THE NEW MEASUREMENT OF POLITICAL TRUST RHETORIC DIMENSIONS IN POLITICAL MARKETING COMMUNICATION: THE YOUNG PEOPLE PERSPECTIVE

Ihwan Susila[1], Sidiq Permono Nugroho[2]
[1,2]Faculty of Economics and Business, Universitas Muhammadiyah Surakarta (UMS), Indonesia.
Email: [1]Ihwan.Susila@ums.ac.id, [2]Sidiq.Permono@ums.ac.id

Abstract

Purpose: The article conducts the new measurement of political trust rhetoric dimensions in political marketing communication: the young people's perspective.

Methodology: This research used survey method. The survey was conducted to 189 respondents, 110 male respondents (58.2%) and 79 female respondents (41.8) using a convenience sampling technique. Respondents in this study are young voters who live in Surakarta and originally from various cities in Indonesia including Java, Sumatra, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, and Papua.

Result: The research shows that the rhetoric dimension can be measured by specific indicators for logos, ethos, and pathos. The research's findings also indicated that the importance of political trust based on the rhetoric dimensions has different level, particularly from young voter perspective.

Applications: This research can be used for the universities, teachers and education students.

Novelty/Originality: In this research, the model of the subject-subject model in the conditions of mixed learning is presented in a comprehensive and complete manner.

Keywords: *Political Marketing, Rhetoric, Measurement, Young Voter.*

INTRODUCTION

The concepts of trust have gained considerable importance in the field of political marketing. An examination of political trust literature suggests that political scientists and political marketing scholars concerned themselves with aspects of the citizens' and voters' trust of political candidates and incumbent political authorities. Another aspect that served as an object of concern for political scientists is trust of the actions of political parties and political programmes trust of action or the result of a political campaign, and trust-related to political fundraising. Furthermore examined relationships between interpersonal trust and the three political trust-related constructs: trust of government forms, political cynicism, and incumbent trust (Hetherington, M. J. (2005)).

In the British political context, Dermody and Hanmer-Lloyd focused on the national advertising campaigns for the major UK Parties, notably Labour, Conservative and the Liberal Democrats in the British 2005 general election. Their results revealed that negative advertising reduced trust levels and led to increased alienation and cynicism. In a previous study, Dermody and Hanmer-Lloyd proposed a conceptual framework that examines trust and distrust to provide some strategies for political marketing. They identified four segments of youth voters including those who are ambivalent, party loyalists, ardent cynics, and selfish voters. Through the recognition of their values and beliefs about politics, different strategies could be developed to increase citizens' trust and reduce their distrust, thereby increasing their intention to vote in future elections.

Dermody and Hanmer-Lloyd developed a theoretical framework that reflected the necessity of how political discourse should build trust within a political communication strategy (Jagers, J., & Walgrave, S. (2007)).

In order to provide a more direct instrument of how trust could be applying in more practical terms, Schiffman, Thelen, and Sherman reinforce the importance of different components of trust. However, this is at the developmental stage and needs further work (Ameen et al, 2018).

Central to political trust is a positive assessment of government performance and party leaders, combined with optimism and confidence in their intentions to do good, which can be conceptualized by benevolence and credibility. Other researchers have conceptualized trust by highlighting the risks involved and its dimensions include integrity, competence, consistency, loyalty, and openness (Butler, and Cantrell 1984). In addition, Vigoda-Gadot, in his article which examines citizens' perceptions of organizational politics and ethics in the public administration system, concludes that ethics has a positive relationship with trust in governance and political participation (Dow, B. J., & Tonn, M. B. (1993)).

Based on the existing research, it can be seen that trust is recognized as an important area for both citizens and political candidates. Therefore, it is important for political marketing scholars and others to firstly examine aspects of trust in political campaigns, and secondly to examine trust as a component of the overall political process.

In the art of rhetoric, Aristotle identified three components that may be used to persuade people, including pathos, logos, and ethos (Do Amaral, 2018). For Gottweis, logos is characterized by reasoning and presentation of fact while pathos is characterized by empathy and sympathy. Meanwhile, ethos is related to honesty and credibility. Ethos also relates to the reputation of the people.

This paper will show that rhetoric dimensions can be measured by some indicators that have been developed in this study. The rhetorical components of character for ethos, empathy for pathos, and capability for logos have revealed as a new measurement of political trust (Thøger Christensen, L., & Askegaard, S. (2001)).

LITERATURE REVIEW

A study on trust from the political marketing perspective is critical to build bridges between politics and citizens as voters and to develop a good democracy based on trusting relationships. Politicians and political parties need better communications about their candidature platform. It may help voters to be able to easily comprehend their ideology and programmes. The government should also improve how their policies communicate strategies in order to serve the citizens as evidence of their tasks and performance. In essence, political trust is a positive evaluation of government performance, political parties, and leaders. Inefficiency in government performance might cause a negative evaluation of the government and what emerges is the decline in trust of government and leaders. Likewise, politicians' performance would be determined by the fruitfulness of their promises in the political campaigns. People might also evaluate politicians' intentions to act in the best interest of citizens or not.

In neo-classical economic voting theory, citizens make electoral decisions based on the perception of the government's economic performance. People have the power to impose penalties or to give punishment and sanction and also have the power to give reward. Duch maintained that voters punish incumbents who fail to deliver acceptable economic outcomes and reward governments that meet their expectations. Duch also argued that positive evaluation results made by the citizens will lead to support for the incumbent while negative outcomes lead to support for the challenge (Thøger Christensen, L., & Askegaard, S. (2001)).

Nevertheless, electoral behavior in electing decisions is not only based on rational choice theory analysis which counts cost-benefit economically. There are many factors that influence it. Dean and Croft claimed that voters could make rational and irrational decisions. In the rational choice theory, voters only consider the benefits and costs associated with their respective advantages while an irrational choice the decision is based more on emotional factors. According to Aristotle as quoted by Dean and Croft, there are two components of the irrational factor. The first component is vegetative irrationality which is stimulated by instinct and the second factor is desiderative irrationality which is a learning process over punishment and rewards received. Dean and Croft maintained that it is impossible to explain the electoral behavior based on only a simple model and therefore a more sophisticated framework to understand voters' behavior is required.

Understanding voters and creating a political strategy is recognized as critical for politicians and government, as Dermody and Hanmer-Lloyd state that "government can only govern through the consent of the people in a democratic structure". Related to political strategy, political organization is increasingly reliant on marketing strategies to achieve their strategic goals such as the development of strategy in campaign promotion, brand building, and voter segmentation based on the study of electoral behavior (Oliveira et al, 2018). Political marketing and commercial marketing have some differences. However, commercial marketing strategies can be adapted to develop political marketing strategies through utilization of electronic media, such as internet and television, to communicate with voters. Through electronic media, particularly television, voters can see political candidates, leaders, and also government and evaluate their actions and respond. Therefore, it is very important for the government, politicians, and political parties to devise political strategies by understanding the heterogeneity of electoral behavior.

Management literature has revealed some components of trust that can be categorized as follows. Ability reflects a group of skills, competencies, and characteristics that enable a party to have influence on some specific domain. This is related to competencies and, values (Zawojska 2010), credibility, performance, and confidence (Van de Walle, S., & Bouckaert, G. (2003)).

Another component of trust is benevolence, which is defined as 'the extent to which a trustee is believed to want to do good to the trustors'. Referring to Burke, benevolence is 'perceived to genuinely care about their subordinates and convey authentic concern in relationships' and can be revealed by concern for others' welfare and helping others. Benevolence characteristics include honesty and cooperative behavior, image (Zawojska 2010), structural and social bonding, empathy, likability, communication effectiveness (Chen, Shi, and Dong 2008), perceived justice and similarity (Lee et al., 2018).

The next component is integrity – meaning the trustors' perceived trustee adheres to an acceptable set of principles. In addition, Mayer, Davis, and Schoorman argued that integrity is judged by examining previous behaviors, reputation, similarity, honesty and the consistency between words and actions.

Loyalty is also one of the components of trust and is defined as a willingness to protect and save face for a person. Loyalty is related to a feeling or attitude of devoted attachment and affection. The other component is openness. Openness can be defined as willingness to share ideas and information freely.

Another component of trust is empathy which is the ability to put oneself in the place of others, or treat others as one would like to be treated or understanding and entering into another's feelings by identification with and understanding of another's situation, feelings, and motives.

Goodwill is also a part of the component of trust in management literature. Goodwill can be described as the trustor's belief about the trustee's intention as well as his willingness to act in the interests of the trustor and to be concerned for people's well-being.

The last category of the component of trust in management literature is familiarity which is described as a relationship assumed to be secure and sufficiently well-founded on knowledge about people and situations and permitting the making of generalizations. Familiarity is driven by the frequency of the interaction and the depth of the interaction (Hawkins, K. A. (2009)).

RESEARCH METHOD

This research used survey method. The survey was conducted to 189 respondents, 110 male respondents (58.2%) and 79 female respondents (41.8) using a convenience sampling technique. Respondents in this study are young voters who live in Surakarta and originally from various cities in Indonesia including Java, Sumatra, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, and Papua. Respondents aged between 19 years to 27 years with the largest percentage aged 20-21 years (85.2%). The instruments adopted from Susila, Dean, and Harness (2015) and tested the indicators by seven-point semantic differential scale from unimportant to very important.

FINDING AND DISCUSSION

Table 1 provides a summary of the validity test using confirmatory factor analysis, reliability test, an importance level of political trust. Result of the validity test, all indicators are valid and have a loading score more than 0.3. This result confirmed that rhetoric dimension of political trust consists of three dimensions which are empathy for pathos, character for ethos, and capability for logos. A new scale has been developed in this study to measure the rhetoric dimensions. The first dimension is empathy that represents of pathos with 11 indicators such as clean, brave, fair, honest, responsible, nationalist, religious, experienced, consistent, dynamic, and loyal. The second dimension is character for ethos that consists of 6 indicators which are patient, soft, humble, equal, charismatic, and unselfish. The third dimension of rhetoric is capability for logos which consists of 9 indicators which are transparent, firm, disciplined, inspiring, visionary, strong, decisive, smart, and reliable.

Reliability Test

Empathy dimension has 11 item questions ranges between unimportant to very important on seven semantic differential scale and found Alpha reliability 0.829. Meanwhile, the character dimension with 6 items and capability dimension with 9 items have Alpha reliability 0.719 and 0.734 respectively.

IMPORTANCE LEVEL OF POLITICAL TRUST

To measure the importance level of political trust components, descriptive statistics were used in this study. The result indicates that the most important indicators of political trust by young voters are a politician who has a sense of responsibility (M. 6.90; SD 0.335) from a maximum scale of 7 and a minimum scale of 1. The second important component is an honest politician (M.6.87; SD. 0,478), then clean or free from corruption (M. 6.86; SD 0.479), fair (M. 6.76; SD 0.478), disciplined (M. 6.58; SD 0.723), followed by other factors that are firm, brave, nationalist, consistent, inspiring, loyal, smart, experienced, unselfish, strong, humble, transparent, religious, educated, reliable, strong, visionary, patient, dynamic, patient, charismatic, soft, and equal (M. 4.88; SD 1.443). Table 2 shows the importance level of political trust.

The measurement of political trust has been developed in this study. According to Gottweis, logos, in this study is called capability, marked with reasoning and presentment of facts. In this study, the indicators are transparent, firm, disciplined, inspiring, visionary, strong, decisive, clever, and reliable. The ability to reflect a group of skills, competence, and characteristics that allows a party to have an influence on some particular domain. This is related to competence and expertise, credibility, performance and confidence.

For pathos, marked by empathy and sympathy with indicators including clean from corruption, brave, fair, honest, responsible, nationalist, religious, experienced, consistent, dynamic and loyal. In management literature, empathy is defined as the ability to put yourself in someone else's position or treat others as someone who wants to be treated. A political candidate who has empathy will be able to understand the wishes of its citizens and expected to fulfill them(Gerodimos, R., & Justinussen, J. (2015).).

Table 1: Rhetoric Dimensions

	Empathy (Pathos)	Character (Ethos)	Capability (Logos)
Patient		.624	
Soft		.646	
Humble		.518	
Equal		.656	
Charismatic		.514	
Unselfish		.514	
Clean	.708		
Brave	.460		
Fair	.810		

Honest	.824		
Responsible	.406		
Nationalist	.521		
Religious	.339		
Experienced	.530		
Consistan	.519		
Dynamic	.432		
Loyal	.509		
Transparent			.314
Firm			.494
Disciplined			.566
Inspiring			.555
Visionary			.448
Strong			.405
Decisive			.537
Clever			.728
Reliable			.603
Cronbach Alpha	.719	.829	.734

Source: Susila, and Nugroho 2018

Meanwhile, ethos is related to character, indicated by patient, soft, humble, equal, charismatic, and unselfish. Dean expressed that ethos is related to the reputation of a political candidate in the society, and also related to integrity. Moreover, Mayer, Davis, and Schoorman convey that integrity is valued by examining behavior and reputation. Characteristic can also be shaped from intimacy which is described as a relation that is considered safe and grounded by knowledge about people and situations and allows the creation of generalization. The intimacy is tightly related to similarity and personal relation.

This study highlights three components of political trust. In the literature, the political trust dimension involves positive evaluation of the government's performance, political party, and politicians. Building political trust means building positive image among politicians and government. In order to gain the voters' trust, political candidates must build a personal relationship with the society by showing their quality which includes clean from corruption, brave, fair, honest, responsible, nationalist, religious, experienced, wise, dynamic and loyal. These are the first rhetorical dimension; the empathy or pathos.

The second rhetorical dimension that is confirmed in this study is the capability of the candidate or logos. The direct election allows people to evaluate political candidates' performance. The capability of the candidates is very significant and a necessity which has a relation with the ability of a leader who will fight for the interest of its people and their welfare. This study proved that the candidates' capability can be used to build trust for political candidates (Clementson, D. E., Pascual-Ferra, P., & Beatty, M. J. (2016)).

Table 2: Importance component of political trust

	Mean (Level of importance)	Std. Deviation
Patient	5.82	1.207
Soft	5.01	1.299
Humble	6.11	1.016
Equal	**4.88**	1.443
Charismatic	5.26	1.407
Unselfish	6.21	0.997
Clean	6.86	0.479
Brave	6.47	0.908
Fair	6.76	0.478
Honest	6.87	0.478
Responsible	**6.90**	0.335
Nationalist	6.40	0.886
Religious	6.01	1.201
Experienced	6.22	1.000
Consistan	6.40	0.867
Dynamic	5.71	1.049
Loyal	6.35	1.019
Transparent	6.05	1.243

Firm	6.57	0.723
Disciplined	6.58	0.723
Inspiring	6.40	0.823
Visionary	5.85	1.000
Strong	6.17	0.897
Decisive	5.89	1.194
Clever	6.34	0.827
Reliable	5.95	1.040

Source: Susila, and Nugroho 2018

Trust in the political candidate is not only shaped by the perceived ability of the candidate and the empathy but also shaped by their character. Therefore, for the better character, the level of public trust towards the political candidates becomes higher.

CONCLUSION

This study develops indicators to measure political trust. The development of these measurements contributes to the field of political marketing, particularly in filling the gap on the measurement scale of political trust. The indicators have been identified in this study and each rhetorical dimension has a different measurement scale. This study also reveals that empathy dimension has played a more significant role in political persuasion compared to the other two characters and capability.

Respondents in this study have identified good candidate characteristics including empathy, character, and the political candidates' capability. For sure, not all of these characteristics are attached to the political candidates, but at least they can provide guidance that can be trusted by the voters and make sure the candidate to be elected. To ensure that a certain political candidate is elected, they also need to have such qualities. Moreover, political candidates must have good character. Political candidates can use a good politician's characteristics to ensure that they have the characteristic that will ensure them to be elected. Political candidates can emphasize their character through political communication in planning a campaign for future elections based on the rhetoric dimensions.

This study was conducted in Indonesia with characteristics of young voters. Further research is required to examine whether this trust indicator remains consistent or not to use in another country with a more mature democratic level compared to Indonesia. In the near future, study on electoral behavior that examines the relationship between the rhetorical dimension and intention to vote is required to be conducted in order to see how the young people's perspective on their political and electoral behavior.

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