MIRZA ASHFAQ AHMED

University of Gujrat, Pakistan

POLITICAL MARKETING: ROLE OF SOCIALIZATION PROCESS IN THE EVELOPMENT OF VOTING INTENTIONS

Abstract:

In political realm, the political-specific brand equity is gaining growing attention. This effort is to develop a political-specific measurement model to get insight regarding the voter's behavior, voter choices, voting intentions and to generate more valid and reliable results. The literature from the relevant domains including Marketing, Politics, and Behavioral sciences has been reviewed to develop a good understanding and insight into relevant published material and the trends that have emerged there from to review the types of measures. Based on the reviewed measures and their literally proven chronological cause-effect relationships, a conceptual model of voter based brand equity has been proposed. Following questions are hypothesized: (1) what is the contribution of political socialization process in the development of social identity and emotional response? (2) Do the social identity and emotional response positively influence the party trust and party commitment? (3) Do the party trust and party commitment positively influence the voting intentions of the voters? (4) Does the party loyalty have moderating role among the structural relationships of the model constructs? The results indicate that to improve the voting intentions political parties have to engage themselves in the political socialization process.

Keywords:

Political Marketing, Socialization Process, Voting Intentions, Party Politics

JEL Classification: M00, M00

1. INTRODUCTION

Political Marketing is a vibrant and growing field of study that has long-standing ties with management and marketing domains as an academic discipline from both the applied and theoretical perspectives. Analogies of political marketing with mainstream marketing have been justified by number of related concepts (e.g. consumers, market segmentation, marketing mix, image, brand loyalty, product concept and positioning), tools (e.g. market research, communication, and advertising) and strategies (e.g. mass marketing, personalized marketing, relationship marketing and branding strategies). Furthermore, research has proved overtime the similarities between the voters' choice and the brand choice. According to Menon (2008), Political Marketing is the result of merger between Politics and Marketing. Because, both Politics and Marketing affects all facets of individuals way of living and all walk of life (O'Cass and Voola, 2011). The study of Shama (1973), Newman and Sheth (1987), and O'Cass (2002), suggested that the principles of consumer-behavior theory can be equally applied to the voters-behavior as they behave in the same manners. Reeves and de Chernatony (2003), has studied the similarities between voters' choice and brand choice. They concluded that while commercial brand theory is largely appropriate for analyzing the evolving entity, functional and self-concept components of a political brand, consumer brand theory needs greater re-conception to effectively analyze the differentiation, social and relationship building properties of political brands. Similarly, Brennan and Henneberg (2008) and O'Cass, (2009) argued that customer value is conceptually analogous to 'voter value' in Political Market context. Subsequently, research has proven that the branding theories, principles and strategies can be generally applied to all kind of products and services without any exception (Keller, 1993, 1998) and (Aaker, 1982, 1991).

In fact, "branding principles have been applied in virtually every setting where consumer choice of some kind is involved, e.g., with physical goods, services, retail stores, people, organizations, places, or ideas" (Keller, 2002). Therefore, the brand equity concept is equally applicable in the politics as it also involves the people behaviors and choices. The political brand equity can be viewed similar to customer-based brand equity in which equity of political brand can be analyzed by measuring voters' overall brand value

attached to a political party (Golbeck et al. 2010; Gurau and Ayadi, 2011; Ahmed, Lodhi and Ahmad, 2015) as a source of competitive advantage (Hotho and Champion, 2011).

The literature from the relevant domains including Marketing, Politics, and Behavioral sciences has been reviewed to develop a good understanding and insight into relevant published material and the trends that have emerged there from to review the important measures and their dimensionality, facets and chronological cause-effect relationship. Based on the reviewed measures and their literally proven chronological cause-effect relationships, following conceptual model of voter based brand equity has been proposed.
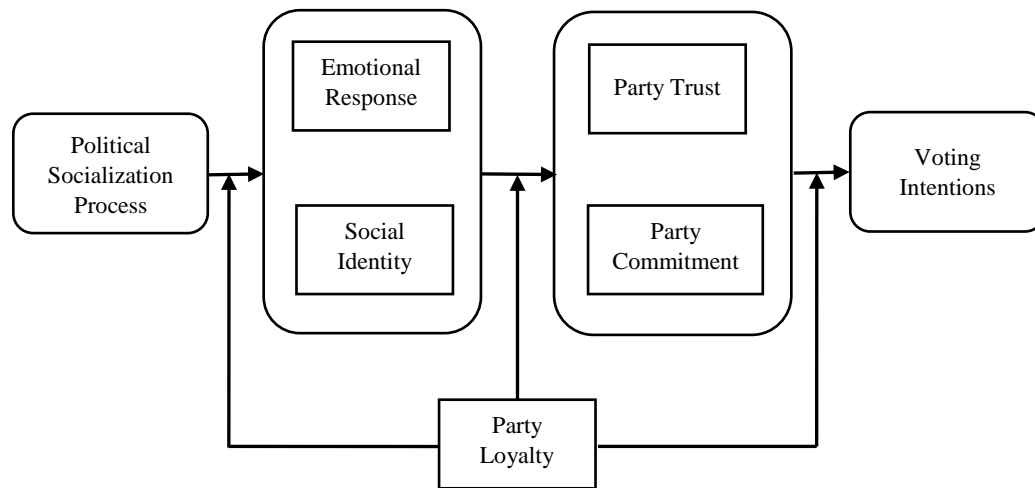
Figure-1: Conceptual Model of the proposed study

2. POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION

Political socialization process facilitates the political persuasion process and encourages the engagement of the people into the politics (Greenstein, 1965). The socialization process is regarded in literature as the safeguard and mechanism for political stability by transmitting the social values to the young cohorts (Sapiro, 2004).There are a number of social agents who play an active role in the political socialization process including family (Dawson and Prewitt, 1969), School or friend (Jaros, 1973; Hess and Torney-Purta, 2005), peers (Coleman, 1961), and media (Hooghe, 2004). The elders' role is prominent in providing the early exposure of the political cultural norms to the Younger's members. In the beginning the elders have more influential role in the political socialization process of the younger members. However, the younger members can influence the elders' political behavior through their political self-learning (McDavitt and Chaffee, 2002). Although the political behavior is not inherited (Almond and Coleman, 2015), but the people understand the role and norms of the political culture through political socialization process (Conover, 1991). Therefore, the political socialization process has been acknowledged to play a central role in shaping the behaviors and attitudes of the people of the communities (Anderson, 2009). Although, the structural social changes, due to globalization, media and individualization, have great impact in influencing the political behavior and attitude in general. However, the young people of the community are more vulnerable to these cultural shifts and their political behavior and attitudes are influenced as a result (Hooghe, 2004; Townera and Dulioa, 2011).Voting behavior and the voting decisions are very complex and dynamic in nature. There are wide and varied factors that influence in shaping the voting behavior of the electorates. The conceptual models (figure-1) represent the different factors that possibly influence the voting intentions. Based on their conclusions, political parties have number of opportunities to shape the voting behavior and intentions of the electorates to certain limits.

3. POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION AND VOTERS EMOTIONAL RESPONSE

The recent literature has established that emotions play a key role in the consumer decision making (Demirbilek and Sener, 2003). The emotional language including Imagination, myths, and

rituals affect the consumer behavior not only in decision making but also the way of communication (Jensen, 1999). The emotions and the behavior have received growing consideration from last few years (Vela´squez, 1998) and approaches associated with them have been studied that provides useful and different insights. These contextual approaches include the role of emotion in creating synthetic personality (Elliott, 1992, Bates, 1994, Reilly, 1996, Kline and Blumberg, 1999) the role of emotion in narrative (Elliott et al. in Vela´squez 1998), in social interaction (Breazeal in Vela´squez, 1998), and in learning and behavior (Kitano, 1994, Can˜amero, 1997 and Seif El-Naser, et al. in Vela´squez 1998). These different approaches influence the behaviors and decision making in related domains and environment.

However, in politics these behaviors and decision making have been dominated by the rational choice models (Arkes, 1993) and the emotional based models in contrast, received less attention in explaining the political behaviors (Redlawsk, 2006; Valentino et al, 2011; Namkoong, Fung, and Scheufele, 2012). Consequently, it was assumed that the individuals' behaviors and decision are largely supported by rational and logics instead of emotions. The influential role of the emotions in voters' decision making and behavior has been established by many recent studies including emotional responses as a passive repository of cognitive input (Marcus et al., 2000) and judgment and response to the current political culture (Hastie & Park, 1986; Lodge & Taber, 2005). Marcus et al. (2000) argued that the role of emotions in political setting can be categorized into two approaches, personality traits and response to the external circumstances. However, the first approach is relatively stable in finalizing the decision and action process in line to the values and attitudes of the voters. According to the second approach the emotions are considered as the responses to the external circumstances associated with the community. As a result of interactions with the community agents the voters may change their opinions. Therefore, the social agents play a vital role in shaping the emotional response of the voters during the socialization process. Similarly, Redlawsk (2006) arguably stated that the processing of information may rely on cognitive approach but the human brains are unable to finalize their decision based on the provided information without incorporating emotions. This claim was further supported by Gray (1990) and Damasio (1994) studies that both types of emotions, positive and negative, leads to improved decision making. These decisions ultimately affect the voters' vote choices, participation and attention (Valentino et al, 2011) these decisions are reinforced by the individual's informational process based on the emotions extracted from the environment. The outcomes of emotions including anger, anxiety and enthusiasm have distinct effects on political interest, participation and motivation in the politics. However, the anger among them has more influential role in the political behavior of the voters. These insights prove that the political participation, interest and motivation are profoundly stemmed from emotional circumstances, events or trends. Therefore, this is essential to recognize the unique role of emotions in the political behavior.

Hypothesis 1: the party role in political socialization process will positively affect emotional response of the voters.

4. SOCIAL IDENTITY AS AN OUTCOME OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION

The Social Identity means to know 'who's who'. The Social Identity involves knowing and understanding each other in the social context in a multi-dimensional way (Jenkins, 2014). This has strong ties with advertising and marketing industry to sell people on premium prices and to selling stuff on identity basis including branding, new look, unique style etc. This is possible as the identity is increasingly becoming the part of self-consciousness and consumer are in aligning their identities with specific people or specific identity of brand names and products in search to find 'New Me'(Lamont and Molnár, 2001). In Politics, the social identity is deeply rooted both from politician and voters context. The politicians are in continuous struggle to represent and reinforce their social identity by wrapping themselves in religious and patriotic approaches. Similarly, the voters are also fighting for their rights and identities including the gender (especially the women fighting for their particular rights), religious groups, social classes, communities and ethnicity. Therefore, the political identity of a party or politician depends on the shared knowledge of the community members as a whole. As the community members get older the political identity becomes stronger (Hooghe, 2004). There are a number of social agents (Community members, Media and party representatives) who play active role in co-creation of the political identity (Pich, Dean, and Punjaisri, 2014).

Erikson (1968) argued that the identity formation is an outward-looking process in which the young community members tend to understand who they are with a social framework. During this process, the young community members exhibit the reflection on values, culture, tradition and ideologies and they anticipate their participation in their adulthood. The participation of youth in the civil and civic rights generally increases their sense of self-Identity, social integration and political awareness (Yates and Youniss, 1996).Later, the experience gained from these aspects support in the development of political identity (Yates and Youniss, 1998). The sense of social identity and society wellbeing responsibility becomes stronger when youth finds chance to use their social skills, developed during their Political Socialization process, to redress social issues and problems

Social identity is defined as "that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to the membership" (Tajfel, 1978). According to the social theory the community members categorize the people into two distinct categories of 'us' and 'them'. Furthermore, this theory highlights that the identification is based on the motivational need to be distinctive and valued as compared to other groups. Therefore, the members of one group are always in struggle to enhance the in-group difference from the out-groups by exhibiting positive attitude and favoritism toward in-group members (Tajfel and Turner, 1986). The categorization and in-group favoritism leads to the development of biased perception of members belonging to in-group and out-groups (Greene, 1999).This claim was further supported by the study of Kelly (1988) who found that the identification of in-group members and differentiation from out-groups was significantly correlated with each other. Furthermore, she found the positive correlation between biased social identity and self-esteem of the group members. This reflects that community members have partisan loyalty toward a political party and consider other political parties as diverse from their political party. She also found the profound effect on inter-party as

well as intra-party perception due to social identity (Kelly 1990). This biased perception results in the development of positive attitude toward one party and negative attitude to all other opposition parties. Greene (1999) further supported the social identity theory and argued that voters have social identifications with political parties that contribute in shaping their perception, attitude and behavior toward political parties.

Hypothesis 2: the party role in political socialization process will positively affect social identity of the voters.

5. POLITICAL TRUST

In recent years, the political trust has received growing and enormous interest in the contemporary literature that is regarded as essential and deemed important for a better society, democracy and for the survival of the institutions that are responsible to make or enforce policies (Citrin and Muste, 1999). According to Levi and Stoker (2000) the trust may be defined as "Trust is relational; it involves an individual making his/herself vulnerable to another individual, group, or institution that has the capacity to do harm or to betray him/her". While the political trust may be defined as the confidence people have in their political system, government and institutions (Schoon and Cheng, 2011). The political trust is the outcome of attitudes and values learned by the community members during their socialization process and these values and attitudes are transferred from generation to generation. Based on this cultural perspective the political trust may be defined as an extension in relational trust, learned through socialization process early in life that is transmitted onto political institutions in the later stages (Inglehart, 1997; Putnam, 2000). However, from the institutional perspective the political trust is based on logics and it is shaped by evaluating the performance of the political institutions (Coleman, 1990; Hetherington, 1998). The magnitude of the political trust in political institution varies depending on individual experience and direct knowledge (Hudson, 2006) .Putting two divergent perspectives together; it is considered that the political trust initially developed in the early age through socialization in which family and school play an important and influential role. In the later age of the individuals the already developed political trust is influenced by evaluating the performance of institutions.

The role of the family has significant role in the development of the political trust in the adolescents. The cognitive ability of the adolescents is directly associated with the social status of their family (Tong et al., 2007). Therefore, adolescents belonging to different social backgrounds have different institutional experiences (Hudson, 2006). Children belonging to more privileged families have better educational opportunities and have increased level of interaction with role models and informal social networks as compared to children belonging to less privileged families due to their financial resources (Schoon et al., 2002; Lerner, 2004). The difference in the social background leads to the development of political trust and cognitive ability in the later stage. Therefore, in the early age the family and the school have direct association with the political trust of the children. However, in the later stage the personal experience of the adults and interaction with other social agents like peers, institutions, or media influence their political trust (Lerner, 2004). This political trust is also shaped by the structural socio-cultural and socio-economic changes (Hudson, 2006). Because, the perception about institutions can be influenced by the

economic cycle due to fluctuation in the economy of the country. Political trust is considered in literature as an important component to drive the political participation (Hooghe and Marien, 2013) and to link community members to the political institutions (Bianco, 1994). Therefore, the political participation and engagement of the community members is based on their political trust and positive orientations about the political system (Almond and Verba, 1963). The political trust is regarded as deemed essential for new regimes and institutions to persist and perform effectively (Mishler and Rose, 2001).

Hypothesis 3: *The strength of emotional response will positively contribute in strengthening the party trust.*
Hypothesis 4: *The strength of social identity will positively contribute in strengthening the party trust*

6. BRAND COMMITMENT

According to Traylor (1981) the brand commitment may be defined as "the degree to which a brand is firmly entrenched as the only acceptable choice within such a product class". Or brand commitment can be defined as an emotional or psychological attachment to brand within a product class (Lastovicka and Gardner, 1978). The brand commitment seems to be the outcome of the ego involvement or felt concern with the product or purchase decision (zaichkowsky, 1985). There are different stages involved in the development of commitment as suggested by Crosby and Taylor (1983). According to him the people first of all get engaged with a particular issue when their special values or ego becomes involved. In the next stage these important values may be connected to a choice alternative known as brand commitment. In the political realm, the people get involved in the social issues and this involvement leads to the choice from alternative political parties. Similarly, the stability of their choices or preference of a political party reflects the positive function of their level of commitment to that political party.

According to the social psychologists, this stability is directly connected with voter's attitude to resist the change. This resistance to change is positively linked with attitude centrality (Rokeach, 1960), increase with strength of involvement (Freedman, 1964), and ego involvement (Ostrom and Brock, 1968). Furthermore, they argue that commitment is associated with decisions that serve to stabilize their behavior (Gerard, 1965). In the literature the commitment has three types (Lee and Zeiss, 1980), cognitive commitment based on knowledge aspect, attitudinal form emphasizes on personal dispositions, and behavioral commitment refers to commitment by doing. However, the sociologists are mainly interested in commitment related to behaviors. Their keen interest is in the process by which behavioral acts guide the individual's response. The sociologist consider commitment as social or societal factors that influence one to carry on a particular line of action or the one's perception that the discontinuation or switching costs are very high (Johnson, 1973). In consumer behavior, it is argued that the stability of commitment is directly linked with brand loyalty and resistance to persuasive communication. Therefore, the true loyalty is based on strong commitment and involvement in the particular brand (Day, 1969) that leads to a positive behavior and attitude toward a particular brand (Jacoby and Kyner, 1973).Based on

these arguments; Robertson (1976) defined commitment as "the strength of the one's belief system with regard to a product or a brand". According to Crosby and Taylor (1983) the psychological commitment may be defined as the tendency to resist change in choice or preference in response to opposite experience or information.

Psychological commitment is increased when the motivation of individuals is based on needs and their self-images connected to the choices or preferences leading to support their involvement. Therefore, the psychological perspective is different from the sociological perspective as the former refers to the stability to external persuasive information or experience while the later refers to stability to internal states of individual. This argument claims that the variation in commitment is directly linked with the strength of cognitive-affective-behavioral support connected with preference. The political decisions are very complex and the decisions are a complex combination of cognitive-affective-behavioral approaches. Therefore, a specific stand of the voters may be based on many reasons. The influence of these approaches may vary but together their influence contributes in commitment of voters to a particular preference. The particular stand of the voter is also influenced when psychological costs are very high to deviate from the decision. Therefore, one can argue that the attitudes and beliefs have important contribution in voter's commitment. These attitudes and beliefs are developed during the socialization process where voters interact with them members of the social network. Social networks facilitate the members to create structural meaning of their commitment that facilitates them to continue their commitment over time. This structural meaning of commitment stems from the interaction of the members with formal, informal networks and from their self-interaction (Jacoby, 1969).In this way individuals learn the meaning of interaction and incorporate these meaning into their social knowledge. This social learning formalizes the structural meaning of the individuals (Passy and Giugni, 2000). Political participation stems from these structural meaning of the individual and support them in taking a specific political stance.

Hypothesis 5: The strength of emotional response will positively contribute in improving the political commitment.
Hypothesis 6: Higher is the social identity higher will be the political commitment of the voters.

7. VOTING INTENTIONS

Attitudes as well as the voting intentions are regarded as highly predictive of voting behavior in the literature (Schuman and Johnson, 1976; Ajzen and Fishbein, 1977). Attitudes and Behaviors, developed during socialization process, have central importance in the development of social norms of the individuals. The individuals at the same time may be participating in various social groups (Sherif and Sherif, 1964), each social group has its particular set of social norms and values. The primary groups (Parents, Siblings, Life-long friends) have more influential contribution in shaping the social norms than secondary groups. Because, the primary groups are intimate, more stable, Long-lasting and unified as compared to the secondary groups (Glynn, Huge, and Lunney, 2009). The individual have strong influence of the group norms to which they have strong relational ties or they have profound perception of similarity (Rimal, 2008). These social norms shape up the behaviors and voting intentions of the individuals. In addition to social norms ethnic voting and economic voting are also regarded as powerful contributors in shaping the voting

intentions. In case of ethnic voting the voters belonging to a particular ethnic group show an unbalanced affinity for a political party of their interest at the Election Day (Wolfinger, 1965). They prefer and motivate the like-minded voters to vote for a particular party in simple majority. The fundamental purpose of the ethnic voting is to express solidarity to support in electing the members from their own ethnic group for politically powerful positions to gain collective representation (Posner, 2005).Under such circumstances, ethnic voting and cultural demography is the primary determinant of the voting intentions. In economic voting situations, people generally vote for the ruling political party if prevailing economic situations are good otherwise they tend to vote against the ruling party (Key, 1964; Tufte, 1978; Lewis-Beck and Stegmaier, 2000). Therefore, the political results are based on the economic situation and economic recession elevates voter turnout. In this way, considering the ruling political party being responsible for economic recession, the voters punish the party by casting vote against them. However, the economic voting is far more common in developing countries than the developed ones (Lewis-Beck and Stegmaier, 2008; Bratton, Bhavnani, and Chen, 2012).

Hypothesis 7: The level of party trust will positively contributes in enhancing the voting intentions.
Hypothesis 8: The strength of the party commitment will positively affect the voting intentions.

8. BRAND LOYALTY

Brand loyalty has been defined and measured in numerous ways by a number of researchers. It can be defined from the behavioral perspective as the degree to which a buying unit, such as a household, concentrates its purchases over time on a particular brand within a product category (Schoell and Guiltinan, 1990). From an attitudinal perspective, brand loyalty is defined as "the tendency to be loyal to a focal brand as demonstrated by the intention to buy it as a primary choice" (Oliver, 1997). Both dimensions of brand loyalty have significant role in understanding a political brand and its interaction with the individual consumers. Although price does not has any relevancy and direct impact on politics in the sense of monetary exchanges. However, when the price is measured in term of sum of all values that customers give up in order to gain something of value (Kotler and Armstrong, 2009), then the price has major contribution in the development of political loyalty. There is also a sense of mutual responsibility among voters to vote a politician from whom they have something of value. Aaker (1996) defined price premium as a fundamental indicator of loyalty and observed when customers pay additional amount over less preferred brands. In case of politics, the sacrifice of time, effort, frustration and psychic cost of supporting less or none preferred party or politician are exhibit "prices" to be paid. Customer satisfaction with politicians is also has useful and major contribution in developing brand loyalty. Furthermore, the political parties have to pay electoral price to gain the political loyalty (Carson et al., 2010).

The political loyalty has many analogies with the brand loyalty that facilitate to analyze the voter choice (Needham, 2006). First, brands minimize the requirement of detailed information, similar to party labels that reduce voter's effort to get familiar with all the policies of a party of their choice (McDonald, de Chernatony and Harris, 2001). Secondly, brands strengthen reassurance by focusing on standardization and building trust between provider and consumer, much similar to parties focus on unity to generate voter trust (Feldwick, 1991). Thirdly, brands, like political

parties, arouse a specific vision and promise voter to enrich their personal life (White and Chernatony, 2002). Fourthly, similar to brands, political party emphasize on core values development to maintain and enhance the voter support (Marzano, 2000). Political loyalty is regarded as the lifeblood for the political parties as the absence of loyalty leads to electoral volatility (Sniderman, Forbes, and Melzer, 1974). The political loyalty is directly linked to the strength of societal roots. Political party that is successful in developing the strong relational ties with the social networks and emphasize on developing stable constituencies through strong identities is always likely to have strong political loyalty (Gherghina, 2014). Because, individuals political affiliation are embedded in strong social networks that support to develop thrust of affiliation that is hard to reverse in near future. The intensity of social gathering tends to shape and strengthen the political loyalties (Djupe, 2000). However, the political loyalties may differ on age basis as the older voters are less vulnerable to persuasive political communications and party switching. On the other hand, the youth are more vulnerable due to the political talk shows, jarring political events, candidate appearance, geographical shifts, or economic mobility.

Hypothesis 9*: Party loyalty has a stronger moderating effect on all the structural relationships from Hypothesis 1 to Hypothesis 8.*

3.0 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Measurement

All factors included in the conceptual framework (Figure-1) were measured by using seven point Likert scale. The questionnaire was based on the valid and reliable scales adapted from the relevant literature. In this bipolar scale 1 represents the strongest degree of disagreement and 7 represents strongest degree of agreement. Questionnaire consisted of two parts. In the first part responses were collected by using adapted scale. The second part of the questionnaire included demographic variables closely related to the politics and socialization.

3.2 Data Collection

The proposed research hypotheses were analyzed with data collected via survey conducted in the USA by using self administered questionnaire. The responses were collected from USA residents through Amazon Mechanical Turk. Data collected from 323 respondents and 318 responses were used for final analysis after deleting incomplete responses. The summary of the demographic profile of the respondents is provided in table-1. Respondents comprised of 50.6% male and 49.04% female. The majority of the respondents (41.8%) were from 26-35 age group followed by (23.9%) from 46 and above age group. Half of the respondents (50.3%) were never married and 37.7% were married. 29.9% respondents belong to suburb of the big city followed by 20.8% from large size city and 18.9% from moderate size city. Majority of respondents were white/Caucasian (66.4%) followed by Asian (18.2%). The political affiliation of the respondents were Democratic (51.3%), Independent (26.1%), Republican (20.1%), Libertarian (2.2%).

Table 1

Demographic Characteristics of samples (Total sample size = 318)

Characteristics	Category	N	%	Characteristics	Category	N	%
Gender	Male	161	50.6	**Qualification**	Some high school or less	5	1.6
	Female	157	49.4		Graduated from high school	43	13.5
					Some college or technical school	81	25.5
Age	Below 25	57	17.9		Graduated from community college or technical school	41	12.9
	26-35	133	41.8		Graduated from four-year college	109	34.3
	36-45	52	16.4		Post-graduate	39	12.3
	46 and Above	76	23.9	**Race**	White/Caucasian	211	66.4
Marital Status	Married	120	37.7		African American	29	9.1
	Divorced or separated	31	9.7		Hispanic	12	3.8
	Widow(er)	7	2.2		Asian	58	18.2
	Have never been married	160	50.3		Native American	3	.9
					Other	5	1.6
Geographical Location	Rural	55	17.3				
	Suburb of a big city	95	29.9	**Monthly Income**	$20,000 or less	71	22.3
	Large size city	66	20.8		$20,001 - $40,000	91	28.6
	Moderate size city	60	18.9		$40,001 - $60,000	64	20.1
	Smaller city	42	13.2		$60,001 - $80,000	45	14.2
					$80,001 - $100,000	24	7.5
Employment	Employed full-time by others	164	51.6		More than $100,000	23	7.2
	Employed part-time by others	52	16.4				
	Operate own business	37	11.6	**Political Affiliation**	Democratic	163	51.3
	Retired	12	3.8		Republican	64	20.1
	Temporarily unemployed	22	6.9		Independent	83	26.1
	Full-time student	12	3.8		Libertarian	7	2.2
	Not employed at all	19	6.0		Young Outsider	1	.3

4.0 Results

4.1 Unidimensionality assessment

The unidimensionality of each scale related to all factors mentioned in the conceptual framework was assessed by performing the exploratory factor analysis and confirmatory factor analysis. First of all a reliability test was conducted for screening the measurement scales of each factor. The items having weak contribution to coefficient alpha and low item-to-item correlation were dropped. Items that meet the Nunnally's (1978) reliability acceptable cut value of 0.70 were retained. Table-

2 shows that each construct has Cronbatch Alpha value above 0.80. Each construct was evaluated by conducting statistical significance tests to verify the acceptable fit of the proposed measurement model. These constructs were evaluated by examining the significance tests of each estimated loadings and the overall model goodness-of-fit criteria. Table-2 represents that all items loading exceeded .50 and t-value of all indicators exceeded 8.73 ($p<.001$). The root mean squared error approximation (RMSEA) value .060 was less that recommended threshold value 0.08 (Newcomb, 1994). The values of comparative fit-index (CFI) .93 and Tucker-Lewis index (TLI) .92 were above the 0.90 recommended values. Furthermore, the values of average variance extracted (AVE), composite construct reliability and squared multiple correlation were calculated to assess the internal reliability and validity tests as given in table-2.

Table-2
Description of items used to measure the constructs

	Standardized Loading t-value	AVE	CCR	SMC	Cronbach α
1-Political Socialization		.46	.83		.83
• PS 1	0.52(8.75)			.28	
• PS 2	0.53(8.86)			.28	
• PS 3	0.51(8.51)			.26	
• PS 4	0.68(11.68)			.46	
• PS 5	0.65(11.08)			.42	
• PS 7	0.67(11.48)			.22	
• PS 8	0.82(Fixed)			.45	
Emotional Response		.50	.86		.88
• ER 4	0.88(11.51)			.78	
• ER 5	0.87(11.39)			.75	
• ER 6	0.75(12.71)			.57	
• ER 7	0.60(8.73)			.36	
• ER 8	0.62(Fixed)			.40	
Social Identity		.72	.95		.95
• SI 1	0.85(18.39)			.72	
• SI 2	0.90(20.28)			.80	
• SI 3	0.89(19.89)			.78	
• SI 4	0.86(18.84)			.74	
• SI 5	0.79(16.35)			.62	
• SI 6	0.81(17.24)			.66	
• SI 7	0.84(Fixed)			.71	
Political Trust		.74	.89		.89
• PT 1	0.90(16.62)			.81	
• PT 2	0.91(16.71)			.82	
• PT 5	0.77(Fixed)			.59	
Political Commitment		.64	.85		.83
• PC 3	0.86(14.14)			.74	
• PC 4	0.77(13.09)			.60	
• PC 5	0.77(Fixed)			.59	
Voting Intentions		.70	.87		.87
• VI 1	0.81(14.94)			.65	
• VI 2	0.91(16.50)			.82	
• VI 3	0.80(Fixed)			.63	

Note: CCR = composite construct reliability; AVE = average variance extracted; Comparative Fit Index (CFI) = .93;
Root Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA) = .06; Tucker-Lewis index (TLI) = .92.
a Hypothesized model with standardized parameter estimates for the full sample (N = 318).

The Pearson correlations of constructs were evaluated and the correlation matrix is presented in table-3. The Pearson correlations provided the strength of relationship between each construct. The political trust and social identity constructs were most highly correlated with (r=.613, p<.01), followed by emotional response and social identity with (r=.608, p<.01), political trust and voting intentions (r=.585, p<.01), social identity and political Commitment (r=.544, p<.01). The correlation between political socialization and political Commitment emerged as the lowest correlation with (r=.211, p<.01).

Table No. 3
Correlation Estimates and Construct Means

		1	2	3	4	5	6	M	SD
1	Political Socialization	1						5.18	1.03
2	Emotional Response	.310**	1					4.52	1.31
3	Social Identity	.410**	.608**	1				4.59	1.22
4	Political Trust	.399**	.507**	.613**	1			5.21	1.17
5	Political Commitment	.211**	.526**	.544**	.373**	1		3.79	1.54
6	Voting Intentions	.291**	.387**	.506**	.585**	.289**	1	5.49	1.19

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table No. 4
Structural Model Results

	Hypothesized relationship	Proposed Model		
		Standardized Path Coefficient	t-value	Results
H1	Political Socialization →Emotional Response (γ_1)	.38	5.12***	Supported
H2	Political Socialization→Social Identity(γ_2)	.50	6.30***	Supported
H3	Emotional Response → Party Trust (β_1)	.25	3.40***	Supported
H4	Emotional Response→Political Commitment(β_2)	.38	4.81***	Supported
H5	Social Identity→ Party Trust(β_3)	.54	7.64***	Supported
H6	Social Identity→Political Commitment(β_4)	.34	4.34***	Supported
H7	Party Trust → Voting Intensions (β_5)	.64	9.62***	Supported
H8	Political Commitment → Voting Intentions (β_6)	.06	.92 NS	Not Supported

*** $p<.001$, NS = not significant, $X^2(354) = 672.16$; NNFI = .942; CFI = .949; NFI = .899; RMSEA = .053; SRMR = .059

Table No. 5
Results of multigroup comparison test

Hypothesized relationship		Standardized Path Coefficient (t-value)		X^2 Difference	Model Fit Indices
		High Loyalty	Low Loyalty		NNFI/CFI/RMSEA
H1	Political Socialization →Emotional Response	.298*** (4.174)	.308*** (4.174)	4.88**	.893/.906/.047
H2	Political Socialization→Social Identity	.450*** (5.176)	.361*** (5.176)	2.72*	
H3	Emotional Response → Party Trust	.441** (3.168)	.528** (3.168)	.001ns	
H4	Emotional Response→Political Commitment	.306*** (4.874)	.390*** (4.874)	.535ns	
H5	Social Identity→ Party Trust	.466***(6.624)	.494***(6.624)	.307ns	
H6	Social Identity→Political Commitment	.294*** (5.214)	.469*** (5.214)	.864ns	
H7	Party Trust → Voting Intensions	.451*** (6.664)	.451*** (6.664)	1.17ns	

*** $p<.001$, ** $p< .01$, * $p<.05$, X^2 (710) = 1215.947 (P<.001)

4.2 **Structural equation models and hypothesis testing**

The research hypotheses of the proposed model were tested with structural equation path models as it provides a broad, integrative function and integrate many statistical methods (Bagozzi and Yi, 2012). The data was analyzed using AMOS version 16 in two stages. At first stage, all proposed hypotheses of the model from H1 to H8 were tested with full sample (N=318). At the second stage, the moderating effect of gender and party commitment was tested by dividing the sample into two groups for each moderator (Gender: Male N=161 and Female N=157; party commitment: High party commitment verses low party commitment).All hypotheses from H1 to H8 were tested for both samples to evaluate the moderating effect of gender and party commitment. The results of the moderating effects were presented in table-5.

4.2.1 **Overall model results**

The hypothesized structural relationships in the model were tested by using structural equation modeling technique. The conceptual model provided adequate goodness-of-fit to the data, $X2$ (354) = 672.16; NNFI=.942; CFI=.949; NFI=.899; RMSEA=.053; SRMR=.059. Overall, the proposed model explained 26% variance in Social Identity (Squared Multiple Correlation [SMC] =.26), 15% of the variance in Emotional Response (SMC=.15), 44% variance in Political Commitment (SMC=.44), 54% of the variance in Party Trust (SMC=.54) and 44% of variance in Voting Intentions (SMC=.44). The proposed model for PML-N explained 24% variance in Party Association (SMC = .24), 64% of the variance in Party Image (SMC = .64) and 59% of variance in Voting Preferences (SMC = .59).

Table-4 provided the estimates of the structural coefficients for basic test of the hypothesized structural relationships. The effects of political socialization on emotional response, effects of emotional response on party trust and effects of party trust on voting intentions were first addressed (Hypotheses H1,H3 and H7). The proposed relationship between political socialization and emotional response (Hypothesis H1) was supported by the positive path coefficient (standardized $\gamma_{1=}.38$), statistically significant at the $p<.001$ level. The emotional response effects party trust by the positive path coefficient (standardized $\beta_1 =.25$), statistically significant at the $p<.001$ level and party trust effects voting intentions by the positive path coefficient (standardized

β_5 =.64) statistically significant at the p<.001 level thus supporting hypothesis 3 and hypothesis 7. Secondly, the effects of political socialization on social identity, effects of social identity on political Commitment and affects of political Commitment on voting intentions were addressed (Hypotheses H2, H6 and H8). The proposed relationship between political socialization and social identity (Hypothesis H2) was supported by the positive path coefficient (standardized γ_{2} = .50), statistically significant at the p<.001 level. The social identity effects political Commitment by the positive path coefficient (standardized β_4=.34), statistically significant at the p<.001 level. However, political Commitment does not affect voting intentions by the path coefficient (standardized β_6 =.06, ns) thus supporting hypothesis 6 and not supporting hypothesis 8. Hypotheses H4 and H5 suggest that emotional response has positive effect on political Commitment and social identity has positive effect on party trust. The empirical results given in table 4 supported that emotional response does increase political Commitment (standardized β_2 =.38, p< .001) and similarly social identity does increase party trust (standardized β_3 =.54, p< .001).

4.2.2 Mediation Model Results

The mediation analysis was performed by using Process Model (Hayes, 2013) to test mediating effects of emotional response, social identity, party trust and political Commitment. The results indicate that the social identity is significantly mediating the political socialization and voting intentions relationship (β = .22, SE = .066 [.086 ~ .344]). Similarly, political trust is also significantly mediating the political socialization and voting intentions relationship (β = .43, SE = .060 [.318 ~ .553]). It is also notable that political trust is a stronger mediator than social identity. Emotional response and social identity together are partially mediating the effects of political socialization on voting intentions (β = .043, SE = .017 [.017 ~ .084]) as their indirect effects are greater than direct insignificant mediating effects of socialization process on voting intentions (β = .024, SE = .058, p<.671). Emotional response and political trust are also partially mediating the political socialization and voting intentions relationship (β = .03   1, SE = .013 [.012 ~ .063]). Similarly, other partially mediating effects of combined mediators are emotional response and social identity (β = .035, SE = .011 [.018 ~ .065]), social identity and political trust (β = .081, SE = .027 [.037 ~ .144]).

4.2.3 Moderation model results

The moderating affects of party loyalty was tested by using multigroup approach. In this approach, the moderating affects were estimated by dividing the entire data into two subgroups on the basis of strength of party (high party loyalty and low party loyalty). The complete data set (N=318) was divided into two subgroups including 163 cases of high party loyalty and 155 cases for low party loyalty. The purpose of this multigroup along with path analysis is to test whether party loyalty positively and significantly moderate the relationships of selected constructs presented in the conceptual model (Figure-1). Each path of the conceptual model was constrained one by one to measure the affects of both groups and then each path was freely estimated. The X^2difference test in AMOS was used to evaluate the difference between high party loyalty and low party loyalty. The moderation results are presented in table 5. The results of X^2difference comparison indicates that there is significant difference between high party loyalty (β = .298, p<.001) and low party loyalty (β = .308, p<.001) in the relationship between political socialization and emotional

response ($\Delta X^2/\Delta$d.f. =4.88, $p<$.01). These results provide evidence that party loyalty significantly moderate the affect of relationship between political socialization and emotional response. Therefore, the hypothesis-1 was supported. These results support that the political consumers having low party loyalty show more emotional response as compared to the political consumers having high party loyalty. Similarly, the results of X^2difference comparison indicates that there is significant difference between high party loyalty (β = .450, $p<$.001) and low party loyalty (β = .361, $p<$.001) in the relationship between political socialization and social identity ($\Delta X^2/\Delta$d.f. =2.72, $p<$.05). Thus, strength of party loyalty also significantly moderates the relationships between political socialization and social identity. These results provide the evidence those voters having high party loyalty show greater social identity that voters having low party loyalty. The X^2difference test for other relationships was also performed and it was noted that all other relationships were not significantly difference for high and low party loyalty.

6.0 CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATION

This study concludes that political socialization process is an important component of the political system and intensively contributes in the development of voting intentions. Political socialization process directly contributes in the development of voters' emotional response, social identity, party trust and party commitments. This study examines the relationships among political socialization process and its resulting constructs and evaluates the direct and indirect role of political socialization in the development of voting intentions. Specifically, this study analyze the role of political socialization in voter's emotional response and social identity, affects of both constructs on party trust and party commitment and finally the affects of party trust and commitment in the development of voting intentions. Based on these propositions a conceptual model is proposed (figure-1). The model exhibits the mediating role of emotional response, social identity, party trust and party commitment. The results show that social identity and party trust significantly mediate the affects of political socialization process and voting intentions. However, the party trust is a stronger mediator than social identity. The mediating constructs are together partially mediate the affects of relationships between political socialization process and voting intentions. Thus, it is concluded that mediators are mediating the affects of proposed relationships in the conceptual model.

In addition, the moderation affects of party loyalty were also tested. The moderation test was done by splitting the whole data into two subgroups based on strength of their loyalty (high party loyalty and low party loyalty). The results indicate that the affects of relationship between political socialization process and emotional response was significantly moderated by subgroups of party loyalty. It is interesting to note that the voters having low party loyalty have stronger emotional response than voters having high party loyalty. This shows that high party loyalty helps voters to control their emotional response toward political activities. Similarly, the affects of relationships between political socialization and social identity is also significantly moderated by the strength of party loyalty. Results indicate that voters having high party loyalty have strong social identity as compared to voters having low party loyalty. This means the party loyalty directly contributes in strengthening the social identity of voters.

The conceptual model postulates that political parties can increase voting intentions of the voters for their parties by actively participating in the socialization process of the voters. Similarly, the

political parties have to develop roadmaps for enhancing the emotional response, social identity, party trust, and party Commitment to increase the voting intentions as these constructs mediate the relationships of political socialization process and voting intentions. This study also suggests that as social identity is significantly mediation the affects of relationships between political socialization process and voting intentions. Secondly, the party loyalty directly contributes in strengthening the social identity. Therefore, political parties can enhance the social identity and voting intentions of the voters by increasing their party loyalty. This study provides the roadmap to the competing political parties that how they can improve their vote-bank by developing voting intentions of the voters.

7.0 REFERENCES

Aaker, D. (1982). Positioning Your Product. *Journal of Business Horizons*, Vol.25, pp. 56-62.

Aaker, D. (1991). *Managing Brand Equity*. The Free Press, New York.

Aaker, D.A. (1996). Measuring brand equity: across products and markets. *Journal of California Management Review*, Vol. 38 No. 3, pp. 102-20.

Ahmed, M. A., Lodhi, S. A., and Ahmad, Z. (2015). Political Brand Equity Model: The Integration of Political Brands in Voter Choice. *Journal of Political Marketing*, 1-33.

Ajzen, Icek, and Martin Fishbein (1977). Attitude-Behavior Relations: A Theoretical Analysis and Review of Empirical Research. *Psychological Bulletin*, 84:888-918.

Almond, G. A., & Coleman, J. S. (Eds.). (2015). *The politics of the developing areas*. Princeton University Press.

Almond, G. and Verba, S. (1963). *The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Anderson, M. R. (2009). Beyond membership: A sense of community and political behavior. *Political Behavior*, *31*(4), 603-627.

Arkes, H. R. (1993). Some practical judgment and decision-making research. *Individual and group decision making: Current issues*, 3-18.

Bagozzi, R. P., & Yi, Y. (2012). Specification, evaluation, and interpretation of structural equation models. *Journal of the academy of marketing science*,*40* (1), 8-34.

Bagozzi, R. P., Gopinath, M., & Nyer, P. U. (1999). The role of emotions in marketing. *Journal of the academy of marketing science*, *27*(2), 184-206.

Bates, J. (1994). The Role of Emotion in Believable Agents. *Communications of the ACM,* 37(7):122-125

Blumer, H. (1969). *Symbolic Interactionism*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Bianco, W. T. (1994). *Trust: Representatives and constituents*. University of Michigan Press.

Bratton, M., Bhavnani, R., & Chen, T. H. (2012). Voting intentions in Africa: ethnic, economic or partisan? *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*, *50*(1), 27-52.

Brennan, R.and Henneberg, S.C. (2008). Does political marketing need the concept of customer value? *Marketing Intelligence and Planning*, Vol. 26, No. 6, pp. 559–572.

CAÑAMERO, D. (1997). Modeling Motivations and Emotions as a Basis for Intelligent Behavior. In W. Lewis Johnson, ed., Proceedings of the First International Conference on Autonomous Agents (New York, NY: ACM Press), 148-155.

Carson, J. L., Koger, G., Lebo, M. J., & Young, E. (2010).The electoral costs of party loyalty in Congress. *American Journal of Political Science*, *54*(3), 598-616.

Citrin, J., & Muste, C. (1999). Trust in government. In J. P. Robinson, P. F. Shaver, & L. S. Wrightsman (Eds.), *Measures of political attitudes* (pp.465–532). San Diego, CA: Academic Press.

Coleman, J. S. (1990). *Foundations of social theory.* Cambridge, MA:Harvard University Press.

Conover, P. J. (1991). Political socialization: Where's the politics. *Political science: Looking to the future*, *3*, 125-52.

Crosby, L. A., & Taylor, J. R. (1983).Psychological commitment and its effects on post-decision evaluation and preference stability among voters. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 413-431.

Damasio, A. R. (1994). Descartes' error: Emotion, rationality and the human brain. *New York: Putnam*, *352*, 1061-1070.

Day, George S. (1969). A Two-Dimensional Concept of Brand Loyalty. *Journal of Advertising Research*, 9,29-36.

Dawson, R., Prewitt, K., & Dawson, K. (1969). Political Socialization (Boston, Little, Brown). *Dawson Political Socialisation,1969*.

Demirbilek, O., & Sener, B. (2003). Product design, semantics and emotional response. *Ergonomics*, *46*(13-14), 1346-1360.

Djupe, P. A. (2000). Religious brand loyalty and political loyalties. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, *39*(1), 78-89.

Elliot, C.D. (1992). The Affective Reasoner: A Process Model of Emotions in a Multi-Agent System. Ph.D. Thesis, Institute for the Learning Sciences, Northwestern University.

Erikson, E. H. (1968). *Identity.* Norton.

Feldwick, P. (1991). Defining a brand. *Understanding brands*, 17-30.

Freedman, Jonathan L. (1964). Involvement, Discrepancy, and Change. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 69(3), 290-295.

Gerard, Harold B. (1965). Deviation, Conformity, and Commitment, in Current Studies in Social Psychology, eds.I. D. Steiner and M. Fishbein, New York: Holt, Rinehart& Winston, 263-277.

Gherghina, S. (2014). *Party Organization and Electoral Volatility in Central and Eastern Europe: Enhancing Voter Loyalty.* Routledge.

Glynn, C. J., Huge, M. E., &Lunney, C. A. (2009).The influence of perceived social norms on college students' intention to vote. *Political Communication*, *26*(1), 48-64.

Golbeck, J., Grimes, J.M. and Rogers, A. (2010). Twitter use by US congress. *Journal of the American Society for Science and Technology*, Vol. 61, No. 8, pp. 1612-21.

Gray, J. A. (1990). Brain systems that mediate both emotion and cognition. *Cognition & Emotion*, *4*(3), 269-288.

Greene, S. (1999). Understanding party identification: A social identity approach. *Political Psychology*, *20*(2), 393-403.

Greenstein, F. I. (1965).*Children and Politics.* Volume 13, Yale University Press, USA

Gurau, C. and Ayadi, N. (2011).Political communication management: The strategy of the two main candidates during the 2007 French presidential elections. *Journal of Communication Management*, Vol. 15, No. 1 pp. 5 – 22.

Hastie, R., & Park, B. (1986). The relationship between memory and judgment depends on whether the judgment task is memory-based or on-line. *Psychological review*, *93*(3), 258.

Hayes, A. F. (2013). *Introduction to mediation, moderation, and conditional process analysis: A regression-based approach.* Guilford Press.

Hess, R. D., &Torney-Purta, J. V. (2005). *The development of political attitudes in children*.Transaction Publishers.

Hetherington, M. J. (1998). The political relevance of trust.*AmericanPolitical Science Review, 92,* 791–808. doi:10.2307/2586304

Hooghe, M. (2004). Political socialization and the future of politics. *ActaPolitica*, *39*(4), 331-341.

Hooghe, M., &Marien, S. (2013). A comparative analysis of the relation between political trust and forms of political participation in Europe. *European Societies*, *15*(1), 131-152.

Hotho, S., & Champion, K. (2011). Small businesses in the new creative industries: innovation as a people management challenge. Management Decision, 49(1), 29-54.

Hudson, J. (2006). Institutional trust and subjective well-being across theEU. *Kyklos, 59,* 43–62.

Inglehart, R. (1997). *Modernization and post modernization: Cultural, economic, and political change in 43 societies.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Jacoby, Jacob (1976), "Consumer Research: Telling It Like ItIs," in Advances in Consumer Research, Vol. 3, ed. Beverley B. Anderson, Ann Arbor, MI: Association for Consumer Research, 1-11.

Jacoby and David B. Kyner (1973), "Brand Loyalty Versus Repeat Purchasing Behavior," Journal of Marketing Research, 10, 1-9.

Jaros, D. (1973). *Socialization to politics*. Praeger.

Jenkins, R. (2014). *Social identity.*Routledge.

Johnson, Michael P. (1973), "Commitment: A Conceptual Structure and Empirical Application," Sociological Quarterly, 14, 395-406.

Keller, K.L. (1993). Conceptualizing, measuring and managing customer based brand equity. *Journal of Marketing.* Vol. 57, No. 1, pp 1-23.

Keller, K.L. (1998). *Building, Measuring and Managing Brand Equity*, Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs, NJ.

Keller, K.L. (2002). *Branding and brand equity.* in Weitz, B.A. and Wensley, R. (Eds), Handbook of Marketing, Sage, Thousand Oaks, CA.

Kelly, C. (1988). Intergroup differentiation in a political context. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 27, 319-332.

Key, V. O. (1964). *Politics, Parties and Pressure Groups* (New York: Crowell).

Kitano, H. (1995). A Model for Hormonal Modulation of Learning. In: Proceedings of IJCAI-95. Montreal.

Kline, C., & Blumberg, B. (1999). The art and science of synthetic character design. In *Proceedings of the AISB 1999 Symposium on AI and Creativity in Entertainment and Visual Art*.

Kotler, P. and Armstrong, G. (2009). *Principles of Marketing,* 13th edition. Prentice Hall, New Jersey

Lamont, M., & Molnár, V. (2001). How blacks use consumption to shape their collective identity evidence from marketing specialists. *Journal of Consumer Culture*, *1*(1), 31-45.

Lee, Barrett A. and Carol A. Zeiss (1980), "Behavioral Commitment to the Role of Sport Consumer: An Exploratory Analysis," Sociology and Social Research, 64(3), 405-415.

Lerner, R. M. (2004). *Liberty: Thriving and civic engagement among America's youth.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Levi, M., & Stoker, L. (2000). Political trust and trustworthiness. *Annual review of political science*, *3*(1), 475-507.

Lewis-Beck, M. & Stegmaier, M. (2008). The economic vote in transitional democracies, *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties*, 18(3), pp. 303–323.

Lewis-Beck, M. & Stegmaier, M. (2000). Economic determinants of electoral outcomes, *Annual Review of Political Science,* 3, pp. 183–219.

Lodge, M., & Taber, C. S. (2005). The automaticity of affect for political leaders, groups, and issues: An experimental test of the hot cognition hypothesis. *Political Psychology*, *26*(3), 455-482.

Marcus, G. E., Neuman, W. R., & MacKuen, M. (2000). *Affective intelligence and political judgment.* University of Chicago Press.

Marzano, S. (2000). Branding= distinctive authenticity. *Brand New. London: VandA*, 58-9.

McDevitt, M., and Chaffee, S. (2002). From top-down to trickle-up influence: Revisiting assumptions about the family in political socialization. *Political Communication*, *19*(3), 281-301.

McDonald, M. H., de Chernatony, L., & Harris, F. (2001).Corporate marketing and service brands-Moving beyond the fast-moving consumer goods model. *European Journal of Marketing*, *35*(3/4), 335-352.

Mishler, W., & Rose, R. (2001). What are the origins of political trust? Testing institutional and cultural theories in post-communist societies. *Comparative political studies*, *34*(1), 30-62.

Namkoong, K., Fung, T. K., & Scheufele, D. A. (2012). The politics of emotion: News media attention, emotional responses, and participation during the 2004 US presidential election. *Mass Communication and Society*, *15*(1), 25-45.

Needham, C. (2006). Brands and political loyalty. *The Journal of Brand Management*, *13*(3), 178-187.

Nunnally, J. C., (1978). *Psychometric theory*, second ed. McGraw-Hill, New York.

Newman, B. and Sheth, J. (1987). *A Theory of Political Choice Behavior.* Praeger, New York.

O'Cass, A. (2002). A micro-model of voter choice: understanding the dynamics of Australian voter characteristics in a federal election. *Journal of Psychology & Marketing*, Vol. 19, No. 12, pp. 1025–1046.

O'Cass, A. (2009). A resource-based view of the political party and value creation for the voter citizen: An integrated framework for political marketing. *Marketing Theory*, Vol. 9. No. 2, pp. 189–208.

O'Cass A. and Volla R. (2011). Explications of political market orientation and political brand orientation using the resource-based view of the political party, *Journal of Marketing Management.* Vol. 27, Nos. 5–6, pp. 627–645.

Oliver, R.L. (1997). *Satisfaction: A Behavioral Perspective on the Consumer.* McGraw-Hill, New York, NY.

Ostrom, Thomas M. and Timothy C. Brock (1968). A Cognitive Model of Attitude Involvement," in Theories of Cognitive Consistency: A Sourcebook, eds. Robert P. Abelson et al., Chicago: Rand McNally, 378-383.

Passy, F., & Giugni, M. (2000). Life-spheres, networks, and sustained participation in social movements: A phenomenological approach to political commitment. In *Sociological Forum* (Vol. 15, No. 1, pp. 117-144). Kluwer Academic Publishers-Plenum Publishers.

Pich, C., Dean, D., &Punjaisri, K. (2014). Political brand identity: An examination of the complexities of Conservative brand and internal market engagement during the 2010 UK General Election campaign. *Journal of Marketing Communications*, (ahead-of-print), 1-18.

Posner, D. (2005). *Institutions and Ethnic Politics in Africa* (New York: Cambridge University Press).

Putnam, R. (2000). *Bowling alone: The collapse and revival of American community.* New York, NY: Simon & Schuster.

Redlawsk, D. P. (2006). *Feeling politics: Emotion in political information processing.* Palgrave Macmillan.

Reeves, P. and de Chernatony, L. (2003). Political Brand Choice in Britain. Birmingham University Business School: Working Paper series

Reilly S. 1996. Believable Social and Emotional Agents. Technical Report, CMU-CS-96-138, School of Computer Science, Carnegie Mellon University.

Rimal, R. N. (2008). Modeling the relationship between descriptive norms and behaviors: A test and extension of the theory of normative social behavior (TNSB).*Health Communication*, *23*, 103–116.

Robertson, Thomas S. (1976). Low-Commitment Consumer Behavior. Journal of Advertising Research, 16(2), 19-24.

Rokeach, Milton (1960). *The Open and Closed Mind: Investigations into the Nature of Belief Systems and Personality Systems*, New York: Basic Books.

Sapiro, V. (2004). Not your parents' political socialization, Introduction for a new generation. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 7: 1–23.

Schoell, W. F., Guiltinan, J. P., Pritchett, B. M., & Pritchett, T. K. (1990).*Marketing: Contemporary concepts and practices.* Allyn and Bacon.

Schoon, I., & Cheng, H. (2011). Determinants of political trust: a lifetime learning model. *Developmental psychology*, *47*(3), 619.

Schoon, I., Bynner, J., Joshi, H., Parsons, S., Wiggins, R. D., & Sacker, A. (2002). The influence of context, timing, and duration of risk experiences for the passage from childhood to midadulthood. *Child Development, 73,* 1486–1504.

Schuman, Howard, and Michael P. Johnson (1976). Attitudes and Behavior*. Annual Review of Sociology* 2:161-207.

Shama, A. (1973). Applications of Marketing concepts to candidate marketing, Proceedings of the Fourth Conference of the Association for Consumer Research.

Sherif, M., &Sherif, C. W. (1964). *Reference groups: Exploration into conformity and deviation of adolescents.* New York: Harper.

Sniderman, P. M., Forbes, H. D., & Melzer, I. (1974). Party loyalty and electoral volatility: A study of the Canadian party system. *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, *7*(02), 268-288.

Tajfel, H., & Turner, J.C. (1986). The social identity theory of intergroup behavior. In S. Worchel & W. G. Austin (E ds.), *Psychology of intergroup relations* (p p. 7-24). Chicago: Nelson-Hall.

Tajfel, H . (1978). Social categorization, social identity, and social comparisons. In H. Tajfel (Ed.), Differentiation between social groups (pp. 27-60). London: Academic Press.

Tong, S., Baghurst, P., Vimpani, G., & McMichael, A. (2007). Socioeconomic position, maternal IQ, home environment, and cognitive development. *Journal of Pediatrics, 151,* 284 –288.

Townera, T. L., & Dulioa, D. A. (2011). The Web 2.0 election: Does the online medium matter? *Journal of Political Marketing, 10(1-2)*, 165-188.

Traylor, M. B. (1981). Product involvement and brand commitment. Journal of Advertising Research, 21, 51–56.

Tufte, E. (1978) Political Control of the Economy (Princeton: Princeton University Press).

Valentino, N. A., Brader, T., Groenendyk, E. W., Gregorowicz, K., & Hutchings, V. L. (2011). Election night's alright for fighting: The role of emotions in political participation. *The Journal of Politics*, *73*(01), 156-170.

Velásquez, J. D. (1998, July). When robots weep: emotional memories and decision-making. In *AAAI/IAAI* (pp. 70-75).

White, J., & Chernatony, L. D. (2002). New Labor: A study of the creation, development and demise of a political brand. *Journal of Political Marketing*, *1*(2-3), 45-52.

Wolfinger, R. (1965) The development and persistence of ethnic voting, American Political Science Review, 59(4), pp. 896–908.

Yates, M., & Youniss, J. (1998). Community service and political identity development in adolescence. *Journal of Social issues*, *54*(3), 495-512.

Zaichkowsky, J. L. (1985). Measuring the involvement construct. *Journal of consumer research*, 341-352.