

BELIEFS AND ATTITUDE TOWARDS POLITICAL ADVERTISING DURING MALAYSIA'S GE14 POLITICAL TSUNAMI

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ABSTRACT

The recent General Election in Malaysia has seen the opposition alliance form the government for the first time in its history. The tsunami that changed the country's political landscape has largely been attributed to the participation of young voters and the effect of political advertising transmitted through social media. Drawing upon the theory of reasoned action, the study tests the scale of beliefs about political advertising in relation to attitude towards political advertising among young voters. While the first phase of the study validated the belief components, the second phase tested and confirmed the effect of the belief components on attitude. As a result, three belief components of political advertising were extracted, including core values, actual values, and external values. The findings indicated that young Malaysian voters hold unfavourable beliefs about political advertising. Moreover, the beliefs about advertising's core and external values have a direct effect on attitude towards political advertising. Given young voters use social media for nearly every aspect of their lives, the findings underscore the importance of understanding the potential effect of negative political advertising and its external elements during election campaigns.

Keywords: Political advertising; Belief; Attitude; Young voters; Malaysia; Political campaigns

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1. INTRODUCTION

Advertising, a key component of marketing campaigns, aims to remind, persuade, or inform customers about products or services (Eze & Lee, 2012; Munusamy & Wong, 2007). Technology advancements enable advertising to permeate even more parts of our lives and, in some cases, have a great effect (Vooerveld, Van Noort, Muntinga & Bronner 2018). Advertising's expanded reach through online channels coupled with its proven ability to persuade make it an attractive mechanism for political campaigns (Newman & Sheth, 1985; Kaid, Nimmo, & Sanders, 1986; Franklin, 1994; Kaid & Holtz-Bacha, 1995). While many countries now experience political advertising, early and widespread adoption of first occurred in the United States of America (US) (Valentino, Hutching & Williams, 2004).

The political stability of a country may be threatened when its constituents do not understand or support the policy agendas of the parties (de Run, Jee & Lau, 2013). If voters do not possess sufficient information about parties' policies, their lack of knowledge could undermine the validity of voting results and the development of the country (Ashworth & Mesquita, 2014). Advertising can play an important role here. By connecting political parties with their potential voters and communicating policy agendas (McGinnis, 1969; Valentino, Hutchings & Williams, 2004), advertising can make a significant contribution. A recent study by Rahim and Mohamed (2017) revealed that people who possess a low level of participation and political knowledge are more heavily influenced by advertisements. Moreover, Internet advertising was found to have a direct influence on political participation (Weber, Loumakis & Bergman 2003). Online ads stimulate voter interest, especially among younger generations, who generally spend more time online (Lupia & Philpot 2005; Vesnic-Alujevic & Van Bauwel, 2014). These findings infer that advertising is an effective communication tool for political parties to share information, and online platforms are an ideal channel for candidates to interact with voters (Rafter, 2009; Robinson, 2010).

While much political advertising is positive, negative advertising is also a means for political parties to discredit the opposition (Surlin & Gordon, 1997; Banda & Windett, 2016). Most past studies on this topic have claimed that negative political advertising tends to affect voters' decisions, undermine the opposition, and win more votes (Cuneo, 2006; Homer & Batra, 1994). For instance, in Malaysia negative political advertising was employed by the former ruling party, Barisan Nasional (BN), to discredit the opposition and gain more votes. Likewise, the opposition parties undertook a similar strategy using online communication channels. In May 2018, Malaysia held its 14th General Election (GE) that resulted in a tsunami of votes against BN and the loss of its two-third Parliament majority to the opposition alliance, Pakatan Harapan (PH). Negative advertising across social media and networking platforms, such as WhatsApp and Facebook, were considered contributors to the Government's fall (Chu, 2018). The online approach also garnered new young voters, with almost five million young voters casting their votes for the first time in May. They formed 34 percent of the total voters in Malaysia (Shatar, 2018). Therefore, young voters were essential to the PH win and the new government in Malaysia.

Given the impact of negative political advertising and of young voters on the 2018 GE result, the present study attempts to determine the scale pertaining to voters' beliefs of political advertising, developed by de Run and Ting (2014). The study strives to validate the scale using the theory of reasoned action (TRA) and related advertising literature as the underpinning premises (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975; Natarajan, Balasubramanian, Balakrishnan & Manickavasagam, 2013; Pollay &

Mittal, 1993). Instead of looking at young Malaysians as a whole, the study delves into the beliefs and attitudes of young voters towards negative political advertising in the state of Sarawak.

Sarawak, situated in East Malaysia, on the island of Borneo, has a different political landscape compared to other states (The Official Portal of Sarawak Government, 2018) and is even said to have kingmaker status in elections (Faiz Ahmad, 2018; New Straits Times, 2018). After the GE, Sarawak was the only state to retain autonomous power and able to leave BN without joining the new ruling alliance (Then, 2018). As such, the current study not only extends the knowledge pertaining to beliefs and attitudes towards negative political advertising but also makes a practical contribution by explaining young adult voter behaviour in Sarawak and potentially other emerging states and countries.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. *Negative Political Advertising*

Political advertising plays a major role in the success or demise of political campaigns, making it a subject of interest for marketing scholars (Valentino, Hutching & Williams, 2004; Munira, 2012). During an election, candidates use advertising to disseminate information about themselves and their policies in an attempt to influence voters. It is considered an essential component during election campaigns in democratic countries due to its potent ability to change voter attitudes and voting behaviour (Jones, 1991; Franklin, 1994; Kaid & Holtz-Bacha, 1995; Housholder, Watson, & Lorusso, 2018).

Many countries, such as the US, also use negative political advertising through various media (Sanders & Norris, 2002; Valentino, Hutching & Williams, 2004; Borah, Fowler & Ridout, 2018). Before smartphones and Internet connectivity, radio and television were the core channels of political advertising (Kim, 2005), with television making up the largest share of political advertising in the US. Although television remains an important medium today (Arens & Weigold, 2017), technology enables US voters to spend more time online and less time on television and radio. Hence, negative advertising has also transitioned to online channels (Harris, Lock, Harris & Lock 2010; Ridout, Fowler & Branstetter, 2012), which also offer better message retention (Ridout, Fowler & Branstetter, 2012). Not surprisingly, the adoption of online platforms and social media have increased online advertising revenues (Ridout, Fowler & Branstetter, 2012) and their use is expected to remain high given social media was considered one of the critical factors that lead to the election of Donald Trump in the US (Ellyatt, 2017; Jennings et al., 2018).

While positive political advertising is intended to attract new supporters, stimulate voter participation and raise funds, negative political advertising disparages competing parties (Munira, 2012; Foley & Pastore, 1997). Past studies have shown that both political advertising strategies possess a similar influence on voters' attitudes and decisions (Holbert, Benoit, Hansen & Wen, 2002; Okpanachi, 2017; Watterberg & Brians, 1999). Nonetheless, negative political advertising remains important in campaigns (Banker, 1992) because it acts as a form of the comparator to denigrate or shame competing candidates (James & Hensel, 1991; Pinkleton, 1997). In many cases, explicit references are made to competitors, criticising them in order to retain voters' support or change their inclinations (Banda & Windett, 2016).

Understanding the effectiveness of negative political advertising has been the subject of previous studies, such as Cuneo (2006) and Homer and Batra (1994) who revealed that negative political advertising has a significant impact on voters' decisions and election outcomes. Political parties in western countries, Canada, the US, and the United Kingdom (UK), have been aggressively using negative political advertising to gain more votes (Holtz-Bacha, Novelli & Rafter, 2017; Konitzer, Rothschild, Hill & Wilbur, 2018; Lee, Khang & Kim, 2015). In Taiwan, a study by Chang (2003) revealed that political parties and candidates use negative political advertising during election campaigns. Not only is negative political advertising affecting voters' beliefs, attitudes and decisions in more countries, but also social media is exposing more voters to political advertising (Valentino, Hutchings & Williams, 2004).

2.2. *Young Voters in Malaysia*

During the Malaysian election campaigns, political parties target voters with both positive and negative political advertising (de Run & Ting, 2014; Kaid & Holtz-Bacha, 2006; Rahim & Mohamed, 2017). A decade ago, parties used printed materials and television (National broadcaster Radio Television Malaysia – RTM) to disseminate information election campaigns, but now online mediums such as Facebook, blogs, and Twitter take precedence (Chu, 2018; Kaid & Holtz-Bacha, 2006). The use of social media had a profound impact on voters' attitudes and decisions during the last GE (Chu, 2018). As more Malaysian citizens now use online mediums, such as WhatsApp, to access political news (Rahman, 2018), there has also been an increase in "fake" news posts that ridicule political parties. The aggressive use of social media has undoubtedly contributed to the political tsunami in Malaysia (Chu, 2018).

Young voters play an increasingly crucial role in political elections as they are the biggest adopters of social media and often make up the biggest proportion of swinging voters (Johan, 2018). For example, during the US presidential election in 2008, Barack Obama's win was largely the result of his campaign strategy targeting young Americans (Shatar, 2018). Similarly, an estimated five million young voters cast votes for the first time in Malaysia's GE, constituting 34 percent of the total voters (Shatar, 2018). It will continue to grow with a recent announcement that voting age in Malaysia was lowered from the current 21 years old to 18 years old, indicating that as many as 7.8 million new voters will be added into the electoral roll by 2023 (Leong, 2019). This reflects the country's stance that youth are no longer seen as a burden, but individuals who can be trusted with Malaysia's progress. Other than being technology savvy, young voters have greater exposure to online political advertising, which can influence their beliefs and attitudes (Donahue, 2011; Park, Philips & Johnson, 2004). Given the unprecedented changes in Malaysia's political landscape, the present study makes a significant contribution to our knowledge of young voters' beliefs and attitudes towards negative political advertising.

2.3. *Theoretical Grounding*

Drawing upon the theory of reasoned action (TRA) and the related advertising literature as the underpinning premises (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975; Natarajan, Balasubramanian, Balakrishnan & Manickavasagam, 2013; Pollay & Mittal, 1993), this study postulated that young voters' attitudes toward negative political advertising are determined by their behavioural beliefs about political advertising. Past advertising studies have been largely consistent in showing the positive and direct relationship between attitude and behavioural intention (Jun & Lee, 2007; Wells, Kleshinski &

Lau, 2012), which underscores the relevance and importance of attitude in understanding voters' attitude towards negative political advertising.

TRA also posits that behavioural beliefs, which are associated with attributes and performance, are antecedents of attitude (Fishein & Ajzen, 1975). This corresponds with Hume's philosophy whereby belief is defined as a feeling or an idea that shapes an individual's behaviour by influencing his or her mindset (Gorman, 1993). This infers that individuals who receive new information that contradicts their basis of belief may be influenced by the new information (Anderson, 2007; Azeem & Haq, 2012; Sadeghi & Hanzae, 2010). Therefore, first understanding the beliefs of young voters regarding political advertising may provide better explanations of their attitudes towards negative political advertising.

To understand young Malaysian voter behavioural beliefs about political advertising, an exploratory study was conducted in Sarawak, a state of Malaysia, in 2014 (de Run & Ting, 2014). Twelve salient belief factors were elicited through interviews, which included (1) a source of information; (2) misleading; (3) for personal gain; (4) harmful to the country's welfare; (5) ineffective; (6) waste of resources; (7) offensive; (8) an aid to more development due to competition; (9) false claims; (10) meaningless; (11) distrustful, and (12) amusing to watch. Although some of these findings are supported by advertising attitude literature, such as that of Pollay and Mittal (1993), most factors differ due to the specificity of political advertising. These belief factors and attitudes towards negative political advertising form the basis of the present study.

3. METHODOLOGY

Adopting a quantitative approach, the current study validated twelve belief factors about political advertising that were adapted from de Run and Ting (2014) and examined the explanatory capacity of the extracted components (independent variables) about the attitude towards negative political advertising (dependent variable).

Given the unique political situation in Sarawak and the ubiquitous use of social media by young Malaysians, Sarawak residents aged 21-25 and eligible to vote currently were the target respondents. Furthermore, young voters in Sarawak played an important role during the election (Dermawan, 2013, Channel News Asia, 2018; Chu, 2018), which made them an ideal target. The study used non-probability purposive sampling technique and a minimum sample size of 200, which was predetermined using the recommended guidelines for performing factor analysis and post hoc G power analysis with an effect size of 0.15, margin error of 5 percent and power of (1- β) 80 percent (Faul, Erdfelder & Buchner, 2007).

A structured and self-administered questionnaire was designed and pre-tested with five experts. All negative belief factors, such as misleading and ineffective, were worded positively to ensure the respondents could respond to the statements more accurately (DeVellis, 2017; Parasuraman, Berry, & Zeithaml, 1991). Questions in the first section collected respondent profile information. The second section contained 17 statements pertaining to beliefs and attitudes towards negative political advertising. Each belief factor was measured with a single item and attitude was measured with multiple items (Eze & Lee, 2012; Natarajan, Balasubramanian, Balakrishnan &

Manickavasagam, 2013). The questionnaire used a 7-point Likert scale, where 1 and 7 were anchored at both ends to indicate the level of agreement.

With easy access to eligible participants, we distributed 500 questionnaires to university and college students throughout Sarawak in June 2018. This target group may be familiar with negative political advertising because of previous exposure to advertising in urban areas and through social media. This group also helps eliminate the potential confounding effect arising from strong political affiliations or limited exposure to political advertising, which is more likely to occur in rural areas. The collected number of questionnaires was 430. After removing incomplete questionnaires, a total of 405 respondents were effectively sampled for analysis.

Early and late responses were examined using independent sample *t*-test to ensure non-response bias was not a concern (Armstrong & Overton, 1977). The sample was then divided into two sub-samples where the first sample of 200 respondents was used in the first phase, and the second sample of 205 respondents was used in the second phase (Green, Tonidandel & Cortina, 2016). To reduce common method variance, several procedural remedies were put in place. First, the respondents were repeatedly assured that all responses were confidential and anonymous. Secondly, the instruments were pre-tested to remove ambiguity. Statistically, the vertical and lateral variance inflation factors (VIF) were found to be lesser than 3.3 indicating that the model is free from common method bias (Kock, 2015)

Exploratory factor analysis (EFA) was conducted first to determine the factor structure of beliefs about political advertising. Confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) and multiple regression analysis were then undertaken to validate the scale and to examine the relationship between beliefs and attitude towards negative political advertising.

4. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

Table 1 presents the descriptive results, which include the mean values, standard deviations (SD) and communalities of the twelve belief factors. Given its explorative nature, factors that possessed values less than 0.4 were removed (Costello & Osborne, 2005). Hence, the belief factor of Trustful (Distrustful) was removed from the observation as its communality value was 0.287. Furthermore, when performing EFA, principal axis factoring using the promax technique was adopted to extract the components. Total variance explained 64.372 percent, which was generated with the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) value significant at 0.789 (Tachbanick & Fidell, 2014; Field, 2018). Additionally, the mean values suggested that young voters in Sarawak tended to have unfavourable beliefs about political advertising.

Table 1: Mean Values, Standard Deviations and Communalities

Factors (Original Labels)	Mean	SD	Communalities
Polite (Offensive)	3.083	1.492	0.556
Harmless (Harmful)	3.782	1.553	0.528
For the Society (Personal Gain)	2.951	1.533	0.543
Good Use (Wasteful)	4.260	1.346	0.596
Effective (Ineffective)	4.038	1.442	0.673

Factors (Original Labels)	Mean	SD	Communalities
Meaningful (Meaningless)	4.037	1.572	0.610
Source of Information	3.967	1.392	0.403
Honest (False Claim)	3.023	1.371	0.686
Accurate (Misleading)	3.060	1.442	0.540
Good for Development	3.922	1.386	0.798
Amusing to Watch	3.727	1.428	0.605
Trustful (Distrustful)	4.544	1.423	0.287

To determine the factor structure of the eleven belief factors, factor analysis, and Monte Carlo parallel analysis were conducted. The results, shown in Table 2, suggested three components because the actual eigenvalue crosses over and surpasses the random eigenvalue at the third component (Field, 2018). In the correlations (loadings) of the factors, shown in Table 3, these three components are labelled as core values, actual values, and external values. Core values refer to the purposes and benefits of political advertising, actual values denote the elements that make up political advertising, such as messages, designs, and advertising forms (e.g. billboards, banners, and televisions). The categorization of core and actual values correspond to the first two levels of a product in the marketing literature (Kotler & Keller, 2016). In addition, external values indicate the indirect achievement of political advertising, such as stimulating development before and after election campaigns. Even though external values are not the main aim of political advertising, they could be regarded as augmented features to enhance advertising effectiveness.

Table 2: Assessment using Factor Analysis and Monte Carlo Parallel Analysis

Component Number	Random Eigenvalue	Actual Eigenvalue	Decision
1	1.2938	4.030	Accept
2	1.2108	1.574	Accept
3	1.1452	1.477	Accept
4	1.0891	1.066	Reject
5	1.0391	0.573	Reject
6	0.9914	0.506	Reject
7	0.9468	0.416	Reject
8	0.9019	0.373	Reject
9	0.8494	0.367	Reject
10	0.7995	0.344	Reject
11	0.7331	0.274	Reject

The study employed CFA using partial least squares structural equation modelling (PLS-SEM) to validate the factor structure generated by EFA. Table 3 displays the three components with their belief factors and loadings, which achieve the average variance extracted (AVE) cut-off value of 0.5 (Hair, Hult, Ringle, & Sarstedt, 2013; Henseler, Ringle, & Sinkovics, 2009). Hence, convergent validity of the data is established, confirming that the factors provide valid and sufficient explanation of each construct (belief component). Furthermore, the Cronbach's alpha is within the range of 0.7 and 0.9 (Streiner & Norman, 2008), and the composite reliability (CR) and rho_A are above 0.8 (Hair, Hult, Ringle, & Sarstedt, 2013), confirming the internal consistency of the data.

Table 3: Assessment of Convergent Validity

Constructs	Factors	Loadings	AVE	Alpha	CR	rho_A
Core Value	Honest	0.786	0.517	0.808	0.863	0.821
	For the Society	0.783				
	Accurate	0.774				
	Polite	0.715				
	Harmless	0.702				
	Source of Info	0.518				
Actual Value	Good Use	0.765	0.699	0.789	0.874	0.826
	Effective	0.879				
	Meaningful	0.859				
External Value	Good for Development	0.934	0.846	0.819	0.916	0.837
	Amusing to Watch	0.905				

The next analysis step assessed discriminant validity through Fornell and Larcker's criterion and Heterotrait-Monotrait (HTMT) technique. Table 4a shows that the square root of AVE for each construct was larger than the correlations of other constructs (Hair, Hult, Ringle, & Sarstedt, 2013). Moreover, the results in Table 4b confirm that no value violates the threshold of HTMT_{0.85} (Henseler, Ringle & Sarstedt, 2015). Therefore, it is concluded that the belief factors and components under investigation are all distinctively different.

Table 4a: Assessment of Discriminant Validity using Fornell & Larcker's Criterion

	Core Value	Actual Value	External Value
Core Values	0.719		
Actual Values	0.438	0.836	
External Values	0.270	0.224	0.920

Table 4b: Assessment of Discriminant Validity using Heterotrait-Monotrait Technique

	Core Value	Actual Value	External Value
Core Values			
Actual Values	0.511		
External Values	0.331	0.252	

Another crucial step is to address any collinearity issues across the constructs. Table 5 shows minimal collinearity among the constructs because the VIF outputs range between 1.090 and 1.267 (Diamantopoulos & Sigouw, 2006). The table also shows the results generated from multiple regression analysis to determine the relationship between the three belief components of political advertising and attitude towards negative political advertising. Both the core ($\beta = 0.071, t = 1.818$) and external values ($\beta = 0.729, t = 20.072$) have a significant and positive effect on attitude towards negative political advertising, and contribute 58.4 percent of the variance explained. However, the relationship between actual values ($\beta = 0.048, t = 1.237$) and attitude towards negative political advertising was insignificant.

Table 5: Assessment of Path Relationship using Multiple Regressions

Path Relationship	Beta	VIF	t-value	Significant
Core Values → Attitude	0.071	1.267	1.818	0.035*
Actual Values → Attitude	0.048	1.223	1.237	0.217
External Values → Attitude	0.729	1.090	20.072	0.000**
R squared			0.584	
Adjusted R squared			0.580	
F value			160.728	
P value			0.000	

Notes: *Significant when $P < 0.05$; **Significant when $P < 0.01$ using one-tailed test

Overall, the results validate the usability of the scale pertaining to beliefs about political advertising. The validation takes place in two phases. The first phase validated the twelve belief factors and the extraction of the three belief components was examined using EFA. In the second phase, the three belief components with their respective factors were validated again using CFA. These three components, core, actual, and external values explicate the beliefs of young voters surrounding political advertising in Malaysia. To further ascertain the usability of the revised scale, the path relationships between the belief components and attitude towards negative political advertising was assessed. The *R* squared value of 58.4 percent confirmed the explanatory capability of the belief components about the attitude towards negative political advertising.

Even though past studies show that people tend to be in favor of advertising (Deuze, 2018; Pollay & Mittal, 1993; Yucel-Aybat & Kramer, 2018), the present study was contradictory. The results inferred that young Malaysian voters who reside in Sarawak generally disagree that political advertising is exhibiting its core and external values. Despite serving as a strategic tool to discredit the competing parties and to win votes, young voters believe that the information provided by political advertising tends to be misleading, harmful, and offensive in order to gain political mileage for personal gain. In addition, they did not believe that political advertising promises fair competition and generates development. Though ads mocking other candidates might be amusing at times, young voters may state to discount or ignore them over time. Interestingly, the belief about the actual values of political advertising was not found to have a significant effect on attitude, suggesting that the messages or types of advertising do not concern the young voters in a contemporary environment. Arguably, ubiquitous social media channels offering rich and continuous information, and the advanced features of mobile devices, make the actual values of political advertising less relevant to their attitude formation. Young voters have basically accepted the fact that negative political advertising during election campaigns is effective and meaningful to a certain degree.

5. CONTRIBUTIONS

The present study contributes to advertising literature in three ways. Firstly, it validates the scale pertaining to beliefs about political advertising and extends the scale to the context of negative political advertising. Secondly, by employing TRA as the underlying theory, it deconstructs attitude towards negative political advertising into three belief components. This expanded application of TRA provides a rich explanation of attitudes towards negative political advertising.

Thirdly, the study reveals how young voters in Malaysia perceived negative political advertising during the recent GE, which culminated in a political tsunami for Malaysia. Since young adults constitute a sizeable voter segment (Dermawan, 2013), it is imperative that all political parties, including the ruling and incumbent, understand how young voters perceive political advertising generally and the impact of negative elements that are often utilized during election campaign periods.

Though the usefulness of negative political advertising has been documented (Benedict, 2009; Fridkin, Kenney, & Wintersieck, 2015), and might have contributed to the political changes in Malaysia, the use of negative political advertising must be done cautiously. An abundance of negative political advertising inevitably gives rise to social media "fake" news, which twists voters' judgment, sentiments, and decisions. This may well explain why Malaysians' beliefs about political advertising were generally negative. Excessive use of negative political advertising to point out the shortcomings of competing parties, their agendas, and past performance, which often leads to exaggerated messages and slander, could be detrimental to the reputation and credibility of the promoting party. Rather than articulate an issue, negative advertising may confuse voters, generating more questions than answers, instigating a public uproar and ultimately infuriating voters, especially the youth vote. In the Malaysian context, the victory of PH could be partly attributable to its use of negative advertising to focus on a few issues that BN failed to manage. Nevertheless, relentless negative promotion of these issues without demonstrating explicit improvement might do the new ruling alliance a disservice and could prove costly at the next GE. It is therefore recommended that political personnel involved in running political campaigns in Malaysia be more prudent in optimizing the core values of political advertising and making good use of the external elements to reinforce their effectiveness.

6. LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE STUDIES

Aside from the present study's theoretical and practical contributions, it also has a few limitations which underline the need for future investigation. The use of non-probability purposive sampling and the selection of university and college students in the study could potentially limit the generalisability of the findings to the Malaysian population. Moreover, the exclusion of demographic and psychographic factors, such as generation, social status, values, and lifestyles, might restrict the theoretical and practical implications of the study from providing more insights into the phenomenon. In addition, the data were collected only at a point of time after the GE, which fails to show any potential change in beliefs and attitude towards negative political advertising over time. Furthermore, many other countries have also gone through historical election campaigns that changed the face of their politics. Knowledge of how negative political advertising played a role during and after elections in these countries would make a significant contribution. Finally, a more comprehensive framework that considered the effects of contextual and intervening factors on voting behaviour, at multiple points of time, would help explain the potential impact of negative political advertising on the change of attitude and even vote to switch. These findings would be pertinent not only to Malaysia but also to all other democratic countries.

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