

BACHELORTHESIS



"Rhetorica: The Means to Success in Digital Diplomacy"?

ABSTRACT

With the advent of the Internet, the ways in which politicians address their publics have changed. However, their willingness to persuade their people, or 'followers', has not. This thesis' research hopes to get behind the 'veil' of what impacts politicians' power and popularity, of what provides them with 'soft power', specifically on social networking sites like Twitter. It tries to do so by using a rhetorical framework, as seen in NGO- and PR research, based on Aristotle's *Rhetorica*. Did the famous Greek philosopher not already say in 330 BC "Rhetoric is the faculty of discovering in the particular case what are the available means of persuasion"? From robust statistical analyses of the tweets of the Prime Minister of Canada Justin Trudeau (an example of a new generation of technology-prone leaders), it becomes clear that especially the rhetorical tool of Pathos, the use of emotions and motivational messages, is important in online political communication. Ethos and Logos, its rhetorical counterparts, seem to be less impactful for politicians' digital (Twitter) diplomacy.

Rosa Rupert, student nr. 1388940

r.l.rupert@umail.leidenuniv.nl

Bachelorproject Digital Diplomacy 2016

Instructor Dr. Rebekah Tromble

Words: 8.798



Universiteit Leiden

INDEX

I. INTRODUCTION	4
II. THEORY	5
literature review	5
theoretical framework	9
III. RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY	13
research design	13
methodology	15
IV. DATA AND EMPIRICAL RESULTS	17
processing the data	17
empirical results	18
V. CONCLUSION	24
findings	24
limitations	25
research contribution and practical implications	25
REFERENCES	27
APPENDICES	29
appendix I: codebook	29
appendix II: overview tables	35

I. INTRODUCTION

Politicians know how to address their publics well. Since the old days, people have been analysing the ways in which politicians persuade 'their people'. Aristotle famously called this *Rhetorica*: 'the doctrine of eloquence'. His analytical tools are still indispensable for anyone trying to get 'behind the veil' of what impacts politicians' power and popularity. Today, the analysis of what constitutes persuasion is even more relevant. With power in the international system shifting from core military strength and coercion to something more soft and vague like 'public opinion', we need to be aware of the ('soft') power of communication.

This seems all the more true with the current Information - and Social Media - Revolution still ongoing. A country, or a politician, is as successful as his/her spin-doctor and (social) media strategy (i.e. 'public diplomacy'). Quite a lot of research has been conducted on the relationship between politics, or more specifically political rhetoric, and 'the media', but it seems social media are too young to have generated such a body of literature. How do politicians nowadays persuade 'their people' (their 'followers') online? What makes a politician's digital public diplomacy successful and which of his/her messages exercise 'soft' power? This thesis intends to fill this gap in the literature.

We argue we can best use Aristotle's *Rhetorica* to deconstruct politicians' online communication (social media activity), like we do with their offline communication. Through social media politicians want to persuade people, and persuasion 'is' rhetoric, as Aristotle already stated several millennia ago. In this thesis we will be investigating the usefulness of this ages-old rhetorical framework for explaining online engagement generated by politicians. To what extent is *Rhetorica* of use for exercising soft power in the current online political (Twitter) arena? Do messages that incorporate the rhetorical tools of *Ethos*, *Pathos* and *Logos* generate more positive engagement than messages that don't? Do these tools stand for successful digital diplomacy and would employing *Rhetorica* thus be an effective social media strategy for politicians nowadays?

In the following Theory section of this thesis, before proceeding to a closer examination of Aristotle's *Rhetorica* (and the implications of this analytical toolbox of rhetorics for politicians' Twitter messages), first the general concepts of soft power, public- and digital diplomacy will be addressed. We will subsequently try to apply a rhetorical framework, derived from the NGO- and Public Relations-literature, to the Political Science concept of public digital diplomacy.

II. THEORY

Literature review: Soft Power, Public- and Digital Diplomacy and the potential of Twitter

Soft Power and Public Diplomacy

“Today (...), the definition of power is losing its emphasis on military force and conquest that marked earlier eras. The factors of technology, education and economic growth are becoming more significant in international power (...). These trends suggest a second, more attractive way of exercising power than traditional means” (Nye, 1990, p.154/166).

These words of Harvard professor Joseph Nye in the aftermath of the Cold War meant a revolution in our thinking about power and power relations in the international system. Where power in political science was always described in terms of coercion and material, military strength, Nye suddenly provided a more nuanced understanding of power in terms of persuasion and communicational (ideological) strength. “The changing face of power”, he called this conceptual revolution, and he named his more nuanced definition of power ‘soft power’ (as opposed to the traditional definition of power as ‘hard’). “Soft power is more than just persuasion or the ability to move people by argument, though that is an important part of it. It is the ability to entice and attract”, he stated (2008,p.95).

Here, Nye is specifically talking about enticing and attracting a (foreign) public. Well-conducted communication is power, according to him¹. This practice of directly engaging with and trying to appeal to a public, which became more and more common for governments, embassies and politicians, is called ‘public diplomacy’. It is in conducting this type of diplomacy that soft power is most exercised. Public diplomacy is government-to-people communication, as opposed to traditional diplomacy, which is government-to-government communication (Deibel and Roberts 1976, in Signitzer and Coombs, 1992,p.139). Public diplomacy is about creating a fruitful atmosphere for persuasion, for a shift of (foreign) public opinion. As Nye explains it: “Parents of teenagers have long known that if they have shaped their child’s beliefs and preferences, their power will be greater and more enduring than if they rely only on active control. Similarly, political leaders and philosophers have long understood the power of attractive ideas or the ability to set the political agenda and determine the framework of debate in a way that shapes other’s preferences” (1990,p.166).

¹ ..and many scholars soon followed; Nye is one of the most-quoted political scientists these days. Of course, this is especially because he thought up the concept of ‘soft power’.

² We will later - in the ‘Theoretical Framework’ section - zoom in on the relationship between PR- and Political 5

According to Nye, public diplomacy is conducted in three ways, which differ in effectiveness. This typology is also very useful for this thesis' research. He distinguishes *daily communications* as the first dimension on which governments or politicians can conduct public diplomacy, which is, just as it seems, the normal flow of information and messages. Not exceptionally effective as public diplomacy, but stably contributing to 'an image' (which would exercise soft power). *Strategic communication* is the second dimension of public diplomacy, in which the public is directly addressed, mostly through campaigns. This risks being seen as 'propaganda', which of course would be counterproductive to the goal of public diplomacy (soft power). Lastly, Nye distinguishes *direct contact* as the third prototype of public diplomacy: organising seminars, exchanges and training sessions to pursue government-to-people or even people-to-people communication. This third way of engaging is the most effective one, as it is not that close to propaganda as the second, but through the direct contact contributes to the establishment of lasting relationships. That said, it is of course also the most difficult (and expensive) one: how do you come into direct contact with whole populations, with 'the public'?

Nye didn't yet calculate the digital dimension into these three ways to conduct public diplomacy, but it fits very well in exactly this part of his theory, the third dimension of public diplomacy. With the "Information Revolution" and the advent of the Internet, getting into direct contact with the (foreign) public has become all the easier, and so the third dimension of public diplomacy - the most effective and difficult one - suddenly became attainable: "Internet communication can include the 'personal touch' that makes public relations² effective" (Kent and Taylor, 1998, p.323). As Nye himself states in his *Public Diplomacy and Soft Power*: "Promoting positive images of one's country is not new, but the conditions for projecting soft power have transformed dramatically in recent years" (2008,p.99). This analytical sub-field of public diplomacy that is conducted online, "the novel and practical extension of the soft power and public diplomacy concepts", as Sotiriu (2015,p.35) puts it, is mostly called "digital diplomacy".

Digital Diplomacy

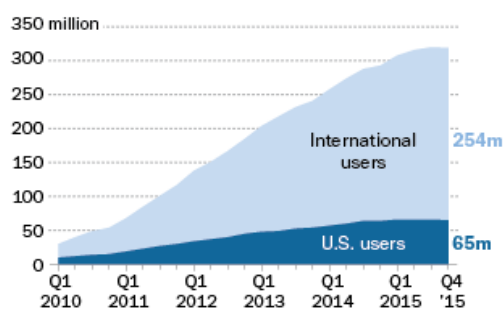
Holmes correctly stresses the analytical importance of attention to this changing, now digitalizing, diplomatic environment: "A survey of OECD countries' foreign ministries, public diplomacy scholarship and popular press and media suggests that e-diplomacy is not only a cottage industry of academic study but also a strategy that states take seriously, often at

² We will later - in the 'Theoretical Framework' section - zoom in on the relationship between PR- and Political Science literature regarding the concept of public diplomacy. For now it is enough to recognize the overlap and efficiency of some PR insights, like this one, which exactly addresses Nye's most effective third dimension of public diplomacy 'Direct Contact' (and draws the same conclusion).

considerable cost and attention” (2015,p.14). The precise definition of this concept, however, is not always as clear as it may seem, as Sotiriu also (2015,p.33) correctly underlines with her comparison of the concept of digital diplomacy to the Rorschach inkblot test³. While for example Holmes (2015,p.14) describes digital diplomacy as the umbrella concept of ‘e-diplomacy’, Sotiriu uses the definition of digital diplomacy as “the use of the Internet and informational communications technology in order to carry out diplomatic objectives or to solve foreign policy problems” (2015, p.35). The latter seems only implicitly mentioning the public aspect (in ‘diplomatic objectives?’), while not being wholly clear in the ‘informational communications technology’ formulation either. Would ICT mean website building or instant messages services, or social media communication like Instagram or Twitter? This is where Kampf et al. (2015, p.3) further elaborate when offering the definition of digital diplomacy as “the use of SNS in order to foster dialogue with online publics”. SNS, Social Networking Sites, are “a set of online tools that are centred on social interaction and facilitate two-way communication” (Kampf et al., 2015, p.3)⁴: Facebook, Instagram and Twitter are examples of SNS. This last definition of digital diplomacy as a phenomenon involving direct digital interaction with the public through social media seems to be both specific, clear and to the point. It grasps the idea of soft power as a diplomatic tool that can be used very easily in the digital environment, and is therefore very useful for this thesis' purposes as well.

The potential of Twitter for digital diplomacy

Number of monthly active users on Twitter



Source: Company financial reports.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

(Source: Desilver, March 18 2016, PEW Research Center, URL: <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/03/18/5-facts-about-twitter-at-age-10/>)

³ (a psychological test that demonstrates the fact that different people see different things in the same inkblot)

⁴ SNS are defined as “networked communication platforms in which participants (1) have uniquely identifiable profiles (...) (2) can publicly articulate connections that can be viewed and traversed by others and (3) can consume, produce and/or interact with streams of user-generated content provided by their connections on the site” (Elison and Boyd,2013, in Kampf et al.,2015,p.3)

Twitter is one of the most used (if not the most used) SNS for conducting digital diplomacy, with in 2015, 254 million monthly users to engage with, according to the PEW Research Center (2015). With so many users all over the world, it is the largest ‘microblog’ platform in the world (Statistica, 2015). The recent *Twiplomacy report* (Burson-Marsteller, 2015) states that 86% of the member states of the UN have a presence on Twitter as a country. According to the report, more than 4100 embassies and ambassadors constitute a real (growing) ‘virtual diplomatic Twitter network’. Additionally, as much as 172 heads of states were found to be active on a personal Twitter account as of 24 March 2015, some of them with huge numbers of ‘followers’ (see below).



(Source: Burson-Marsteller, 2015, URL: <http://twiplomacy.com/blog/twiplomacy-study-2015/>)

The unique setup of Twitter, where messages (‘microblogs’) cannot contain more than 140 characters, makes it an even more interesting SNS for research on digital diplomacy. How do you compose messages so short that nevertheless entice and attract a public to engage with you? As the *Twiplomacy report* puts it, “it is a powerful channel of digital diplomacy and 21st century statecraft” (Burson-Marsteller, 2015). But how do some heads of states, embassies and UN member states acquire so many Twitter followers? What is their 140 character-messages strategy? How do they exercise soft power and conduct their successful digital diplomacy, in 140 characters? This is what this thesis will be investigating.

Up to this moment, not much academic attention has been drawn to the content of these 140 character-messages and its effectiveness in terms of digital diplomacy. Indeed, instead research is conducted on the interactive engagement of embassies, politicians and diplomats with their Twitter publics, and the effectiveness of this two-way communication (Kampf et al., 2015, Kent and Taylor, 1998). Lee and Shin (2012, p.515) for example pointed out that interactive Twitter two-way conversations - engagement - generate more positive thoughts of the ‘follower’ about the politician, and Tromble (under review) then found that Twitter indeed is bringing politicians

and their followers closer together and a 'non-trivial proportion' of 15,6% of all Twitter communication of politicians in the Netherlands, the US and the UK is reciprocal engagement.

However, what exactly sparked this 'reciprocal' engagement, seems to be this 'gap' in the literature. Where does the 'willingness to engage' (Tromble, under review) come from? As Auger said, "because Twitter restricts communication to 140 characters or less, the strategy of organizational communication lends itself not only to consideration of the frequency or interaction of this media but also the structure and content of these messages" (Auger, 2014, p.241). We have to assess the content of politicians' Twitter messages ('tweets') now - and its effects.

Because we are interested in persuasion here, this content analysis is best done with a rhetorical framework, based on Aristotle's ancient *Rhetorica* handbook. Auger herself, a Public Relations/Communications scholar, used such a framework for the analysis of NGO's persuasive Twitter message structures and content, and this could serve as an example for this thesis' research.

Theoretical Framework: analysing politician's tweets with a rhetorical framework

Corbet (in Auger, 2014, p.241) already noted in 1984 that "the art and the practice of rhetoric is even more prevalent today than it was in Aristotle's time. One can hardly get through a single day without being exposed dozens of times to some form of persuasive discourse, the main concern of the art of rhetoric". Auger (2014,p.241) states that specifically the practice of PR is persuasive in nature, "promoting organizational ideas and values into the marketplace of ideas and encouraging others to agree with and act upon these ideas". So is the practice of politics. As stated above, public diplomacy, like PR, is persuasion. And in Aristotle's words: "Rhetoric is the faculty of discovering in the particular case what are the available means of persuasion" (On Rhetoric, 1355bc, in Selzer, 2004). The available means of persuasion, called rhetorical techniques or tools in rhetorical theory, are foremost *Pathos*, *Ethos* and *Logos*. This ages-old analytical framework thought up by Aristotle is nowadays mostly used to analyse persuasive messages of NGO's, like Auger did. But as the practice of public diplomacy is in essence about exercising the same type of desired influence, it seems logical to extend its use to politicians' tweets as well.

Traditional and 'new' rhetoric

According to Braet (2007) '*Rhetorica*' stands for the rhetorical tools that make a text or speech fit for a certain goal or public (p.10). It is, as it is sometimes called, "The doctrine of eloquence". The famous Greek philosopher Aristotle wrote the (most) important rhetorical handbook, his *Rhetorica*, in about 330 BC. It was meant for public *rhetors*, comparable to politicians or more in general public figures, for whom it was very important to know how to speak to (the feelings of) an audience. This is a prerequisite for both politicians in the ancient direct democracy of Athens and modern politicians, who are expected to persuade not only in the political (offline) arena, but also in the online environment of social media, on SNS like Twitter.

It is useful to make a distinction between traditional rhetoric, employed in strategic speeches whereby the specific *moment* of the rhetor speaking is relevant, and this 'new' rhetoric, employed in digital public diplomacy. Swift (2010,p.2) calls these two different types *kinetic* and *potential* rhetoric, with an analogy in which he compares rhetorical persuasion to energy transmission. He states that "traditional rhetoric is akin to focused electrical transmission: one-time strategic transfer of energy in a particular moment", and calls this kind of purposeful transfer 'kinetic' (p.2). The 'new' kind of rhetoric, on the other hand, he writes, "is more comparable to preparation for a future transfer of electricity through the construction of an electrical power grid" (p.2), so therefore 'potential rhetoric'. This 'lays out the framework for future persuasion', so to say, just as soft power does.

According to Swift, the SNS Twitter is giving room to this new form of rhetoric, employed in digital diplomacy, which 'prepares' soft power exercise. This shift from traditional to new rhetoric is comparable to (and conceptually fits into) the shift in political science thinking about power from 'hard' to 'soft': traditional hard power goes hand in hand with traditional rhetoric (a spoken speech, on one moment in time influential), and soft power with 'new' (online) rhetoric (potentially influential for an indefinite timeframe). The theoretical concept of 'potential' rhetoric seems a good start for the theoretical framework used to research politicians' tweets. But it is important to get a hold of the theory of *Rhetorica* and the possible employed rhetorical tools first, as it all goes back to Aristotle's handbook.

Aristotle's *Rhetorica*

The most important concepts of Aristotle's '*Rhetorica*' are arguably *Pathos*, *Ethos* and *Logos* (Breat, 2007). These grasp the manners in which people can be persuaded, which according to Aristotle, to his regret, not only include reason and logic (the 'pure' argumentation tools). People are not fully reasonable, so Aristotle included both reasonable and unreasonable, or argumentative and non-argumentative rhetorical tools (advice) in his handbook for *rhetors*

(Breat, 2007,p.25): “Messages may elicit emotions or draw upon logical reasoning to encourage agreement and action. In his Rhetoric, Aristotle identified characteristics of rhetorical persuasion which incorporated listeners’ perception of the speaker such as charisma and control (Ethos), rational appeals (Logos) and which played upon human emotion (Pathos)” (Auger, 2014, p.241).

So Logos stands for the argumentative part of an attempt at persuasion (an ‘argumentative act’), which often includes for example facts to demonstrate the ‘logical’ part and Ethos and Pathos, the “beautiful body enveloping the muscles of argumentation” according to Quintilianus⁵ (5.8.2., in Braet, 2007,p.25), refer to the non-argumentative tools that refer to the character of the politician speaking, his authority, and emotional appeal.

Using a Rhetorical Framework

Of course, the use of these rhetorical tools is analysed in politicians’ speeches. It is also used to deconstruct PR material, like NGO fundraising campaigns, which often try to incite emotions to encourage people to donate money, and therefore often make great use of the Pathos tool (or they propagate “We can best help them”- an ethos argument that recalls the authoritative character of the organization in question). The framework, however, is not yet used to deconstruct politicians’ digital diplomacy, or Twiplomacy (“Twitter digital diplomacy”). Because of the useful and interesting insights the use of such a framework in research in non-Political Science literature -of fields closely related to public diplomacy- has provided, we employ it here.

Firstly, this research draws on the already mentioned rhetorical framework Auger (2014) used to deconstruct NGO messages (see Research Design and Methodology section). Her results indicated that, like with offline persuasion, rhetorical tools are used abundantly also online when persuasion is at stake. She found that 60% of all NGO messages (that was her unit of analysis; we will substitute this with politicians’ messages) employed Pathos, Ethos, or Logos, “a rhetorical strategy” (p.246). Furthermore, Berlanga et al. (2013) in their research even confirmed the statement that “the social network can be considered a new rhetorical space or agora⁶ of the 21st century” (p.134). This thesis' research draws on these scholars to investigate the effectiveness of the use of rhetoric - Ethos, Pathos, Logos - as a (digital diplomacy) strategy in this online agora. This leads to the following hypotheses:

⁵ Marcus Fabius Quintilianus (35 AC-100 AC) was one of the best Roman rhetors, whose rhetorical handbook, just as Aristotle’s, is still commonly used.

⁶ The “Agora”, in Ancient Greece was the square where politics - the famous direct democracy of the city-state Athens for example - was conducted, and thus where (political) speeches were held.

- H1: Like in the offline political arena, politicians also make use of *Rhetorica* (Ethos, Pathos, Logos) in the online social media environment when conducting digital diplomacy.
- H2: People are more likely to engage online with politicians when they use *Rhetorica*: their messages incorporating Ethos, Pathos and/or Logos will be *liked* and/or *retweeted* more often.

We also draw on communications research conducted by Dang-Xuan et al. (2013), that investigated the use of sentiment in political communication on Twitter. They use social psychology literature to point to the use of emotions (\approx Pathos) in political communication on Twitter as being crucial for the reception (the soft power) of these messages/tweets. “Emotional stimuli in terms of emotional words of emotional framing of messages may elicit extensive cognitive processes such as attention (..) A higher level of cognitive involvement may in turn lead to a higher likelihood of behavioural response to emotional stimuli in terms of information sharing”, they state (p.800). Simply put, people are more inclined to hit Twitter’s ‘retweet’ or ‘like’ button when tweet content incites emotions or exhibits emotions. Their results confirm that “both emotionality and appraisals of political parties or politicians in Twitter messages are correlated with a larger retweet quantity” (p.818). Also Auger (2014,p.245) noted the importance of the rhetorical tool of pathos for success in online messaging: she found that “Pathos was used more than twice as frequently by top [successful] organizations than bottom organizations”.

It is interesting to research how rhetorical tools differ in digital diplomacy efficiency. When politicians would be using more and more Ethos and Pathos, instead of Logos or no rhetoric at all, this could mean a hollowing out of politics, or in any case a hollowing out of politicians’ communication, as it would not anymore be about the content or facts then (but about the ‘beautiful body of rhetoric enveloping it’, as seen above). Indeed, like Aristotle said, Logos (‘reason’) is a pure argumentative tool, while Pathos and Ethos are unreasonable tools, as people are not fully reasonable to the philosopher either. As seen above, however, it seems Pathos could even be the most-used message structure, as emotions activate people to ‘retweet’ and ‘like’, and the efficiency of the rhetorical tool makes politicians use it. This leads to the following hypothesis:

- H3: Politicians make greater use of the rhetorical tool of ‘Pathos’ than ‘Ethos or ‘Logos’.

III. RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

Research Design

Reframing the title of Nye's 2004 book called *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*, in this thesis the question is: "*Rhetorica: The Means to Success in Digital Diplomacy*"? To answer this question, and to verify or falsify our hypotheses, it is necessary to conduct both qualitative and quantitative research. Because the subject of rhetoric in politicians' Twitter digital diplomacy still is relatively unexplored, we gain the most in-depth understanding if we conduct an extensive case study using a most-likely test case.

To research the impact of rhetorical tools employed in politicians' tweets on the public's reception of them, it seems logical to choose to study the messages of a politician who is likely to use a lot of those tools; so the Twitter public's reception of them can be assessed in detail. An indication of extensive online use of rhetoric could be proneness to use *Rhetorica* in offline speeches. Besides, it would be most convenient to choose a politician, known for his/her number of 'followers' or 'trending topics' on Twitter⁷ - this indicates s/he is an active Twitter user, and there will be more messages to analyze. The most-likely test case would therefore have to be a Twitter account of an actively 'Twittering' politician, well-known for his 'offline rhetoric'.

The Case: @JustinTrudeau

Brand new Liberal prime minister of Canada Justin Trudeau, sometimes called 'The Kennedy⁸ of Canada' (De Volkskrant, 6-2-2016), sparked *Trudeaumania* all over the world even before taking office. "A progressive revolution", Dutch newspapers called his tone of government, before this government actually took office, echoing Trudeau's electoral campaign slogan "Real Change". His social media skills⁹ seem to account for a great deal of his public diplomacy success. Trudeau ('and staff', says his account description) tweets a lot, and amongst others, his #Becauseits2015

⁷ (=indicators of a politician's popularity among the Twitter population; 'followers' are people who have indicated they want to receive updates of the account and 'trending topics' are the topics most people refer to on Twitter at a certain point in time, specific key words indicated with a #-hashtag)

⁸ Both because of his youth, good looks, progressive ideas, and family tradition of running a country (his father Pierre Trudeau was Canadian Prime Minister when Justin was born, from 1980-1984).

⁹ In Nye's public diplomacy-typology: his 'direct contact-strategy' was smoothless..

and #Welcomerefugees were 'trending topics'¹⁰ on Twitter. Therefore, it could be stated that Trudeau's digital diplomacy is well received. Besides, he has always used quite a lot of 'offline' (traditional) rhetoric as well (see e.g. Whalen, 2011). Trudeau's Twitter account, with at the moment of writing 1.73 Million followers, seems to be very suitable for our most-likely case study. Besides, the cover photo (see below) already indicates a tendency to use rhetorical tools like Pathos -inciting emotions - and Ethos - building on the image of one's character.



(a screenshot, taken the 2nd of May 2016, of Trudeau's Twitter account)

Generalizability

As a popular, young, liberal PM, of one of the major western key player countries in international politics (especially in debates about international peace¹¹ and sustainability), Trudeau also seems to stand for a new generation of politicians, who know how to use social media and make contact with the public. Together with for example US president Barack Obama, and Indian PM Narendra Modi (while Modi is not so young anymore, he nevertheless is one of the most technology-prone heads of state of the world¹²), Trudeau belongs to a new social-media-prone class of politicians who took Nye's lessons about soft power to heart, and employs them. These

¹⁰ A trending topic is a key phrase or -word marked by a *hashtag* (#-symbol) that is picked up by a lot of people, who retweet it on their own profile, and therefore it becomes listed by Twitter as a popular 'topic of the day'. Trending topics (like "#key phrase") connect people talking about the same subject.

¹¹ As one Canadian author puts it: "We are always there [as International Peacekeepers], like the Boy Scouts" (Pearlstein, 1999, in Carroll, 2015).

¹² From the Twiplomacy report (Burson-Marsteller, 2015): "I am a firm believer in the power of technology and social media to communicate with people across the world," India's new Prime Minister Narendra Modi wrote in his inaugural message on his new website. Since his election the @NarendraModi account has moved into the top three most-followed Twitter accounts of world leaders".

politicians, who could arguably be called politicians 2.0¹³, are setting the example: this online public practising of soft power is all the more common these days (and will be the rule in the future, one could argue). Therefore, the analysis of Trudeau's messages can contribute to our understanding of this relatively new phenomenon, as the results probably will be generalizable for this new type of leaders and politicians.

Methodology

Conducting the Research

We use the Google Chrome Extension *Web Scraper*¹⁴ (and the internal Twitter search engine) to gather and process Trudeau's tweets. All tweets of @JustinTrudeau are gathered and analysed for the periods: 1 to 10 November 2015¹⁵, 1 to 10 December 2015, 1 to 10 January 2016 and 1 to 10 February 2016. This a randomized section of days from the first four months from Trudeau's inauguration as Prime Minister of Canada, which was the 4th of November, onwards. The choice to analyse several days from more than one month, instead of, for instance, all days of one month, is made to enhance the validity of the research. Because tweets from several months are used, 'special' occasions (outliers in statistical terms), like the Inauguration Day, the final implementation of the governments' plans for the fight against ISIL in February, or festivities like Christmas and New Year's, are 'flattened out' in the final dataset. Because of this, the data is representative of the population (all the tweets of @JustinTrudeau).

When 'scraped', first qualitative 'supply side' Internet research will be conducted on the data, before the quantitative 'demand side' Internet research (with SPSS 21) will take place. Small (2010) already made this distinction between the analysis of the 'supply' side of Internet (for us: of Twitter, the message posted) and the 'demand' side (the reception of that message), which is very useful to get a hold of sometimes highly complex research designs. In *Canadian Politics in 140 Characters: Party Politics in the Twittersverse* (2010), Smart describes 'supply' side Internet research as "employing some form of content analysis to determine the structure and content of sites", and states that 'demand' internet research "examines how Internet users respond to such Web sites" (p.39). We will also employ this distinction, only we will replace her 'site' and 'Web site' in the explanation of the typology with 'politicians' Tweets', for that is the unit of analysis here.

¹³ (as digital -social media- diplomacy is sometimes called diplomacy 2.0, after Web 2.0)

¹⁴ <http://webscraper.io/>

¹⁵ Trudeau was inaugurated as Prime Minister the 4th of November 2015.

The variables - 'supply' side

For this first qualitative 'supply side' part of the research, which takes place right after the scraping of the tweets, we qualify Trudeau's tweets in different categories: here, the rhetorical framework will be applied. For this framework ("a method of analyzing Aristotelian message structures in tweets", Auger, 2014,p.243), we draw on the already mentioned work by Auger. Simply put, in the framework, a message is qualified as belonging to one of the following categories: (1) employing an Ethos strategy, when it refers to the character or authority of the person posting or employs a *'person like me'*-argument, (2) employing a Pathos strategy, when providing *motivation* or inciting *emotions*, and finally (3) employing a Logos strategy when displaying evidence and/or *facts* (Auger, 2014,p.243). In the Codebook (Appendix), a detailed description of the used coding rules and categories is to be found, and some of the (sometimes difficult) choices made, with examples.

The variables - 'demand' side

If then Trudeau's tweets are properly categorized, the quantitative and 'demand' side research can take place. The different categories of 'Rhetorical strategies' will be used as independent variables in SPSS-generated t-tests and negative binomial regression analyses. The public's reception of these tweets (the 'demand' side of Twitter) will be the dependent variable. In answering the question whether rhetorical strategies (tools) make politicians' digital diplomacy successful on Twitter, we see 'success' as a high number of engaged members of the public. As a Twitter user, it is possible to 'be engaged with messages' in several ways: (1) 'retweet' the message, which means you copy it unchanged to your own profile, with the origin (the person and the message you copied) visible below your name, (2) 'like' the message (click on a heart), (3) react to the message (below the message you can make comments, or refer to third people with a @), or (4) 'cite' the tweet, which means you 'retweet' the message with a comment of your own above it.

Of these four ways of engaging with a tweet, the third and the fourth, 'citing' and 'reacting to it', are not positive per se. While it could be stated that in general people hit the heart-shaped 'like' button, or 'retweet' button beside it (which makes the tweet appear on their own profile), when they are positively influenced by the tweet, reactions and citations could be generated by anger, irritation or even anxiety. Because it is very difficult to draw clear and objective conclusions from these reactions and citations, and because we are interested specifically in positive

engagement, persuasion, soft power (successful digital diplomacy), we only analyse retweets and likes here.

This means two dependent variables can be distinguished (for further details, see the Codebook in the Appendix): for each 'scraped' tweet, 'retweets' and 'likes' will be assessed (count variables). The question then is whether this number is related to the type of message, the rhetorical tool employed. For this purpose, ultimately, a negative binomial regression analysis in SPSS will be conducted, which indicates correlation. For the control variables - external factors outside analysis that could influence the regression analysis - we draw partly on Dang-Xuan et al. (2013). As control variables are used: *Language* (are people in general more inclined to retweet/like Trudeau's tweets in English, rather than the French ones?), *URL* (to control for the 'attractiveness' of a tweet with an url included), *@-Mentions* (the Twitter way of referencing or talking to people, who get notified), *Personal* (is the tweet a personal message, depicting personal life like a description of the new family puppy, instead of a professional one?), *#-Hashtags* and *Picture/Video* included in the tweet (which both also make the tweet more 'attractive')¹⁶. These are all dichotomous variables.

IV. DATA AND EMPIRICAL RESULTS

Processing the data

To be sure to be able to conduct the quantitative data analysis in a detailed and robust manner, the rhetorical tools coded in tweets (discussed above) were captured in two different types of variables: (1) an inclusive categorical variable 'Rhetoric' (with the categories *Ethos*, *Pathos*, *Logos* and *None*) and (2) four different dummy (binary) variables 'Ethos', 'Pathos', 'Logos' and 'None' were constructed. This is because on the one hand, we want to categorize the rhetorical tools in a mutually exclusive manner (to assess which of them is used most), but on the other hand, it seems more natural that a tweet can both incite emotions and build on the character of the one posting it, so both contain Pathos and Logos at the same time, for example. This recognition lead to the construction of the four dummy variables, in which the tools are assessed individually (and are not mutually exclusive anymore; so a recognition of Pathos doesn't forbid a recognition of Ethos in the same tweet¹⁶).


¹⁶ For more details, see Codebook, Appendix I.

These variables urge us to be a little less rigid in the separation of categories¹⁷ (however, it can be stated the rhetorical tools cannot be separated rigidly at all, as they coexist), but makes our research richer because it enables us to conduct a full in-depth analysis of political Twitter rhetoric, and use different types of analyses to investigate our hypotheses. For the general descriptive statistics of the distribution of the cases over the different types of rhetoric, the mean, standard error, minimum, maximum and percentages, the inclusive categorical 'Rhetoric' variable was used. Each of the four dummy variables of the separate rhetorical tools ('ethos', 'pathos', 'logos' and 'none') was then used in an independent sample t-test to assess the significance of the differences in the mean.

Empirical results

Descriptive statistics


These first explorative descriptive statistics and independent sample t-tests lead to the following results (separated for Likes and Retweets in table 1 and 2).

Table 1. The influence of rhetorical tools on the number of  LIKES -- descriptive statistics / t-test

'Rhetoric'	N	%	Mean	Std. Error	Min.	Max.	/Sign. dummy
None	17	10,8	364,94	82,912	82	1400	0,124
Ethos	51	32,2	705,65	150,395	96	7000	0,364
Pathos	73	46,2	807,47	120,978	79	6600	0,046
Logos	17	10,8	1683,53	990,330	79	17000*	0,000
Total	158	100	821,25	130,138	79	17000	-

bold: statistically significant difference in the means ($p \leq 0,05$) according to t-test with separate dummy variables

* Most-liked: "I'm pleased to announce the first plane carrying Syrian refugees arrives in Canada tomorrow at 9:15 pm ET. #WelcomeRefugees" (dec-09-'15, likes:17000, retweets: 11000, <https://twitter.com/JustinTrudeau/status/674719188099817472>)

Table 2. The influence of rhetorical tools on the number of  RETWEETS -- descriptive statistics / t-test

'Rhetoric'	N	%	Mean	Std. Error	Min.	Max.	/Sign. dummy
None	17	10,8	155,24	42,763	20	759	0,157
Ethos	51	32,2	283,61	69,867	27	3000	0,971
Pathos	73	46,2	585,00	190,206	29	13000*	0,021
Logos	17	10,8	987,00	641,300	28	11000	0,016
Total	158	100	484,73	114,267	20	13000	-

bold: statistically significant difference in the means ($p \leq 0,05$) according to t-test with separate dummy variables

¹⁷ In the 'rigid' categorization we choose the rhetorical tool MOST (obviously) present in the tweet as 'Rhetoric'-category.

* Most-retweeted: "I just voted for the Raptors' Kyle Lowry for the NBA All-Star game. RT this tweet and it counts as your vote, too! #NBAVote #WeTheNorth" (jan-10-'16, likes: 3100, retweets: 13000, <https://twitter.com/JustinTrudeau/status/686237062639554561>)

Precisely 158 of Trudeau's tweets from the period November-February¹⁸ were *scraped*, of which 51 were coded as the 'Rhetoric' category *Ethos*, 73 as *Pathos*, 17 as *Logos* and 17 as *None*. As expected, the count and both the 'likes' and 'retweets' mean is lowest for *None*-category (tweets containing neither *Ethos*, *Pathos* or *Logos*). So it seems good use has been made of Aristotle's *Rhetorica* - in 141 of the 158 cases it is employed. The most-used rhetorical tool is by far *Pathos*, used in 46,2 percent of the tweets analysed; 73 times. With a mean of 807 likes and 585 retweets, it seems to work better as a rhetorical strategy than *Ethos*, a tool that seems to generate on average only about half as much retweets as *Pathos*.

Surprisingly, from these first general statistics, *Logos* seems to be the most 'successful' rhetorical tool, in terms of both likes and retweets: from the four different categories, it hits the highest means in tables 1 and 2. This contradicts this thesis' Hypothesis 3 that stated that "politicians make greater use of the rhetorical tool of 'pathos' than 'ethos' and 'logos'". It seems strange *Logos* turned out to be the most successful rhetorical tool, while for example Dang-Xuan et al. (2013) stress the importance of incited emotions or motivation for the reception of messages and Quintilianus called *Pathos* and *Ethos* the necessary "beautiful body enveloping the muscles of argumentation" (5.8.2., in Breat, 2007,p.25). Would these authors in the end be wrong, together with Aristotle, who stated people are not (always) reasonable and often prefer non-argumentative rhetorical tools like *Ethos* and *Pathos*? Do people prefer facts and proof to 'intuitive' emotional and motivational messages?

First of all, it is important to assess the significance levels of the variables, in separate t-tests, to investigate the difference in means (far right column of the tables). If a variable has a significant difference in the mean¹⁹, so for instance a structural difference between the mean of likes/retweets of tweets *containing* and *not containing* *Pathos*, we can indeed evaluate the height of the mean. From tables 1 and 2, it becomes clear that both for 'likes' and 'retweets' *Pathos* and *Logos* seem important factors (they are significant with 95% confidence).

However, when looking more precisely, especially the maxima of *Logos* seem incredibly high. This could signify the existence of an *outlier* in this category: one tweet that has 'performed' very well in terms of soft power and generating engagement, which is qualified as 'Logos', while all

¹⁸ Precisely, we scraped 30 tweets from November, 38 from December, 19 from January and 75 from February.

¹⁹ (at a 95%-confidence level)

the other Logos-tweets perform significantly different (generate lower numbers of retweets and likes than the outlier). This is the reason the most-liked and most-retweeted tweets are provided beneath the tables. What information do they provide?

The outliers

"I'm pleased to announce the first plane carrying Syrian refugees arrives in Canada tomorrow at 9.15 pm ET. #WelcomeRefugees" is the most-liked tweet of the analysed corpus, which because of its specificity is categorized as Logos in the 'Rhetoric' variable²⁰. It is also employing a 'hashtag' ('#WelcomeRefugees'). *"I just voted for the Raptors' Kyle Lowry for the NBA All-Star game. RT this tweet and it counts as your vote, too! #NBA #WeTheNorth"* is the most-retweeted, categorized as Pathos²¹ because of the motivating, engaging and emotional 'RT this tweet' and '#WeTheNorth'²². Both 'top tweets' employ 'hashtags' (#) very effectively, which probably in part have generated such an enormous body of likes and retweets (the use of hashtags and its effect will be investigated further in the more detailed analysis following). Besides, both tweets implicitly employ a second rhetorical tool (additional to the most prominent one on which they are categorized) which reinforces the message: pathos in the case of the most-liked and ethos in the case of the most-retweeted tweet. This combination of rhetorical strategies probably makes the tweet more effective in generating engagement, however more research into this subject would be needed to confirm this.

For this research, it is important to assess the effect these tweets have on the model depicted in the tables above. Therefore, a second series of explorative SPSS tests without the two possible outliers was conducted. Especially important here are the changes in significance levels, as those in fact assess the relevance of the variable for the model. Are Pathos and Logos still 'significant' (for likes and retweets) in the model without the 'outliers'?

Table 3. Significance level of variable 'Pathos' with and without the outliers

'PATHOS'	Outliers	No Outliers
Retweets	0,021	0,012
Likes	0,046	0,035

significance (**bold**) with and without outliers

²⁰ But is given a '1' ('yes') in the non-exclusive dummy variables of both Logos and Ethos.
²¹ Also given a '1' for the dummies of Pathos and Ethos (Trudeau shows his 'sport-loving character' through this tweet).
²² = 'The Canadian nation', North-North America

Table 4. Significance level of variable 'Logos' with and without the outliers

'LOGOS'	Outliers	No Outliers
Retweets	0,016	0,858
Likes	0,000	0,883



significance (**bold**) with and without outliers

As tables 3 and 4 show, without the top tweets only Pathos remains significant: so it were indeed these outliers accounting for the Logos-difference in the means in the previous model. No one case can exercise such disproportional influence, so for further analysis, the model (tables 1,2) will constantly be contrasted with a model without the outliers (tables 3,4). We will not eliminate the model with the outliers included entirely, because the dynamic with the outliers is also part of reality, especially reality of online 'viral' content (as found on for example Twitter), and is very interesting.

Detailed analysis

Taken into more detailed analysis, our political Twitter-rhetoric models (the one with and the one **without** outliers), including control variables, lead to the following negative binomial regression outcomes.

Table 5. The influence of rhetorical tools (+ controls) on *Likes* and *Retweets* - negative binomial regression model

Variable	 Likes	-outliers	 Retweets	-outliers
'None'				
• no	0,154	0,315	0,227	0,372
• yes ^a	(0,3786)	(0,3785)	(0,3794)	(0,3792)
'Ethos'				
• no	-0,054	-0,009	-0,086	-0,017
• yes ^a	(0,2291)	(0,2242)	(0,2333)	(0,2281)
'Pathos'				
• no	-0,502*	-0,331	-0,636**	-0,493*
• yes ^a	(0,2436)	(0,2476)	(0,2431)	(0,2466)
'Logos'				
• no	-0,555	-0,153	-0,399	-0,027
• yes ^a	(0,3071)	(0,3108)	(0,3088)	(0,3142)
'Personal'				
• professional	-0,571*	-0,639*	-0,802**	-0,607*
• personal ^a	(0,2954)	(0,3008)	(0,2986)	(0,3000)
'Language'				
• French	-1,785***	-1,697***	-1,980***	1,823***
• English ^a	(0,1605)	(0,1611)	(0,1616)	(0,1630)
'URL'				
• no	0,298	0,228	0,289	0,201
• yes ^a	(0,1913)	(0,1891)	(0,1921)	(0,1894)
'@-Mentions'				

• no	0,213	0,218	0,717***	0,663**
• yes ^a	(0,2215)	(0,2194)	(0,2167)	(0,2132)
'#-Hashtags'				
• no	-0,094	-0,029	-0,425*	-0,297
• yes ^a	(0,1900)	(0,1862)	(0,2012)	(0,1931)
'Picture/Video'				
• no	-0,121	-0,133	0,125	0,073
• yes ^a	(0,2092)	(0,2077)	(0,2151)	(0,2122)
N =				
Prob. > Chi² =	158	156	158	156
Likelihood Ratio Chi² =	0,000	0,000	0,000	0,000
	145,702	116,563	223,800	140,273

Standard errors in parentheses.

^a set to zero because this parameter is redundant

* $p \leq 0,05$, ** $p \leq 0,01$, *** $p \leq 0,001$

These outcomes show we can indeed be quite confident about the impact of Pathos on both the number of likes and retweets a tweets receives (however to a differing extent): table 5 shows 'not employing Pathos in tweets' has a negative effect on likes and retweets²³. As a strategy, employing Pathos in tweets thus seems to contribute to successful digital diplomacy, and the exercise of soft power²⁴. Strikingly, no other rhetorical tool seems to have an impact: both Logos and Ethos are not significant in the model. What is more, 'None', the variable which distinguishes only *Rhetorica* (with any Ethos/Pathos/Logos-strategy) from 'non-rhetorical-messages', also is not of significance in the model.

However, there are other factors contributing to the number of likes/retweets (or successful digital diplomacy). Some of the control variables are significant at the $p \leq 0,05$ level: this means for likes and retweets also the value of these variables matters. For both the number of likes and retweets, '*Language*', with Sign.0,000, is an important factor, with English having a positive impact on both these numbers²⁵. This is not a surprise: while the country is officially bilingual, about 65% of all Canadians speak mostly English at home. Besides, as a world leader, Justin Trudeau is followed on Twitter by the whole (leading) international community, and inhabitants of other countries in general, and of all these, there are probably not a whole lot of French

²³ NB: In the model without outliers, this outcome is not significant for *likes*.

²⁴ Remember we defined soft power as persuasion and the subtle passing on of ideas, etc. -positive engagement. This seems to happen when people engage with a tweet through *liking* and/or *retweeting*.

²⁵ Trudeau tweets in both English and French, most of the time tweeting the same message two times, but translated, only rarely stating something only in one language (although this was the case with the, somewhat later, mentioned above French-language tweet about his daughter's Birthday). As the researcher speaks both languages, all tweets, in both languages, have been analysed.

speakers. This greater audience for English messages probably explains why they are liked and retweeted more often²⁶.

The *'Personal'*-variable also seems to be contributing to the model (having a positive impact on likes/retweets, as opposed to its counterpart category *'professional'*). This refers to the content of the tweets: whether Trudeau is talking about matters related to his function as Prime Minister (/political issues in general) or solely about his private life. An example of the latter is for instance *"7 ans aujourd'hui... Incroyable comme le temps passe vite. Joyeux anniversaire Ella-Grace! Papa t'aime beaucoup[picture inserted]"*²⁷. As stated in the codebook, this mentioning of private matters, is employing Ethos, as it contributes to the politician's trustworthiness and credibility (a 'papa' is someone who people in general are inclined to trust, and it is found adorable that a man loves his daughter 'so much'). The difference between this variable and *'Ethos'* is that *'Ethos'*-messages only partly make reference to private life as a sign of credibility or a caring character, while *'Personal'*-messages are solely about private matters. Only 17 of the 158 tweets are personal (the other 141 are characterized as professional in this variable), however, this seems highly 'effective' in terms of engagement.

For the number of retweets, also the control variable of *'@-Mentions'* seems to be relevant, given the p-level of 0,002 ($\leq 0,05$). This seems a bit odd, as this is 0,321 when analysing likes (without outliers), but not unexplainable, as *mentions* often notify/mention (large) governmental or private organizations - that constitute constituent outreach - or other heads of state to which Trudeau has paid a visit. These open an 'extra' audience: the audience of the organization or the other head of state, and this could mean extra retweets. Additional research into this practise and efficiency of mentioning is needed to grasp on the full meaning of this variable (this p-level) and its importance.

The same is true for *'#-Hashtags'*, short and catchy phrases that are easy for a follower to adopt in his/her own tweets, opening up a whole new type of audience - especially when the hashtag becomes trending (and Twitter then places it on its homepage). The hashtags were probably causing part of the enormous engagement seen at the outliers of tables 1 and 2, but more research is needed in the workings and effects of hashtags on Twitter to confirm this.

²⁶ A negative relationship is shown in table 5 between 'not-English' and likes and retweets, in relationship with (as opposed to) 'English'.

²⁷ Translated: "Already seven years old.. Unbelievable how fast time passes by.. Happy Birthday Ella-Grace! Daddy loves you very much."

Interestingly, from table 5 it becomes clear the hashtags are only significant for the model (for retweets) when these outliers are included.

V. CONCLUSION

Findings

Drawing on earlier studies, Hypothesis 1 argued politicians are inclined to use *Rhetorica* in the online as well as the offline political arena. Hypothesis 2 then stated that people are more likely to engage with politicians when they indeed do use rhetorical tools. It stated messages incorporating Ethos, Pathos and/or Logos, would probably be more successful in terms of digital diplomacy: they would be liked and/or retweeted more often. In this investigation, of the 158 analysed tweets, only 17 were found to be non-rhetorical. So it seems politicians do indeed employ *Rhetorica* for their social media diplomacy. However, it seems this is not effective per se, and we have therefore partly falsified the second hypothesis.

For 'Twiplomacy' it seems only the use of Pathos could make a difference: this rhetorical tool seems to have an impact on likes and retweets (engagement), while the other rhetorical tools, or 'rhetoric' in general (see the 'none' variable) are not significant in the model. For a tweet to be 'effective' in Nye's soft power terms, this research shows it can probably best be written in English, mention the personal life of the politician, and/or employ Pathos. This means that while we cannot fully adhere to Hypothesis 2, which stated rhetorical tools in general have a positive impact on politicians' tweets, we underline Hypothesis 3 that "politicians make greater use of the rhetorical tool of 'pathos' than 'ethos' and 'logos'". Of Trudeau's tweets, 46,2% was exclusively categorized as Pathos (and there were tweets from other 'Rhetoric'-categories employing Pathos as well, additionally), and the analysis shows this variable makes a difference for the number of likes and retweets.

While for instance also Ethos is also employed quite often (32,2% of the tweets is characterized as employing Ethos), it is not all that effective. It does not exert significant influence on either likes or retweets, according to the model. It could be that people get weary of the exhibitionism that in the end could be maybe qualified as 'Ethos' (the "See, I'm meeting the Chinese/Inuit/... community as a real progressive bridge builder.."-type of tweets). But more research into the workings of this tool would be needed to confirm this.

Limitations

Like any research, there are limitations to this work and the results found. While we have tried to work very responsibly and according to scientific norms, work is left to be done. First of all, because there was only one coder, there was no statistic possibility to check the reliability (the consistency of the measure) of the Codebook and the coding: this checking between coders coding the same dataset is normally done by calculating the *Krippendorfs* α . A common limitation of all rhetorical analysis is that in the end, Codebook or not, one could state it probably all is about interpretation: what is the meaning here, what exactly is said in this message? What are the implications of rhetoric? We recommend more research into this subject of *Twitter-Rhetoric* to be done: this could confirm our findings and make the statement that using Pathos could 'make or break' politicians' *Twiplomacy* more firmly supported (by more cases).

Research contribution and practical implications

Nevertheless, with this thesis - for the first time ever - robust statistical research has been conducted on the efficiency of rhetoric in politicians' online (Twitter) communication. Newly elected Prime Minister of Canada Justin Trudeau's tweets have been analysed to be able to say something about a whole new generation of politicians ('politicians 2.0'), who are technology-prone and seem to know how to use social media well. It has become clear Pathos could be a very useful digital diplomacy strategy for these politicians: indeed this specific rhetorical tool could be "the means to successful digital diplomacy" (rather than rhetoric in general).

With this thesis, hopefully the premature *Twiplomacy* literature is taken a step further, and other political scientists will be inspired to use more NGO- or PR-like frameworks to enrich the discipline, like the exceptional use of the rhetorical framework here. With our findings, hopefully also more research into the possible 'hollowing out of political communication' could be conducted. What about the loss of content, argumentation and 'factual' Logos rhetoric in politics, when Pathos turns out to be indeed more effective, and thus more used?

This research shows spin doctors and politicians could maybe better refocus their attention to Pathos and the (possibly subtle) inciting of emotion and motivation, instead of making Ethos-like Twitterpictures of Trudeau in Chinese/Inuit suits (as seen in the Codebook) or Logos-like messages mentioning job market increase. It would be interesting to dive deeper into these decisions of refocused public digital diplomacy. Future research could for instance investigate whether a certain body of non-Pathos tweets is needed to allow for the exceptional attention and engagement generated by Pathos-tweets as found here.

In any case, this research on previously unexplored online rhetorical terrains, lifts a tip of the veil on what impacts politicians' power and popularity nowadays. Their persuasion seems to be partly impacted by their choice to employ *Pathos*, arguably the most exciting tool of Aristotle's 'doctrine of eloquence'.

REFERENCES

- Auger, G. A. (2014). Rhetorical framing: examining the message structure of nonprofit organizations on Twitter. *International Journal of Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Marketing*, 19(4), 239-249.
- Berlanga, I., García-García, F., & Victoria, J. S. (2013). Ethos, Pathos and Logos in Facebook. User Networking: New «Rhetor» of the 21st Century/Ethos, pathos y logos en Facebook. El usuario de redes: nuevo «rétor» del siglo XXI. *Comunicar*, 21(41), 127.
- Braet, A. (2007). *Retorische Kritiek: Overtuigingskracht van Cicero tot Balkenende*. Den Haag: Sdu Uitgevers.
- Burson-Marsteller. (2015). *Twiplomacy 2015: How world leaders connect on Twitter*. New York: Burson: Marsteller.
- Caroll, M. K. (2015) Peacekeeping: Canada's past, but not its present and future?, *International Journal*, 0 (0), 1-10
- Dang-Xuan, L., Stieglitz, S., Wladarsch, J., & Neuberger, C. (2013). An investigation of influentials and the role of sentiment in political communication on Twitter during election periods. *Information, Communication & Society*, 16(5), 795-825.
- Holmes, M. (2015). Digital Diplomacy and International Change Management. *Digital Diplomacy: Theory and Practice*, 13.
- Holtland, J. J. (6-2-2016), 'Deze Kennedy van Canada moet laten zien wat hij waard is', De Volkskrant. Retrieved from: <http://www.volkskrant.nl/buitenland/de-kennedy-van-canada-moet-laten-zien-wat-hij-waard-is~a4239341/>
- Kampf, R., Manor, I., & Segev, E. (2015). Digital Diplomacy 2.0? A Cross-national Comparison of Public Engagement in Facebook and Twitter. *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy*, 10(4), 331-362.
- Kent, M. L., & Taylor, M. (1998). Building dialogic relationships through the World Wide Web. *Public relations review*, 24(3), 321-334.
- Lee, E. & Yun Shin, S. (2012). "Are They Talking to Me? Cognitive and Affective Effects of Interactivity in Politicians' Twitter Communication." *Cyberpsychology, Behavior and Social Networking*, 15(10), 515-535.
- Nye, J. S. (1990). Soft power. *Foreign policy*, (80), 153-171.
- Nye, J. S. (2008). Public diplomacy and soft power. *The annals of the American academy of political and social science*, 616(1), 94-109.
- PEW Research Center. (March 18, 2016). *5 Facts about Twitter at age 10*. Retrieved from: <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/03/18/5-facts-about-twitter-at-age-10/>
- Selzer, J. (2004). Rhetorical analysis: Understanding how texts persuade readers. *What writing does and how it does it: An introduction to analyzing texts and textual practices*, 279-307.

- Signitzer, B. H., & Coombs, T. (1992). Public relations and public diplomacy: Conceptual convergences. *Public Relations Review*, 18(2), 137-147.
- Small, T. (2010). Canadian politics in 140 characters: Party politics in the Twitterverse. *Canadian parliamentary review*, 33(3), 39-45.
- Smitko, K. (2012). Donor engagement through Twitter. *Public Relations Review*, 38(4), 633-635.
- Sotiriu, S. (2015). DIGITAL DIPLOMACY. *Digital Diplomacy: Theory and Practice*, 33.
- Statistica. (2015) *Statistics and facts about twitter*. Retrieved from: <http://www.statistica.com/topics/737/twitter>
- Swift, J. C. (2010). Twitter Rhetoric: From Kinetic to Potential. Retrieved from: <http://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=3532&context=etd>
- Tromble, R. (under review). "Thanks for (Actually) Responding! How Citizen Demand Shapes Politicians' Interactive Practices on Twitter"
- Whalen, T. (2011). 'Je t'aime, Papa': Theatricality and the Fifth Canon of Rhetoric in Justin Trudeau's Eulogy for his Father, Pierre Elliot Trudeau. *Rhetor*, 4, 1-26.

APPENDICES

Appendix I: Codebook

For this research, all tweets of @JustinTrudeau, the account of the Prime Minister of Canada ('and staff') are gathered and analysed for the following periods: 1 to 10 November 2015²⁸, 1 to 10 December 2015, 1 to 10 January 2016 and 1 to 10 February 2016.

Code each of the following variables for each tweet in this body:

* **LIKES**: count the number of "likes" (clicks of members of the public on the heart-shaped like-button beneath a tweet) a tweet has received.

* **RETWEETS**: count the number of "retweets" (clicks of members of the public on the retweet-button beneath a tweet, that reiterates the tweet on their own profile)

* **LANGUAGE**: enter either "1" for English or "0" for French.

* **URL**: enter either "1" if an URL is included in the tweet, and "0" if not.

* **MENTIONS**: enter either "1" if someone is mentioned with an @-symbol²⁹, and "0" if not.

* **HASHTAGS**: enter either "1" if a word or phrase is marked with a #-symbol and "0" if not.

* **PICTURE/VIDEO**: enter either "1" if a tweet is accompanied by a picture or a few-second-video, and "0" if not.

* **PERSONAL**: enter either "personal" or "professional" (as 1 / 0).

- Personal: a tweet is coded "personal" when making reference to the private life of the politician: personal events (e.g. birthdays), hobbies, personal happiness/sadness, skills - everything not included in his/her working hours/professional environment. (*An indicator could be the mentioning of his wife, Sophie, in tweets.*)

- Professional³⁰: a tweet is coded "professional" when making reference to (1) the professional life of the politician (openings, electorate meetings, fundraising activities, visits to organizations and institutions), or (2) to political issues, statements, colleagues and debates.

²⁸ Trudeau was inaugurated as Prime Minister the 4th of November 2015.

²⁹ This is the system Twitter uses to directly address someone or mention someone, who then gets notified of this mention.

³⁰ This category is not called "Political" as opposed to Personal on purpose, as for our case, Prime Minister of Canada Justin Trudeau, both the professional and private sphere is political in principle (as he represents his government and ideology in his person and function). The question while analysing this variable is not whether certain messages are or are not political - because they are all political in principle -, but whether the private sphere is mentioned a lot, and is used rhetorically in a structured way.

* **RHETORIC**: enter either "ethos", "pathos", "logos" or "none" (as: 1,2,3 or 0). Rhetoric refers to "the specific features of texts that cause them to be meaningful, purposeful, and effective for readers or listeners in a given situation [=Twitter digital diplomacy here]" (Selzer, 2004, p.281), or in Aristotle's words: "the faculty of discovering in the particular case what are the available means of persuasion" (On Rhetoric, 1355bc, in: Selzer, 2004).

NOTE: As Selzer (2004, p. 302) states in *What writing does and how it does it*: "Rhetoric is 'inside' texts, but it is also 'outside': Specific rhetorical performances are an irreducible mixture of text and context, and so interpretation and analysis of those performances must account for both as well". This means we do not only assess the core text of tweets, but also look at pictures, links, and/or videos posted in it (to analyse the presence of rhetorical tools).

Code each rhetorical tool in this way³¹:

- **Ethos**: a tweet is coded as "ethos / 1" when employing a (1) reference to the personal life of politician: personal events (e.g. birthdays), hobbies, personal happiness/sadness, skills, or (2) a general reference to the credibility/ trustworthiness/celebrity/ authority/ sympathy of character of the politician³², or (3) a reference to a *person like me*, a victim, survivor or member. (*an indicator of Ethos is the use of the personal pronoun "I", or the mentioning of his wife, Sophie, while all this of course does not automatically imply Ethos*)

- **Pathos**: a tweet is coded as "pathos / 2" when employing emotional appeals such as (1) motivational messages, or (2) references to tradition or a sense of community, and/or (3) humour, guilt, love or shock appeals, and/or (4) words that have obvious emotional connotations, that are associated with certain images/practices/ideas.

- **Logos**: a tweet is coded as "logos / 3" when employing logical reasoning, for instance by (1) using evidence/examples as argument, (2) incorporating facts, data, or survey results and other figures and reasoning in the message frame to make a claim/generalization or to capitalize on unspoken assumptions.

- **None**: a tweet is coded "none / 0" if it does not fit in any of categories of the three rhetorical tools of Ethos, Pathos and Logos.

NOTE: If a tweet employs more than one rhetorical tool, code the most present/poignant one.

***ETHOS**: enter either "1" if Ethos is employed in the tweet (see above for coding rules Ethos), and "0" if not.

***PATHOS**: enter either "1" if Pathos is employed in the tweet (see above for coding rules Pathos), and "0" if not.

* **LOGOS**: enter either "1" if Logos is employed in the tweet (see above for coding rules Logos), and "0" if not.

³¹ Here we draw foremost on Auger (2014), Selzer (2004), Dang-Xuan (2013), Tromble (under review) and Breat (2007).

³² This can also be done by revealing personal details, e.g. "my lovely son's birthday...." makes people see the politician as human and trustworthy, as mother/father, and in that way portrays effective Ethos.

Coding examples

"Félicitations, @GeoffRegan. Je sais que tu serviras le Canada avec distinction en tant que président de la Chambre des communes."

--> Code: (retweets, likes) French, Mention, both Ethos (congratulating is sympathetic, and Trudeau seems to know his colleagues well) and Pathos ("serve the country" has certain traditional connotations), but more (clearer) Ethos, so the 'Rhetoric' variable will be Ethos, Professional (work/colleagues)

"I'm pleased to announce the first plane carrying Syrian refugees arrives in Canada tomorrow at 9:15 pm ET. #WelcomeRefugees"

--> Code: (retweets, likes) English, Hashtag, both Logos (9.15 pm ET - very specific fact and evidence) and Pathos ("I'm pleased to announce.."), but more (clearer) Logos, so the 'Rhetoric' variable will be Logos, Professional (political announcement)

"I was honoured to speak to AFN Chiefs this morning. It's time for a renewed, nation-to-nation relationship.pic.twitter.com/WwUlqvI52t"

--> Code: (retweets, likes) English, Picture, Pathos ("honoured", and motivational message "it's time for a renewed, nation-to-nation relationship"), 'Rhetoric' variable also Pathos, Professional (work/colleagues)

"Looking back on the #first100 days: A moment with Hadrien in London. pic.twitter.com/RDIXQMOUPM"

--> Code: (retweets, likes) English, Hashtag, Picture, Ethos (private moments, children), 'Rhetoric' variable also Ethos, Personal

Examples of accompanying rhetorical images



--> The implicit message: "hard working character, not afraid to get his hands dirty, non-elitist leader", ETHOS.

Justin Trudeau [@JustinTrudeau](#) Following

My thanks to [@YukonPremier](#) Darrell Pasloski for the meeting today. Great way to cap off [#YukonDays](#) in Ottawa.



--> The implicit message: "very well-respected leader of very important country on the world stage, conducting very important negotiations/diplomacy", ETHOS (authority).



[justinptrudeau](#) Parliament of Canada Volgen

16,9k vind-ik-leuks 14 w.

justinptrudeau Caucus meetings are every Wednesday. We leave our phones at the door and talk to each other, uninterrupted. ///

Les réunions du caucus ont lieu tous les mercredis. Nous laissons nos téléphones à l'entrée et nous parlons les uns avec les autres, sans être interrompus.

alle 409 reacties bekijken

gabesarmae Daddy

gabesarmae Daddy

emmaxchan @gabesarmae I don't think he's your dad


z_karam 😊😊😊

tonybonesny I assume you recieved the gift of gallon of milk as a congratulatory gesture Courtesy of the Borough of Brooklyn....🙏🙏🙏

cherubkharbanda U rock

Anmelden om dit leuk te vinden of

--> Link to this *Instagram* post was posted together with a tweet - on which JT is portrayed as a patient, listening, collegial, sympathetic leader in conversation without his formal jacket, so ETHOS.


Justin Trudeau ✓
 @JustinTrudeau ⚙ Following

Quelle belle façon de commencer les célébrations du Nouvel An lunaire! Merci de m'avoir reçu au Bal du Dragon 2016.

[View translation](#)



--> The implicit message: "also a very culturally conscience man, a real progressive leader of a multicultural country", ETHOS.




Justin Trudeau @JustinTrudeau · 31 Oct 2015
 Trick or treat! Joyeuse #Halloween!

↩ ↻ 1.7K ♥ 5K ⋮

--> Private life reference - children and wife - therefore ETHOS.



Justin Trudeau ✓
@JustinTrudeau



Following

Retour sur les **#100jours** : Un moment passé avec Hadrien à Londres.

[View translation](#)



Justin Trudeau ✓
@JustinTrudeau



Following

#tbt to the little one meeting our newest arrival a few months ago. Say hello to Kenzie.



RETWEETS

389

LIKES


2,723



3:59 PM - 28 Apr 2016

--> Both private life reference - children and puppies - therefore ETHOS.


Appendix II: Overview tables

Table 1. The influence of rhetorical tools on the number of  LIKES -- descriptive statistics / t-test

'Rhetoric'	N	%	Mean	Std. Error	Min.	Max.	/Sign. dummy
None	17	10,8	364,94	82,912	82	1400	0,124
Ethos	51	32,2	705,65	150,395	96	7000	0,364
Pathos	73	46,2	807,47	120,978	79	6600	0,046
Logos	17	10,8	1683,53	990,330	79	17000*	0,000
Total	158	100	821,25	130,138	79	17000	-

bold: statistically significant difference in the means ($p \leq 0,05$) according to t-test with separate dummies

* Most-liked: "I'm pleased to announce the first plane carrying Syrian refugees arrives in Canada tomorrow at 9:15 pm ET. #WelcomeRefugees" (dec-09-'15, likes:17000, retweets: 11000, <https://twitter.com/JustinTrudeau/status/674719188099817472>)

Table 2. The influence of rhetorical tools on the number of  RETWEETS -- descriptive statistics / t-test

'Rhetoric'	N	%	Mean	Std. Error	Min.	Max.	/Sign. dummy
None	17	10,8	155,24	42,763	20	759	0,157
Ethos	51	32,2	283,61	69,867	27	3000	0,971
Pathos	73	46,2	585,00	190,206	29	13000*	0,021
Logos	17	10,8	987,00	641,300	28	11000	0,016
Total	158	100	484,73	114,267	20	13000	-

bold: statistically significant difference in the means ($p \leq 0,05$) according to t-test with separate dummies

* Most-retweeted: "I just voted for the Raptors' Kyle Lowry for the NBA All-Star game. RT this tweet and it counts as your vote, too! #NBAVote #WeTheNorth" (jan-10-'16, likes: 3100, retweets: 13000, <https://twitter.com/JustinTrudeau/status/686237062639554561>)

Table 3. Significance level of variable 'Pathos' with and without outliers

'PATHOS'	Outlier	No Outlier
Retweets	0,021	0,012
Likes	0,046	0,035



significance (**bold**) with and without outlier is shown

Table 4. Significance level of variable 'Logos' with and without outliers

'LOGOS'	Outlier	No Outlier
Retweets	0,016	0,858
Likes	0,000	0,883

significance (**bold**) with and without outlier is shown

Table 5. The influence of rhetorical tools (+ controls) on *Likes* and *Retweets* - Negative Binomial Regression Model

Variable	 Likes	-outliers	 Retweets	-outliers
'None'				
• no	0,154	0,315	0,227	0,372
• yes ^a	(0,3786)	(0,3785)	(0,3794)	(0,3792)
'Ethos'				
• no	-0,054	-0,009	-0,086	-0,017
• yes ^a	(0,2291)	(0,2242)	(0,2333)	(0,2281)
'Pathos'				
• no	-0,502*	-0,331	-0,636**	-0,493*
• yes ^a	(0,2436)	(0,2476)	(0,2431)	(0,2466)
'Logos'				
• no	-0,555	-0,153	-0,399	-0,027
• yes ^a	(0,3071)	(0,3108)	(0,3088)	(0,3142)
'Personal'				
• professional	-0,571*	-0,639*	-0,802**	-0,607*
• personal ^a	(0,2954)	(0,3008)	(0,2986)	(0,3000)
'Language'				
• French	-1,785***	-1,697***	-1,980***	1,823***
• English ^a	(0,1605)	(0,1611)	(0,1616)	(0,1630)
'URL'				
• no	0,298	0,228	0,289	0,201
• yes ^a	(0,1913)	(0,1891)	(0,1921)	(0,1894)
'@-Mentions'				
• no	0,213	0,218	0,717***	0,663**
• yes ^a	(0,2215)	(0,2194)	(0,2167)	(0,2132)
'#-Hashtags'				
• no	-0,094	-0,029	-0,425*	-0,297
• yes ^a	(0,1900)	(0,1862)	(0,2012)	(0,1931)
'Picture/Video'				
• no	-0,121	-0,133	0,125	0,073
• yes ^a	(0,2092)	(0,2077)	(0,2151)	(0,2122)
N =	158	156	158	156
Prob. > Chi² =	0,000	0,000	0,000	0,000
Likelihood Ratio Chi² =	145,702	116,563	223,800	140,273

Standard errors in parentheses.

^a set to zero because this parameter

is redundant

* $p \leq 0,05$, ** $p \leq 0,01$, *** $p \leq 0,001$

NB: the complete dataset can be requested at r.l.rupert@umail.leidenuniv.nl.