The Effect of Political Brand Religious Image and Religious-Secular Divide on Voters Citizenship Behaviour

Kesan Pengaruh Jenama Politik Imej Agama dan Pemisahan Agama-Sekular terhadap Kelakuan Kewarganegaraan Pengundi

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ABSTRACT

Considerable evidence shows that religion-secular divide has become an important issue in modern politics which plays a crucial role in voters' decision-making processes. As more political parties applying marketing concepts and strategies to motivate voters, this study aims to examine the role of political brand religious image (PBRIM) in influencing voters' citizenship behavior (VCB) and sought to determine whether or not there are any differences between the citizenship behavior of religious and secular voters. This study used social credibility theory to underpin the relationship between variables. The data was collected from 520 voters in Indonesia who participated in the 2014 presidential election. A quota sampling technique and a drop-off and collect survey distribution approach were used in this study. The relationship between PBRIM and VCB (feedback, advocacy, help, and tolerance) was examined using Partial Least Squares Structural Equation Modelling (SmartPLS-SEM). Findings revealed that there is a significant, positive relationship between PBRIM and the dimensions of VCB. Besides that, there was a significant difference between political parties' religious and secular images with all the four dimensions of voter's citizenship behavior namely, advocacy, helping, feedback and tolerance behavior. Although both secular and religious voters are motivated to citizenship behavior, religious voters showed more inclination towards advocacy, tolerance, and helping behaviors. The findings of this research contributed to the body of knowledge in political marketing research by considering the political parties' religious image in branding metrics. The revealed relationship will help the political parties to design their election campaign for ensuring voters support.

Keywords: religious-secular divide; political brand religious image; citizenship behavior; voters Indonesia

ABSTRAK

Terdapat banyak bukti yang menunjukkan bahawa penggunaan imej agama-sekular telah menjadi isu penting dalam politik moden yang memainkan peranan penting dalam proses membuat keputusan dalam kalangan pengundi. Oleh kerana lebih banyak parti politik menerapkan konsep dan strategi pemasaran untuk memperoleh sokongan pengundi, kajian ini bertujuan untuk mengkaji peranan jenama politik imej agama (PBRIM) dalam mempengaruhi kelakuan kewarganegaraan pengundi (VCB), dan menentukan sama ada terdapat perbezaan antara kelakuan kewarganegaraan pengundi beragama dan pengundi sekular. Kajian ini menggunakan teori kreadibiliti sosial untuk menyokong hubungan antara pemboleh ubah. Data dikumpulkan dari 520 pengundi di Indonesia yang mengambil bahagian dalam pemilihan presiden 2014. Teknik pensampelan kuota dan pendekatan pengagihan survei drop-off & collect digunakan dalam kajian ini. Hubungan antara PBRIM dan VCB (maklum balas, sokongan, pertolongan, dan toleransi) dianalisis menggunakan pemodelan 'Partial Least Squares Structural Equation' (SmartPLS-SEM). Penyelidikan ini menunjukkan bahawa terdapat hubungan positif dan signifikan antara PBRIM dengan dimensi VCB. Selain itu, dapatan kajian menunjukkan bahawa terdapat perbezaan yang signifikan antara penggunaan imej agama dan sekular parti politik dengan keempat-empat dimensi tingkah laku kewarganegaraan pengundi (advokasi, pertolongan, maklum balas dan tingkah laku toleransi). Walaupun kedua-dua pengundi sekular dan agama terdorong untuk tingkah laku kewarganegaraan, pengundi agama menunjukkan kecenderungan lebih banyak terhadap advokasi, toleransi, dan tingkah laku menolong. Hasil kajian ini dapat menyumbang kepada bidang penyelidikan pemasaran politik dengan mempertimbangkan penggunaan imej agama dalam metrik penjenamaan parti politik. Hubungan yang terungkap akan membantu parti politik merancang kempen pilihan raya mereka untuk medapatkan sokongan pengundi.

Kata kunci: pemisahan agama-sekular; politik imej agama; kelakuan kewarganegaraan; pengundi, Indonesia

INTRODUCTION

Religion plays an important role in politics, and has significantly influenced electoral politics since their inception (Esmer & Pettersson 2007). Researchers have found that religiosity, religious identity, spiritual values, and religious affiliation have a significant influence on both an organization's behavior (Ahmed et al. 2019), group identification (Jeong 2014), and voters' choices (Campbell et al. 2011, Din et al. 2017). The religious images of political parties significantly influence electoral decision making (Goldberg 2014), and individual voting behavior (Esmer & Pettersson 2007; Harris et al. 2010; McDermott 2009). A comparative analysis of Islamic political parties between Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS) in Indonesia and Parti Islam Se-Malaysia (PAS) in Southeast Asia that contains the highest number of Muslims in the world, suggested that both parties extensively applied religious matters and practices with contemporary political issues to strengthen the communal relationship among new and existing members (Ebrahim & Yusoff 2020; Nurdin 2009; Taib 1973).

The increased prominence of religion in political competitions is happening in Indonesia (Makhasin 2017). The involvement of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) as the largest Islamic organization in local elections clearly indicates how piety-based political mobilization has become an integral part of Indonesian politics (Makhasin 2017). The importance of religion in politics is also found in numerous Muslim majority countries in Asia and Africa (Makhasin 2017).

Previous researchers found that voters prefer candidates of their own faith (Campbell et al. 2011) and that the images they have of candidates or political parties hold great sway in their minds. Based on research in Central Java shows that religious values were used by voters as a reference in evaluating political candidates whether they are good or bad, without paying attention to their political parties and ideologies (Sofianto 2015).

More specifically, voters are more likely to vote for candidates based on their perceived image of them, than they are based on political issues (Balmas & Sheafer 2010). This process will generate a partisan self-image which then forms the images of certain political parties in voters' minds (Yusof & Halim 2019). Considering the importance of religious images in voting behavior, Kaylor (2011) stated that candidates in the USA (United States of America) should demonstrate their religious beliefs and commitments in order to win elections. Although the role of religion on human behavior and politics was documented by early researchers, political parties seldom express their religious position explicitly, or broach religious issues publicly during election campaigns (Esmer & Pettersson 2007). Researchers argued that political parties should make explicit religious appeals during election campaigns, in order to motivate potential voters of their own group; as well as earning a competitive advantage (Bradberry 2016).

Political scientists have argued that since there are people with diverse interests, likes, preferences, and lifestyles in the political arena; successful political campaigns need to accommodate this diversity, and generate strategies for the various market segments (Cwalina & Falkowski 2015; Min & Savage 2014). Political parties often use brand management concepts and celebrity endorsers to motivate voters (Ahmed et al. 2017; Morin et al. 2012), win their support, and achieve competitive advantages in the political market (Cwalina & Falkowski 2015). Branding allows political parties to acquire knowledge regarding voters' choices and preferences, as well as how best to implant a positive attitude towards the party in voters' minds (Ahmed et al. 2017). Although researchers found that over time political parties' religious images have become a crucial factor in politics (Menchik 2018), there is still a lack of research considering the political brand religious image as an antecedent of voter behavior.

An emphasis on the political brand religious image is important, because while political parties and candidates are struggling with the issues of (Campbell et al. 2011) retaining voters (Sherman et al. 2012), voter participation (Chen 2013), and loyalty (Parker 2012), religiosity can increase both the electoral participation rate and loyalty for the party (Esmer & Pettersson 2007), and help voters to feel connected with impending political choices (Calfano & Djupe 2009). Furthermore, in terms of voting behavior, social scientists have divided voters into two distinct groups: "religious voters," and, "secular voters" (McTague & Layman 2009; Raymond 2017).

Elections have been observed to be primarily a contest between citizens of, "religious value," and, "secular value (McTague & Layman 2009)." The religious voters are those who are more concerned about religious matters, such as purity and sanctity,

and who generally hold more conservative political positions (Malka et al. 2012). Secular voters, by contrast, believe that religion should not be the most important consideration in both one's public and private life (Castle & Schoettmer 2019). Political researchers have emphasized the need to understand the phenomenon of religious-secular divide and its relationship with politics (Cassatella 2019; Menchik 2018). However, most studies of religious-divide and voters' behavior focused on western culture (Esmer & Pettersson 2007), and there is a need to more thoroughly examine this effect outside of the western culture, as varying societal and cultural contexts may yield different results (Esmer & Pettersson 2007; Mandal 1999).

It has been found that the voting behavior of actively religious people and non-religious people differs (Goldberg 2014), and that religion is not practiced by only the, "religious party;" there are, "pious secularists," who support differentiation of religion and government (Buckley 2017; Raymond 2017). These studies focused on determining the role of the religious-secular divide in voting behavior, by conducting a comparative study of, "religious voters," and, "secular voters." In this study, voters' behavior refers to the citizenship behavior of electorates, which includes: advocacy, feedback, helping, and tolerance behavior (in customer citizenship behavior), as defined by Revilla-Camacho et al. (2015). A comparative study between these variables sought to delineate the issue of religious-secular divide, and minimize the risk of fallacy regarding electoral competition and electorates (Raymond 2017). This study also examined the relationship between political brand religious image and voters' behavior, aiming to provide deeper insight regarding the relationship between these variables in a diverse society, and how political parties should design their campaigns to more positively motivate voters' behavior.

LITERATURE REVIEW AND HYPOTHESIS DEVELOPMENT

POLITICAL BRAND RELIGIOUS IMAGE, AND VOTER BEHAVIOR

Political parties frequently use branding strategies to influence voters' attitude positively towards political parties (Ahmed et al. 2017; De Landtsheer & De Vries 2015), and influence election outcomes (Hoegg & Lewis 2011). Branding attempts to help political parties learn about the preferences and choices of electorates, to better design campaign models (Ahmed et al. 2017), address compatibility issues (Thomassen 2005), and be aware of potential electoral volatility (Dalton 2012).

Melo et al. (2018) argued that in order to address the issues of increasing campaign costs and lower voter participation rates, political parties should use different marketing strategies during campaigns. Branding is one of the most important marketing strategies available to political parties to develop a competitive advantage (Cwalina & Falkowski 2015). Voters see the political party as a distinct brand (Guzmán & Sierra 2009), and this brand affects voting behavior (Neiheisel & Niebler 2013). Since religion plays a crucial role in both consumer behavior (Stolz & Jean-Claude Usunier 2019) and electoral decision-making (Esmer & Pettersson 2007; Kaylor 2011; McDermott 2009), and religious beliefs influence voting behavior (Abdel Rahman Farrag & Shamma 2014), the role of political parties' religious image, as a brand, should be emphasized.

"Political brand religious image", refers to the perception of voters about the religious image of the political brand belonging to a party or candidate. This definition has been developed from the definition of commercial brand image by Keller (1993), as it can be argued that political brand is similar to commercial brand typologies (Almohammad et al. 2011), and that the relationship between voters and political brand is similar to the relationship between customers and commercial brands (Nielsen 2017). Citizenship behavior can provide additional value to a company (Revilla-Camacho et al. 2015), workers (Abdul Rahman 2017) or to a political party.

This study defines voters' citizenship behavior as voluntary behavior which is beyond the voter's required role for service delivery, which aims to provide help and assistance, and which is conducive to the success of the political party (Revilla-Camacho et al. 2015; Groth 2005). This definition has been developed from the customer citizenship behavior definition offered by Groth (2005), and includes feedback, advocacy, helping, and tolerance behaviors (Revilla-Camacho et al. 2015). Feedback refers to voters' voluntary behavior to provide guidance and suggestions to political party, which helps the party to improve the party service process in the long run (Groth 2005). Advocacy refers to recommending the political party to others such as family or friends (Groth 2005) such as through

positive word-of-mouth (Chiu et al. 2015) and to participate in the party activities (Ahearne et al. 2005). Helping represents the voters' willingness behavior and empathy to assist other voters in need of help (Groth 2005; Rosenbaum & Massiah 2007). Lastly, tolerance denotes to the voters' willingness to be patient when the political party does not meet the voter's expectations towards the party, as in the case of making inevitable mistakes (Chiu et al. 2015; Lengnick-Hall et al. 2000).

Researchers agree that customer citizenship behavior includes customers' voluntary actions that may not provide an explicit benefit to them (Bove et al. 2009). On the other hand, these activities can affect the interest and performance of organizations (Groth 2005; Rosenbaum & Massiah 2007). Therefore, citizenship behavior provides an additional value to the firm (Revilla-Camacho et al. 2015). In the political context, highly involved voters play an important part in communicating brand messages to other voters; particularly at the constituency level (Phipps et al. 2010). Word-of-mouth is the customer citizenship behavior that provides additional value to the firm/political brand (Revilla-Camacho et al. 2015), and helps companies to interact with potential new customers/voters (Verleye et al. 2014). Since the relationship between voters and political brands is similar to the relationship between customers and commercial brands (O'cass and Pecotich 2005a; Winther Nielsen 2017), political brand religious image may influence voters' citizenship behavior.

Political parties have been observed attempting to associate specific issues or personality traits with their brand, to encourage voters to focus on more positive issues; favorable to the party (Druckman et al. 2004). It has also been found that political parties with high credibility have a greater influence on potential voters, and are better resistant to any negative campaigns (Lee & Chang 2011). According to source credibility theory, the positive characteristics of a communicator can influence receivers' acceptance of a message. This study posits that if a political party emphasizes its religious brand images explicitly, it might influence voters' perception regarding the political party positively and motivate them to perform increased citizenship behaviors. The following four hypotheses have been developed, in accordance with the arguments listed above (see Figure 1):

H1a: Political brand religious image has a positive effect on voters' citizenship behaviors (feedback behavior).

H1b: Political brand religious image has a positive effect on voters' citizenship behaviors (advocacy behavior).

H1c: Political brand religious image has a positive effect on voters' citizenship behaviors (helping behavior).

H1d: Political brand religious image has a positive effect on voters' citizenship behaviors (tolerance behavior).

RELIGIOSITY VERSUS SECULARISM

Religion refers to an individual's beliefs, practices, attitudes towards spiritual beings (Tylor 1871), and sometimes associated governance structures (Menchik 2018). Religion is not universal, nor does it refer to a specific tradition, but rather religion varies based on historical and geographical contexts (Menchik 2018). Different traditions may emphasize different aspects of religion (Menchik 2018). However, all religion has an immense effect on the state and society (Buckley 2017). While it was generally predicted that modernization and economic development would reduce the role of religiosity in society (Menchik 2018), researchers in some areas have been surprised to find that over time people have become more religious (Buckley 2017; Cassatella 2019; Menchik 2018).

For the purpose of studying religious divide, political and social scientists have divided the electorate into two groups: "religious voters," and, "secular voters" (McTague & Layman 2009; Raymond 2017). While religious voters emphasize religious issues, such as purity, sanctity, and other divine things, and tend to espouse conservative political positions (Malka et al. 2012), secular voters prefer to distinguish religion, or the monastic sphere, from other spheres of society (Philpott 2009). A further division of the electorate, based on levels of religiosity, yielded the groups, "religious integra lists," and, "pious secularists (Buckley 2017)." The religious integralists are those people who possess a conservative view regarding religion, and emphasize religious establishment in society (Buckley 2017). On the other hand, the pious secularist are those people who are religious, but support differentiation between religion and society/politics (Buckley 2017). In successful secularism, pious secularists, accommodationists (elites who compromise the religious and anti-clerical blocs), and interfaith minorities develop associations for their mutual benefit (Buckley 2017).

Once it was assumed that secularism was essential in order to bring about democracy in a society, and that with economic development and modernization states and society would become more secular in nature (Menchik 2018). However, recent findings indicate that modernization did not increase secularism in society. Rather, people have become more religious in modern times (Buckley 2017; Cassatella 2019; Menchik 2018). Secularism is not a successor of religion, but a political project that aims to control religion (Van der Veer 2013), in order to achieve specific interests by actors (Asad 2003). China, for example, took several futile attempts to remove religiosity from the national culture, while India has successfully established secularism, by taking a neutral stance regarding religion; despite religiosity being a major component of its national culture (Van der Veer 2013).

It is important to understand that while secularism might have ties with democracy, it is not a prerequisite for democracy (Heyer et al. 2008). Both religious and secular political parties can bring about democracy (Menchik 2018), so long as they do not get into the, "secularism trap," where religious or secular maximalists seek to gain control over state organizations; without respecting the opinions of others (Buckley 2017).

In a modern democracy, religious-secular divide is still a significant factor in politics (Raymond 2017), despite integration between individual and group rights, and secular and religious laws (Buckley 2017). Both religiosity and secularism exert significant influences on political parties and voters' behavior (Castle & Schoettmer 2019). Researchers found that, in general religious voters tend to vote for religious or politically conservative parties, and other demographics vote for secular parties (Goldberg 2014; Malka et al. 2012; Raymond 2017). This study argues that although the voters' perspective regarding religious-secular divides influences their voting, it does not interfere with their extra-roles, or citizenship behavior. Therefore, based on the above arguments and research findings, the following hypotheses have been developed:

H2a: There is no difference between the citizenship behavior (feedback behavior) of religious and secular voters.

H2b: There is no difference between the citizenship behavior (advocacy behavior) of religious and secular voters.

H2c: There is no difference between the citizenship behavior (helping behavior) of religious and secular voters.

H2d: There is no difference between the citizenship behavior (tolerance behavior) of religious and secular voters.

RELIGIOUS DIVIDE IN INDONESIA

Indonesia is the largest Muslim democratic country, and third largest democratic country, in the world (Mujani et al. 2018). The country has been praised by the international community as an example of successful democratization and stability because of its peaceful, consecutive elections (Higashikata & Kawamura 2015). Elections are part of the democratization process and are an activity in which the Indonesian people take pride, and for which they are willing to make sacrifices (Wanandi 2004).

After the fall of Soeharto in May 1998, more than 200 political parties quickly emerged in Indonesia. By the time of the 2014 elections, however, a total of 38 political parties were actively participating, spanning a wide variety of ideologies, policy platforms, and leadership models (Bulkin 2013). The political platforms frequently used by political parties consist of religion, nationalism, supports grassroots communities, reaching prosperity and fighting poverty (Hamudy & Rifki 2019). Although every political party in Indonesia has different characteristics, from the perspective of the socio-religious divide, Indonesian political parties are divided into two broad groups: secular/nationalist parties, and Islamic parties (Higashikata & Kawamura 2015; Ratnawati & Haris 2008).

Higashikata & Kawamura (2015) asserted that the consistency of Indonesia's democratic regime does not mean that electoral results are also stable. In the first elections (1999) held after the fall of the New Order regime, the two largest political parties, PDI-P (Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle) and Golkar (Party of the Functional Groups) (secular parties), jointly gathered 56.2% of the vote. However, the joint vote shares of the same two parties had decreased drastically to only 34.7% in 2014. Ratnawati & Haris (2008) noted that the 2004 legislative elections created a new political map in the DPR (People's Representative Council), because of the vote split amongst winning parties; despite the seven dominant parties being the same that had won the 1999 general elections.

In the 2004 election, secular parties jointly won 292 seats (Golkar, PDI-P, and PD (Democrat Party),

and Islamic parties won 208 seats, out of a total of 500 seats in the DPR. In the 2014 legislative elections, three secular parties jointly (PDI-P 18.95%, Golkar 14.75%, and Gerindra 11.81 %) secured 45.51% of the votes in Indonesia. Of the twelve political parties that participated in the 2014 election, two failed to meet the electoral threshold of 3.5%; PKPI (Indonesia Justice and Unity Party) (secular), and PBB (Crescent Star Party) (Islamic). Both of these two parties are considered to be politically extreme, with. PKPI strongly affiliated with the armed forces, and PBB focused on conservatively implementing Sharia Law.
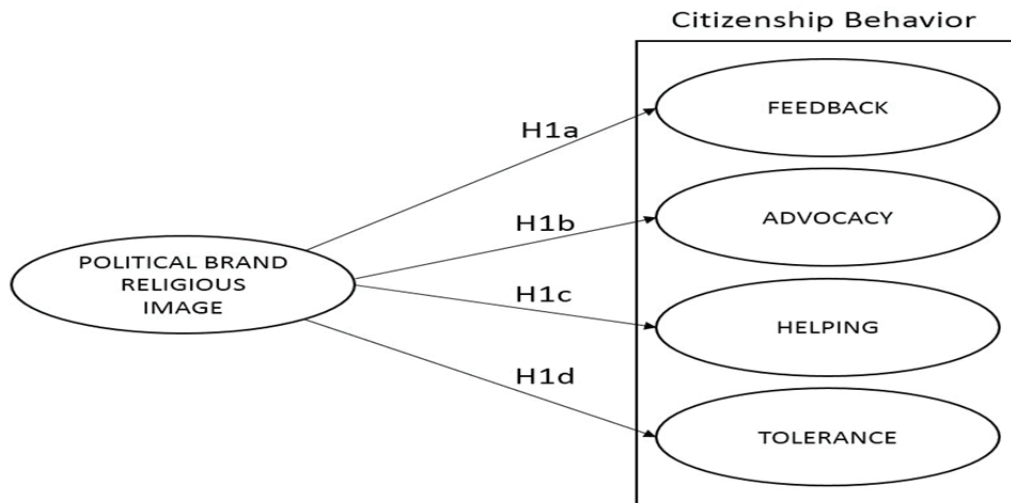

FIGURE 1. The model showing the proposed relationship between the variables

METHODOLOGY

RESEARCH DESIGN

The study's data analysis was conducted in two steps. Firstly, the relationship between political brand religious images and assorted voter citizenship behaviors (feedback, advocacy, help, and tolerance) was examined using the PLS-SEM (Partial Least Squares-Structural Equation Modeling).

Secondly, a comparative study was conducted to determine if there was any difference between the voting behavior of religious and secular voters in Indonesia. For this assessment, the political parties were divided into two groups: religious and secular parties (Raymond 2017), with religious parties, were coded as, "one," and secular parties were coded as "two" (Raymond 2017). The voters' behavior (feedback, advocacy, help, and tolerance) was used to further divided them into two groups: lower (a value of 17 or less), and higher (a value of 18 or more), where low was coded as, "zero," and high was coded as "one" (Arkkelin 2014).

After the data is divided into categories and coded as categorical data, a Chi-Square test is applied to the resulting data, to determine the hypothesized relationship between religious-secular divide and voter behavior. Chi-square test is used to compare the frequency of cases found in the various categories of one variable (voter citizenship behaviors) across the different categories of another variable (political parties religious and secular images) (Pallant, 2020).

SAMPLING DESIGN

To test the hypotheses, data was collected from voters in Jakarta, who had participated in the 2014 Indonesian general election. The sampling frame is the registered voters in *Komisi Pemilihan Umum* (General Election Commission) and the number of voters in Jakarta is 7,070,475. Jakarta is the capital of Indonesia, and its residents are a geographical composite of the country, as they have moved to the capital from many different parts of Indonesia. This diversity makes the population of Jakarta an ideal population for this study (Farhan & Omar, 2021). Quota sampling and a drop-off and pick-up approach were used to collect data (O'Cass & Pecotich 2005b), and precautions were taken to ensure anonymity, confidentiality, and to avoid the common method bias issues for this type of research. The population of the study was stratified by age and gender.

According to Guzmán and Sierra (2009), voter's age and gender are frequently used in political research as both factors play a key role in political decision making. In determining the appropriate sample size, previous study in political branding showed that Khatib (2012) managed to obtain 650 respondents using convenience sampling. O'Cass (2002) applied a drop-off and pick-up approach which produced 238 useable surveys. The total population of registered voters is 7,070,475 and was treated as a research frame to extract the sample size. This sample size was calculated via the formula of Yamane (1967) which included the 5% error limit. Based on this formula, the sample size from 400 respondents should be sufficient to validate the relations among the theoretical constructs. Moreover, according to Krejcie and Morgan (1970) decision table, at least 350 samples are required to established the representatives of the samples for generalizability.

MEASUREMENT INSTRUMENT

In this study, established measurements were adapted from the previous study, in order to measure the constructs. Since the context of this research is different from the context of the original measurements, the measurements were adapted and modified slightly. Lewis (1993) found that 7-point scales resulted in stronger correlations with t-test results. Therefore, each construct in this study used multiple item measurements, with a 7-point Likert scale. The respondents were requested to rate the extent to which they participated in each behavior on a 7-point Likert-type scale, that ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). A total of 5 items were adapted from Martinez & De Chernatony (2004), and Boo et al. (2009), to measure the variable political brand religious image (PBRIM). The dimensions of citizenship behavior, such as feedback, advocacy, helping, and tolerance, were measured using 20 items, which were divided into four dimensions, using 5 items each. The items of the measurement scale of these four variables (citizenship behavior): feedback, advocacy, helping and tolerance were adapted from Revilla-Camacho et al. (2015), Groth (2005), Ahearne et al. (2005), Yi & Gong (2008), and Skinner et al. (2009). All of the measurement scales were operationalized as a reflective construct.

DATA ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS

825 questionnaire sets were distributed to five districts of Jakarta such as Central Jakarta, South Jakarta, North Jakarta, East Jakarta, and West Jakarta, and 578 questionnaires were returned. 58 incomplete questionnaires were excluded, which contained 10 % or more of the responses left blank (Garson 2012). Therefore, 520 valid questionnaires were used for analysis or 63.03% of the distributed questionnaires. The demographic profile of the respondents reveals that 48.1 % are male, and 51.9 % are female. The majority of the respondents (71.3%) are ethnic Jawa and Betawi, and the most common age group was between 20 and 29 years of age, which accounted for 40.8 % of total respondents. 293 respondents were married with children, 56.3 % of the total, and most respondents (62.7%) had an income of less than 3 million rupiahs (USD205); this is below the standard of basic salary. The majority of respondents (52.9 %) listed high school as their highest level of education, and 30.8% worked in private companies (the most prevalent employer category response).

The normality of the data was tested by calculating skewness and kurtosis values. It was found that the skewness positive values ranged from 0.464 to 0.721, and negative values from - 0.077 to -1.014. For kurtosis, the negative values ranged from -0.023 to -0.977, and positive values from 0.05 to 0.096. Overall, the skewness and kurtosis values were within the +2 to -2 range, indicating more or less normally distributed data (Garson 2012).

MEASUREMENT MODEL EVALUATION

The study examined the Cronbach's alpha, factor loadings, composite reliability (CR), and average variance extracted for the constructs to evaluate the measurement model. It found that all the variables' outer loading was greater than the threshold value of 0.708 (Hair et al. 2016), except for three indicators (VA5-0.686; VF1- 0.676; and VF3- 0.674). However, by considering the content validity of the variables (Hair et al. 2011), this study decided to keep these three indicators. Hair et al. (2016) argued that an indicator with a value of more than 0.40 should remain unless it adversely affects the composite reliability or AVE (Average Variance Extracted) value. Following this standard, all items were

maintained, after considering the content validity.

Further analysis verified the Cronbach's alpha and composite reliability values (Table 1) for all the variables and found that the Cronbach's alpha values ranged from 0.813 (VF) to 0.950 (PBRIM), and the composite reliability values ranged from 0.869 (VF) to 0.962 (PBRIM). Since all the values of the Cronbach's alpha and the composite reliability were above the threshold value of 0.7, as proposed

by Hair et al. (2016), the internal consistency reliability of the constructs has been confirmed. The AVE values of the constructs were also checked to determine the convergent validity, and findings showed that the AVE value of all variables was in the range of 0.572 to 0.834, which is greater than the threshold value of 0.5, establishing the convergent validity of the constructs.

TABLE 1. Result of Measurement Model

Constructs	Std. Loading	Cronbach's Alpha	Composite Reliability	Average Variance Extracted (AVE)
Political Brand Religious Image (PBRIM)		0.950	0.962	0.834
PBRIM 1	0.899			
PBRIM 2	0.930			
PBRIM 3	0.940			
PBRIM 4	0.925			
PBRIM 5	0.869			
Voters Advocacy (VA)		0.870	0.906	0.661
VA 1	0.775			
VA 2	0.895			
VA 3	0.887			
VA 4	0.804			
VA 5	0.686			
Voters Feedback (VF)		0.813	0.869	0.572
VF 1	0.676			
VF 2	0.721			
VF 3	0.674			
VF 4	0.853			
VF 5	0.839			
Voters Helping (VH)		0.864	0.901	0.645
VH 1	0.837			
VH 2	0.809			
VH 3	0.804			
VH 4	0.784			
VH 5	0.781			
Voters Tolerance (VT)		0.921	0.940	0.759
VT 1	0.872			
VT 2	0.899			
VT 3	0.834			
VT 4	0.890			
VT 5	0.860			

The discriminant validity of the scale was examined by using the Fornell-Larcker criterion (Fornell & Larcker 1981), and a heterotrait to monotrait ratio (HTMT) approach. The result of the Fornell-Larcker criterion approach (Table 2) shows that the square root of AVE value for each construct was greater than its correlation to any other constructs. Furthermore, The HTMT approach result (Table 3) revealed that the HTMT value of the constructs was less than the threshold value of 0.85 (Hair et al. 2016). Therefore, it indicates that the constructs of the model are unique, and confirms the discriminant validity of the model.

TABLE 2. Discriminant Validity Assessment (Fornell-Larcker Criterion Approach)

Variables	PBRIM	VA	VF	VH	VT
PBRIM	0.913				
VA	0.536	0.813			
VF	0.426	0.712	0.757		
VH	0.404	0.695	0.687	0.803	
VT	0.448	0.633	0.603	0.528	0.871

Note: AVE for each construct is given at the diagonal entries

TABLE 3. Discriminant Validity Assessment (HTMT Approach)

Variables	PBRIM	VA	VF	VH	VT
PBRIM					
VA	0.585				
VF	0.467	0.849			
VH	0.435	0.785	0.811		
VT	0.475	0.710	0.683	0.561	

STRUCTURAL MODEL EVALUATION

The evaluation applied a bootstrapping procedure (n=520, sample=5000) to measure the path coefficient and t-statistics. The significance of the path coefficient was assessed, the variance explained (R^2), and the effect size (f^2) of the variables calculated to determine the significance of the hypothesized relationship. In a 5% level of significance, the critical value for the one-tail test was 1.645. The result revealed that the R^2 value for voters' advocacy behavior (VA) was 0.288, voters' tolerance behavior (VT) was 0.201, voters' feedback behavior (VH) was 0.181, and voters' helping behavior (VH) was 0.163.

TABLE 4. Results of the Structural Model Analysis

Hypothesis	Relationship	Std Beta	Std Error	t-values	P values	Decision	R2	f2
H1a	PBRIM -> VF	0.536	0.039	10.899***	0.000	Supported	0.181	0.222
H1b	PBRIM-> VA	0.426	0.041	13.043***	0.000	Supported	0.288	0.404
H1c	PBRIM -> VH	0.404	0.038	10.508***	0.000	Supported	0.163	0.195
H1d	PBRIM -> VT	0.448	0.038	11.818***	0.000	Supported	0.201	0.252

The structural model results (see Table 4 and Figure 2) specify that political brand religious image (PBRIM) has the largest influence on VA (β=0.536, t=13.043, p<0.00), followed by VT (β=0.359, t=7.131, p>0.00), VF (β=0.359, t=7.131, p>0.00), and VH (β=0.359, t=7.131, p>0.00); supporting hypotheses H1b, H1d, H1a, and H1c, respectively. The results also revealed that PBRIM has a significant effect on voters' advocacy behavior (0.404), and a moderate effect on voters' tolerance (0.252), feedback (0.222), and helping (0.195) behavior.

FIGURE 2. Results of the Model

A different aspect of voters' citizenship behavior in relation to religious and secular divides was also examined in reference to the hypothesis that there are no differences between the citizenship behavior of religious and secular voters. Table 5 shows dimensions of citizenship behavior of religious and secular voters. The analysis revealed that the feedback behavior (Pearson chi-square 4.660; P>0.038), advocacy behavior (Pearson chi-square 10.142; P<0.001), helping behavior (Pearson chi-square 5.138; P<0.023), and tolerance behavior (Pearson chi-square 22.709; P<0.000) of voters was influenced by political parties' religious and secular images, there was a significant difference between these two groups regarding the mentioned four dimensions of citizenship behavior. As such, hypotheses H2a, H2b, H2c, and H2d which postulated that there are no differences between the feedback, advocacy, helping, and tolerance

behavior of religious and secular voters were not supported. The result also reveals that the effect size for advocacy (V= 0.140), helping (V=0.100), and tolerance (V= 0.209) are small, since the Cramer's V value (effect size) ranges 0.1 to 0.30 (Cohen 1988). However, the effect size for feedback (V= 0.095) is negligible since it is less than 0.1. According to Cohen (1988), in case of chi-square analysis (df=1), an effect size of 0.10, 0.30., and 0.50 represent small, medium, and large effects respectively.

However, while 90.90% of religious voters showed higher advocacy behavior, only 81.35% of secular voters advocated for their political party. Furthermore, whereas the helping behavior and tolerance behavior for the religious voter were 95.69% and 81.34%, respectively, the results were only 90.35% and 61.73% for secular voters. The feedback behavior was 93.30% and 87.45% for religious voters and secular voter, respectively.

TABLE 5. Pearson Chi-Square Test

Particulars	Voter Behavior											
	Feedback			Advocate			Help			Tolerance		
	High	Low	Total	High	Low	Total	High	Low	Total	High	Low	Total
Religious Party	195	14	209	190	19	209	200	9	209	170	39	209
Secular Party	272	39	311	253	58	311	281	30	311	192	119	311
Chi-Square Value	4.660	10.142	5.138	22.709								
Significance (5%)	0.038	0.001	0.027	0.000								
Cramer's V	0.095	0.140	0.100	0.209								

DISCUSSION AND RESEARCH IMPLICATIONS

The objective of this study was to examine the relationship between political brand religious images (PBRIM) and the dimensions of voters' citizen behavior: advocacy, feedback, helping, and tolerance, as well as to determine if there is a difference between the religious and secular voters' citizenship behaviors. To this end, the study first examined the relationship between PBRIM and the dimensions of voters' citizen behavior: advocacy, feedback, helping, and tolerance. Secondly, it examined these four citizenship behaviors in relation to the religious and secular voters' voting behavior. The result indicated that political brand religious image has a positive relationship with voters' citizenship behavior, as it influences the dimensions of advocacy, feedback, help, and tolerance behavior significantly. Furthermore, this study also revealed that the dimensions of voters' citizenship behavior varied based on religious-secular divides.

The analysis demonstrated that voters' perceptions regarding a political brand's religious image can influence their willingness to give feedback to the party; irrespective of religious and secular divides. More specifically, there are no differences between the religious and secular voters' feedback behavior, and both possess a high motivation to provide feedback to their political parties, if requested. This finding can be explained by applying a source credibility theory, which argues that if the source can present itself credibly, it can influence people, or receivers (Umeogu, 2012). Therefore, when political parties present their brand religious image messages credibly, they might persuade voters to follow that message.

This research also found that political brand religious image can strongly influence voters' advocacy behavior, by increasing their volunteer activities, recommending intentions, and positive word-of-mouth experiences. Previous researchers (Phipps et al. 2010) also stated that highly involved voters play an important role in the political party, in communicating brand messages to other voters through word-of-mouth. This study further showed that although both secular and religious voters show high advocacy behavior, there are significant differences between these two groups; specifically, religious voters showed more advocacy intention than secular voters. This finding points out why previous scholars stated that modern presidential candidates should demonstrate their religious beliefs

and commitments in order to win elections (Kaylor 2011).

Voters' positive perceptions regarding a political brand's religious image were also found to influence their tolerance behavior positively, and increase their tendency to help other voters, as they demonstrated more forgiveness, patience, and empathy towards the political party. As expected, this rendered voters more likely to dismiss negative information about the political party (Elbedweihy et al. 2016). It is already documented that religious symbols help voters to connect with impending political choices (Calfano & Djupe 2009), and that voters who are actively involved with a political party are less likely to swing vote (Weghorst & Lindberg 2013). It is therefore likely that the political brand religious image helps political parties to make a strong bond with voters; and consequently, influences their citizenship behavior. However, this study also found that the helping and tolerance behaviors of religious voters significantly differed from secular voters; as religious voters showed more tolerance.

THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS

As the relationship between political brand religious image and different aspects of voters' citizenship behavior was analyzed, political brand religious image was shown to be an important construct in influencing voters' citizenship behavior. Previous scholars had concluded that religious image was a critical factor in a political party's ability to win an election, as political party images can significantly influence voters' decision-making. By considering religious images as a branding strategy, this study contributes to that body of knowledge.

The second key implication of this study is the demonstration of the influence of voters' perceptions regarding political parties' religious positions on their extra-role and citizenship behaviors. The use of citizenship behavior in the political context is still new, and by revealing political brand religious image as an antecedent of citizenship behavior, this study extended the citizenship literature in a political context. Thirdly, by emphasizing source credibility theory this study pointed out the importance of discussing the religious issues and positions of political parties explicitly. It argues that by highlighting the religious stance of the party credibly, a political party can influence voters' extra-role behavior positively; which could be beneficial for them. Thus, it makes important contributions to the relationship marketing literature, by providing

insights into voters' citizenship behavior, and its relationship with political brand religious image.

Fourthly, while previous studies in this area primarily examined voters' behavior by analyzing their voting or feedback behavior, this study explored the influence of brand religious image in feedback behavior, advocacy behavior (e.g. volunteer activities, recommending, intention, and positive word-of-mouth), helping behavior, and tolerance behavior (e.g. forgiving, patience, and empathy). This study deepens our understanding of the role of voters as a co-creator of value for the political party, just as a customer does for a commercial brand, and explains why political parties should consider their religious image. Fifthly, by considering a political party's religious image as a brand, this study contributed to the existing branding literature, as there have been limited empirical studies examining political parties with branding metrics (Van Steenburg 2015).

Sixthly, this study considered religious divide in light of voters' citizenship behavior. Although previous studies considered the role of religiosity and secularism in the western context, the role of religious divide in Asia has not been properly emphasized (Esmer & Pettersson 2007), with existing political branding literature mainly focused on the USA, the United Kingdom (Farhan & Ahmad 2016) and the Middle East (Abdel Rahman Farrag & Shamma 2014). By examining the role of religiosity versus secularism in an Indonesian context, this study addresses the lack of research on the issue of religious divide in Southeast Asia. Finally, this study revealed that there are significant differences between advocacy, tolerance, and helping behaviors (citizenship behavior), when comparing religious and secular voters. Although both secular and religious voters are motivated to citizenship behavior, religious voters showed more inclination towards advocacy, tolerance, and helping behaviors. By revealing the roles of religious and secular voters, this study opens the door to further research in political marketing research.

PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS

Most common challenges faced by political parties are decreasing political participation and increasing political campaigns cost. Accordingly, a political party needs to formulate an alternative way to persuade voters to win the election at affordable cost. One of the alternatives is to build a relationship between the political party as a brand and voters as customers. Several researchers have suggested that a political brand can be translated into the ability of a party to retain voters the same as a commercial brand is translated to a company (Veloutsou 2015). Therefore, this study sheds light on how political parties can influence voters' extra-role behaviors, to gain competitive advantages, by revealing the relationship between a political brand's religious images, and different aspects of voters' citizenship behavior. The results indicate that political parties should communicate their religious images credibly, in order to influence voters' behavior positively. Secondly, earlier studies have found that despite ample evidence of political parties' religious images role in selecting candidates during elections, political parties refrain from expressing their religious stance in electoral campaigns (Bradberry 2016). By shedding light on the importance of religious images to the political party, this study provided deeper insight into how political parties can attract and motivate potential voters during electoral campaigns. This study can be used as a guideline for political parties to build a relationship with voters by emphasizing religious image.

Finally, this study found that although both religious and secular voters possess high citizenship behavior, there are significant differences between these two groups citizenship behaviors. Therefore, by considering the role of religious-secular divide, this study attempted to increase political parties' understanding of the importance of considering the religious-secular image as a branding strategy while designing election campaigns.

CONCLUSION

This study examined the role of religion in politics and revealed a significant relationship between political brand religious image and voter citizenship behavior. In addition, voters' advocacy and tolerance were shown to vary based on religious and secular divide. However, one of the limitations of this research is that it used a cross-sectional data collection method, which may create some biases. Although this study checked the bias issues by using Harman's single-factor analysis, and ensured that it is free from bias, future studies should apply a longitudinal approach to validate the findings of the present study.

Secondly, the current study was conducted in the capital city of Indonesia, which induces generalizability issues, and future studies should

emphasize collecting the data from a larger population; ideally, nationwide.

Thirdly, this study examined the political brand religious image's influence on voters' feedback, advocacy, helping, and tolerance behaviors. Future studies should focus on how political brand religiosity image and secularism image influence voters' citizenship behavior. Although this study documented significant differences between the citizenship behavior of religious and secular voters, further research is required to obtain a clear understanding of how religious-secular divides influence voters' behavior.

Fourthly, future studies should examine the role of secularism in influencing voters' citizenship behavior from a different perspective, as secular voters may consist of minority people, who are highly religious, but possess different religious beliefs. Fifthly, the replication of this study in a different context is also important to understand the phenomena of political brand religious image, secular image, and citizenship behavior. Moreover, future studies may explore whether or not the brand religious image can increase voters' retention behavior. It would be also interesting to analyze the moderating effect of other social and political issues on political brand religious image and voters' citizenship behavior.

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