 about different topics. According to Kamtarin (2012), word of mouth is an exchange of  
31 spoken and written words conveying personal experience. Therefore, social media  
32 marketing through electronic word of mouth is defined as the actions performed by  
33 individuals who deliver information regarding a specific brand and upload content on  
34 social media (Godey et al., 2016).  
35

36  
37 Electronic word of mouth is the same as word of mouth in many aspects.  
38 However, it is also quite different from the regular word of mouth in many ways. A  
39 regular word of mouth takes time to form the snow globe regarding a concept (Gelper  
40 et al., 2018). This gives time for the recipients to pay more profound attention to what they  
41 hear. On the other hand, electronic word of mouth takes much less time to form even  
42 more giant snow globs of data and information (Donthu, et al., 2021). This raises the risk  
43 of biased information, fake news, and distracting campaigns (Chu and Chen, 2019;  
44 Donthu et al., 2021; Chih et al., 2020). Therefore, electronic word of mouth becomes a  
45 crucial part of a reliable study on social media marketing. More so in the case of political  
46 marketing.  
47  
48

49  
50 Kim and Ko (2010) found that word of mouth positively affected the intention to  
51 purchase. Sharing opinions and information between consumers on social media is  
52 essential (Chang and Dong, 2014; Kim and Ko, 2010). When engaged in casual  
53 interaction with others and with brands, consumers could make the intention to purchase.  
54 Based on the same argument, the same platform could affect voting intentions.  
55 Considering the candidate as a product and the act of voting the same as the act of  
56 purchasing, voters could form their voting intention through eWOM. Therefore, it is  
57 hypothesized that:  
58

59 *H4: eWOM has a significant positive effect on VI*  
60

### ***Candidate's image***

Based on numerous studies, the candidate's image is among the key factors forming the intention to vote. A candidate's image has been defined as the depiction of the candidate's personality traits in advertisements or media (Kinder, 1994; King, 1997; Newman and Sheth, 1985; Pancer et al., 2002). The essential traits of a candidate include acumen, ethics, authority, trustworthiness, control, and capability. Choosing a political representative is much like choosing a piece of clothing in a big store. In the end, what matters the most is the voter's perception of the candidate, i.e., the candidate's image.

There were two presidential candidates in the past election in Indonesia; Joko Widodo, known as Jokowi, and Prabowo Subianto. Jokowi chose Ma'ruf Amin as his running mate and Sandiaga Uno was Prabowo's. The voters perceived Jokowi as a moderate leader with a clear vision to increase infrastructure developments, education and health facilities, especially in rural areas. However, Prabowo was known for his conservative leadership style, and with his military background, he represented Indonesia's earlier authoritarianism. Ma'ruf Amin was a Muslim cleric who led Indonesia's most prominent Muslim council. Ma'ruf was expected to help Jokowi get the more traditional, conservative, and rural voters. Sandiaga Uno was a businessman and investor who leaned closer to Indonesia's Muslim middle class. Sandiaga was expected to get potential voters from urban areas (Rahn and Spross, 2019).

Newman and Sheth (1985) discovered seven factors affecting voting intention, among the most important factors being a candidate's image. Other studies also confirmed that the candidate's image significantly affects voting intention (Cwalina et al., 2010; Farrag and Shamma, 2014). Therefore, it is supposed that:

*H5: CI has a significant positive effect on VI*

### ***Religious beliefs***

The population under study in the present research endeavour is the Indonesian public, eligible to vote. Indonesia is among the top ten states in the world where the most significant number of Muslims reside.<sup>2</sup> Being among the world's major religions, Islam requires its followers to follow various daily routines to the T. This makes religious beliefs a considerable part of almost every action each Indonesian makes, individual or social. Consequently, religious beliefs are considered one of the key variables in this study.

Plante and Boccaccini (1997) defined religious beliefs as a group and collection of practices, values, and beliefs taught by a spiritual leader. In the marketing sector, Fam et al. (2004) gave global marketers advice that they should spend more effort and time to understand the resources and religious beliefs when entering a new market. They should consider and never underestimate the influence of a society's religion on the value systems and its impact on marketing. Singhapakdi et al. (2013) reported in their study that the dimensions of religiosity significantly impact marketing managers' ethical intentions. The result revealed that individuals with a higher degree of intrinsic religiosity

---

<sup>2</sup> World population review, <https://worldpopulationreview.com/country-rankings/muslim-majority-countries>

would gravitate to be more ethical in their intentions than individuals with a higher degree of extrinsic religiosity.

According to former studies, religious beliefs significantly influence individuals' behaviour and attitude (Abu-Alhaija et al., 2018; Kuzma and Kuzma, 2009). Fam *et al.* (2004) confirmed that religious beliefs impact particularly controversial products and social or political groups. Fastnow et al. (1999) found that religion significantly influences voting behaviour. They also found that religion's impact, including the ideologies of several religious groups on social issues, has changed over time. Wald *et al.* (2005) discovered that the candidate and political party who mentioned and stressed their religious beliefs and ideologies could win the citizens' sympathy and vote during the elections. Therefore, it is supposed that:

*H6: RB has a significant positive effect on VI*

### ***Voting intention***

Chuchu (2015) stated that voting intention turns out to be a global issue regarding its success and effectiveness in political elections. Farrag and Shamma (2014) stated that voting intentions are the voter's behavioural intentions to vote in government elections. Lam and Hsu (2006) defined intention as a person's premeditated or anticipated future behaviour. They also defined the intention as a person's intention not to vote in an upcoming election and used it in the context of their study.

Social media marketing positively affects purchase intention (Gautam and Sharma, 2017). The consumer relationship plays a significant role in affecting consumers' luxury fashion brands' purchase intention. Spackman and Larsen (2017) also argue that there is a significant correlation between social media marketing and purchase intention. Based on their results, the entertaining and interactive marketing via Facebook, which followers mostly share, could establish a closer relationship between students and educational institutions, consequently increasing the enrolment intention. This study proposes a positive relationship between social media marketing and voting intention. Farrag and Shamma (2014) confirmed that media have a significant role in delivering the political brand to the voters, and there was an extensive impact when political candidates or parties used social media. Therefore, it is hypothesized that:

*H7: SMM has a significant positive effect on VI*

### ***The mediating effect of eWOM, CI, and RB on VI***

This study recommends electronic word of mouth as a mediating variable. This finding is supported by numerous research and experts in prior studies, which discovered that electronic word of mouth could be a good mediator and makes avoiding overlapping with other variables possible (Farrag and Shamma, 2014; Septiari, 2018; Ozturk and Coban, 2019). Then, there are also prior studies which discovered that there are factors affecting voting intention with a similar definition and can be a part of the electronic word of mouth, such as friends and family influence, social imagery, and policy discussions (Farrag and Shamma, 2014). Consequently, it is hypothesized that:

*H8: eWOM mediates the effect of SMM on VI*

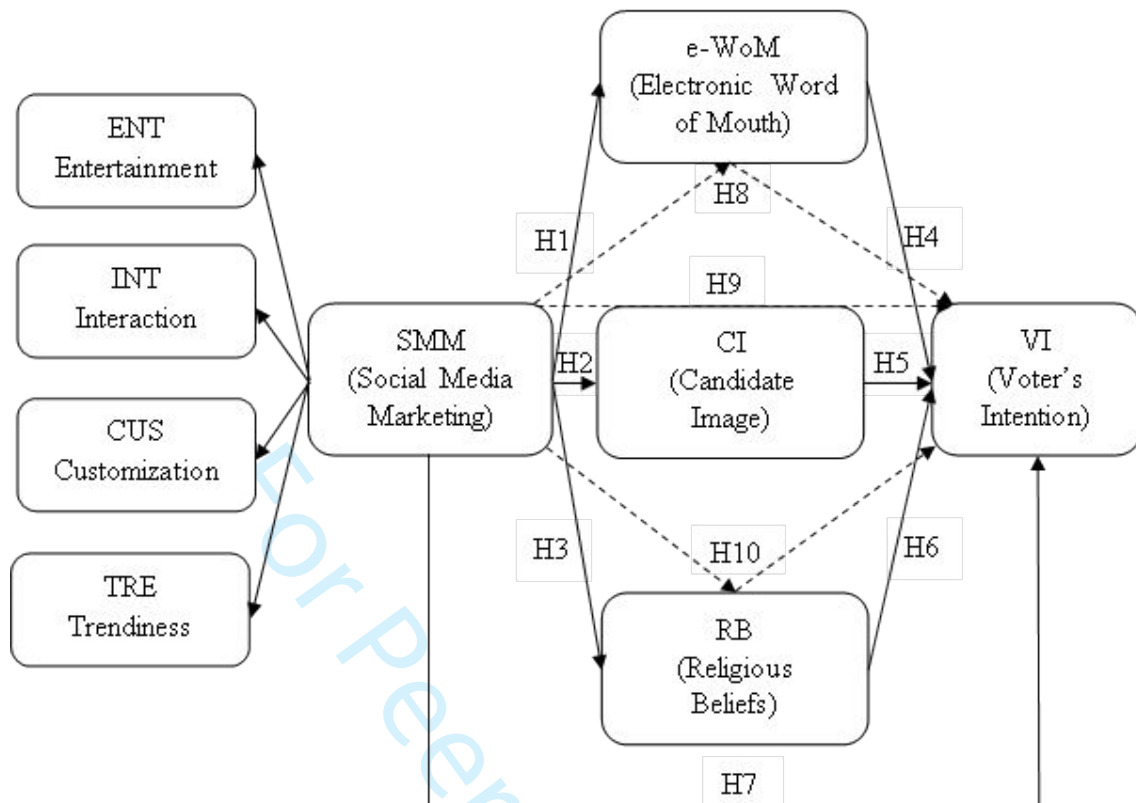
Moreover, this study proposes that the Candidate's image also acts as a significant mediator toward the influence of social media marketing on voting intention. The Candidate's image variable is essentially connected to social media marketing and voting intention. Hultman et al. (2019) stated that the better interaction, delivered content, credibility, and electronic word of mouth included in social media marketing, the more strongly it influenced the candidate's image, while that image was also able to cause better voting intention. Moreover, Bright et al. (2019) argued that using social media as a marketing tool in a campaign could broadly enhance the interaction between the candidate and the voters, leading to better recognition of the candidate's name and image. In addition, Julina et al. (2015) highlighted that the Candidate's image is an integral part of the campaign strategy that enables the candidate to gain more voters and voting intention. Based on all this, we can hypothesize that the Candidate's image is potentially mediating the relationship between social media marketing and voting intention. Therefore, it is hypothesized that:

*H9: CI mediates the effect of SMM on VI*

Furthermore, the present study suggests religious beliefs as an effective mediator for the influence of social media marketing on voting intention. Religious beliefs significantly influence every aspect of Indonesian life, making it a key variable when studying voting intention and other factors affecting it. Permani (2011) discovered that the government enthusiastically engages with religion and supports contributions from numerous religious organizations to expand social investment in Indonesia. This discovery suggests that religious values are considered essential and assimilated on a higher level in several parts of Indonesian life.

Furthermore, Ebbighausen (2019) argued that religious beliefs significantly shape the current political situation. Political agents have used religious beliefs mainly for political campaigning. In the last presidential election in Indonesia, political Islam played a dominant role in the electoral campaign. Experts discovered that young voters who make the cut mostly tend to support conservative Islam (Ebbighausen, 2019). As mentioned, there were two candidates in the 2019 Indonesian presidential election, Joko Widodo (known as Jokowi) and Prabowo Subianto. Prabowo criticized Jokowi for not being sufficiently Islamic and accused him of not being capable of reciting the Quran correctly in Arabic. Consequently, Jokowi's electoral team had to remedy this situation with the claim that Jokowi attended a Muslim school to strengthen Jokowi's religious reputation. Based on this line of argument, it is hypothesized that:

*H10: RB mediates the effect of SMM on VI*



**Figure 3.** The research conceptual framework and hypotheses

**Source.** Researchers' design.

**Note.** The dashed lines are indicative of mediation effects

## Methodology

### *Scale operationalization*

This study gathers information based on the previous literature review with some modifications to fit the context of the study, including Kim and Ko (2010), Godey et al. (2016), Newman and Sheth (1985), Plante and Boccaccini (1997), Glynn et al. (2009), and Duffett (2017). Afterwards, via the application of confirmatory and exploratory factor analysis, the dataset is examined, and the hypotheses are tested. There are thirteen (13) items to measure social media marketing, three (3) items to measure electronic word of mouth, five (5) items to measure the Candidate's image, four (4) items to measure religious beliefs, and four (4) items to measure voting intention. This survey uses the five-point Likert Scale, ranging from 1 "strongly disagree" to 5 "strongly agree."

### *Data collection*

This study uses a questionnaire, convenience and snowball sampling for its primary data collection. The survey was distributed via online questionnaires (Google form). In this study, the respondents are Indonesians who use social media and have electoral rights. The questionnaires were provided in two versions, written in English (the original) and in Bahasa Indonesia (the translated).



The present research is based on data which is gathered via the distribution of a standardized questionnaire. Thus, there is a first need to choose an efficient sample size with a small enough error margin to adequately represent the population adequately Cochran's formula determines the optimal size of a study's sample by looking at the demographics of the whole population, which is a valuable tool for this purpose. The majority (74%) of Indonesia's 273.5 million residents are eligible to vote in the country's presidential election. Therefore, considering this equation:

$$n = \frac{Z^2 pq}{e^2} \quad (4)$$

Source: (Cochran, 1940)

The sample size can be estimated with a 95% degree of confidence as follows.

$$n = \frac{(1.96)^2(0.741)(0.259)}{(0.05)^2} \approx 295$$

Rather than taking any chances, 396 online questionnaires were randomly distributed and collected.

### ***Data analysis result***

This section covers the empirical side of the study. The data are examined via the application of Structural Equation Models. This somewhat popular method (Tarka, 2018) is conducted using the AMOS extension of SPSS 26.

### ***Demographic results***

Table 1 provides a more comprehensive picture of the sample. 43.7% of them are male, and 56.3% are female. The respondents' ages varied between 17 and 60 years old; most were 22-26 years (43.9%). Meanwhile, most respondents had a bachelor's degree level as their highest education level (64.9%). Over half of the total respondents (53.6%) are employees. More than two-thirds of the respondents (70.2%) regard themselves as Muslims in terms of religion. In terms of social media, all respondents use social media (100%), and most respondents (58.3%) use Instagram more often than other social media. In 2019 during the presidential election, 154 million people voted out of 192.8 registered voters (JakartaGlobe, 2019), and 166.1 million were active social media users (Statistica, 2021). In other words, 80 per cent of registered voters participated in the election, and 60 per cent of the country was active social media users.

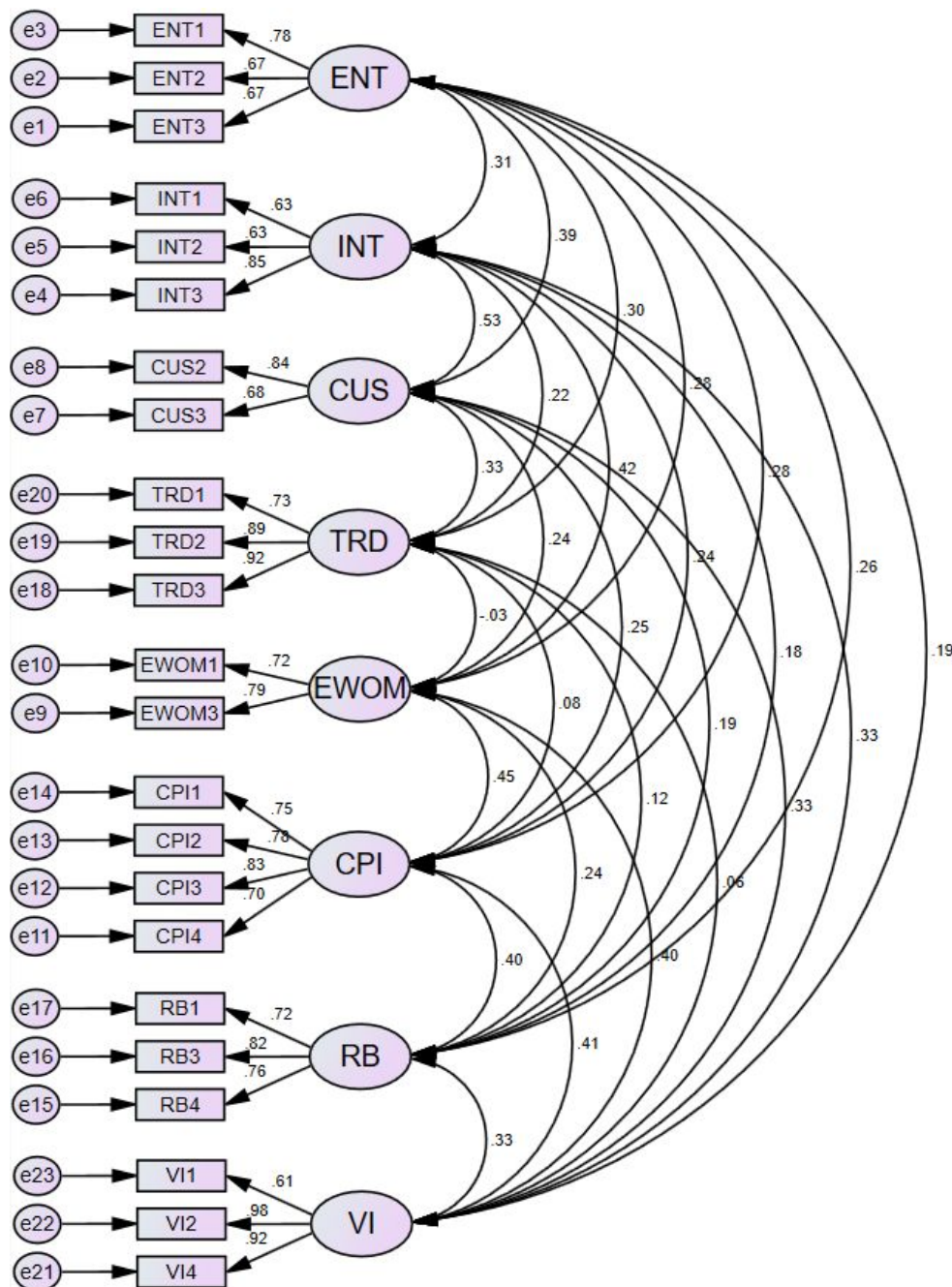
**Table 1.** Demographic characteristics (Source: Researchers Calculations)

Profile	Categories	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Gender	Male	173	43.7
	Female	223	56.3
	<b>Total</b>	<b>396</b>	<b>100</b>
Age	17-21	82	20.7

		22-26	174	43.9
		27-31	97	24.5
		32-37	24	6.1
		Above 38	19	4.8
		<b>Total</b>	<b>396</b>	<b>100</b>
	Education Level	High School/Equal	82	20.7
		Bachelor's Degree	257	64.9
		Master's Degree	53	13.3
		Doctorate's Degree	4	1.1
		<b>Total</b>	<b>396</b>	<b>100</b>
	Employment Status	Employed	212	53.6
		Not Employed	3	0.8
		Self-Employed	35	8.8
		Homemaker	29	7.3
		Student	117	29.5
		<b>Total</b>	<b>396</b>	<b>100</b>
	Religion	Muslim	278	70.2
		Protestant	48	12.1
		Catholic	39	9.8
		Buddhism	21	5.3
		Hinduism	2	0.5
		Confucianism	8	2.1
		<b>Total</b>	<b>396</b>	<b>100</b>
	Most Often Used Social Media	Facebook	86	21.7
		Instagram	231	58.3
		YouTube	63	15.9
		Twitter	14	3.5
		Blogger	2	0.6
		<b>Total</b>	<b>396</b>	<b>100</b>

### *Measurement model and scale accuracy testing*

The first analysis consists of an exploratory factor analysis (EFA) to measure the variables' loading and assess the validity of the measurement items in this study. Eight variables were extracted, consisting of 4 independent variables (ENT, INT, CUS and TRD), three mediating variables (eWOM, CI and RB), and one dependent variable (VI). Figure 3 shows the study's measurement model.



**Figure 4.** Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA) Framework  
**Source:** Researchers Estimates, AMOS output

The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin test (KMO) was 0.80 ( $P < 0.00$ ), with a total variance extracted of 74.72%, which indicates an adequate and efficient sample structure. Table 2 provides the detailed EFA's results that consist of component, mean, SD, variance extracted explained, and total KMO and variance extracted for overall variable items. The most common test used to determine the reliability or internal consistency of a set of test items is Cronbach Alpha (Tavakol and Dennick, 2011). The values of Cronbach Alpha indicate the reliability of the study. According to George and Mallery (2003), the common rules that are generally accepted in measurement for Cronbach's Alpha value are:  $>.9$  is excellent,  $>.8$  is good,  $>.7$  is acceptable,  $>.6$  is questionable,  $>.5$  is poor, and  $<.5$  is unacceptable.

**Table 2.** Factor loadings, instrument validity, and instrument reliability measures (Source: Researchers Calculations)

Variables	Items	EFA Loading	CFA Loading	Mean	SD	Cronbach's Alpha ( $\alpha$ )	Variance Extracted Explained
ENT	ENT1	0.81	0.78	4.05	0.87	0.75	66.57
	ENT2	0.81	0.67	4.02	0.77		
	ENT3	0.75	0.67	4.13	0.89		
INT	INT1	0.79	0.63	4.29	0.78	0.75	66.26
	INT2	0.77	0.63	4.06	0.75		
	INT3	0.78	0.85	4.18	0.82		
CUS	CUS2	0.80	0.84	4.16	0.81	0.73	78.69
	CUS3	0.85	0.68	4.22	0.82		
TRD	TRD1	0.85	0.73	3.87	0.98	0.88	81.09
	TRD2	0.90	0.89	3.86	1.05		
	TRD3	0.90	0.92	3.98	1.01		
eWOM	EWOM1	0.84	0.72	4.17	0.77	0.73	78.50
	EWOM3	0.80	0.79	4.16	0.74		
CI	CI1	0.79	0.75	4.13	0.83	0.85	68.98
	CI2	0.82	0.83	4.21	0.77		
	CI3	0.83	0.70	4.21	0.77		
	CI4	0.75	0.78	4.26	0.76		
RB	RB1	0.82	0.72	4.41	0.67	0.81	72.50
	RB3	0.86	0.82	4.41	0.66		
	RB4	0.80	0.76	4.37	0.70		
VI	VI1	0.69	0.61	4.14	0.79	0.86	78.90
	VI2	0.92	0.98	4.11	0.76		
	VI4	0.89	0.92	4.14	0.71		
Instrument Total		KMO				0.80	

**Note(s):** Items details for each construct: ENT-About the election, ENT1: the information on social media is interesting. ENT2: the information on social media is exciting. ENT3: it is enjoyable to get information through social media INT-Social media helps. INT1: information sharing with others. INT2: helps to give and to receive information about the election. INT3: to express my opinion to others. CUST-Social media and candidates. CUS2: The candidates' social media provide customized services. CUS3: I can access the information through social media about my candidates anytime and everywhere. TRD-Candidates' social media. TRD1: share information that is up to date. TRD2: provide the latest information and issues. TRD3: follow the current trend. eWOM: Through social media, I would like to. EWOM1: pass out information about the candidates/parties and their issues to my friends. EWOM3: the opinions of the candidates and their issues with my acquaintances. CI-My candidate. CI1: is trustworthy. CI2: is stable. CI3: has high integrity. CI4: is articulate. RB-My religion/faith. RB1: is important to me. RB3: provides a meaning/purpose in my life. RB4: is a source of comfort. VI-Because of social media. VI1: I voted in the past election. VI2: I voted as often as possible in the past. VI4: I am willing to participate in the next election.

Convergent validity safeguards the validity of the relations between the variables. Discriminant validity ensures the absence of unreliable connections. According to Hair et al. (2010), specific parameters are commonly used to verify validity and reliability. The overall results show that the validity and reliability of all components used in this study are in the acceptable range (Blankart, 2012; Mosehpour et al., 2017), as shown in Table 3. Moreover, there is the risk of collinearity between the two main control variables, CI and RB. However, as table 3 indicates, the correlation between CI and RB is less than 0.5, indicating a weak enough correlation. In other words, the results do not indicate the issue of multicollinearity between the two variables. At the extreme, there is a mild collinearity between the two variables which is not uncommon in statistical studies (Vanhove, 2021).

**Table 3.** Test of Discriminant Validity, Convergent Validity, and Composite Reliability

	CR	AVE	MSV	Max r	ENT	INT	CUS	TRD	E-W	CI	RB	VI
ENT	0.75	0.50	0.154	0.393	<b>0.709</b>							
INT	0.75	0.51	0.279	0.528	0.310	<b>0.713</b>						
CUS	0.74	0.59	0.279	0.528	0.393	0.528	<b>0.766</b>					
TRD	0.89	0.73	0.107	0.327	0.302	0.216	0.327	<b>0.851</b>				
E-W	0.73	0.57	0.204	0.452	0.283	0.424	0.240	0.031	<b>0.756</b>			
CI	0.85	0.59	0.204	0.452	0.275	0.235	0.249	0.079	0.452	<b>0.767</b>		
RB	0.81	0.59	0.162	0.410	0.216	0.176	0.190	0.124	0.240	0.403	<b>0.769</b>	
VI	0.88	0.72	0.168	0.410	0.192	0.331	0.327	0.056	0.401	0.410	0.326	<b>0.850</b>

**Note:** CR > 0.7; AVE > 0.5; MSV < AVE;  $\sqrt{\text{AVE}} > \text{Max } r$ ,  $\sqrt{\text{AVE}}$  is **bold face diagonal**

A confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA) procedure is conducted to ensure the convergent validity of the proposed framework model's measurement items by checking the fit indices to examine the model fit. Table 4 presents the detailed results of the CFA model analysis with overall achieving minimum standards values. The proposed model framework has a good level of fit:  $X^2/df = 1.89$ , ( $p < 0.001$ ), Goodness of Fit Index (GFI) = 0.93, Comparative Fit Index (CFI) = 0.96, Tucker-Lewis Index (TLI) = 0.94, and Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA) = 0.05.

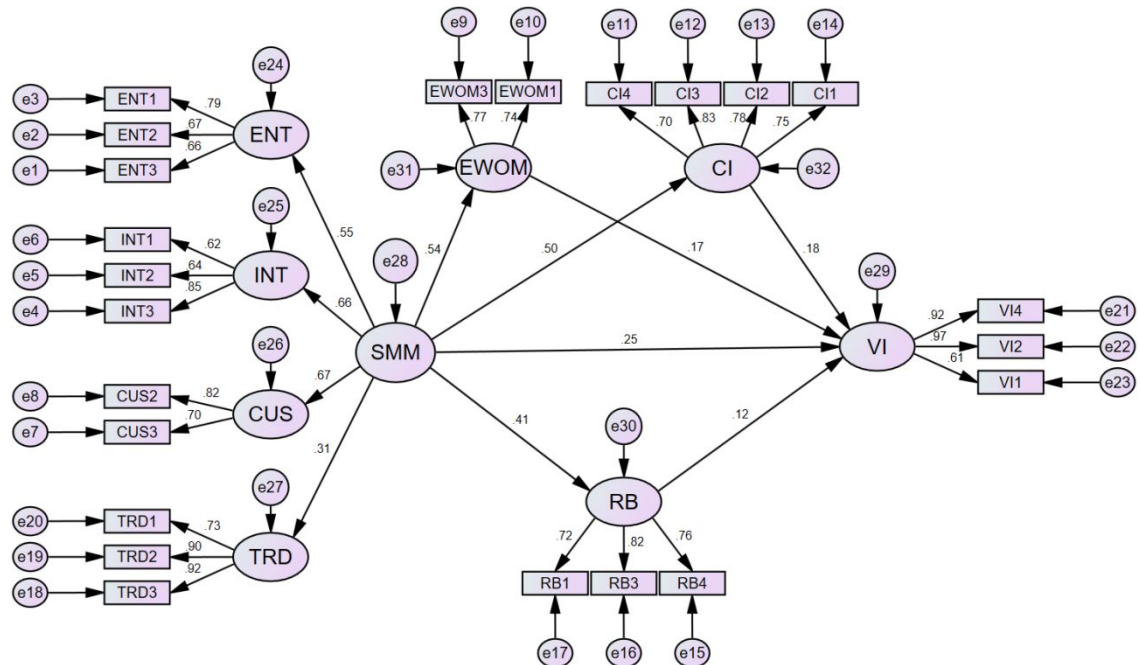
**Table 4.** Model fit indices of the measurement model (N=396)

GOF Index	Acceptable Value	CFA Model
$X^2$ (Chi-square)		381.86
df (Degree of freedom)		202
$X^2/df$	< 3	1.89
GFI	> 0.9	.93
CFI	> 0.9	.96
TLI	> 0.9	.94
RMSEA	$\leq 0.08$	.05



### Structural model and hypotheses testing

After achieving an acceptable model fit from previous analyses, the subsequent analysis relates to the structural modelling. Structural Equation Modelling is used to analyse and assess the relations and hypotheses between research variables. Figure 4 shows the structural model's design, estimated for this study's purposes.



**Figure 5.** The result of the Structural Equation Model (SEM) path analysis  
**Source.** Researcher Estimates, AMOS output

All hypotheses were supported. Table 5 presents the detailed results of the hypotheses that were formerly proposed.

**Table 5.** Result of the hypotheses testing and statistical significance

Hypotheses	Path	$\beta$	S E	P-value	Result
H1	SMM→eWOM	0.54***	0.152	0.000	Supported
H2	SMM→CI	0.50***	0.139	0.000	Supported
H3	SMM→RB	0.41***	0.105	0.000	Supported
H4	eWOM→VI	0.17*	0.083	0.022	Supported
H5	CI→VI	0.18**	0.069	0.006	Supported
H6	RB→VI	0.12*	0.080	0.038	Supported
H7	SMM→VI	0.25*	0.178	0.019	Supported

\* $p < 0.1$ , \*\* $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\* $p < 0.01$  (Source: Researchers calculations)

### Test the mediating effect of electronic word of mouth, Candidate's image, and religious beliefs

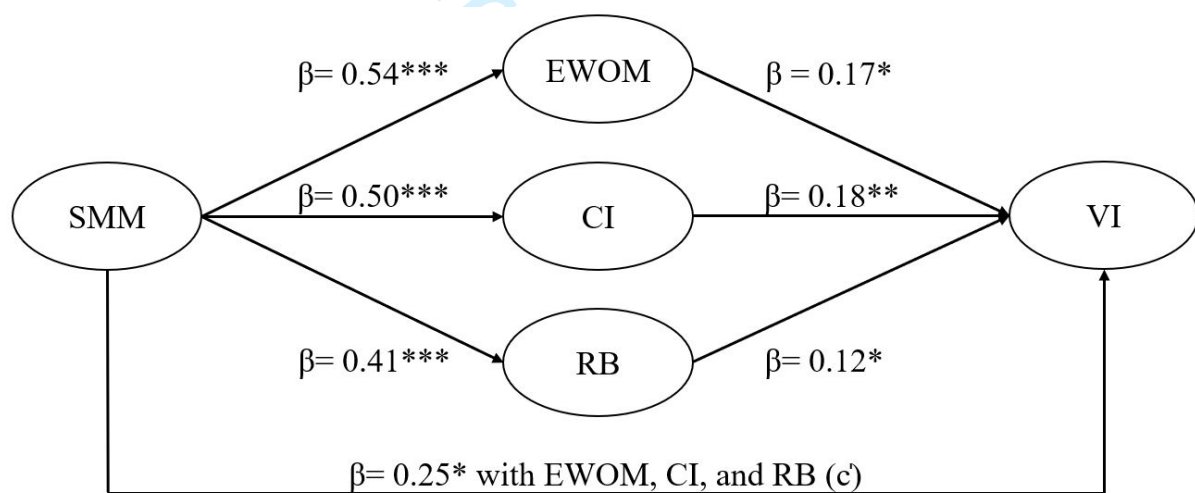
MacKinnon (2015) revealed that the mediating variable is one of the most crucial in research. Bootstrapping method is used as a resampling method, which is undoubtedly needed in mediation analysis to validate the mediation effect. This method is performed by establishing the distributions of sampling, and the purpose is to estimate the standard errors and the confidence intervals. Before the bootstrapping method, the researcher uses four steps to verify that the variable has a mediating effect (Baron and Kenny, 1986).

The fourth step of mediation analysis results indicates that three hypotheses (H8, H9, and H10) have mediating effects. As shown in Table 6, H8, H9 and H10 are concluded as partial mediation because the effect of SMM on VI in the presence of eWOM, CI, and RB as mediators is reduced in absolute size and makes the ratio of direct effect (c) smaller than the ratio of total effect (c). Moreover, Figure 1 presents a review of the outcome of the Structural Equation Model (SEM) testing with eWOM, CI, and RB as mediating variables.

**Table 6.** Result of Mediation Analysis

Path	Total	Direct	Indirect	Mediation		
SMM→(eWOM+CI+RB)→VI	0.48**	0.25*	0.23**	Supported Mediation)	(Partial Mediation)	
Hypotheses	Path	Total	Direct	Indirect	Mediation	
H8	SMM→eWOM→VI	0.41***	0.30**	0.11***	Supported Mediation)	(Partial Mediation)
H9	SMM→CI→VI	0.41***	0.31**	0.10***	Supported Mediation)	(Partial Mediation)
H10	SMM→RB→VI	0.41***	0.34**	0.07***	Supported Mediation)	(Partial Mediation)

\*p < 0.1, \*\*p < 0.05, \*\*\*p < 0.01



**Figure 6.** Structural Equation Model (Source: Authors calculation and design)

## Result and discussion

While this study's framework was constructed based on previous studies, none specifically focused on the influence of social media marketing on voting intention. The outcomes of prior studies mainly support the outcomes achieved in this research. This study analysed ten hypotheses using five variables: one independent variable (SMM), three mediating variables (eWOM, CI, and RB), and one dependent variable (VI).

The statistical analysis outcomes indicate that social media marketing significantly influences electronic word of mouth ( $\beta = 0.54***$ ). This is in accordance with the work of Zhang et al. (2017) and Kim and Ko (2012). Marketing strategies regarding the candidate's social media might impact the electronic word of mouth towards them. Therefore, candidates can plan accordingly. The fact that voters share their ideas or experience on social media as their communication tool can benefit the

1  
2  
3 candidates as well; since they can introduce or promote themselves by engaging in  
4 eWOM. Furthermore, the voters' decision making can be influenced by eWOM.  
5 However, the candidates must be aware of social media engaging in eWOM, because it  
6 can positively or negatively influence the voting intention. Therefore, it would be better  
7 to maximize only those dimensions on social media that influence the voters' eWOM in  
8 terms of positive ways.  
9

10  
11 Several studies reveal that organizations' marketing on social media has a positive  
12 effect on brand image. This study's results are also consistent with previous studies  
13 (Godey et al., 2016; Perera and Perera, 2016; Seo and Park, 2018; Wang et al., 2015).  
14 This study indicates that social media marketing significantly impacts the candidate's  
15 image ( $\beta = 0.50^{***}$ ). It suggests that the candidate's image will become more positive if  
16 they can appropriately manage their social media marketing. Media plays a significant  
17 part in presenting a particular kind of politician to the voters, and using social media by  
18 political candidates or parties has a widespread impact (Farrag and Shamma, 2014).  
19 Therefore, it would be better to be aware of the dimensions of social media which  
20 positively influence the voters' perception of the candidate's image.  
21  
22

23  
24 The results presented in this research reveal that social media marketing directly  
25 and positively impacts religious beliefs ( $\beta = 0.41^{***}$ ). This study also reported similar  
26 results from studies conducted by Coman and Coman (2017), Cheong *et al.* (2012), and  
27 Hjarvard (2011). However, this study contributes some new knowledge and information  
28 because social media marketing significantly influences religious beliefs that were not  
29 considered in previous research. So, it can be said that if candidates can efficiently control  
30 their marketing on social media, they will positively impact their religious beliefs. The  
31 prospective voters are likely to vote for the candidate who can efficiently manage the  
32 religious image through social media marketing. Hence, it is necessary to focus on those  
33 social media marketing strategies that can affect religious beliefs in a positive direction  
34 because social media can provide the benefit of allowing believers and non-believers to  
35 use the space that is given to them for easy interactions with each other (Coman and  
36 Coman, 2017).  
37  
38

39  
40 Kim and Ko (2010) discovered that word of mouth positively impacted  
41 consumers' purchase intention. This study shows that electronic word of mouth has  
42 directly and significantly impacted voting intention ( $\beta = 0.17^*$ ). Considering candidates  
43 as consumer products (Fossen et al., 2019) which suggest a similarity between voting  
44 intention and purchase intention, Kim and Ko's argument can be extended to political  
45 marketing. Therefore, it can be stated that the greater the voters' engagement in electronic  
46 word of mouth, the greater the voter's intention to vote for the candidate or electoral party  
47 in the election. In the context of purchase intention, when consumers are engaging in  
48 casual interaction and sharing opinions with others, they could make the intention to  
49 purchase a product or service (Kim and Ko, 2010).  
50  
51

52  
53 Meanwhile, this situation in the election can benefit voters because they can do  
54 word of mouth through social media to share their ideas and experiences. The voters will  
55 do the word-of-mouth campaign by spreading their ideas and opinions to their relatives  
56 or friends. The voters also can pass out information about the candidate to others. The  
57 more information they get, the closer voters will become to the candidate because voters  
58 tend to choose the more familiar candidate rather than the one they don't recognize. This  
59 activity can influence the voter's intention and affect which candidate or electoral party  
60 votes. Hence, it is important to provide an interactive site that allows voters to share a

1  
2  
3 common interest and express opinions to increase candidates' chances of obtaining their  
4 votes.  
5

6  
7 It has been confirmed that the Candidate's image directly impacts voting intention  
8 (Cwalina et al., 2010; Farrag and Shamma, 2014; Newman and Sheth, 1985). The result  
9 obtained in this study indicates a significant positive relationship between the image of a  
10 candidate and the voter's intention ( $\beta = 0.18^{**}$ ). This outcome signifies that the better the  
11 Candidate's image perception or view is in voters' minds, the higher the voters' intention  
12 to vote for them. Before making a voting decision, voters will observe and evaluate the  
13 candidate's image. An individual's chances of being elected are directly related to how  
14 voters perceive them. Voters are more likely to support and select a candidate they  
15 perceive to have a positive public persona. Because of this favourable impression, the  
16 candidate is more likely to be selected (Farrag and Shamma, 2014). These traits can range  
17 from being trustworthy to being stable or articulate or having high integrity. Therefore,  
18 the candidate must try to ensure that their image in the voters' minds is positive and that  
19 they are perceived as good, reliable, trustworthy, stable, articulate or having high  
20 integrity.  
21  
22

23  
24 Farrag and Shamma (2014) revealed that their study in Egypt about factors  
25 influencing voters' intention added religious beliefs as one essential variable to Newman  
26 and Sheth (1985). Moreover, several studies reported by Wald *et al.* (2005), Permani  
27 (2011), and Ebbighausen (2019) also showed the same consistent results. This research's  
28 statistical analysis outcomes show that religious beliefs significantly and positively  
29 influence voting intention ( $\beta = 0.12^*$ ). The candidate or political party that appropriately  
30 uses religious beliefs as a marketing tool will increase their chance to win the voters'  
31 sympathy. By winning the voters' sympathy, it can be easier for the candidate or political  
32 party to sustain a better connection with potential voters who will eventually vote for  
33 them. Religious beliefs are essential because they can affect every aspect of people's  
34 lives, including behaviour, attitudes, and preferences, especially as far as social and  
35 political ideas and groups are concerned. The voters may check and evaluate the  
36 candidate's religious reputation or how the candidate's religious beliefs have evolved  
37 during the campaign or in the past. If the candidate's religious reputation is not good  
38 enough for voters, they may not vote for them. Some political parties and their campaign  
39 team try to strengthen the religious reputation of one particular candidate as a marketing  
40 tool to win the potential voters' support (Ebbighausen, 2019). This study also revealed  
41 that religious beliefs are associated with important things in people's life, that religion  
42 provides a meaning or purpose in life, and as such is also a source of comfort. Therefore,  
43 the candidate or political party and their team must be able to build a good religious  
44 reputation or use religious beliefs as an effective marketing tool to influence voting  
45 intention.  
46  
47  
48  
49

50  
51 Prior studies revealed that organizations' marketing on social media has a positive  
52 influence on purchase intention. The results of this study are consistent with the previous  
53 findings. (Gautam and Sharma, 2017; Kim and Ko, 2010; Spackman and Larsen, 2017).  
54 This study indicated that social media marketing significantly impacts voting intention ( $\beta$   
55 =  $0.25^*$ ). So, it can be concluded that the better the management of a social media  
56 marketing campaign run by a candidate or political party and their team, the more  
57 significant influence it will have on the voting intention. When political candidates or  
58 parties use social media as an effective marketing tool in their political campaigns, they  
59 will play a significant role in influencing voting intention (Farrag and Shamma, 2014). In  
60 this study, social media marketing activities consist of 4 components: entertainment,

1  
2  
3 interaction, trendiness, and customization. These four aspects should be considered one  
4 unity when planning social media marketing (Godey et al., 2016). Therefore, the  
5 candidate or political party and their team had better consider efficiently maximising each  
6 aspect of social media marketing to achieve a more significant impact on voting intention.  
7 This study also showed the mediating effects of electronic word of mouth, Candidate's  
8 image, and religious beliefs on the relationship between social media marketing and  
9 voting intention. The mediating role of these three variables will be discussed in other  
10 sections.  
11  
12

### 13 ***Theoretical and managerial implications***

14  
15  
16 This study examines how social media marketing activities influence voters'  
17 intention with electronic word of mouth, candidate's image, and religious beliefs as  
18 mediating variables. Social media marketing is one of the essential aspects of marketing.  
19 It can also be considered a political marketing tool and campaign instrument. Social  
20 media provide an easy-to-use and low-cost platform to share information about an  
21 election, candidate, or political party. If a candidate or party can use social media  
22 appropriately, it will provide them with many benefits and conveniences.  
23  
24

25 The findings in this study provide some practical aspects for the success of a  
26 political party and their team if they can use social media as a political marketing tool.  
27 This study explains the aspects of essential considerations for voters' intention to vote for  
28 a particular candidate when influenced by social media marketing. Based on this study's  
29 results, social media marketing, electronic word of mouth, the candidate's image, and  
30 religious beliefs significantly affected voters' intentions. Moreover, to answer the other  
31 research questions in this study, it was also discovered that social media marketing's  
32 dimensions that had the most considerable effect on voting intention were interaction and  
33 customization.  
34  
35

36 This study focuses on electronic word of mouth, candidate's image, and religious  
37 beliefs as mediating variables, and it turns out that the results that were gained are  
38 interesting. The three mediating variables mediate the relationship between social media  
39 marketing and voting intention. It indicates that electronic word of mouth, the candidate's  
40 image, and religious beliefs play a significant role in this study.  
41  
42

43 Secondly, the candidate or political party and their team should not use social  
44 media marketing only to reach potential voters and as a valuable tool for creating  
45 electronic word of mouth, Candidate's image, and religious beliefs. Because this study  
46 presents that electronic word of mouth, candidate's image, and religious beliefs strongly  
47 influence voters. If political campaign managers can activate voters' word of mouth and  
48 have a good perception of the candidate's image and religious beliefs, potential voters  
49 will not be unwilling to vote for their candidate or political party.  
50  
51

### 52 **Conclusion**

53  
54  
55 Based on the statistical analysis results in a recent study, the proposed mediating  
56 effect of electronic word of mouth in the relationship between social media marketing  
57 and voting intention reported a significant result. It can be concluded that the social media  
58 marketing efforts used by a candidate or political party can increase the voting intention  
59 with the voters engaging in electronic word of mouth. So, if a candidate or political party  
60



1  
2  
3 and their team want to influence voters' intentions in such a way that eligible voters will  
4 be more inclined to vote for them, they must be concerned about the positive effect of  
5 electronic word of mouth between the voters and others by using social media as an  
6 effective tool and campaign method. The impact of electronic word of mouth will directly  
7 influence voting intentions. Hence, it is also essential to provide sufficient social media  
8 facilities that allow voters to share and express their opinions to influence more potential  
9 voters.  
10

11  
12 Moreover, the Candidate's image plays a significant role in the mediating effect  
13 of social media marketing on the voter's intention to vote. From the findings of this study,  
14 it can be deduced that the candidate and their team should focus on social media  
15 marketing and allocate their endeavours to build political marketing content that can  
16 develop a positive and strong image of the candidate. Suppose the candidate or political  
17 party successfully creates political marketing content that links positive personality traits  
18 (such as being trustworthy, stable, articulate, and having high integrity) with the  
19 candidate's image. In that case, voters will have a good image in their minds, increasing  
20 their voting intention.  
21  
22

23  
24 Based on the statistical analysis results in this study, the proposed mediating effect  
25 of religious beliefs in the relation between social media marketing and the voters'  
26 intention reported a significant result. It can be assumed that the candidate and their teams  
27 should not underestimate the influence of religious beliefs while they try creating political  
28 campaigns by using social media to increase the voters' intention to vote. The candidate  
29 or political party should also make more effort to consider religious beliefs because they  
30 can influence many aspects of human life, including political life. They can also use  
31 religious beliefs as an effective political marketing tool by using several social media  
32 facilities. If the candidate or political party can create a political marketing context that  
33 focuses on the good or strengthen the candidate's religious reputation in the voters'  
34 minds, it will increase the number of potential voters. Therefore, in this study, religious  
35 beliefs can be a strong mediator, demonstrating the substantial influence of social media  
36 marketing on voters' intentions.  
37  
38

### 39 40 ***Limitations and future research***

41  
42 This study has some limitations. This study's first limitation is the generalization  
43 and the respondents used; this study focused only on Indonesian social media users with  
44 electoral rights as respondents. Moreover, this study uses only 396 samples which is a  
45 minimal number representing all of the voters in Indonesia. Furthermore, the  
46 representativeness of the sample may have some unpredictable biases. Therefore, future  
47 studies can gather more samples in different areas of Indonesia to obtain more  
48 representative samples. Another suggestion is to conduct a similar study in different  
49 countries to understand better the effect of social media marketing on voters' intentions.  
50 Additionally, the suggestion to compare voters' intentions in different countries would be  
51 more interesting and provide more in-depth study results.  
52  
53

54  
55 The second limitation is the conceptual framework used in this study. This study  
56 used one independent variable, three mediating variables, and one dependent variable.  
57 Future studies can consider adding other variables that may influence the voters'  
58 intention. For instance, a future study could add more mediation variables, such as trust  
59 issues and policies, social imagery, and current or personal issues. Besides, adding other  
60

1  
2  
3 dimensions of social media marketing, such as advertisements or information, can also  
4 be considered.  
5

6 Third, three forms of relations form in the context of political marketing;  
7 candidate to voters, voters to voters, and voters to candidates. Including all three relations  
8 would surpass the confines of a single paper. Therefore, this study has focused on the first  
9 two. The third is worth studying in future research.  
10  
11

12 Fourth, the study's primary focus has been on the positive side of social media  
13 marketing on voting intention. In other words, it has only argued how social media could  
14 induce the intent to participate in the formation of democratic elections. However, future  
15 studies could complement this study's findings by taking a closer look at the dark side of  
16 social media marketing. Social media has much fewer limitations for publication  
17 compared to conventional media. Moreover, presentation is more important than truth for  
18 a post to spread effectively. This point, in turn, creates the risk of misinformation  
19 spreading simply because of a more appealing presentation than the truth. This is an  
20 important aspect of the relationship between social media marketing and voting intention,  
21 which was beyond the confines of this study. Therefore, future studies could put more  
22 light on this aspect.  
23  
24  
25  
26  
27  
28  
29  
30  
31  
32  
33  
34  
35  
36  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

**REFERENCES**

- Abu-Alhaija, A., Nerina, R., Hashim, H., and Jaharuddin, N. S. (2018, 02/07). Religion in Consumer Behaviour Research: the Significance of Religious Commitment and Religious Affiliation.
- Adobe Spark. (2021). The 7 Top Social Media Sites You Need to Care About in 2020. Retrieved from: <https://www.adobe.com/express/learn/blog/top-social-media-sites>
- Baines, P. R., Harris, P., and Lewis, B. R. (2002). The political marketing planning process: improving image and message in strategic target areas. *Marketing Intelligence and Planning*.
- Bakos, Y., and Dellarocas, C. (2011). Cooperation without enforcement? A comparative analysis of litigation and online reputation as quality assurance mechanisms. *Management Science*, 57(11), 1944-1962.
- Barczyk, C., and Duncan, D. (2012, 04/01). Social Networking Media: An Approach for the Teaching of International Business. *Journal of Teaching in International Business*, 23, 98-122. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08975930.2012.718703>
- Baron, R., and Kenny, D. (1986, 01/01). The moderator-mediator variable distinction in social psychological research: Conceptual, strategic, and statistical considerations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 51, 1173-1182. <https://doi.org/10.1037//0022-3514.51.6.1173>
- Bates, S., and Ferri, A. J. (2010). What's Entertainment? Notes Toward a Definition. *Studies in Popular Culture*, 33(1), 1-20. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23416316>
- Bawaslu. (2017). Tugas, Wewenang, dan Kewajiban. Retrieved August from What's entertainment? Notes toward a definition
- Bélanger, É. (2019). Social media use and voting intention in the 2012 Quebec election campaign. *French Politics*, 17, 468-481. <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41253-019-00094-6>
- Bernritter, S.F., Verlegh, P.W., Smit, E.G. (2016). Why nonprofits are easier to endorse on social media: the roles of warmth and brand symbolism. *J. Interact. Market.* 33, 27-42.
- Blankart, K. (2012, 08/02). Decision-making in healthcare: A practical application of partial least square path modelling to coverage of newborn screening programmes. *BMC medical informatics and decision making*, 12, 83. <https://doi.org/10.1186/1472-6947-12-83>
- Borah, P., Fowler, E., and Ridout, T. N. (2018). Television vs. YouTube: political advertising in the 2012 presidential election. *Journal of Information Technology and Politics*, 15(3), 230-244.

- 1  
2  
3 Boyd, D., and Ellison, N. (2007, 10/01). Social Network Sites: Definition, History, and  
4 Scholarship. *J. Computer-Mediated Communication*, 13, 210-230.  
5 <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1083-6101.2007.00393.x>  
6  
7  
8 Bright, J., Hale, S., Ganesh, B., Bulovsky, A., Margetts, H., and Howard, P. (2019). Does  
9 Campaigning on Social Media Make a Difference? Evidence From Candidate Use  
10 of Twitter During the 2015 and 2017 UK Elections. *Communication Research*, 1-  
11 22. <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0093650219872394>  
12  
13 Bukari, Z., Abdul Hamid, A. B., Md. Som, H., Agbemabiese, G. C., and Quansah, F.  
14 (2022). Does political issue matter in voting intention in Ghana? A political  
15 marketing perspective. *Cogent Business and Management*, 9(1), 2034227.  
16  
17  
18 Burt, R. S. (2021). Structural Holes, Capstone, Cautions, and Enthusiasms. *Personal*  
19 *Networks: Classic Readings and New Directions in Egocentric Analysis*, 384.  
20  
21 Chang, Y., and Dong, X. (2014, 11/02). Research on the impact of consumer interaction  
22 behaviour on purchase intention in an SNS environment: evidence from China.  
23 *Information Development*, 32. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0266666914556821>  
24  
25 Chang, Y.T., Yu, H., Lu, H.P. (2015). Persuasive messages, popularity cohesion, and  
26 message diffusion in social media marketing. *J. Business Res.* 68 (4), 777–782.  
27  
28  
29 Cheong, P. H., Peter, F.-N., Stefan, G., and Charles, E. (2012). Digital Religion, Social  
30 Media and Culture. Peter Lang. <https://www.peterlang.com/view/title/21810>  
31  
32 Chih, W. H., Hsu, L. C., and Ortiz, J. (2020). The antecedents and consequences of the  
33 perceived positive eWOM review credibility. *Industrial Management and Data*  
34 *Systems*, 120(6), 1217-1243.  
35  
36  
37 Chu, S. C., and Chen, H. T. (2019). Impact of consumers' corporate social  
38 responsibility-related activities in social media on brand attitude, electronic  
39 word-of-mouth intention, and purchase intention: A study of Chinese consumer  
40 behavior. *Journal of Consumer Behaviour*, 18(6), 453-462.  
41  
42  
43 Chu, S., and Kim, Y.-J. (2011). Determinants of consumer engagement in electronic  
44 word-of-mouth (eWOM) in social networking sites. *International Journal of*  
45 *Advertising*, 30, 47 - 75.  
46  
47  
48 Chuchu, T. (2015, 12/16). To Vote or Not To Vote: Marketing Factors Influencing the  
49 Voting Intention of University Students in Johannesburg. *Journal of Economics*  
50 *and Behavioral Studies*, Vol. 7, pp. 81-93.  
51  
52  
53 Clark, M., and Phillips Melancon, J. (2013, 08/01). The Influence of Social Media on  
54 Relational Outcomes: A Relationship Marketing Perspective. *Academy of*  
55 *Marketing Studies Journal*, 5, 132-142. <https://doi.org/10.5539/ijms.v5n4p132>  
56  
57  
58 Cochran, W. G. (1940). Note on an approximate formula for the significance levels of  
59 z. *The Annals of Mathematical Statistics*, 11(1), 93-95.  
60  
61  
62  
63  
64  
65  
66  
67  
68  
69  
70  
71  
72  
73  
74  
75  
76  
77  
78  
79  
80  
81  
82  
83  
84  
85  
86  
87  
88  
89  
90  
91  
92  
93  
94  
95  
96  
97  
98  
99  
100  
101  
102  
103  
104  
105  
106  
107  
108  
109  
110  
111  
112  
113  
114  
115  
116  
117  
118  
119  
120  
121  
122  
123  
124  
125  
126  
127  
128  
129  
130  
131  
132  
133  
134  
135  
136  
137  
138  
139  
140  
141  
142  
143  
144  
145  
146  
147  
148  
149  
150  
151  
152  
153  
154  
155  
156  
157  
158  
159  
160  
161  
162  
163  
164  
165  
166  
167  
168  
169  
170  
171  
172  
173  
174  
175  
176  
177  
178  
179  
180  
181  
182  
183  
184  
185  
186  
187  
188  
189  
190  
191  
192  
193  
194  
195  
196  
197  
198  
199  
200  
201  
202  
203  
204  
205  
206  
207  
208  
209  
210  
211  
212  
213  
214  
215  
216  
217  
218  
219  
220  
221  
222  
223  
224  
225  
226  
227  
228  
229  
230  
231  
232  
233  
234  
235  
236  
237  
238  
239  
240  
241  
242  
243  
244  
245  
246  
247  
248  
249  
250  
251  
252  
253  
254  
255  
256  
257  
258  
259  
260  
261  
262  
263  
264  
265  
266  
267  
268  
269  
270  
271  
272  
273  
274  
275  
276  
277  
278  
279  
280  
281  
282  
283  
284  
285  
286  
287  
288  
289  
290  
291  
292  
293  
294  
295  
296  
297  
298  
299  
300  
301  
302  
303  
304  
305  
306  
307  
308  
309  
310  
311  
312  
313  
314  
315  
316  
317  
318  
319  
320  
321  
322  
323  
324  
325  
326  
327  
328  
329  
330  
331  
332  
333  
334  
335  
336  
337  
338  
339  
340  
341  
342  
343  
344  
345  
346  
347  
348  
349  
350  
351  
352  
353  
354  
355  
356  
357  
358  
359  
360  
361  
362  
363  
364  
365  
366  
367  
368  
369  
370  
371  
372  
373  
374  
375  
376  
377  
378  
379  
380  
381  
382  
383  
384  
385  
386  
387  
388  
389  
390  
391  
392  
393  
394  
395  
396  
397  
398  
399  
400  
401  
402  
403  
404  
405  
406  
407  
408  
409  
410  
411  
412  
413  
414  
415  
416  
417  
418  
419  
420  
421  
422  
423  
424  
425  
426  
427  
428  
429  
430  
431  
432  
433  
434  
435  
436  
437  
438  
439  
440  
441  
442  
443  
444  
445  
446  
447  
448  
449  
450  
451  
452  
453  
454  
455  
456  
457  
458  
459  
460  
461  
462  
463  
464  
465  
466  
467  
468  
469  
470  
471  
472  
473  
474  
475  
476  
477  
478  
479  
480  
481  
482  
483  
484  
485  
486  
487  
488  
489  
490  
491  
492  
493  
494  
495  
496  
497  
498  
499  
500  
501  
502  
503  
504  
505  
506  
507  
508  
509  
510  
511  
512  
513  
514  
515  
516  
517  
518  
519  
520  
521  
522  
523  
524  
525  
526  
527  
528  
529  
530  
531  
532  
533  
534  
535  
536  
537  
538  
539  
540  
541  
542  
543  
544  
545  
546  
547  
548  
549  
550  
551  
552  
553  
554  
555  
556  
557  
558  
559  
560  
561  
562  
563  
564  
565  
566  
567  
568  
569  
570  
571  
572  
573  
574  
575  
576  
577  
578  
579  
580  
581  
582  
583  
584  
585  
586  
587  
588  
589  
590  
591  
592  
593  
594  
595  
596  
597  
598  
599  
600  
601  
602  
603  
604  
605  
606  
607  
608  
609  
610  
611  
612  
613  
614  
615  
616  
617  
618  
619  
620  
621  
622  
623  
624  
625  
626  
627  
628  
629  
630  
631  
632  
633  
634  
635  
636  
637  
638  
639  
640  
641  
642  
643  
644  
645  
646  
647  
648  
649  
650  
651  
652  
653  
654  
655  
656  
657  
658  
659  
660  
661  
662  
663  
664  
665  
666  
667  
668  
669  
670  
671  
672  
673  
674  
675  
676  
677  
678  
679  
680  
681  
682  
683  
684  
685  
686  
687  
688  
689  
690  
691  
692  
693  
694  
695  
696  
697  
698  
699  
700  
701  
702  
703  
704  
705  
706  
707  
708  
709  
710  
711  
712  
713  
714  
715  
716  
717  
718  
719  
720  
721  
722  
723  
724  
725  
726  
727  
728  
729  
730  
731  
732  
733  
734  
735  
736  
737  
738  
739  
740  
741  
742  
743  
744  
745  
746  
747  
748  
749  
750  
751  
752  
753  
754  
755  
756  
757  
758  
759  
760  
761  
762  
763  
764  
765  
766  
767  
768  
769  
770  
771  
772  
773  
774  
775  
776  
777  
778  
779  
780  
781  
782  
783  
784  
785  
786  
787  
788  
789  
790  
791  
792  
793  
794  
795  
796  
797  
798  
799  
800  
801  
802  
803  
804  
805  
806  
807  
808  
809  
810  
811  
812  
813  
814  
815  
816  
817  
818  
819  
820  
821  
822  
823  
824  
825  
826  
827  
828  
829  
830  
831  
832  
833  
834  
835  
836  
837  
838  
839  
840  
841  
842  
843  
844  
845  
846  
847  
848  
849  
850  
851  
852  
853  
854  
855  
856  
857  
858  
859  
860  
861  
862  
863  
864  
865  
866  
867  
868  
869  
870  
871  
872  
873  
874  
875  
876  
877  
878  
879  
880  
881  
882  
883  
884  
885  
886  
887  
888  
889  
890  
891  
892  
893  
894  
895  
896  
897  
898  
899  
900  
901  
902  
903  
904  
905  
906  
907  
908  
909  
910  
911  
912  
913  
914  
915  
916  
917  
918  
919  
920  
921  
922  
923  
924  
925  
926  
927  
928  
929  
930  
931  
932  
933  
934  
935  
936  
937  
938  
939  
940  
941  
942  
943  
944  
945  
946  
947  
948  
949  
950  
951  
952  
953  
954  
955  
956  
957  
958  
959  
960  
961  
962  
963  
964  
965  
966  
967  
968  
969  
970  
971  
972  
973  
974  
975  
976  
977  
978  
979  
980  
981  
982  
983  
984  
985  
986  
987  
988  
989  
990  
991  
992  
993  
994  
995  
996  
997  
998  
999  
1000

- 1  
2  
3 Political Participation and Civic Engagement in the 2008 Obama Campaign,  
4 Journal of Political Marketing, 10:1-2, 189-213.  
5
- 6 Cohen, M. D. (2021). Modern political campaigns: How professionalism, technology,  
7 and speed have revolutionized elections. Rowman and Littlefield.  
8
- 9 Coman, I., and Coman, M. (2017, 12/01). Religion, popular culture and social media: The  
10 construction of a religious leader image on Facebook. *ESSACHESS - Journal for*  
11 *Communication Studies*, 10, 129-143.  
12  
13
- 14 Cravens, D. W., and Piercy, N. F. (2009). *Beauty industry robust despite slowdown.*  
15 McGraw-Hill  
16
- 17 Cwalina, W., Falkowski, A., and Newman, B. (2010, 04/06). Towards the development  
18 of a cross-cultural model of voter behavior: Comparative analysis of Poland and  
19 the US. *European Journal of Marketing*, 44, 351-368.  
20 <https://doi.org/10.1108/03090561011020462>  
21  
22
- 23 Dalton, R. J. (2008) 'Citizenship norms and the expansion of political participation,'  
24 *Political Studies*, 56(1): 76-98.  
25
- 26 Dash, R. K., Ramchurn, S. D., and Jennings, N. R. (2004, July). Trust-based mechanism  
27 design. In *Proceedings of the Third International Joint Conference on*  
28 *Autonomous Agents and Multiagent Systems, 2004. AAMAS 2004.* (pp. 748-  
29 755). IEEE.  
30  
31
- 32 Daugherty, T., Li, H., and Biocca, F. (2008, 07/01). Consumer Learning and the Effects  
33 of Virtual Experience Relative to Indirect and Direct Product Experience.  
34 *Psychology and Marketing*, 25, 568-586. <https://doi.org/10.1002/mar.20225>  
35  
36
- 37 De Cian, E., Dasgupta, S., Hof, A. F., van Sluisveld, M. A., Köhler, J., Pfluger, B., and  
38 van Vuuren, D. P. (2020). Actors, decision-making, and institutions in  
39 quantitative system modelling. *Technological Forecasting and Social Change*,  
40 151, 119480.  
41
- 42 Dean, D., Croft, R., and Pich, C. (2015). Toward a conceptual framework of emotional  
43 relationship marketing: An examination of two UK political parties. *Journal of*  
44 *Political Marketing*, 14(1-2), 19-34.  
45
- 46 Donthu, N., Kumar, S., Pandey, N., Pandey, N., and Mishra, A. (2021). Mapping the  
47 electronic word-of-mouth (eWOM) research: A systematic review and  
48 bibliometric analysis. *Journal of Business Research*, 135, 758-773.  
49  
50
- 51 Duffett, R. (2017, 04/01). Influence of social media marketing communications on young  
52 consumers' attitudes. *Young Consumers*, 18. [https://doi.org/10.1108/YC-07-](https://doi.org/10.1108/YC-07-2016-00622)  
53 [2016-00622](https://doi.org/10.1108/YC-07-2016-00622)  
54
- 55 Ebbighausen, R. (2019). Indonesia election puts Islam on the ballot.  
56 <https://www.dw.com/en/indonesia-election-puts-islam-on-the-ballot/a-48327972>  
57  
58
- 59 Eulau, H., Gibbins, R., and Webb, P. D. (2015). *Election Political Science.*  
60 <https://www.britannica.com/topic/election-political-science>



- 1  
2  
3 Euromonitor International. <http://blog.euromonitor.com/2014/03/beauty-industry-robust-despiteslowdown.html>  
4  
5
- 6 Fam, K., Waller, D., and Erdogan, B. Z. (2004, 05/01). The influence of religion on  
7 attitudes towards the advertising of controversial products. *European Journal of*  
8 *Marketing*, 38, 537-555. <https://doi.org/10.1108/03090560410529204>  
9
- 10 Farrag, D., and Shamma, H. (2014, 03/04). Factors influencing voting intentions for  
11 Egyptian parliament elections 2011. *Journal of Islamic Marketing*, 5.  
12 <https://doi.org/10.1108/JIMA-01-2013-0003>  
13  
14
- 15 Fastnow, C., Grant, J. T., and Rudolph, T. J. (1999). Holy Roll Calls: Religious Tradition  
16 and Voting Behavior in the US House. *Social Science Quarterly*, 80(4), 687-701.  
17 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/42864400>  
18
- 19 Filo, K., Lock, D., and Karg, A. (2015, 05/01). Sport and social media research: A review.  
20 *Sport Management Review*, 18. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.smr.2014.11.001>  
21  
22
- 23 Fossen, B. L., Schweidel, D. A., and Lewis, M. (2019). Examining brand strength of  
24 political candidates: a performance premium approach. *Customer Needs and*  
25 *Solutions*, 6(3), 63-75.  
26
- 27 Galih, B. (2017). Rekonstruksi Kelembagaan KPU.  
28 <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2017/05/14/08135841/rekonstruksi.kelembagaan.kpu>  
29  
30  
31
- 32 Ganzer-Ripoll, J., Criado, N., Lopez-Sanchez, M., Parsons, S., and Rodriguez-Aguilar, J.  
33 A. (2019). Combining social choice theory and argumentation: Enabling  
34 collective decision making. *Group Decision and Negotiation*, 28(1), 127-173.  
35
- 36 Gautam, D. V., and Sharma, V. (2017, 06/09). The Mediating Role of Customer  
37 Relationship on the Social Media Marketing and Purchase Intention Relationship  
38 with Special Reference to Luxury Fashion Brands. *Journal of Promotion*  
39 *Management*, 1-17. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10496491.2017.1323262>  
40  
41
- 42 Gelper, S., Peres, R., and Eliashberg, J. (2018). Talk bursts: The role of spikes in  
43 prerelease word-of-mouth dynamics. *Journal of Marketing Research*, 55(6), 801-  
44 817.  
45
- 46 Glynn, C., Huges, M., and Lunney, C. (2009, 02/09). The Influence of Perceived Social  
47 Norms on College Students' Intention to Vote. *Political Communication*, 1, 48-  
48 64. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10584600802622860>  
49  
50
- 51 Godey, B., Manthiou, A., Pederzoli, D., Rokka, J., Aiello, G., Donvito, R., and Singh, R.  
52 (2016, 2016/12/01). Social media marketing efforts of luxury brands: Influence  
53 on brand equity and consumer behavior. *Journal of Business Research*, 69(12),  
54 5833-5841. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jbusres.2016.04.181>  
55  
56
- 57 Greene, W. H. (2019). *Econometric Analysis*. Eighth edition (Global edition). Pearson,  
58 London, UK.  
59  
60

- 1  
2  
3 Hair, J., Black, W., Babin, B., and Anderson, R. (2010). *Multivariate Data Analysis: A*  
4 *Global Perspective*.  
5
- 6 Harris, L. and Harrigan, P. (2015) *Social Media in Politics: The Ultimate Voter*  
7 *Engagement Tool or Simply an Echo Chamber?*, *Journal of Political Marketing*,  
8 14:3, 251-283, DOI: 10.1080/15377857.2012.693059.  
9
- 10 Hjarvard, S. (2011, 06/01). *The Mediatisation of Religion: Theorising Religion, Media*  
11 *and Social Change*. *Culture and Religion*, 12, 119-135.  
12 <https://doi.org/10.1080/14755610.2011.579719>  
13  
14
- 15 Hudson, S., Huang, L., Roth, M., and Madden, T. (2015, 07/01). *The influence of social*  
16 *media interactions on consumer–brand relationships: A three-country study of*  
17 *brand perceptions and marketing behaviors*. *International Journal of Research in*  
18 *Marketing*, 33. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijresmar.2015.06.004>  
19
- 20 Hughes, A. (2018). *Market driven political advertising: Social, digital and mobile*  
21 *marketing*. Springer.  
22  
23
- 24 Hultman, M., Ulusoy, S., and Oghazi, P. (2019). *Drivers and Outcomes of Political*  
25 *Candidate’s image Creation: The Role of Social Media Marketing*. *Psychology*  
26 *and Marketing*, 36(2), 1-11. <https://doi.org/10.1002/mar.21271>  
27  
28
- 29 Husnal‘Az’Hari, N. S. B. (2022). *Political Marketing: Social Media Content and Its*  
30 *Influence on Voters’ Loyalty To Political Leaders*.  
31
- 32 Inglehart, R. and Welzel, C. (2005). *Modernization, Cultural Change, and Democracy*  
33 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).  
34
- 35 Irawanto, B. (2019). *Making it personal: The campaign battle on social media in*  
36 *Indonesia’s 2019 Presidential election*. ISEAS Yusof Ishak Institute, 28, 1-11.  
37  
38
- 39 Jackson, N., and D. G. Lilleker. (2009). *Building an architecture of participation?*  
40 *Political parties and web 2.0 in Britain*, *Journal of Information Technology and*  
41 *Politics*, 6, 232–250.  
42
- 43 Jacobson, G. C. (2015). *How do campaigns matter?*. *Annual Review of Political*  
44 *Science*, 18, 31-47.  
45
- 46 JakartaGlobe, (2019). *Indonesia Sees Record Turnout in Historic Election, Braces for*  
47 *Fallout*. Apr-17-2019. [https://jakartaglobe.id/context/indonesia-sees-record-](https://jakartaglobe.id/context/indonesia-sees-record-turnout-in-historic-election-braces-for-fallout)  
48 [turnout-in-historic-election-braces-for-fallout](https://jakartaglobe.id/context/indonesia-sees-record-turnout-in-historic-election-braces-for-fallout)  
49
- 50  
51 Jakic, A., Wagner, M., and Meyer, A. (2017, 06/16). *The impact of language style*  
52 *accommodation during social media interactions on brand trust*. *Journal of Service*  
53 *Management*, 28, 00-00. <https://doi.org/10.1108/JOSM-12-2016-0325>  
54
- 55 Jehle, G. A. (2001). *Advanced microeconomic theory*. Pearson Education India.  
56
- 57 Jiang, Z., Chan, J., Tan, B. y., and Chua, W. (2010, 01/01). *Effects of Interactivity on*  
58 *Website Involvement and Purchase Intention*. *J. AIS*, 11.  
59 <https://doi.org/10.17705/1jais.00218>  
60

- 1  
2  
3 Johansen, H. P. (2016). *Relational political marketing in party-centred democracies: Because we deserve it*. Routledge.
- 4  
5  
6 Julina., Eravia, D., and Qomariah. (2015). The Effect of Candidate's image, Advertising, Program, and Party, toward Candidate Election Decision. *First International Conference on Economics and Banking*, 65-72. <https://dx.doi.org/10.2991/iceb-15.2015.10>
- 7  
8  
9  
10  
11  
12 Kagal, L., Finin, T., and Joshi, A. (2001). Trust-based security in pervasive computing environments. *Computer*, 34(12), 154-157.
- 13  
14  
15 Kamtarin, M. (2012). The Effect of Electronic Word of Mouth , Trust and Perceived Value on Behavioral Intention from the Perspective of Consumers.
- 16  
17  
18  
19 Kaplan, A., and Haenlein, M. (2010, 02/28). Users of the World, Unite! The Challenges and Opportunities of Social Media. *Business Horizons*, 53, 59-68. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bushor.2009.09.003>
- 20  
21  
22  
23 Kenny, D. A. (2015). Measuring Model Fit. <http://davidakenny.net/cm/fit.htm>
- 24  
25 Kim, A. J., and Ko, E. (2012, 2012/10/01/). Do social media marketing activities enhance customer equity? An empirical study of luxury fashion brand. *Journal of Business Research*, 65(10), 1480-1486. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jbusres.2011.10.014>
- 26  
27  
28  
29  
30  
31 Kim, A., and Ko, E. (2010, 08/01). Impacts of Luxury Fashion Brand's Social Media Marketing on Customer Relationship and Purchase Intention. *Journal of Global Fashion Marketing*, 1, 164-171. <https://doi.org/10.1080/20932685.2010.10593068>
- 32  
33  
34  
35  
36  
37 Kinder, D. R. (1994). *Beliefs, Reasoning, and Decision Making*. Psychology Press.
- 38  
39 King, P.-t. (1997). The press, Candidate's images, and voter perceptions. *Communication and democracy: Exploring the intellectual frontiers in agenda-setting theory*, 29-40.
- 40  
41  
42  
43 Kleinberg, J., and Raghavan, P. (2005, October). Query incentive networks. In *46th Annual IEEE Symposium on Foundations of Computer Science (FOCS'05)* (pp. 132-141). IEEE.
- 44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50 Kotler, P. (1972). A Generic Concept of Marketing. *Journal of Marketing*, 36(2), 46-54. <https://doi.org/10.1177/002224297203600209>.
- 51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60 Kotler, P. (1982). *Marketing for nonprofit organizations*. Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, NJ.
- Kumar, A., Bezawada, R., Rishika, R., Janakiraman, R., and Kannan, P. K. (2016). From Social to Sale: The Effects of Firm-Generated Content in Social Media on Customer Behavior. *Journal of Marketing*, 80(1), 7-25. <https://doi.org/10.1509/jm.14.0249>

- 1  
2  
3 Kuzma, A., and Kuzma, J. (2009, 01/01). How Religion has Embraced Marketing and the  
4 Implications for Business. *Journal of Management and Marketing Research*, 2, 1-  
5 10.  
6  
7  
8 Lam, T., and Hsu, C. H. C. (2006, 2006/08/01/). Predicting behavioral intention of  
9 choosing a travel destination. *Tourism Management*, 27(4), 589-599.  
10 <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2005.02.003>  
11  
12 Lees-Marshment, J., Conley, B., and Cosgrove, K. (Eds.). (2014). *Political marketing in*  
13 *the United States* (p. 169). Abingdon: Routledge.  
14  
15 MacKinnon, D. P. (2015). Mediating Variable. In (pp. 64-69).  
16 <https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-08-097086-8.44037-7>  
17  
18 Maddala, G. S. (1986). *Limited-dependent and qualitative variables in econometrics* (No.  
19 3). Cambridge university press.  
20  
21 Mangold, W. G., and Faulds, D. J. (2009, 2009/07/01/). Social media: The new hybrid  
22 element of the promotion mix. *Business Horizons*, 52(4), 357-365.  
23 <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bushor.2009.03.002>  
24  
25 Manning, J. (2014). Definition and Classes of Social Media. In (pp. 1158-1162).  
26  
27 Marozzo, F., and Bessi, A. (2018). Analyzing polarization of social media users and news  
28 sites during political campaigns. *Social Network Analysis and Mining*, 8(1), 1-13.  
29  
30 McGuire, B. (2018). Political Organizing in the Digital Age: Why Campaigns Need to  
31 Integrate Traditional and Digital Organizing. *Kennedy School Review*, 18, 25-33.  
32  
33 Morgan, G. S., Skitka, L. J., and Wisneski, D. C. (2010). Moral and religious convictions  
34 and intentions to vote in the 2008 presidential election. *Analyses of Social Issues*  
35 *and Public Policy*, 10(1), 307-320.  
36  
37 Moslehpour, M., Wong, W.-K., Lin, Y., and Nguyen, T. L. (2017, 10/20). Top purchase  
38 intention priorities of Vietnamese low cost carrier passengers: expectations and  
39 satisfaction. *Eurasian Business Review*, 8. [https://doi.org/10.1007/s40821-017-](https://doi.org/10.1007/s40821-017-0093-5)  
40 [0093-5](https://doi.org/10.1007/s40821-017-0093-5)  
41  
42 Naaman, M., Becker, H., and Gravano, L. (2011, 05/01). Hip and Trendy: Characterizing  
43 Emerging Trends on Twitter. *JASIST*, 62, 902-918.  
44 <https://doi.org/10.1002/asi.21489>  
45  
46 Newman, B., and Sheth, J. (1985, 02/01). A Model of Primary Voter Behavior. *Journal*  
47 *of Consumer Research*, 12, 178-187. <https://doi.org/10.1086/208506>  
48  
49 North, D. C., and North, D. C. (1992). *Transaction costs, institutions, and economic*  
50 *performance* (pp. 13-15). San Francisco, CA: Ics Press.  
51  
52 Okan, E. Y., Topcu, A., and Akyüz, S. (2014). The role of social media in political  
53 marketing: 2014 local elections of turkey. *European Journal of business and*  
54 *Management*, 6(22), 131-140.  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

- 1  
2  
3 Ozturk, R., and Coban, S. (2019). Political marketing, word of mouth communication and  
4 voter behaviours interaction. *Business and Economics Research Journal*, 10(1),  
5 245-258.  
6
- 7 Ozturk, R., and Coban, S. (2019). Political marketing, word of mouth communication and  
8 voter behaviours interaction. *Business and Economics Research Journal*, 10(1),  
9 245-258.  
10
- 11  
12 Pancer, S., Brown, S., and Barr, C. (2002, 12/17). Forming Impressions of Political  
13 Leaders: A Cross-National Comparison. *Political Psychology*, 20, 345-368.  
14 <https://doi.org/10.1111/0162-895X.00148>  
15
- 16 Park, N., Kee, K., and Valenzuela, S. (2009, 08/01). Being Immersed in Social  
17 Networking Environment: Facebook Groups, Uses and Gratifications, and Social  
18 Outcomes. *Cyberpsychology and behavior : the impact of the Internet, multimedia*  
19 *and virtual reality on behavior and society*, 12, 729-733.  
20 <https://doi.org/10.1089/cpb.2009.0003>  
21
- 22  
23 Parsons, M. and Rowling, M. (2015): Social Media and the Paradox of Fear: An  
24 Exploratory Study of Political Relationship Marketing Within South Wales,  
25 *Journal of Political Marketing*, DOI: 10.1080/15377857.2015.1039746  
26
- 27 Parsons, M., and Rowling, M. (2018). Social media and the paradox of fear: An  
28 exploratory study of political relationship marketing within South Wales.  
29 *Journal of Political Marketing*, 17(3), 235-257.  
30
- 31  
32 Perera, G., and Perera, I. (2016, 01/01). Influence of Social Media Marketing on the  
33 Brand Image of Organizations in the Hospitality Industry of Sri Lanka.  
34 *International Journal of Asian Business and Information Management*, 7, 30-41.  
35 <https://doi.org/10.4018/IJABIM.2016010103>  
36
- 37 Permani, R. (2011, 2011/05/01/). The presence of religious organisations, religious  
38 attendance and earnings: Evidence from Indonesia. *The Journal of Socio-*  
39 *Economics*, 40(3), 247-258.  
40 <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socec.2011.01.006>  
41
- 42  
43 Plante, T., and Boccaccini, M. (1997, 05/01). The Santa Clara Strength of Religious Faith  
44 Questionnaire. *Pastoral Psychology*, 45, 375-387.  
45 <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF02230993>  
46
- 47 Popp, B., Woratschek, H., 2016. Introducing branded communities in sport for building  
48 strong brand relations in social media. *Sport Manage. Rev.* 19 (2), 183–197.  
49
- 50  
51 Rahman, M. S. A., and Prihatini, E. S. (2019). Political Parties in Indonesia and the  
52 Internet: A comparative analysis. *AEGIS: Journal of International Relations*, 3(2).  
53
- 54 Rahn, W., and Spross, H. (2019). Indonesia elections: Personality, religion and politics.  
55 [https://www.dw.com/en/indonesia-elections-personality-religion-and-politics/a-](https://www.dw.com/en/indonesia-elections-personality-religion-and-politics/a-48349331)  
56 [48349331](https://www.dw.com/en/indonesia-elections-personality-religion-and-politics/a-48349331)  
57  
58  
59  
60



- 1  
2  
3 Raymond, C., Waller, I., and Anderson, A. (2022, May). Measuring Alignment of Online  
4 Grassroots Political Communities with Political Campaigns. In Proceedings of the  
5 International AAAI Conference on Web and Social Media (Vol. 16, pp. 806-816).  
6  
7  
8 Resnick, P., Kuwabara, K., Zeckhauser, R., and Friedman, E. (2000). Reputation systems.  
9 Communications of the ACM, 43(12), 45-48.  
10  
11 Rizal, Y. (2019). Social Media and Indonesia's 2019 Elections.  
12 [https://www.iseas.edu.sg/medias/event-highlights/item/9277-social-media-and-](https://www.iseas.edu.sg/medias/event-highlights/item/9277-social-media-and-indonesias-2019-elections)  
13 [indonesias-2019-elections](https://www.iseas.edu.sg/medias/event-highlights/item/9277-social-media-and-indonesias-2019-elections)  
14  
15 Safiullah, M., Pathak, P., Singh, S., and Anshul, A. (2017). Social media as an upcoming  
16 tool for political marketing effectiveness. *Asia Pacific Management Review*,  
17 22(1), 10-15.  
18  
19 Safiullah, M., Pathak, P., Singh, S., and Anshul, A. (2017, 02/01). Social media as an  
20 upcoming tool for political marketing effectiveness. *Asia Pacific Management*  
21 *Review*. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.apmr.2016.10.007>  
22  
23 Salahudin, Nurmandi, A., Jubba, H., Qodir, Z., Jainuri, and Paryanto. (2020). Islamic  
24 political polarisation on social media during the 2019 presidential election in  
25 Indonesia. *Asian Affairs*, 51(3), 656-671.  
26  
27 Schulz, F.R. (2016) Word of Mouth Impulses Boost Wines of Germany: A Case Study.  
28 In: Szolnoki G., Thach L., Kolb D. (eds) *Successful Social Media and Ecommerce*  
29 *Strategies in the Wine Industry*. Palgrave Macmillan, New York.  
30 [https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137602985\\_4](https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137602985_4).  
31  
32 Sen, A. (1977). Social choice theory: A re-examination. *Econometrica: journal of the*  
33 *Econometric Society*, 53-89.  
34  
35 Seo, E.-J., and Park, J.-W. (2018, 2018/01/01/). A study on the effects of social media  
36 marketing activities on brand equity and customer response in the airline industry.  
37 *Journal of Air Transport Management*, 66, 36-41.  
38 <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jairtraman.2017.09.014>  
39  
40 Septiari, E. D. (2018). The effect of eWOM as Mediation of Website Quality and Trust.  
41 *KINERJA*, 22(2), 142-155. <https://doi.org/10.24002/kinerja.v22i2.1809>  
42  
43 Sihombing, S. O., and Pramono, R. (2021). The integration of social media to the theory  
44 of planned behavior: A case study in Indonesia. *The Journal of Asian Finance,*  
45 *Economics and Business*, 8(5), 445-454.  
46  
47 Singhapakdi, A., Vitell, S., Lee, D.-J., Mellon, A., and Yu, G. (2013, 04/01). The  
48 Influence of Love of Money and Religiosity on Ethical Decision-Making in  
49 Marketing. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 114, 183-191.  
50 <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10551-012-1334-2>  
51  
52 Song, H., Lee, C.-K., Park, J., Hwang, Y., and Reisinger, Y. (2014, 11/07). The Influence  
53 of Tourist Experience on Perceived Value and Satisfaction with Temple Stays:  
54 The Experience Economy Theory. *Journal of Travel and Tourism Marketing*, 32,  
55 401-415. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10548408.2014.898606>  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

- 1  
2  
3 Song, S. Y., Cho, E., and Kim, Y.-K. (2017, 08/01). Personality factors and flow affecting  
4 opinion leadership in social media. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 114,  
5 16-23. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2017.03.058>  
6
- 7 Spackman, J., and Larsen, R. (2017, 09/02). Evaluating the Impact of Social Media  
8 Marketing on Online Course Registration. *The Journal of Continuing Higher*  
9 *Education*, 65, 151-165. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07377363.2017.1368774>  
10
- 11 Statista (2021a). Global digital population as of January 2021. Retrieved from  
12 <https://www.statista.com/statistics/617136/digital-population-worldwide/>  
13
- 14 Statista (2021b). Average time spent using online media in Indonesia in Q3 2020.  
15 Retrieved from [https://www.statista.com/statistics/803524/daily-time-spent-](https://www.statista.com/statistics/803524/daily-time-spent-using-online-media-by-activity-indonesia/)  
16 [using-online-media-by-activity-indonesia/](https://www.statista.com/statistics/803524/daily-time-spent-using-online-media-by-activity-indonesia/)  
17
- 18 Statista (2021c). Most popular social networks worldwide as of January 2021. Rereived  
19 from [https://www.statista.com/statistics/272014/global-social-networks-ranked-](https://www.statista.com/statistics/272014/global-social-networks-ranked-by-number-of-users/)  
20 [by-number-of-users/](https://www.statista.com/statistics/272014/global-social-networks-ranked-by-number-of-users/)  
21
- 22 Statistica, (2021). Number of social media users in Indonesia from 2017 to 2020 with  
23 forecasts until 2026. Jul-2021.  
24 [https://www.statista.com/statistics/247938/number-of-social-network-users-in-](https://www.statista.com/statistics/247938/number-of-social-network-users-in-indonesia/)  
25 [indonesia/](https://www.statista.com/statistics/247938/number-of-social-network-users-in-indonesia/)  
26
- 27 Stefanie, C. (2017). Jokowi Lantik Anggota Dewan Kehormatan Penyelenggara Pemilu.  
28 [https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20170612095242-32-221031/jokowi-](https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20170612095242-32-221031/jokowi-lantik-anggota-dewan-kehormatan-penyelenggara-pemilu)  
29 [lantik-anggota-dewan-kehormatan-penyelenggara-pemilu](https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20170612095242-32-221031/jokowi-lantik-anggota-dewan-kehormatan-penyelenggara-pemilu)  
30
- 31 Susila, I., Dean, D., Yusof, R. N. R., Setyawan, A. A., and Wajdi, F. (2020). Symbolic  
32 political communication, and trust: a young voters' perspective of the  
33 Indonesian presidential election. *Journal of Political Marketing*, 19(1-2), 153-  
34 175.  
35
- 36 Tarka, P. (2018, 2018/01/01). An overview of structural equation modeling: its  
37 beginnings, historical development, usefulness and controversies in the social  
38 sciences. *Quality and Quantity*, 52(1), 313-354. [https://doi.org/10.1007/s11135-](https://doi.org/10.1007/s11135-017-0469-8)  
39 [017-0469-8](https://doi.org/10.1007/s11135-017-0469-8)  
40
- 41 Tavakol, M., and Dennick, R. (2011, 06/27). Making Sense of Cronbach's Alpha.  
42 *International Journal of Medical Education*, 2, 53-55.  
43 <https://doi.org/10.5116/ijme.4dfb.8dfd>  
44
- 45 Tenhunen, S., and Karvelyte, V. ( 2015). The Role Played by Social Media in Political  
46 Participation and Electoral Campaigns.  
47
- 48 The-General-Elections-Commission. (2018). PORTAL PUBLIKASI PILKADA DAN  
49 PEMILU INDONESIA. [infopemilu.kpu.go.id](http://infopemilu.kpu.go.id)  
50
- 51 Tufail, S., Baneen, U., Akram, B., and Sajid, R. (2015). Impact of Social Media on  
52 Political Efficacy and Vote Intention: A Case of Educated Youth. *Journal of*  
53 *Independent Studies and Research-Management, Social Sciences and Economics*,  
54 13. 15-28. <https://doi.org/10.4018/ijom.2013040102>  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

- 1  
2  
3 Vanhove, J. (2021). Collinearity isn't a disease that needs curing. *Meta-Psychology*, 5.  
4  
5  
6 Vesnic-Alujevic, L. (2013). Members of the European Parliament Online: The use of  
7 social media in political marketing. Wilfried Martens Centre for European  
8 Studies.  
9  
10 Virgy, M. A., Destianira, C., and Mustofa, M. U. (2020). Social Media Shutdown: A  
11 Political and Cyber Securitization of Indonesia's 2019 Presidential Election.  
12 *Jurnal Studi Diplomasi Dan Keamanan*, 12(2).  
13  
14 Wald, K., Silverman, A., and Fridy, K. (2005, 06/15). Making Sense of Religion in  
15 Political Life. *Annu. Rev. Polit. Sci.*, 8, 121-143.  
16 <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.polisci.8.083104.163853>  
17  
18 Wang, H.-W., Wu, Y., and Dong, T.-P. (2015, 12/01). Exploring the Impacts of Social  
19 Networking on Brand Image and Purchase Intention in Cyberspace. *JOURNAL*  
20 *OF UNIVERSAL COMPUTER SCIENCE*, 21, 1425-1438.  
21  
22  
23 Welzel, C. (2013), *freedom rising* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).  
24  
25 Wertime, K., and Fenwick, I. (2008). *DigiMarketing: the essential guide to new media*  
26 *and digital marketing*. John Wiley and Sons (Asia).  
27  
28 Wildana, F. (2021). An Explorative Study on Social Media Blocking in Indonesia. *The*  
29 *Journal of Society and Media*, 5(2), 456-484.  
30  
31  
32 Winchester, T., Hall, J., and Binney, W. (2016). Conceptualizing usage in voting behavior  
33 for political marketing: An application of consumer behavior. *Journal of Political*  
34 *Marketing*, 15(2-3), 259-284  
35  
36 Yahia, I. B., Al-Neama, N., and Kerbache, L. (2018, 2018/03/01/). Investigating the  
37 drivers for social commerce in social media platforms: Importance of trust, social  
38 support and the platform perceived usage. *Journal of Retailing and Consumer*  
39 *Services*, 41, 11-19.  
40 <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jretconser.2017.10.021>  
41  
42  
43 Zhang, T., Omran, B., and Cobanoglu, C. (2017, 02/13). Generation Y's positive and  
44 negative eWOM: use of social media and mobile technology. *International*  
45 *Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management*, 29, 732-761.  
46 <https://doi.org/10.1108/IJCHM-10-2015-0611>  
47  
48  
49 Zhao, F., and Collier, A. (2016). *Digital Entrepreneurship: Research and Practice*.  
50  
51 Zhu, Y.-Q., and Chen, H.-G. (2015, 2015/05/01/). Social media and human need  
52 satisfaction: Implications for social media marketing. *Business Horizons*, 58(3),  
53 335-345. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bushor.2015.01.006>  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60