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The consumer-to-consumer persuasion: Application of rhetoric appeals in consumer's reviews

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ABSTRACT

The human need for interaction explains their engagement in social networks sites and why they are willing to actually make their role in Web 2.0 through User Generated Content (UGC). By enabling users to have their say, social media brought to light the shift of control between consumers and organizations. This empowerment relies on the fact that people put more trust in other peers than in mainstream media and product experts, since they share common values and identity. People are also willing to help other peers because of the sense of kindness and belonging they have for the community. Self-expression, self-confidence and the reinforcement of their character are also reasons and are aligned with persuasive goals. The persuasive nature of human communication is elicited by the classical rhetoric, an ancient series of systems encompassing all the possible uses of written and spoken language. The survival of classical rhetoric over the years is explained by its adaptability to different media and context and by the fact that it considers the whole man as sources of persuasive appeals: character (ethos), emotion (pathos) and reason (logos). Therefore, when confronted with new media, classical rhetoric gives form to a new concept called digital rhetoric, which aim is to study how rhetoric is applied and reconfigured in digital spaces. Considering the consumer to consumer conversation through social media based communities this research intends to explore the application of persuasive appeals in such interactions and answer the following question:

RQ: To what extent ethos, pathos and logos are used in consumer to consumer conversations?

This research is qualitative and exploratory, having content analysis as the methodology. The studied object is a set of consumer online reviews posted in a consumer-oriented social network about three different business categories. The main finding shows that consumers used more logical appeals to illustrate or prove their standpoint. This fact might be related to the high judgment of usefulness of such appeals by other consumers. Other than that, the study also supports the idea that a good persuasive message addresses all the rhetorical appeals and the trust that people have in what is said by other peer consumers.

These and further findings provide information for companies evaluate their social media strategy; shed light in how consumers build their relationship with the product/service; provide insights to marketers in how to identify and proper react when facing reviews with more potential to influence other customers.

Keywords: reviews, rhetoric appeals, social media, consumer oriented communities, persuasion.

1   INTRODUCTION

"Galact Network" was the first record of the conceptualization of internet. It was in 1962, but the idea of a globally interconnected set of computers through which everyone could quickly access data and programs from any site, is still consistent with the current use of internet.

It is undeniable how the Internet and its unprecedented integration of capabilities have changed the computer and communications world. However, the advent of Web 2.0, a platform where User Generated Content (UGC) is crucial, brought to light a shift of control and power between organizations and users. Social Media is a set of applications of Web 2.0 which enables people to create, edit and share information (Constantinides, 2013).

A new type of consumer emerges: more informed, empowered and supported by peers and people who share same values and beliefs. They do not trust in mainstream media, companies' voice or reviews made by experts as before Mangold & Faulds (2009). They trust more in people like themselves: the experiences of other consumers influence more their consumption behavior than other source of information (Constantinides, 2013).

People are willing to contribute and inform other consumers in online communities because of their intrinsic need of belonging and kindness with people who share some extent of identity, even if they never met personally before. Apart from that, convincing other people about their point of view is also related with the person's self-confidence and the consistence of the character one might want to be associated with (Laroche, Habibi, Richard, & Sankaranarayanan, 2012). The persuasion goal underlies their motivations to engage in communities and conversations (Kozinets, 2002). Thus an analysis of their persuasive written content is the core proposal of this research.

The main conceptual framework for such analysis is classic rhetoric, a series of systems arising from the human nature of communicate with others. It encompasses written and spoken discourse made to inform, persuade or motivate an audience (Corbett & Connors, 1965). It is a millenary object of study and its immortality is due, among other reasons, the adaptability of its concepts to several media and context (Welch, 2013). Another important factor is that classic rhetoric considers the whole human nature and soul as sources of persuasive appeals (Ede & Lunsford, 1982).

Aristotle, one of the ancient and most important rhetoric theorists, named three rhetoric appeals or proofs which can be used in order to influence other people: *Ethos, pathos and logos.* Ethos refers to the character and credibility of the speaker or author. It assumes that people tend to put trust in peers with an appropriate, trustworthy character. Pathos is the appel to the audience's emotions. Appealing for logos mean taking logic into account to proof a point.

Having these theories and consumer behavior facts as bottom line, this study presents a content analysis investigating how consumer use ethos, pathos and logos when writing and sharing reviews in a consumer online community. Considering also different types of business this study to explored how such appeals are used.

This is consistent with the digital rhetoric studies, which help to explain how rhetoric functions and is reconfigured in digital spaces (Zappen, 2005).

The studied object was a sample of 150 reviews from an online consumer-oriented community, which is driven by their own internal rules and regulations. The sampling was selected according to the engagement and reliability of these reviews, already judged and

ranked by the platform. By observing other consumers' rates in these reviews, it was also explored insights on how the usage of rhetorical appeals influence peers' evaluation.

Most of the previous research about rhetorical appeals focus on the readers' perception of persuasiveness. On the other hand, the studies analyzing the means of persuasion from the writer's perspective did not seem enough to formulate hypothesis. Therefore, this study is exploratory and descriptive in purpose.

Thus, the following research question guided this study:

RQ 1: To what extent ethos, pathos and logos are used in consumer to consumer conversations?

Other additional research questions are presented:

a) Are there differences in the application of rhetorical appeals in the business categories?

b) What types of ethos, pathos and logos are more likely to be used in consumer reviews?

c) Is there a relation between the most frequent rhetorical appeal in consumer reviews and the rating of such reviews by other consumers?

2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 The role of social media and user generated content

When J.C.R. Licklider of MIT described social interactions that could be enabled through networking, he envisioned a globally interconnected set of computers through which everyone could quickly access data and programs from any site (Leiner, et al., 1997). It was recorded in August of 1962, but the concept called "Galactic Network" is much like the Internet today.

It is undeniable how the Internet and its unprecedented integration of capabilities have changed the communications world. As a widespread information structure, "the internet is at once a worldwide broadcasting capability, a mechanism for information dissemination, and a medium for collaboration and interaction between individuals and their computers without regard for geographic location" (Leiner, et al., 1997).

If the emergence of the internet per se has changed the world and how we see and interact with others, the Web 2.0 enabled the empowerment of ordinary people and even a shift and share of control and power between them and organizations. In the first stage of the internet usage, users had a passive role: software and content were produced and published by individual companies or people. However, in a platform where people can continuously and collaborative produce, develop and share content, users have a crucial function.

Social media is the set of applications from Web 2.0 that allows the efficient creation, exchange, dissemination, sharing and editing of content (Constantinides, 2013) (Laroche, Habibi, Richard, & Sankaranarayanan, 2012). This content is called User Generated Content or UGC, which has to fit in three basic requirements to be considered as such: it needs to be published either on a publicly accessible website or on a social networking site accessible to a selected group of people; show a certain amount of creative effort and be created outside a professional routine and practice (Kaplan & Haenlein, 2010).

Kietzmann, Hermkens, McCarthy, & Silvestre (2011) define social media by using seven features or concepts regarding to the extent people use it. Social media is based on identity (how users reveal themselves), conversations (how users communicate to each other), sharing (how users exchange, distribute and receive content), presence (how users know if others are available), relationships (how users relate to each other), reputation (how users know the social standing of others and content) and groups (how users are ordered or form communities). Each one of the seven functional building blocks is positioned differently according to the specifics of each social media. Social media is, therefore, a set of WEB 2.0 applications such as internet forums, message boards, product-review websites, weblogs, wikis, media-sharing websites and social networking websites (Zhang, Li, & Chen, 2012).

People engage in social media as a response for the inner need for reach out and connect with peers. Safko (2010) explains that the need for socialization is catered by the feeling of being home, around and included in groups of people where the sharing of thoughts, ideas and experiences is a comfortable activity. Thus, the characteristics of participation, openness, conversation, community and connectedness place Social media in its core of human communication (Veil, Buehner, & Palenchar, 2011).

The social connections made through Web 2.0 applications can follow different frameworks, according to the particular needs of the users and the inner nature of each media and website. Having this, specific interactions between people emerge on internet and among them we can find a bunch of networks specially designed for consumer-to-consumer conversation.

2.2 The consumer-to-consumer communication

The traditional or offline word-of-mouth (WOM) can gradually disperse from local group of friends or family to a wider audience, thus impacting a limited number of people. Social Media however, enabled a faster and wider spread of opinions and experiences. Chen, Fay, & Wang (2011) address the impact of online consumer product reviews in sales, purchase behavior and firm marketing strategies as well as the value of online consumer reviews for sales forecasting. The impact sometimes is so great that consumers ignore their own private signals about the product or service and base their decision entirely on information from others. Findings reported by Zhang, Li, & Chen (2012) address the power of the amount of WOM information and the sentiment (positive or negative) of the WOM information. Both aspects show to have impact in revenue, viewership and sales in different product categories. Factors beyond the reviews themselves, like the character (ethos) of the reviewer have potential impact.

The raise of customer's voice relies on the fact that people trust more in each other than in organizations or mainstream media. Users can easily support and mobilize themselves through Social Media websites, reflecting a general feeling of mistrust. The possibilities include product review, product recommendation, comments, shopping advice and online word-of-mouth (or buzz). Collective knowledge and intelligence is increased by social media. The increased velocity and reach of the consumer voice through social media are also motivations for such demand. One person can communicate with thousands of other people, thus the impact of this type of communication is magnified in the marketplace.

This impact is due the fact that individuals conceive that peers' comments reflect sincere feelings and experiences, so their product reviews and ratings are perceived as more reliable than corporate advertising or product reviews written by product experts (Constantinides, 2013). A community conceived for sharing information rather than for mere commercial reasons for instance, "exert the greatest influence on members' opinions and purchase intentions" (Laroche, Habibi, Richard, & Sankaranarayanan, 2012).

Mangold & Faulds (2009) also mention the consumer's demand for more control over their media consumption, requiring on-demand and immediate access to information according to their needs. Allied to the mistrust of traditional media, this demand motivates them to turn away from advertising in radio, television, magazines and newspaper and conduct their own information searches to make their purchasing decisions.

On the other hand, the motivation for contribute and generate content for other consumers relies in more points that is worth to mention. Consumers are willing to give their opinion and it goes from information acquisition to post-purchase expressions of satisfaction and dissatisfaction. When join and engaging in consumer-to-consumer conversations, the user is responding first to a utilitarian need and then to an acquired moral responsibility underlined by a natural instinct to influence other people.

Brodie, Ilic, Juric, & Hollebeek (2013) report that specific triggers such as the need for information about the product or company and the reduced search cost and perceived risk are the main motivation for initiating the consumer engagement process in brand community. It is assumed that this utilitarian need is also the motivation for other contexts as well (e.g. consumer review's platform). After this, the propensity to contribute relies on the users' sense of community and the feeling of being socially connected. Besides the weak ties primarily formed in such environment, people bridge connections and feel encouraged to engage in communities to reach deep and intimate levels. It is a matter of fulfill their needs of belongingness and cognition with other like-minded members (Laroche, Habibi, Richard, & Sankaranarayanan, 2012). They also have a collective sense of difference from other people who are not in the community. This facet brings a common sense of duty and obligation to the

community. Users feel a moral responsibility to seek out help from each other in their consumption behavior by disseminating information.

Following this, Chen, Fay, & Wang (2011) cite the underlying motivation for posting reviews. By posting positive reviews, people satisfy their psychological need of social and self-approval for their purchase choice and altruistic behavior of sharing their expertise with others. This can also be driven by the impulse of showing their expertise or social status. The intrinsic finality of influence other people by the power of words is also presented by Kennedy (1994). It is argued that the need of control of our environment and influence others to follow our point of view is a natural instinct, as survive is. The use of words, either spoken or written is a way to obey such instinct.

Therefore, there is an inner persuasion goal in such motivations when engaging in online communities and partaking in discussions. The influence is not only something that review readers are susceptible to but is also one of the objectives of the reviewer (Kozinets, 2002). This is suitable and also explained by the classical rhetoric and its persuasive appeals, which will be later addressed in this study.

2.3   Classical rhetoric

Persuasion encompasses the pure and intrinsic ingredients with potential to influence others. They are present in most, if not all, communication transactions. The influence one might receive from another involves not only the change of mind, but also the creation, reinforcing, strengthening or solidifying of beliefs and attitudes. Gass & Seiter (2013) states that persuasion involves one or more persons who are engaged in the activity of influence "within the constraints of a given communication context".

This phenomenon can be pure and evident in the communication process, such as a speech of a lawyer and an advertising campaign, or can be inherent which Gass & Seiter (2013) call borderline persuasion. The borderline persuasion includes cases of unintentional influence, undiscernible effects and awareness of the involved people, self-persuasion and influence conveyed not exclusively via symbols. Although most human communication involves at least a potential to persuade, the degree of influence and the presence of persuasive ingredients are different according to each situation (Gass & Seiter, 2013).

Persuasion is at the core of Classical rhetoric, which has been studied for more than 2.500 years. The ancient Greeks wondered about language and its real effects on people. Since then, authors have conceived that Rhetoric is much more than a concept: it is a series of systems (art, science and energy) which takes into account all the possible uses of written and spoken language, concerning itself with all the manifestations of discourse. Rhetoric is defined by Aristotle as "the faculty of observing in any given case the available means of persuasion". His work is divided into three volumes and addresses the speaker, the audience, and the delivery of speech in several contexts, providing a comprehensive view of persuasion and public oratory (Walker, 2005). Duke (1990) summarizes that the two first books address the invention of arguments and the third focus on the style and arrangement of the speech material.

Classical rhetoric has survived and adapted to several contexts and media over the years. Welch (2013) explains that the longevity and power of Classical Rhetoric is due to its adaptability to new language situations and because it can be applied on both critical stances toward discourse that already exist and in the production of new discourses. This hybrid applicability differentiates Rhetoric from the subsequent theories because they tend to focus on the analysis of discourse after its expression. The ancient Greek works show the usage of

Rhetoric in the both aspects of language communication in order to reach a higher level of understanding.

Because of its several different approaches on literature and multiple denotations and connotations, Cline (2002) proposed four working definitions for classical rhetoric. The first relies in the academic sphere, having the theory, practice, and critique of effective written and oral communication. The second consider rhetoric as a social-political skill in language use, being used for the purpose of persuasion. The third consider as persuasive, stylistic features in language use. The last posits rhetoric as a form of energy of language, being "ever-present, pre-linguistic source of our ability to understand the persuasive intent of a message". A broad definition cited by Corbett & Connors (1965) considers Rhetoric as the art that deals with spoken or written discourse made to inform, persuade or motivate an audience. Rhetoric comprehends argumentative and expository discourses that seek to produce an effect on one person or group of persons.

Rhetoric has received different approaches and meanings across the time. Littlejohn & Foss (2010) explains that such variation goes from the efforts to define and codify the art of rhetoric during the Classical era, to the division of rhetoric domains during the Enlightenment, positioning logic or knowledge as only the means to communicate the truth once known. Also, rhetoric has had also more pragmatic approach to the art to meet the needs of the growing Roman empire. The matters of arrangement and style were the focus during the Middle Ages (400-1400). During the Renaissance rhetoric was seen as a philosophical art, thus its inner empowerment of words and believed language were subject of interest.

Following Littlejohn & Foss (2010) thoughts, a shift in the rhetorical focus occurred in the 20th century. The oratory and effective speechmaking gave place to investigations into every kind of symbol use.

The general application of classical rhetoric is also supported by Duke (1990) when it is argued that Aristotle's work attempts to describe the universal characteristics of persuasion. The system is therefore a universal phenomenon of human communication and may be applied to any literary composition with persuasive ends. However, it is worth reinforce that modes of discourse that are "expository" and seek to win acceptance of information or explanation are also comprehended by such definition, because as pointed by Corbett & Connors (1965), the Greek word *persuasion*, used in Aristotle's definition, derives from the Greek verb "to believe".

Therefore, the combination of classic rhetoric studies with the content found in social media is possible and coherent with not only the new approaches to rhetoric but also to it's core.

When we apply traditional rhetoric and its appeals and strategies of persuasion to digital spaces, another concept emerges: digital rhetoric. Although it is not a complete and integrated theory (Zappen, 2005), it is an exciting and troublesome application, because it opens new vistas of opportunities for rhetorical studies but does not exclude the implications and challenges of adapting an ancient art to the new context of digital media (Reeves, 2013).

As Zappen (2005) exposes, the studies of digital rhetoric help to explain how such strategies function and are reconfigured in these spaces. It takes into account the basic characteristics of communication in digital spaces such as speed, reach, anonymity and interactivity and how they "support and enable the transformation of the old rhetoric of persuasion into a new digital rhetoric that encourages self-expression, participation, and creative collaboration". Communication in digital spaces shows, for instance, that self-expression and exploration of individual and group identities are a matter of persuasion, but it does not seek only for convincing audience about some point. Persuasion is also applied to build communities of

shared interest, such as communities specially constituted to post consumer reviews, which configures the source of texts analyses in this study.

2.4 The classic rhetorical appeals: Ethos, Pathos and Logos

Rhetoric as both deliberate form of persuasive communication and an inevitable part of everyday interaction and communication Higgins & Walker (2012) consider the whole man in the writing and speaking process. Since we use rhetoric as the method of communication to deal with our common problems Hauser (2002), it is logical that this theory accounts the influence of emotional states of the receivers and the credibility of the speaker despite the logical facts presented in a message. Aristotle addressed these factors and called them *artistic pisteis*, which is also named in literature as "appeals", "modes of persuasion", "means of persuasion", "proofs" or simple "pisteis" (Killingsworth, 2005).

Corbett (1963) argues that the classical rhetoricians recognized that the speaker and their audience are many-faceted creatures, making then "more provision for bringing the whole soul of man into activity". Ede & Lunsford (1982) also pointed that Aristotle's rhetorical system of language addresses all resources of individuals when they communicate: intellect, will and emotion. Therefore, the rhetoric appeals address three possible approaches in a persuasive communication: reason, emotion and character. When seeking for influencing an audience, the speaker can appeal for *logos* (logic, reason), *pathos* (audience's emotions) or *ethos* (speaker's character or credibility).

Walker (2005) says that the emphasis on each one of these proofs is a matter of the scenarios and audiences involved, although all three are essential to the best success in persuasion. Ethos, Pathos and Logos correspond to the three speech-act core: the speaker, the audience and the speech (Duke, 1990). Thus, the persuasion by means of Ethos is dependent of the expressed speaker's credibility; the audience can be convinced when their emotions (pathos) are stimulated; and the persuasion can be achieved when the speech itself is supported by truth or apparent truth and its facts (logos). It requires the ability to reason logically, understand human character and goodness and understand emotions that are suitable for the situation.

(Goering, Connor, Nagelhout, & Steinberg (2009) describe the three appeals positioning the audience as a central role. Therefore, the logical aspects of readers' minds are addressed by logos when the speaker or writer present facts, statistics and forecasts effects, consequences or ends. Ethos is in charge when the rhetor' personal experiences is a source of information or when they seem to respect the audience's interest and point of view. The arousing of reader's emotions through their attitudinal and moral values is a matter of pathos.

These three appeals configure the first group of labels used in the content analysis made for this study.

2.4.1 Ethos

The way the audience receive a person's words is a matter of functions and roles assumed by the rhetor (or orator) during the speech or writing, which Aristotle called Ethos.

The audience's understanding of a good character relies not only in the knowledge of someone's prior reputation but also in the performance itself during the course of the interaction (Johnson, 1984). Hauser (2002) states that ethos is not an attribute but a product of such interaction, thus depending on how the arguments and appeals are managed and how the orator guides the interpretations of mental, emotional and moral disposition. In this study,

it means that the self presentation in the analyzed texts will configure Ethos, therefore, not extending the investigation to past interactions or the trustworthiness of the writer's profile features. Having in mind that rhetoric is concerned to all symbols use (Littlejohn & Foss, 2010), it includes besides the language, also the tone and nom-verbal cues presented. However, due the nature of the material analyzed in this study, only verbal units will be considered but not only actual words.

Ethos attempts to persuade by calling attention for the character of the speaker/writer and focusing on their attractiveness and authority inspired by them. It does not concern about the veracity of the argument, but for its appeal. The persuasive ethos works because audience tends to put trust in people perceived to have an appropriate, trustworthy character and we "seek individuals with superior knowledge or ability and frequently give them authority in our lives" (Hauser, 2002). Appealing for the credibility of the source is powerful when certainty is impossible and opinions are divided (Cline A. , 2006). However, it requires special attention in order to sound natural for the audience.

Walker (2005), cites character, competence, confidence and believability as some components which contribute for building a credible ethos. The author exemplifies the application of such attributes in the context of a law judgment and defends that "attorneys must appear knowledgeable, trustworthy, honest, attractive and likeable to a jury". Competence is then a matter to have the knowledge about rules, law and procedures, for instance. To prove this, the speaker should have confidence and show a level of comfort during the defense of their viewpoint. However, the honesty and sincerity is argued to be crucial for persuasion in court rooms. Similarly, Miller (2003)and Hauser (2002) explain that a persuasive ethos includes a dimension of intelligence as well as of moral and emotional qualities the audience find admirable.

These and other components are examples of three basic Aristotelian qualities of Ethos: good sense (practical wisdom or expertise), virtue (trustworthiness or good moral character) and goodwill (or caring about the audience), respectively called by the classic rhetoric as *phronesis*, *arete* and *eunoia* (Braet, 1992). Gass & Seiter (2013) defend that these three primary dimensions of credibility are almost always relevant to the evaluation of sources and they should be the focus of the rhetor when trying to enhance their own credibility.

In fact, when comparing these trio of basic dimensions and the classifications of ethos developed in other studies for specific data sets (Higgins & Walker, 2012), good sense, virtue and goodwill appear to be present under other names or sub-classifications. In the first study for instance, ethos is divided into "similitude", "deference", "expertise", "self-criticism" and "inclination to succeed". The first two appeals seem to be consistent with the concepts of goodwill; expertise could be related with good sense; and the last two would match the definitions of virtue. In the study of Conor & Gladkov (2004) on the other hand, the dimension of expertise seems to encompasses the appeal of "First hand Experience"; trustworthiness can be seen under the appeal of "Showing Writer's Good Character and/or Judgement"; and goodwill appear to be developed under the appeals "Showing Writer's Respect for Audience's Interest and Point of View" and "Showing Writer-Audience Shared Interest and Point of View".

Having this, these three dimensions of ethos are part of the second group of labels (or sub labels) used in this research's content analysis:

   Expertise. As the name suggests, the first dimension of ethos concerns to which extend the speaker domain the subject or at least seems to. According to Gass & Seiter (2013), this ethos can be achieved when the rhetor uses their title, such as M.D or P.H.D or sort of practical living and experience to defend a standpoint or just identify themselves. Credibility can be also

stablished when the information is provided directly from the writer's experience (Connor & Gladkov, 2004). The competence or qualification can be evaluated taking into account how experienced, informed, trained, qualified, skilled, intelligent, expert, competent and bright the speaker is present and/or is perceived by the audience.

Trustworthiness. Trustworthiness refers to the impression of honesty, integrity and the extent to which the speaker is perceived as being sincere and their statements as valid. It relies whether the rhetor seems to be or present themselves as honest or dishonest, trustworthy or untrustworthy, open-minded or close-minded, just or unjust, fair or unfair, unselfish or selfish, moral or immoral, ethical or unethical, genuine or phony (Gass & Seiter, 2013).

Goodwill. The source appels to goodwill when they seem to care about and take a genuine interest in the receiver's needs, opinions and being. This type of ethos can be demonstrated by showing understanding for the audience's ideas, feelings, or needs and by displaying empathy or when the source is responsive to another's communication attempts. Goodwill is applied for instance when the rhetor points their arguments saying "I hear where are you coming from", "I can relate to that" or "I sympathize with how you feel" (Gass & Seiter, 2013). Braet (1992), cites that goodwill is pointed by Aristotle as the treatment of the emotions, mostly to friendship. Thus, presenting themselves as a friend of the friends of the public would be a matter of goodwill. Other possibilities for addressing goodwill are showing whether the rhetor seems to care about the audience or not, has their interest at heart, is self-centered or not, is concerned with the audience or not, is sensitive or insensitive and is understanding or not. The contrary of goodwill would be indifference, and although it doesn't mean malicious intent from the rhetor, such treatment is likely to make the audience more suspicious of the speaker's motives (McCroskey & Teven, 1999).

McCroskey & Teven (1999) explain that for some time goodwill was ignored by some contemporary researchers and theorists, remaining a covered dimension of ethos. However, this dimension should be considered because people are more likely to hear those they believe to care about them and are not indifferent to their presence. Understanding, empathy and responsiveness are elements that may result in a person being seen as more caring.

2.4.2 Pathos

The mean of persuasion that appeals for the audience's emotions including fear, sadness, contentment, joy and pride is called pathos. In fact, our judgments when we are pleased and friendly are not the same as when we are pained and hostile. Walker (2005) cites that the Aristotelian view of Pathos is concerned in how a man's judgment is affected by pain or pleasure.

The arousing of the audience's passions is the aim of pathos (Perelman & Arnold, 1982). The rhetor uses this approach when they address the reader's attitudinal and moral values by showing knowledge for audience's emotions, for instance (Goering, Connor, Nagelhout, & Steinberg, 2009). It configures the ability to convince by making people fell something (Walker, 2005).

Hauser (2002)defends that pathos should be developed establishing a proper relationship between the audience and the point of discussion. In a situation such as a court jury, the attorney can appeal for human common desires that the jury may or may not be aware of, like fairness, compassion, safety, justice and so on. The jury's feelings of sadness or anger about the defendant or even the sense of sympathy for the victim could be elicited in order to persuade them (Walker, 2005). Using emotional appeals can be also an alternative in persuasive discourses that are usually centered in ethos or logos, like political information, for

instance. English, Sweetser & Ancu (2011), cite the appeal for humor to add a different element and/or perspective to information in such situation.

When analyzing the emotional appeals in advertising, Albers-Miller & Royne Stafford (1999), state that they are grounded in the experiential side of consumption. Thus, these persuasive discourses rely on negative (fear, guilt, shame) or positive feelings (love, humor, pride, joy) to motivate purchase. Negative feelings in this context appear as possible consequences if the person does not buy the product or service. Therefore, the communication can arouse the fear of do not belong to a certain group or experience a negative result in case of not complying with the message. Positive feelings can be aggregated to the product or brand or can be shown as a consequence of the purchase, for instance.

In the study of rhetoric appeals developed by Pryce & Oates (2008), pathos was subcategorized under the specific appeals used in real state marketing: "originality", "ambience", "prestige", "excitement" and "core Pathos". Connor & Gladkov (2004), however, classified the found pathos in fundraising letters as "Audience Values", "Vivid Picture" and "Charged Language". The classification of pathos relies in the intrinsic subjectivity of this mean of persuasion because there are ambiguous emotions and cultural or institutional specifics regarding them (Higgins & Walker, 2012). Apart from that, as Garver (1994) argues, emotions in rhetorical argument is sometimes constitutive of the enterprise of judging and deliberating, being also subordinate to ethos in some situations. Therefore, for this research, another classification is proposed based on these studies and the specifics of the data studied, as it will be presented in the methodology section.

2.4.3 Logos

The source can also support their position by appealing to rational and factual basis. The truth – or apparent truth, is proven with logic and reasoning. The rhetor support their position by providing factual information and logical arguments involving reference to the context shared by the author and audience. Rational arguments are also featured by its clarity and integrity (Higgins & Walker, 2012) and can be enhanced by visual elements. The appearance to rationality, like commonsense is also a matter of logos.

In a court law for instance, attorneys can position their logical arguments by matching the evidence and their point of view with the law, which is the jury's frame of reference (Walker, 2005). When it comes to advertising communications, as said by (Albers-Miller & Royne Stafford, 1999), rational appeals rely on product/brand attributes and benefits, such as quality, economy, value or performance.

In the system of appeals proposed by Connor & Gladkov (2004) logos is divided into "Descriptive example", "Narrative Example"; "Classification, including definition"; "Comparison, including analogy"; "Contrast"; "Degree"; "Authority"; "Cause/Effect, Means/End, Consequences"; "Model"; "Stage in Process"; "Ideal or Principle" and "Information". For this research, however, a new set is proposed taking into account these examples and the specifics of the data set, as it will be presented in the methodology section.

2.5 Content analysis

The aim of this study is to explore the content of consumer reviews and identify patterns by using content analysis, a qualitative method of research. This research strategy was chosen because it investigates the particular quality and meaning of the texts rather than the mere counting of words and expressions. Therefore, it enables the researcher to identify double meaning expressions and whether certain words are used just for a matter of style, for

example. This is important to answer the research questions because of the inner characteristics of online conversations and the need to consider the actual interpretation of the writing to identify the use of rhetorical appeals.

Titscher, Meyer, Wodak, & Vetter (2000) position content analysis as a research strategy which encompasses procedures that operate with the quantification of frequency of words and syntactic, semantic or pragmatic categories. It aims to classify systematically a specified characteristic of messages, taking into account latent contents and the meaning of particular instances.

For such, there are basic procedures, instruments and rules of the classical content analysis: 1) Sampling, which encompasses the selection of sender, documents and subset of documents; 2) Units of analysis, the smallest component of texts defined at the syntactic or semantic level; 3) Definition of categories and coding according to the research question; 4) Coding and reliability, which is the application of the coding schema in the sample followed; 5) Analysis and evaluation, which can consider frequencies and indices, contingences or more complex procedures; 6) A typology of content analysis procedures, considering the analytical goals and tools of analysis (Titscher, Meyer, Wodak, & Vetter, 2000).

This study followed these steps, as it will be observed in the next sections. It is important to address that the main research question was determinant to choose not only the methodology per se but also the typology of content analysis procedure and the analytical procedure, since the content analysis offers a big range of possibilities.

Content analysis can be performed at different levels. For this research, the typology of content analysis procedure was performed at the semantic-pragmatic level. This type of analysis looks to the meaning of words, sentences and so on and to the structures which govern the reception of the text. The object is, therefore, the meaning and effect of a message.

Titscher, Meyer, Wodak, & Vetter (2000), states that for the qualitative content analysis, it was developed a sequential model with three distinct analytical procedures that can be performed independently or in combination: summary, explication and structuring. The last is the analytical procedure that seemed to better fit to the research question proposed here. The authors explain that structuring has the goal to depurate a specific content from the material and structure the text according to the content, form and scaling. Units of coding and evaluation are set up and arranged in a schema of categories. For this analytical procedure, theoretical basis is determinant to stablish the dimensions of structuring as well to formulate the definitions and provide key examples with rules for coding. The system of categories also needs to obey the specifics of the units of analysis, thus they can be re-exanimated and revised when necessary.

Finally, although one might see content analysis as too broad or nonobjective methodology, the validation of its results is one crucial stage. The reliability, for instance, can be assessed by the calculation of inter-coder reliability, which will say whether the coding is trustful and stable or not. Besides the theoretical basis, it is important to pay attention to the features of the units of evaluation, the definitions of codes and the training of coders in order to increase the agreement between coders.

3 METHODOLOGY

3.1 Object and data set

The object of this research is a set of consumer reports of their consumption experiences shared in the website Yelp (http://www.yelp.com), a UGC platform specially designed for consumer's reviews of local business.

According to the company's website, Yelp was created in 2004 aiming to help people to find local business and by the end of 2015, it counted with more than 90 million reviews. This social network also enables the user to find events, list and relate with other users. It brings searching tools and filters, so the user can look for a specific business category, city, product or service.

Apart from that, the reviews posted in the platform are rated by other users using three icons scales: useful, funny and cool. The evaluation of the reviews by other peers is one of the factors considered by the website's algorithm to recommend the most helpful and reliable reviews. According to the company, most of the recommended reviews (about 80%) are positive mostly because the users write more positive reviews rather than negative. The software also looks at the quality, reliably and activity of the user on Yelp. They also claim to value people who are intrinsically motivated to share detailed experiences.

Yelp also take such factors into account to elect the "Review of the day" (or ROTD), which has a highlighted spot at the website's homepage and works as a sort of "reward" to the reviewers of each city. Therefore, "The Review of the Day" can be about any business in the city and posted by the user some time before the selection for such section. For this research, only ROTD will be accounted to guarantee the diversity of business and high rates of peer's engagements in such texts. All the selected reviews are positive, although it was not primarily intended.

3.2 Sampling

The reviews were collected from the website Yelp. The filtering started by selecting the geographic area of the evaluated businesses. The United States was chosen because of the language and the availability of the feature "Review of the Day", which is not present in the Brazilian version, for instance. The US is also where the social network was created, thus it tends to be more popular there than in other countries. Then, the three cities counting with bigger numbers of reviews were selected: San Francisco, Los Angeles and New York.

To determine which business categories would be considered in this research, an empirical analysis of frequency was made by taking 60 ROTD from each city in chronological and retroactive order. A spreadsheet was made for each city pointing the reviewer, date, review, rating of the review and business category. Considering these 180 reviews, it was measured the three types of business that are more likely to be evaluated by consumers.

The first category was named Food & Restaurants and comprehend restaurants, fast food, ice cream shop, cafes, typical restaurants, bake house, falafel, pizzeria, ramen, juicer, frozen yogurt and so on. The second more frequent business category was called Bars & Nightlife and is formed by places where people seek main for drinks (although they might eat and talk about the food as well) such as pubs, brewery, winery, wine bar, gastro pubs and night clubs. Beauty & Spas is the third category and comprises business like hairdressers, spas, nail salon, waxing salon, barber shop, massage, eyelashes extensions, acupuncture and other services dedicated to beauty and wellness.

From this first sampling, the reviews corresponding to other business categories were discarded. A new filtering, obeying the procedure of selecting ROTD in retroactive order was made, considering however, only the reviews about the three categories of business of interest. Therefore, 50 ROTD of each business category consists the data set analyzed in this study. These 150 reviews were published in the ROTD section between 01/01/2014 and 22/09/2015. The samples were collected according to the following table:

Table 1
Sampling scheme

	San Francisco	Los Angeles	New York
Food & Restaurants	18	13	19
Bars & Nightlife	18	14	18
Beauty & Spas	14	24	12

Besides the attempt to have similar quantities of reviews from each city for each business categories it was particularly difficult to find the same amount of reviews for Beauty & Spas. In order to not retrieve outdated reviews, it was necessary to collect more reviews from Los Angeles than San Francisco and New York for this category. However, it does not interfere with the analysis proposed here, since the sum of reviews for each business category remained the proposed.

Each review was fragmented into quotations, determined by the different persuasive approaches used on them. There are quotations that matches the graphic markings and other that starts in the middle of a sentence. Most of the reviews were quoted and labelled, but few pieces of text were dismissed and not quoted because they did not configure any basic rhetoric appeal. The final fragmentation brought 812 quotations.

The labelling of each quotation followed the coding schema presented in the next section. It is worth to mention, however, that when a fragment of text appeared to belong to two different labels, the first action was try to divide the fragment. When it was not the case, however, the rule to decide upon the labelling was understand the main message behind the text. Therefore, if a fragment of text brings emotional words as reasons to prove a standpoint and are attached to specific facts (e.g. "The place is worth the visit because of its friendly staff and delicious food"), the main message is focused in reasons, so the label should be under Logos appeal. Cases like this were specially frequent in the reviews about Food & Restaurants, demanding more attention.

The quotation and labelling were conducted using the software Atlas.ti (Berlin, 2002-2016). The reviews were named according to the city from where the business is, plus an ordinal number and the name of the business. The review named "NY64 - The Back Room" indicates a review about the business The Back Room based in Los Angeles, for example. The quotations were named by the software.

3.3 Coding

Some coding schema for ethos, pathos and logos were found in literature. Connor & Gladkov (2004) defined a working system with 19 different appeals to analyze rhetoric in fundraising

direct mail; Pryce & Oates (2008) assessed the rhetoric in the language of real estate marketing; Higgins & Walker (2012) analyzed the persuasive language in social/environmental reports of companies in New Zealand. Although these schemas were proven to be reliable, they were suitable for the specific objects of its researches. Since each material has its own characteristics, for this research a new coding schema were developed, considering existing literature (the main labels and the sub labels for ethos) and considering the results of the exploration of this particular material.

The materials used in such researches were probably developed by communication professionals with an explicit persuasive intention. We can not assume that they used the rhetorical appeals in deliberative or conscious way, although it is quite possible. One of the main differences between these materials and the texts analyzed here relies at this point. The reviews are likely to be written by "normal people", who are doing that unprofessionally because of the intrinsic motivations of socialization, need of approval and acquired moral responsibility (Brodie, Ilic, Juric, & Hollebeek, 2013); (Laroche, Habibi, Richard, & Sankaranarayanan, 2012); (Chen, Fay, & Wang, 2011).

Another crucial difference is that the consumer reviews, or at least the majority of them, constitutes borderline cases of persuasion (Gass & Seiter, 2013). Usually, the persuasive approach in fundraising letters and real state marketing is more direct and pure, asking for an action (donating or buying, respectively).

These differences and the qualities of the studied material bring a new perspective of the use of rhetoric appeals, thus deserving a new and more appropriate coding schema, taking the most salient differences and similarities into account when designing labels.

 According to the theoretical framework, the first group of labels constitutes the Aristotelian concepts of ethos, pathos and logos. A subgroup of codes was developed for each of these appeals. The labels for ethos were also extracted from the literature: Expertise, Trustworthiness and Goodwill.

The sub labels for pathos and logos were constructed based on examples from past researches (Pryce & Oates, 2008; Higgins & Walker, 2012; Connor & Gladkov, 2004) and the specific features of the data set. Therefore, the sample was first codified using the three main labels and then the groups of quotations belonging to each appeal was analyzed in order to find common and different factors to classify them. As analysis of the data progressed, new labels emerged from reviews. Saturation was reached when the codes became redundant and no new codes were observed.

Thus, the final coding schema with the summarized meaning of each labels was composed as follows:

Ethos: Ethos attempts to persuade by highlighting the character of the speaker/writer and focusing on their attractiveness and authority inspired by them. Ethos includes a dimension of intelligence as well as of moral and emotional qualities that the audience find admirable. By using ethos, the writer aims to show that they have credibility to talk about their standpoint. It can be grounded in a personal experience, an academic or professional title or first-hand experience. It can also appeal to show how the writer is similar or have respect for the audience's needs, values and views and how much their standpoint cares about the reader. The writer can also appeal for some elements that makes the message appear to be authentic and truth, assigning that the source is honest in their opinions.

E.g.: "As an ex-alcoholic that has been sober for 3 years now, I can say that the first 4 weeks of abstinence are the worst."; "I know how tired you are so we should order pizza for the dinner

tonight."; "Although our political views did not match and we had an uncomfortable situation because of this, I must admit how competent and good professional she is."

Ethos-Expertise: The sub-category Ethos-Expertise comprises the statements where the writer tries to show how experienced or qualified they are to talk about the subject. It concerns to which extend the speaker domain the subject or at lest seems to. Ethos-Expertise can stress past experiences, personal taste, practical living to defend a stand point or even the fact that the information is provided directly from the writer's experience. It can also be built under the mention of professional/academic titles and qualifications. The competence or qualification can be evaluated taking into account how experienced, informed, trained, qualified, skilled, intelligent, expert, competent and bright the speaker present themselves and is perceived by the audience.

E.g. "If you know me, you know how I'm picky when we talk about yoga classes…"; "It was the best ice cream I have ever tasted. And I taste a lot!"; "I've been in this place several times before and I can say how much I love the staff here…"

Ethos-Goodwill: The sub-category goodwill refers to the ethos' intention of addressing similarities between them and the reader. The writer can appeal for goodwill in order to show that they have shared values and respect, understand or address the audience's rights, ideas, needs, views and feelings. It can use pronouns like "we", "you and I", suggesting commonality, cohesion, harmony, community and shared values. Goodwill is also about the extent to which the writer seems to care about the audience or not, has their interest at heart, is self-centered or not, is concerned with the audience or not, is sensitive or insensitive and is understanding or not. The contrary of goodwill is indifference.

E.g. Presenting themselves as a friend of the friends of the public would also be a matter of goodwill; specific advises and suggestions for the writer, addressing their wellbeing or security (e.g. "try to avoid that street after 9pm", tastes (e.g. "this is good for the dresses' lovers")**;** general concerns about the writer: "If you are looking for fun, this is the right place"

Ethos – Trustworthiness: Ethos - trustworthiness addresses elements that suggest the honesty, integrity and the extent to which the speaker is perceived as being sincere and their statements as valid. Self-criticism, humility and the appreciation of the good qualities of the readers, are examples of such elements. It relies whether the writer seems to be (or present themselves) as honest or dishonest, trustworthy or untrustworthy, open-minded or close-minded, just or unjust, fair or unfair, unselfish or selfish, moral or immoral, ethical or unethical, genuine or phony. Having reviews as data, the trustworthiness can be seen in the statements where is possible to infer if the reviews is authentic or not, thus the writer tries to give the impression that everything said is true.

E.g.: a) If the writer says that they will re-purchase the object/service even after revealing some dissatisfaction; b) If the writer reveals some negative values of themselves to make a contra-point: "Although I wasn't in my best mood that day and I wasn't so kind, she kept treating me well all the time"; c) Recommendations or promises to return that looks authentic (mostly providing a specific feature or detail): "I want to come back and try to dance with the professor Charles" or "I recommend the tapas with cheese", "I recommended it to my boss"; d) Stressing of words related to trust: "I was really surprised", "I must admit"; e)Highlighting acknowledgement from others: "Everybody noted how glow my skin was after the treatment".

Logos: The writer can appeal to reasoning and logic when defending a standpoint. It means build their position in a rational basis, providing factual and logical information involving reference to the context shared by the author and audience. Clarity and integrity are also

features of rational arguments. The appearance to rationality, like commonsense is also a matter of logos.

E.g.**:** a) When talking about a product, logos appeals rely on product/brand attributes and benefits, such as quality, economy, value or performance: "This computer is good for playing video games because it has a super high resolution video screen and a powerful processor"; b) When a writer defends their position by providing factual descriptions and features: "The club looks good for a kids' party because it has a playground and it is safe"; c)When the writer provides actual proofs, such as pictures or links.

*Logos – Descriptive Example***:** The appeal for Logos - Descriptive Example aims to describe facts or features of the object of the review. It addresses price, taste of the food, service, time spent in a place, location, address and so on. Measurable factors can be addressed under this appeal. The tone can imply that the reviewer is talking in general about other experiences as well and stressing common factors observed in all their experiences. The verbal tense is likely to be simple present, thus might not indicate a specific experience.

E.g.: a) "This restaurant provides a good food for a reasonable price and they don't make you wait a lot for your order. Also, the staff is kind and prompt responds for your requests"; b) "The bar is located in a nice square close to many stores and a parking lot"; c) "The cake there is well cooked, filled with fresh fruits and you don't fell like they put loads of sugar on it."

*Logos – Narrative Example***:** The writer can build their argument under a narrative example, providing facts and reasons about their standpoint in form of a story. It is also a description, but the facts appear in a more or less logical sequence, giving details about a specific experience. It is more likely to use past verbal tenses.

Pathos: The mean of persuasion that appeals for the audience's emotions including fear, sadness, contentment, joy and pride is called pathos. Pathos aims for the arousing of the audience's passions and is persuasive because makes people feel something. The writer can appeal for human common desires that the reader may or may not be aware of like nostalgia when making them remember something for instance. The arousing of imagination (and feelings associated) towards metaphors or the use of abstract concepts for descriptive arguments are also a matter of pathos.

Pathos – Core Pathos: Refers to the use of potentially emotive words to build an argument. It configures the appealing for strong feelings or even exaggerated emotions to describe the relation of the writer to the issue (service, product, experience). Normally the main message of the sentence is the emotion, thus, if a writer says that they loved a color of a nail polish because it matches perfectly with a dress color, for instance, it doesn't configure Core-pathos, because they are a giving a specific reason for such "love", so it would be Logos. However, it they say "I loved it!", it is a matter of Core Pathos.

E.g.: "love", "obsessed", "amazing", "addicted", "happy", "guilty", "never".

Pathos – Description and Imagination: Refers to the appealing to emotions by means of using metaphors, figurative associations and words to describe a situation. It is a matter of pathos because it requires sort of imagination and consequently the arousing of feelings. When the description lacks on facts and the writer uses abstracts concepts and comparisons to create a picture in the readers' mind they are appealing for this mean of persuasion. This label is also applied when the description of the subject is made by using emotions (or words that denote emotions) and abstract concepts as adjective.

E.g.: a) Abstract concepts: "chill", "classy", "vibe"; b) Associations or metaphors: "This place

reminds me the bat cavern…"

Pathos – Humor and Irony: This label refers to the appealing to the specific feelings of humor and irony by making puns and jokes. The irony can be used both for appoint good features as well as make critics. The use of this appeal can be not directly related to the main object; however, it can create a funny and friendly "atmosphere" around the review.

E.g.: "The quality of the drinks was so good that I could embarrass myself and do weird things the whole night without having killing headaches in the next day".

Pathos – Idioms: Refers to the use of expressions, idioms, ellipsis, internet slangs and so on to denote some emotion. These words without context may not mean anything.

E.g.: "LOL", "Hahira", "…" (indicating sigh)

3.4   Reliability

After the finalization of the coding schema, two coders performed the labelling in a sample of 30 reviews (10 of each business category) in order to test the inter-rater reliability. These reviews resulted in 179 quotations. Considering the complete set of labels, with 9 different codes, both coders agreed in 143 cases configuring a Cohen's Kappa reliability coefficient of r= .76, which is considered a substantial agreement according to Vieira & Garrett (2005). Considering only the three main labels (Ethos, Pathos and Logos), the coefficient is r= .80.

4   RESULTS

4.1   General results

The set of 150 reviews brings n= 812 quotations, labeled according to the coding schema developed for this research. Each business category has 50 reviews but the number of quotations per business category is slightly different because of the different length of reviews and the diversity of approach used in each one as well. The Table 2 summarize how the quotations are distributed per business category:

Table 2

Quotations per business category

BUSINESS CATEGORY	REVIEWS (N)	QUOTATIONS (N)	QUOTATIONS (%)
Bars & Nightlife	50	256	31.53%
Beauty & Spas	50	295	36.33%
Food & Restaurants	50	261	32.14%
Total	150	812	100.00%

The set of quotations was labelled according to the rhetorical appeal presented in each text fragment. The general result shows that the most used rhetorical appeal is Logos, being used in n= 322 quotations or 39,66% of the total set of quotations. The second most used rhetorical appeal is Ethos, configuring n= 276 of the cases or 33,99% of the labelling schema. Pathos comes in third place with n= 214 cases or 26,35% of the total of quotations.

These numbers and the frequency of use of each label and sub-label is observed in the table 3:

Table 3

Quotations and quotation rate per code

LABELS	QUOTATIONS (N)	QUOTATIONS (%)
Ethos	276	33.99%
Ethos - Expertise	115	14.16%
Ethos - Goodwill	74	9.11%
Ethos - Trustworthiness	87	10.71%
Logos	322	39.66%
Logos - Descriptive Example	208	25.62%
Logos - Narrative example	114	14.04%
Pathos	214	26.35%
Pathos - Core Pathos	57	7.02%
Pathos - Description and imagination	66	8.13%
Pathos - Humor and Irony	69	8.50%
Pathos - Idioms	22	2.71%
Total	812	100%

Considering the complete coding schema, Logos – Descriptive example is the most used sub-label. The use of Logos – Narrative example and the labels under the rhetorical appeal of Ethos is similar, ranging from 9 to 14,16% of frequency. The labels of Pathos were less used than the others.

Despite the qualitative nature of this research and its main focus on the content found rather than the statistics behind, some quantitative results were explored in order to observe the relationships between the business and the appeals found on its reviews. The results indicate that the relationship between the set of 9 sub-labels and the three business categories is statistically significant according to the Chi-Square test of independence (p value = .050). When considering the frequencies of the three main labels within the business categories, a marginal tendency was found (p value = .068). A marginal tendency was also found when considering the frequency of sub-labels under Pathos appeal in the business categories (p value = .094).
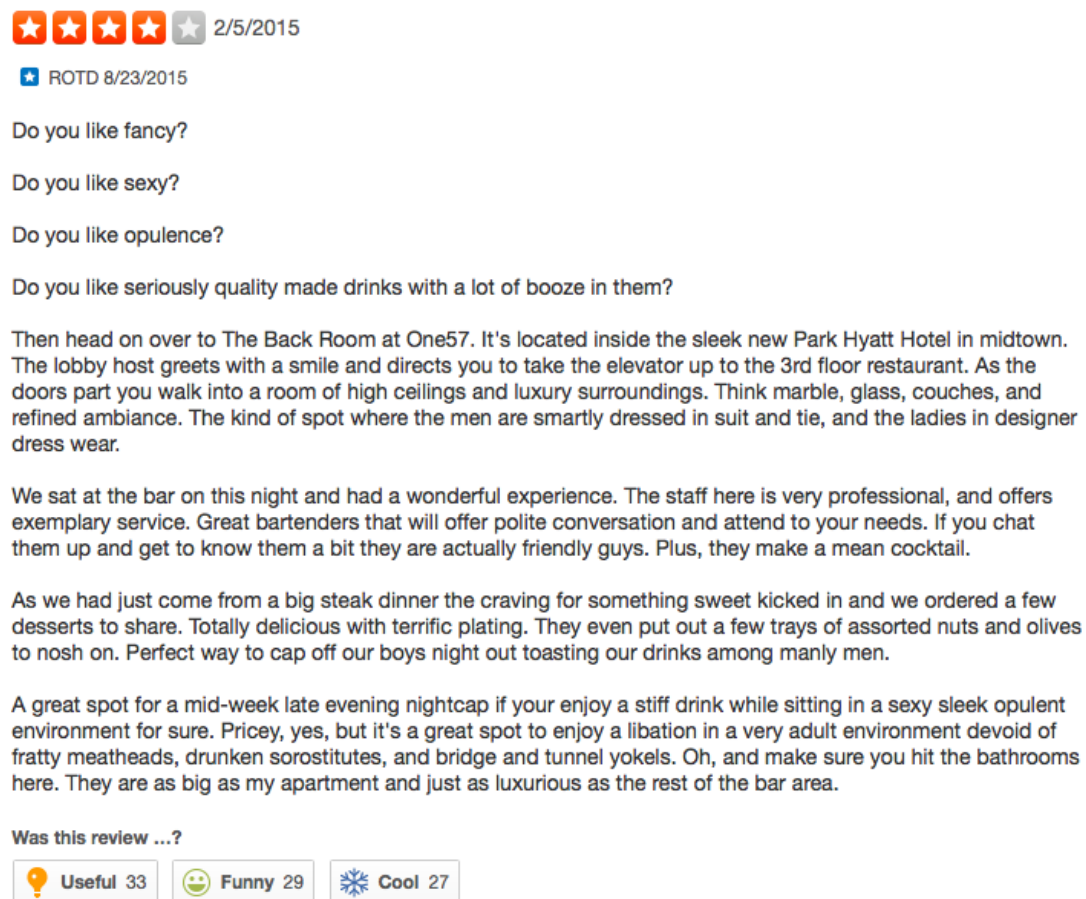
All the labels were used in the three business categories but the use rate of each appeal showed different results, as it is addressed in the next sections.

The distribution and combination of these labels are diverse and most of the reviews present a mix of different appeals. The following examples illustrate the use of appeals in reviews from the three business categories. The figures 1, 2, and 3 show how the reviews and rating scales look like. The transcription and labeling of these reviews can be seen after each figure.

a) Labelling of a review from the business category Bars & Nightlife

Figure 1
Screenshot of the review NY64 - The Back Room

★★★★☆ 2/5/2015

⭐ ROTD 8/23/2015

Do you like fancy?

Do you like sexy?

Do you like opulence?

Do you like seriously quality made drinks with a lot of booze in them?

Then head on over to The Back Room at One57. It's located inside the sleek new Park Hyatt Hotel in midtown. The lobby host greets with a smile and directs you to take the elevator up to the 3rd floor restaurant. As the doors part you walk into a room of high ceilings and luxury surroundings. Think marble, glass, couches, and refined ambiance. The kind of spot where the men are smartly dressed in suit and tie, and the ladies in designer dress wear.

We sat at the bar on this night and had a wonderful experience. The staff here is very professional, and offers exemplary service. Great bartenders that will offer polite conversation and attend to your needs. If you chat them up and get to know them a bit they are actually friendly guys. Plus, they make a mean cocktail.

As we had just come from a big steak dinner the craving for something sweet kicked in and we ordered a few desserts to share. Totally delicious with terrific plating. They even put out a few trays of assorted nuts and olives to nosh on. Perfect way to cap off our boys night out toasting our drinks among manly men.

A great spot for a mid-week late evening nightcap if your enjoy a stiff drink while sitting in a sexy sleek opulent environment for sure. Pricey, yes, but it's a great spot to enjoy a libation in a very adult environment devoid of fratty meatheads, drunken sorostitutes, and bridge and tunnel yokels. Oh, and make sure you hit the bathrooms here. They are as big as my apartment and just as luxurious as the rest of the bar area.

Was this review ...?

💡 Useful 33   😀 Funny 29   ❄ Cool 27

This review was labeled according to the following schema:

Pathos – Description and Imagination: *"Do you like fancy? Do you like sexy? Do you like opulence? Do you like seriously quality made drinks with a lot of booze in them? Then head on over to The Back Room at One57."*

Logos – Descriptive example: *"It's located inside the sleek new Park Hyatt Hotel in midtown. The lobby host greets with a smile and directs you to take the elevator up to the 3rd floor restaurant. As the doors part you walk into a room of high ceilings and luxury surroundings. Think marble, glass, couches, and refined ambiance."*

Pathos – Description and Imagination: *"The kind of spot where the men are smartly dressed in suit and tie, and the ladies in designer dress wear."*

Logos – Narrative example: *"We sat at the bar on this night and had a wonderful experience. The staff here is very professional, and offers exemplary service. Great bartenders that will offer polite conversation and attend to your needs. If you chat them up and get to know them a bit they are actually friendly guys. Plus, they make a mean cocktail. As we had just come from a big steak dinner the craving for something sweet kicked in and we ordered a few desserts to share. Totally delicious with terrific plating. They even put out a few trays of assorted nuts and olives to nosh on. Perfect way to cap off our boys night out toasting our drinks among manly men."*

Ethos – Goodwill: *"A great spot for a mid-week late evening nightcap if your enjoy a stiff drink while sitting in a sexy sleek opulent environment for sure."*

Logos – Descriptive example: *"Pricey, yes, but it's a great spot to enjoy a libation in a very adult environment devoid of fratty meatheads, drunken sorostitutes, and bridge and tunnel yokels. Oh, and make sure you hit the bathrooms here. They are as big as my apartment and just as luxurious as the rest of the bar area".*

b) Labelling of a review from the business category Beauty & Spas

Figure 2
Screenshot of the review LA62 – Le Jolie Medi Spa

★★★★★ 2/24/2015

📷 ROTD 8/28/2015

If you're looking for me it's likely I might be lost at Le Jolie and have no plans on anyone finding me....

Le Jolie...A hidden gem tucked away off Ventura Blvd. This cute little place can get lost in the shuffle of beauty salons out in Studio City but definitely is a hidden treasure. I find myself lucky to have found such an amazing place!

When you first walk into this cute little hair salon it's absolutely beautiful inside. The ambiance and style is immediately relaxing.

Let me first start off by saying the service here is outstanding and I felt completely pampered! The friendliness of all the staff was exceptional from Veronica who did my hair, to the owner Sharona, and the receptionist at the front desk. Everybody was so accommodating and friendly it made it hard to leave.

Veronica has done my hair several times now. As most girls know it is very hard to find a beautician that we trust with our hair. I was happily surprised that I can add her to my list of approved girls. I have a very short list!

Services that they offer:
-Hair Salon
-Permanent makeup (contour makeup)
-Acupuncture (Ear acupuncture for weight loss, Cupping, Electric and Acupressure
-Massage treatments, (lymphatic massage, body scrubs)
-Eyelash extension
-Facials
-Injection bar of different kind of vitamins that will help with energy and weight loss
-Microdermabrasion, acid peel
-Oxygen bar, Infra-red sauna and steam room
-Laser for Scar, hair
And that's only to name a few. There's a lot more treatments and services available.

They also have complimentary valet parking. Yes you heard me right, complimentary! Parking is impossible to find in this area because it is filled with tons of tiny shops so it is awesome that they offer free valet parking! This place is hard to find since it's behind the main shops so just look for the valet booth.

If you're ready to get pampered like you deserve it, you should head on over here so they can take care of you!

Was this review ...?

💡 Useful 156   😊 Funny 130   ❄ Cool 146

This review was labeled according to the following schema:

Pathos – Humor and Irony: *"If you're looking for me it's likely I might be lost at Le Jolie and have no plans on anyone finding me...."*
Pathos – Description and Imagination: *"Le Jolie...A hidden gem tucked away off Ventura Blvd. This cute little place can get lost in the shuffle of beauty salons out in Studio City but definitely is a hidden treasure. I find myself lucky to have found such an amazing place! When you first walk into this cute little hair salon it's absolutely beautiful inside. The ambiance and style is immediately relaxing."*
Logos – Narrative Example: *"Let me first start off by saying the service here is outstanding and I felt completely pampered! The friendliness of all the staff was exceptional from Veronica who did my hair, to the owner Sharona, and the receptionist at the front desk. Everybody was so accommodating and friendly it made it hard to leave."*

Ethos – Expertise: *"Veronica has done my hair several times now. As most girls know it is very hard to find a beautician that we trust with our hair. I was happily surprised that I can add her to my list of approved girls. I have a very short list!"*

Logos – Descriptive Example: "Services that they offer:

-Hair Salon

-Permanent makeup (contour makeup)

-Acupuncture (Ear acupuncture for weight loss, Cupping, Electric and Acupressure

-Massage treatments, (lymphatic massage, body scrubs)

-Eyelash extension

-Facials

-Injection bar of different kind of vitamins that will help with energy and weight loss

-Microdermabrasion, acid peel

-Oxygen bar, Infra-red sauna and steam room

-Laser for Scar, hair

And that's only to name a few. There's a lot more treatments and services available. They also have complimentary valet parking. Yes you heard me right, complimentary! Parking is impossible to find in this area because it is filled with tons of tiny shops so it is awesome that they offer free valet parking! This place is hard to find since it's behind the main shops so just look for the valet booth."

Ethos – Goodwill: *"If you're ready to get pampered like you deserve it, you should head on over here so they can take care of you!"*

c) Labelling of a review from the business category Food & Restaurant:

Figure 3
Screenshot of the review LA08 – Kokekokko

★★★★★ 7/9/2015

⭐ ROTD 11/13/2015

I was saving my 400th Yelp revue for something special.

I live near Little Tokyo (in the Arts District) and I have passed by Kokekokko for years. I've been a bit intimidated because the restaurant seems so "Japanese." I know a bit about Japanese manners and customs and I hate to make any slip that could be seen as rude. When I'm at a restaurant that is new to me, I like to watch others and do as they do.

When you add in the celebrity of Chef Tomohiro Sakata, it adds to my nervous apprehension.
Many people have seen the film Jiro Dreams Of Sushi. I believe that Tomo-san is the yakitori chef equivalent of sushi master Jiro Ono.

I thoroughly enjoyed my experience here and I am looking forward to dining here on a regular basis.

The food could not have been better and the service was wonderful.

While walking over, I was thinking that I had heard so much about their chicken that maybe I would be disappointed. I eat chicken often, I wondered if I would notice the difference.

I did notice the difference. First, the quality of the meat is top notch - Second it is cooked perfectly. It made me realize how overcooked chicken is fairly standard in the U.S. and I believe that people (like my mother) generally overcook chicken. I believe that Tomo-san's years of experience and knowledge of his product have made him a master of yakitori.

I enjoyed the quail eggs. The skewers with okra and thigh meat were excellent. I love okra and found this skewer particularly tasty. The skewers with chicken & eggplant were wonderful, so tender and juicy.

The place wasn't packed while I was there but it was busy. I was very pleasantly surprised when Chef Sakata walked over from the grill with a smile and said to me "you're food will be ready in just two minutes" and gave me a "fist bump." He's cool.

Was this review ...?

💡 Useful 49   😊 Funny 36   ❄ Cool 49

This review was labeled according to the following schema:

Ethos – Expertise: *"I was saving my 400th Yelp revue for something special. I live near Little Tokyo (in the Arts District) and I have passed by Kokekokko for years."*

Ethos – Trustworthiness: *"I've been a bit intimidated because the restaurant seems so "Japanese." I know a bit about Japanese manners and customs and I hate to make any slip that could be seen as rude. When I'm at a restaurant that is new to me, I like to watch others and do as they do."*

Pathos - Core Pathos: *"When you add in the celebrity of Chef Tomohiro Sakata, it adds to my nervous apprehension."*

Pathos – Humor and Irony: *"Many people have seen the film Jiro Dreams Of Sushi. I believe that Tomo-san is the yakitori chef equivalent of sushi master Jiro Ono."*

Ethos – Trustworthiness: *"I thoroughly enjoyed my experience here and I am looking forward to dining here on a regular basis."*

Logos – Descriptive Example: *"The food could not have been better and the service was wonderful."*

Ethos – Expertise: *"While walking over, I was thinking that I had heard so much about their chicken that maybe I would be disappointed. I eat chicken often, I wondered if I would notice the difference."*

Logos – Narrative Example: *"I did notice the difference. First, the quality of the meat is top notch - Second it is cooked perfectly. It made me realize how overcooked chicken is fairly standard in the U.S. and I believe that people (like my mother) generally overcook chicken. I believe that Tomo-san's years of experience and knowledge of his product have made him a master of yakitori. I enjoyed the quail eggs. The skewers with okra and thigh meat were excellent. I love okra and found this skewer particularly tasty. The skewers with chicken & eggplant were wonderful, so tender and juicy. The place wasn't packed while I was there but it was busy."*

Pathos – Core Pathos: *"I was very pleasantly surprised when Chef Sakata walked over from the grill with a smile and said to me "you're food will be ready in just two minutes" and gave me a "fist bump." He's cool."*

4.2 Ethos

When looking to the frequency of Ethos in each business category it is possible to notice some differences. The Table 4 shows that the use of Ethos – Expertise is more outstanding than the other types of Ethos in Food and Restaurants. However, this big difference does not occur in the other two business categories. In Bars & Nightlife the three sub labels of Ethos have similar frequency. In Beauty & Spas, the use of Ethos – Expertise and Ethos – Trustworthiness is also akin.

Table 4
Ethos per business category

	Bars & Nightlife	Beauty & Spas	Food & Restaurants
Ethos	73	117	86
Ethos - Expertise	25	47	43
	34.25%	40.17%	50.00%
Ethos - Goodwill	23	31	20
	31.51%	26.50%	23.26%
Ethos - Trustworthiness	25	39	23
	34.25%	33.33%	26.74%

4.2.1 Ethos – Expertise

Reviewers appeal for Ethos – Expertise in different ways. Sometimes they stress past experiences with the same place or with the business segment. In other situations, they call attention for their character addressing some previous research or personal background (like culture) that should mean expertise. Ethos – Expertise is also addressed when the writer claims to be an expert in writing reviews.

The quotation 7:70 from the review "SF20 Mitchell's Ice Cream" in the business category of Food & Restaurants, an example of showing past experiences of the character in the place. The aim is to illustrate that the reviewer has background to talk about the business:

"Growing up, Mitchell's was the first ice cream parlor I've ever visited and where we go after every dentist appointment. What can I say, our family LOVES Mitchell's!?! This "crazy" family tradition was created to remove the fluoride taste out of our mouths & boy did it work! Even our Dentist would shake his head while laughing & say, "Off to Mitchell's now!?!" When my parents moved out of SF, our tradition evolved, I now deliver Mitchell's ice cream to them at least once a month! :) According to my Dad, Mitchell's Tropical Flavors were introduced through a Filipino employee..and that's how Mango, Ube, Macapuno, Avocado, Halo Halo flavors were created. I have yet to confirm this as fact! (I should have asked when I saw the daughter (who currently runs Mitchell's) eating lunch at Fresca (Noe Valley location) with her Dad (one of the original brothers/owners). But what I do know, what is true to my ice cream loving core is-Mitchell's has the best ice cream everrrrr! Yup, I said it!!!"

People can also address experience in the business segment, using past occasions to make a counterpoint or event to show that they know what they are talking about, since they are used to purchase the service. The following examples illustrates these two situations.

e.g.1: *"I was terrified because it had been a while since I've threaded but she was fast and not as heavy handed as other places I've been to."* (Quotation 5:243, from the review LA82 - Ellie Eyebrow Threading. Business category: Beauty & Spas)

e.g.2: *"I think perhaps dining out so much in San Francisco, where you often wait 20-30 minutes for a cocktail, can leave you feeling pretty jaded. Anyhow-let's talk brunch. Far and away, the best brunch I've had in AGES (and I go to brunch A LOT)."* (Quotation 6:147 from review SF52 - Barrel Head Brewhouse. Business category: Bars & Nightlife)

It was observed that writers stress previous research about the place before trying. It is a matter of Ethos - Expertise because the writer wants to call attention to the fact that they have knowledge about the place, even if not practical. They might also want to address how much they like the segment or the business proposition, though willing to spend some time in research.

e.g: *"When I saw it opened across from my neighborhood Lucky store, I immediately investigated."* (Quotation 6:205 from review SF52 - Barrel Head Brewhouse. Business category: Bars & Nightlife)

Some reviewers decided to use personal background like their culture and its associated stereotypes to address how much knowledge they hold about the subject. As seem in the following example, the reviewer associates his Chinese origin to his taste about cooked rice:

e.g.: *"Being the Chinese guy that I am I dove into the rice first and it was cooked right"* (Quotation 7:48 from review SF15 – Mahalo! Business category: Food & Restaurants)

Since the Yelp members seem to take serious their duties to provide information for peers members, it is also common that someone claim to be an expert in reviewing. It is a matter of Ethos – Expertise because it is implicit that the person had past experiences with other places, so they are qualified to judge a business.

e.g: *"As someone who tries to save five-star reviews for the best of the best, I found myself really unable to refuse it to Spinnerie"* (Quotation 7:7 from review SF12 – Spinnerie. Business category: Food & Restaurant)

4.2.2   Ethos – Goodwill

When appealing for Ethos – Goodwill, the writer wants to show how much they are concerned about the reader. This concern may appear differently among the reviews.

In some cases, the writer provides some facts about the place to justify an advice for the reader.

e.g.: *"But it is certainly something to be aware of, because you will not want to be the dummy who waits patiently for 20 minutes in line salivating at the delicious spices and aromas emanating from the kitchen just to get to the register and find out you can't pay for your food! That's just a bad day. So do yourself a favor and make sure you come prepared."* (Quotation 7:64 from review SF19 – El Farolito. Business category: Food & Restaurants).

This advice can also appear as a clear set of practical tips, which normally is addressed after the writer provide more facts about the place and their experience.

e.g.: *"TIPS: - Arrive after midnight. 90s mashup music doesn't start until then, and people are the craziest after that time too. - If you're sure beforehand that you're going, buy tickets online. It's $15 for the ticket + $3 service fee, so you save $2. That's $2 you could be spending for 2 items on the Dollar Menu! - BRING CASH (entry is $10 before 10pm, or $20 after) -- if not for entry, then for buying drinks. There are ATMs located inside, but it's such a hassle. - Go to the bathroom before you leave for the club. Lines for the bathroom get long because there are hardly any stalls. - There's a pizza place next door. Can you say drunchies?"* (Quotation 6:31 from review SF66 - Bootie SF. Business category: Bars & Nightlife)

The writer can also provide advices or tips by forecasting a hypothetical need of the reader.

e.g.1: *"Tip for foodies: Located right next to Taco Ensenada. Before or after you pamper yourself here, spoil your stomach as well!"* (Quotation 2:7, from LA30 - Foxy Nail. Business category: Beauty & Spas)

e.g. 2: *"I've never eaten here, but they do have appetizers, sandwiches and burgers if you need a little something in your tummy."* (Quotation 6:221 from review LA73 - The Comedy Store. Business category: Bars & Nightlife).

The another way that writers appealed for Ethos – Goodwill, was the addressing of possible personal taste of the reader and possible similarities between both source and receptor of the message.

e.g.1: *"If you at all enjoy tiki bars, or anything fun - you will enjoy The Tonga Room."* (Quotation 6:38 from review SF67 Tonga Room & Hurricane Bar. Business category: Bars & Nightlife).

e.g.2: *"So for you twinkle fairies such as myself and men without the ties...stay in the front. On the rocks or straight is the only drink you get back there."* (Quotation 6:193 from review LA72 – Seven Grand. Business category: Bars & Nightlife).

e.g.3: *"By the time they transition to your feet, if you're anything like me, I am so ready to fall asleep. I wouldn't recommend if you're experiencing severe chronic back pain only for the main reason that no one here is licensed, this is more of a leisure massage to help polish off the edge and chase a few knots away."* (Quotation 2:10, from LA 43 – Smiling Feet. Business category: Beauty & Spas)

4.2.3   Ethos – Trustworthiness

Ethos – Trustworthiness is the third appeal of Ethos. It was also observed different approaches to this label. Some people appealed to personal habits to make a counterpoint. This case in specific could be understood as the opposite of Ethos – Expertise, since the person assume a humbler position, sometimes admitting having no expertise with the service.

e.g.: *"Non-High Maintenance. The less time spent on hair/face, the better for me. As a precursor to my approach to hair in general, I am all about low-maintenance. I wash my hair, dry the bangs, and put it up in a bun prior to running out to Bart. My weekend approach is equally low maintenance. But when that comb starts to hit snags and refuses to budge, I knew it was time to get a trim."* (Quotation 2:28 from review SF13 – Cinta Avenue Institute. Business category: Beauty & Spas).

Trustworthiness is also pursued when the writer cites a negative point, besides the positive nature of the review.

e.g.: *"Regardless of the no sample issue when there was no one else there, Grandma Puccis has the best ice cream in the Chino Valley. I think I will go get some now!"* (Quotation 7:24 from review LA06 Grandma Puccis Homemade Ice Cream, Food & Restaurants)

The stress of the the intention to return to the place and the clear statement of the recommendation are also matters of Trustworthiness.

e.g.1: *"I sure hope this one sticks."* (Quotation 7:190 from SF16 - Vive La Tarte. Business category: Food & Restaurants)

e.g.2: *"Highly recommend it and next time I'm there, I may stop in for more bacon to go with my bubble tea!"* (Quotation 6:163 from review NY61 – Whiskey Tavern. Business category: Bars & Nightlife).

e.g.3: *"Most definitely coming back; already made a reservation!"* (Quotation 6:141 from review NY70 – Flatiron Room. Business category: Bars & Nightlife).

4.3   Logos

Logos is the most used label in general and also for each business category. The sub-label Logos – Descriptive example is far more used than Logos – Narrative example in all the three business categories.

The table 5 shows the frequency of each label and its rate considering the total number of Logos for each business category.

Table 5
Logos per business category

	Bars & Nightlife	Beauty & Spas	Food & Restaurants
Logos	106	106	110
Logos - Descriptive Example	73	69	66
	68.87%	65.09%	60.00%
Logos - Narrative example	33	37	44
	31.13%	34.91%	40.00%

When providing facts about a business by appealing for Logos – Descriptive Example, writers focused in different ways or features. These different ways appeared in the three business categories.

4.3.1   Logos – Descriptive Example

Logos – Descriptive example appear when the writer makes clear statements summarizing the main reasons for their positive review, for example.

e.g.: "*The combination of their atmosphere, service, and drinks really makes for a solid cocktail bar/speakeasy without being over the top.*" (NY02 – Nitecap. Business category: Bars & Nightlife)

The description of a place and the facts that justify the writer's standpoint can be seem in statements eliciting visual and physical features or in reviews when the writer mix palpable features with abstract concepts, without loosing the logical appeal. These differences can be seen in the two fragments below:

e.g.1: *"Visually, Boulevard3 has it going on. When you enter, you go into a courtyard with a little fountain going down the middle, ending in an outdoor fireplace. Here, there are plenty of couches where you can sit to have a drink and chat with your group. There are also cute lights hanging from above to set the mood. The inside is equally classy, with a huge dance floor and white columns. Music playing that night (Saturday) was mainly inoffensive Top 40s and hip-hop. This definitely seems like the place to go if you're with a large group of girls, just because of how pretty it is. It also manages to pull off the upscale feel without becoming too bougie."* (Quotation 6:65 from review LA68 – Boulevard3. Business category: Bars & Nightlife).

e.g.2*: "An intimate and elegant wine bar, at the heart of Beverly Hills. Owner and staff are primarily French...good looking and knowledgable gents in long hair and seductive accents. Vintage couches, game boards, candles lights after sunset....ask for French pop music and they will gladly play. Take a deep breath when you see the wine collection on both side of the walls (yes, when you notice the price tags). But of course, you can come here for happy hour tasting while each glass is reasonably priced. Great ambiance for dates and friends. Parking is two-hour free in the lot a few doors south."* (Quotation 6:96 from review LA74 - Héritage Fine Wines. Business category: Bars & Nightlife).

Although most of Logos – Descriptive Example concerns to a conclusion about the place regardless a specific experience but concerning to a sum of perceptions, sometimes this label can be applied in quotations that might refer to one visit. In the example below, the writer starts talking about a specific experience but develop their argument pointing general features:

e.g.2: *"My first visit here was really great. You are given a wrist band that opens your own personal locker and also doubles as a charge to account bracelet. Inside the locker you will find Flip-Flops, Towels and a Robe. The locker rooms are tiny and consists of a couple of private toilets, lockers, hampers for Towels, Robes and Slippers (flip-flops), they have one sink with Bottom Balls and Q-Tips for use.*

The Clothing Required Area consisted of: 1) Hot Tub 2) Pool Temperature Tub 3) Eucalyptus Steam Room 4) Shower Stalls 5) Large Sauna

Clothing Optional Side Consisted of: 1) Hot Tub 2) Cold Plunge 3) Smaller Sauna 4) Large (Beautiful) Sauna 5) Showers Stalls 6) Treatment Area" (Quotation 5:23 from review SF85 - Archimedes Banya. Business category: Beauty & Spas)

In another example of Logos – Descriptive Example, the writer is more direct. This logical approach of providing prices, ingredients, and specifics about the place itself is frequent in the data set. The citing of such features in bullet points to make the message clear is also common.

e.g.: *"So this is how it works:*

Small bowl (2 scoops) is $8.99

Medium bowl (3 scoops) is $10.50

Large bowl (4 scoops) is $11.99

1. Choose your base & size: white, brown rice, salad, roll. You can opt for 1/2 rice and 1/2 greens

2. Choose your toppings: crabmeat, cucumbers, onion, seaweed, etc

3. Choose your fish: ahi tuna, spicy tuna, salmon, yellowtail, scallop, etc

4. Choose your sauce: chipotle mayo, yuzu ponzu, sesame shoyu, wasabi mayo

After you make your concoction at the poke bar, they will bring your food up to the cashier. Just check-in on Yelp for that $2 off discount, pay, and then find a table! There's plenty of tables/chairs, but the format of the tables is more of a "communal" style so just be prepared to share a long table with various parties." (Quotation 3:30 from the review LA05 – Poke Salad Bar. Business category: Food & Restaurant)

4.3.2   Logos – Narrative Example

Unlike the appeals for Ethos and the Logos – Descriptive Example, the appeal for Logos – Narrative Example seems to obey the nature of the business, focusing on the product consumed (when it is the case) and the staff attention.

In the example from Bars & Nightlife, the writer elicits facts concerning the service and provide details, including ingredients, about the drinks.

e.g.: *"The hubs and I came around 9PM on a Friday night. The place was half full with plenty of table seating for groups, couch space for an intimate conversation, and a couple bar seats, which we ended up taking. We met a friendly female bartender at the bar and started off our night with a round of cocktails. Cheers!*

Drinks we tried:

- Secretariat (Bulliet Bourbon, House Chai Syrup, Lime and Ginger Beer) - Excellent cocktail! Smooth and delicious. The chai syrup was a cool ingredient that I've never had before. My favorite drink of the night. - The Gatsby (Courvoisier, Grand Marnier, Lemon and Ginger Bitters) - On the sour side, if you like that. - Color Purple (Leopold's Gin, Crème de Violette, Lemon, Simple Syrup, Rock Salt) - This cocktail was indeed purple colored! I really liked the aroma of this one. - The Big Bukowski (Bourbon, Lemon, Orange, Angostura Bitters, Simple Syrup, Egg Whites) - Well balanced flavors.

Towards the end of our visit, the bartender mentioned we should try their bread pudding for dessert. I didn't even see this on the menu! We couldn't resist trying it, and I'm so glad we did. I loved the bread pudding! Soft, gooey, and warm. A sweet ending to our night." (Quotation 6:188 from review LA75 - Catcher In the Rye. Business category: Bars & Nightlife)

In the example from Beauty & Spas, the writer focuses special attention in the staff and finish the quotation mentioning the positive perception of the service itself (hair treatment).

e.g.: *"Luckily I stumbled upon Groupon and found Salon Cielo which is only a short 10 minute drive from my place in Downtown Covina. The Groupon was for a cut, wash, dye/partial highlights, and style for only $40! The deal was amazing and after reading her Yelp reviews I was set! I made the appointment promptly over the phone, but unfortunately Kelly was too sick to stick to our original appointment so she texted me and we rescheduled it for the following week. Once I arrived at Salon Cielo I was greeted by Kelly with the sweetest and most bubbly personality ever! She immediately made me feel at home and even though she was still feeling ill she was so accommodating and happy to be there. We talked about the different styles I wanted and since I never had highlights I was initially planning on not getting them because I hated the streaky look. Kelly assured me that subtle highlights in a mocha color would look great and a warm rich auburn color would compliment my skin tone so I trusted her and told her to choose whatever color she thinks would look great on me. After 3.5 hours of watching her work meticulously on my hair the result was phenomenal!"* (Quotation 5:155 from review LA97 - Salon Cielo. Business category: Beauty & Spas).

When talking about Food & Restaurants, the reviewer also provides facts about the experience.

e.g.: *"We came in on grand opening day, and we were served complementary salmon rilette and champagne with cream of cassis. The salmon rilette with toast was a nice start to our meal, and the champagne was the perfect touch at the end.*

After we ordered, we received bread to go along with the olive oil and vinegar on the table. I wanted to come here early (before 11AM) for their lobster egg benedict ($26) that is only served during breakfast. Waking up early was most definitely worth it. The bread on the bottom was perfectly toasted- you could taste the butter, and the bread was soft on the inside but with a nice light crunch on the exterior. So heavenly! The eggs were poached just how I like them- the yolk was nice and runny on the inside. The lobster really finished the egg benedict nicely, and I could not have asked for a better breakfast!

The steak tartare ($20) came with fries and salad, and it was another phenomenal dish. It was actually a lot larger than we expected, and we had trouble finishing all of it. The steak was very well seasoned, and went well with the fries and salad." (Quotation 3:53 from the review LA03 – Le Petit Paris. Business category: Food & Restaurants).

4.4   Pathos

The appeal for the audience's emotions and passions appear in all the three business categories in similar rates. The outstanding rates are the frequency of Pathos – Core Pathos in Bars & Nightlife which is significant smaller then in the other businesses, and the use of Pathos – Humor and Irony in Bars & Nightlife, which is bigger than in the other businesses. The appeal that is less used in all categories is Pathos – Idioms. The Chi-Square test of independency (p value = .094) showed a marginal tendency among these frequencies.

Table 6
Pathos per business category

	Bars & Nightlife	Beauty & Spas	Food & Restaurants
Pathos	77	72	65
Pathos - Core Pathos	11	23	23
	14.29%	31.94%	35.38%
Pathos - Description and imagination	26	22	18
	33.77%	30.56%	27.69%
Pathos - Humor and Irony	32	19	18
	41.56%	26.39%	27.69%
Pathos - Idioms	8	8	6
	10.39%	11.11%	9.23%

4.4.1   Pathos – Core Pathos

The use of Pathos – Core Pathos was observed to elicit different emotions, most of them positives though. It was observed that reviewers used this appeal after the provision of some logical facts, working as an emotional touch to close a description of reasons for the positive costumer experience.

e.g.: *"Overall, the bf and I actually agreed on this one! Service was fab and we walked away happy customers"* (Quotation 6:201 from review SF68 – Dirty Water. Business category: Bars & Nightlife).

In other situations, people used this appeal to show their enthusiasm with the product or experience. In the following example, the writer chooses to stress their satisfaction rather than just mention it, as it happen with some quotations under Logos appeals.

e.g.: *"I had the Electric Feel from the Spring/Summer 2015 Collection. I love, love, love it -- it's my first time with foils and, it's safe to say, I'm foil-obsessed. They're just so pretty -- I can't stop looking at my nails!"* (Quotation 2:38, from NY49 – Paintbox. Business category: Beauty & Spas)

Emotions were also used to make a counterpoint, by describing a emotion they used to have and the emotion they had after the experience.

e.g.: *"Vegan restaurants generally make me very very sad."* (Quotation 3:23, from LA04 – Azla. Business category: Food & Restaurants)

4.4.2   Pathos – Description and Imagination

It was observed that writers used mostly two different approaches when appealing for this type of Pathos. One is the application of metaphors, arousing feelings that are connected which such references, as seem in the examples 1 and 2. The another approach is the use of abstract concepts to describe a situation or a place as seen in example 3.

e.g.1: *"AIRE takes me away from the hustle and bustle of the Big Apple and transports me into what I would imagine the ancient Roman bath houses were like..."* (Quotation 5:199 from the review NY83 – Aire Ancient Baths. Business category: Beauty & Spas)

e.g.2: *"The Tiffany & Co of candy. So adorable!"* (Quotation 3:3 from the review SF02 – Sugarfina. Business category: Food & Restaurants)

e.g.: 3 *"Location is usually key when starting a business and although most businesses in this city thrive off of being on the beaten path, Trick Dog defies with its Portr-ission location. As you walk closer and closer it reminds me of New York City streets with each neighborhood being better than the last. You'll pass old favorites like Comstock and Schmidt's before you'll hit this new favorite.*

Once inside you've definitely been transported into another city. The old yet new feel of the decor brings a thought to everyone's mind; we've arrived." (Quotation 6:57 from review SF75 – Trick Dog. Business category: Bars & Nightlife)

4.4.3   Pathos – Humor and Irony

The use of Pathos – Humor and Irony appears to address some specific impression about the experience, which could be described using another appeal instead, as seem in the example 1, or can appear functioning as a touch of fun in the review, as seem in the example 2.

 e.g.1: *"The pain from my stiff neck, tight back, and arthritic feet needs no translation. A damn good massage is a damn good massage. Renewing Spa hits the spot. Literally - all of 'em (well, almost all...not that kind of place, kids.)"* (Quotation 5:179, from the review NY78 – Renewing Spa. Business category: Beauty & Spas)

e.g.2: *"I might have embarrassed Eva T., there might also have been video evidence and nobody needs to see that. I have a reputation of aloof meanness to maintain on Yelp."* (Quotation 1:52 from review NY07 – Havana Central. Business category: Bars & Nightlife)

Writers also used puns sometimes to add of a humor tone to the review. In the example 3, the writer made a pun with the Café's name and in the example 4, the pun was with a pop music "Juicy"

e.g.3: "[THE CATCH]

Ever since coming here, we can never again use the phrase another cafe because it gets confused with Another Cafe." (Quotation 3:19 from the review SF04 – Another Café. Business category: Food & Restaurants).

e.g.4: *"Juicy. Juicy. Juicy. It was all a dream!*

After my first trip to El Farolito on 24th and Mission, that song was all I could think of. The juiciness is just out of control." (Quotation 7:17 from review SF19 – El Farolito. Business category: Food & Restaurants)

Another example of the appeal for Pathos – Humor and Irony, is using sarcasm, specially to point a negative aspect of the experience:

"She said to me as if I was stupid, "well gummies don't have nuts in them, *looks at label* oh wait, these do say that they may contain nuts..." Ooookay... Yeah let me just expose my friend with nut allergies to nuts so that she can go into anaphylactic shock! Sounds fun! Oy." (Quotation 3:7 from the review SF02 – Sugarfina. Business category: Food & Restaurants).

4.4.4 Pathos – Idioms

The less used label in the set of quotations was observed generally in small constructs.

This label was applied when the writer used onomatopoeia in their text. In the example below, the expression "shhh!" indicates a request for silence.

e.g: *"haha! (shhh!)"* (Quotation 1:21 from review NY14 – Grace Wine & Spirits)

Pathos – Idioms is also used when the writer wants to replace an adjective. In the following example, "WOW" can be understand as "beautiful", "stunning" and so on.

e.g: *"The new Temple redesign is summed up as WOW."* (Quotation 6:49 from review SF73 – Temple Nightclub. Business category: Bars & Nightlife)

The writer sometimes also used colloquial expressions to replace an adjective, but having actual words. In the quotation bellow, the utterance "Like, what?" can be understand as an expression of surprise, joy and so on.

e.g.: *"UMMMMMMMMMMM drum roll please...this freakin' salon rocks. Like, what?"* (Quotation 5:189, from NY80 – Whistle. Business category: Beauty & Spas)

Finally, other expressions of Pathos – Idioms with mixed elements were also observed. The following example makes a pun with the business' name, replace the adjective "delicious" for "YUM YUM YUM" and add an emoticon (**).

e.g.: *"POKE! POKE! YUM YUM YUM! **"* (Quotation 3:57 from the review LA05 – Poke Salad Bar. Business category: Food & Restaurants)

4.4.5 Rating scales

Each review is evaluated by other users using three different scales: Useful, Funny and Cool. Peer users assess the review using one or more of these attributes. Therefore, the same person can rate the same review with more than attribute, so the numbers of rating does not necessarily mean the number of people that rate the review.

It was observed that most of the reviews has a "winner" rating scale, that is, one of the three attributes has received more votes than the other two. However, there are cases in which two attributes tied. That is why the sum of the attributes in the table below will not be 50 for each business category.

Table 7
Most prevalent rating scale per business category

|	Food & Restaurant	Bars & Nightlife	Beauty & Spas
Useful	41	44	47
Funny	1	0	5
Cool	18	11	7
Draw: Useful + Cool	10	5	6
Draw: Useful + Funny	0	0	3

In all the three categories the scale "Useful" was the most used to rate the reviews, followed by the scale "Cool". Among the cases rated equally with two two scales, there are more

reviews equally rated as "Useful" and "Cool" than "Useful" and "Funny". There is no case of draw between "Cool" and "Funny".

When looking closer to the cases in which there is a draw, different combinations of labels can be noted. Considering the reviews rated equally as "Useful" and "Cool", the following example (figure 4) is interesting because the appeals found on it are Logos and Pathos.

Figure 4
Screenshot of review SF62 – The Monk's Kettle. Business category: Bars & Nightlife
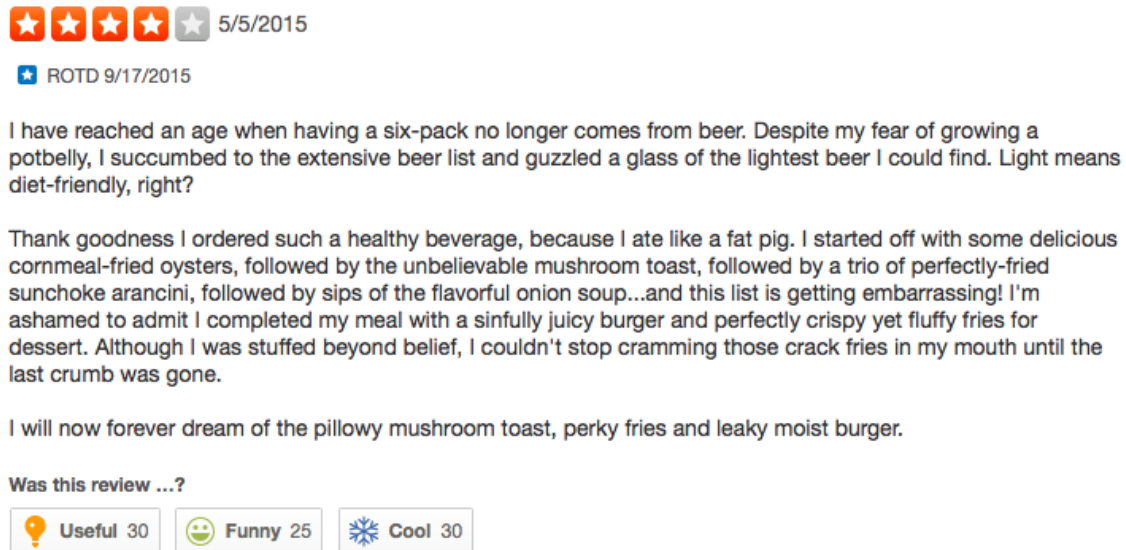
This review was labeled according to the following schema:

Pathos – Humor and Irony: *"I have reached an age when having a six-pack no longer comes from beer. Despite my fear of growing a potbelly, I succumbed to the extensive beer list and guzzled a glass of the lightest beer I could find. Light means diet-friendly, right?*

Thank goodness I ordered such a healthy beverage, because I ate like a fat pig".

Logos – Narrative Example: *"I started off with some delicious cornmeal-fried oysters, followed by the unbelievable mushroom toast, followed by a trio of perfectly-fried sunchoke arancini, followed by sips of the flavorful onion soup...and this list is getting embarrassing! I'm ashamed to admit I completed my meal with a sinfully juicy burger and perfectly crispy yet fluffy fries for dessert"*.

Pathos – Humor and Irony: *"Although I was stuffed beyond belief, I couldn't stop cramming those crack fries in my mouth until the last crumb was gone"*.

Three reviews show the same number for the rating scales "Useful" and "Funny". It was observed that they present at least one of the sub-labels of each main rhetorical appeals. The figure 5 illustrate one of these reviews and shows twice the label Pathos – Humor and Irony, which could be related to the scale "Funny".

Figure 5
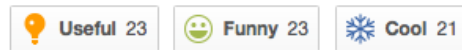*Screenshot of review LA88 – Industry Dtla. Business category: Beauty & Spas*

This review was labeled according to the following schema:

Ethos – Expertise: *"My husband is really picky when it comes to his hair. He rather not cut his hair for 6 months than go to someone he thinks would mess his hair up, if that even makes sense. I've literally taken him to every single salon that I've ever frequented, ranging from $30 to $80 for a men's haircut, from SGV to Tri-Cities to the Westside. He didn't like any of them. I gave up for a while, I stopped asking him when he's going to cut his hair again. I watched him slowly turn into a caveman."*

Pathos – Humor and Irony: *"I had to convince myself that I should love him regardless of how he looks. That was a hard task for me because I'm completely superficial."*

Logos – Narrative example: *"So one day I was looking through Facebook and came across a friend's status update. He said that he just had the best haircut ever by Stephanie at Industry DTLA, he didn't want to wash his hair. I immediately Yelped the salon and thought that I could give it one last shot. Bought the Yelp deal and brought the Mr. here. He was all smiles when they offered him a latte, he said to me "wow I would come here just for the latte". Was that all I needed this whole time? A salon that offers free lattes? I guess it's also a plus that Stephanie ended up cutting his hair exactly the way he wanted. He was happy and is now a returning customer."*

Pathos – Humor and Irony: *"Thanks for saving my marriage Industry DTLA!"*

In sum, the results show that when looking both to the use of three rhetorical appeals and to the application of the nine sub-labels, the use of Logos is outstanding. The sub-label Logos – Descriptive example is the most used for all the business categories.

Under the appeals for Ethos, the use of *Ethos – Expertise* for Food & Restaurants seems to be outstanding, since it represents half of the Ethos used in that business category.
The frequency of the four types of Pathos across the business categories have a marginal tendency of independence. The outstanding number is the frequency of *Pathos – Humor and*

Irony in Bars & Nightlife. The appeal that is less used in all business categories is Pathos – Idioms.

All the labels were used in the three business categories but the use rate of each appeal showed different results. However, the different approaches used to elicit each sub-label were found similarly between them, therefore, no specific characteristic of the content regarding the business was observed. The distribution and combination of these labels are diverse and most of the reviews presents a mix of different appeals.

As seem in the quotations exemplified before, all the sub labels appeared in different approaches. It is worth to say that such differences are a matter of style, so it was not the case to build a new label for each approach: the rhetorical appeal remain the same. As mentioned before, these differences were observed in all business categories, so apparently they are not related to the business nature.

The appeal for *Ethos – Expertise* was found when the writers stressed past experiences with the same place, business segment or even personal background and previous research to make a point. *Ethos – Goodwill* was used when the writer gave advices, practical tips or even forecasted a hypothetical need or taste of the reader. *Ethos – Trustworthiness* appeared when people made a counterpoint using (negative) personal habits or even negative facts. It was also seen when they highlighted the intention to return or clearly recommend the place.
Within the quotations focusing in facts and reasoning, *Logos – Descriptive Example* appeared when writers summarized the main reasons for their positive reviews, sometimes eliciting the physical aspects and sometimes mixing palpable facts with abstract concepts. It was also found cases which the reviewer appealed for the clarity of the message, using bullets point, for instance. *Logos – Narrative Example* was used in general to provide facts about a specific experience. Writers used this appeal specially to focus on the product consumer and the staff attention.

The appeal for *Pathos – Core Pathos* was observed to elicit different emotions, mostly positives. Reviewers seemed to use this appeal after the provision of some logical facts, working as an emotional touch to finish a standpoint. It was also used to show enthusiasm and make a counterpoint between the emotion felt before and after the consumption experience. *Pathos – Description and Imagination* was observed when the writer used metaphors and memories to arouse feelings and when they used abstract concepts and emotions to describe a situation or a place. *Pathos – Humor and Irony* appeared as a touch of humor in the reviews, having jokes, puns and sarcasm to address the experience. It was also observed in statements not directly related to the business or the experience, but to the humor itself. The use of *Pathos – Idioms* was observed generally in small constructs, whether as an onomatopoeia or a replacement of an adjective.

Finally, the analysis of the review's rating scales showed that most of the reviews were rated as "useful" rather than "cool" or "funny". The second most voted scale was "cool". Interesting relations between these scales and the rhetorical appeals were observed when the review had the same number of votes in two different scales.

5   DISCUSSION

The aim of this study was to explore the content of consumer reviews in order to identify how reviewers use the Classical Rhetoric, an ancient art of persuasion in their consumption reports, which are directed for peers. This goal was translated in the following main research question: To what extent ethos, pathos and logos are used in consumer to consumer conversations?

To answer this question, a content analysis was performed in online consumer reviews, taking into account the theories about the rhetorical appeals and three different business categories which consumers wrote about. Apart from the text, an observation of how such reviews were evaluated by other consumers brought valuable insights for this study.

This investigation brings two main characteristics that was not often observed in studies about consumer reviews and rhetorical appeals: the use of rhetorical appeals from the writer perspective and the fact that the writer is motivated by other reasons rather than professionally, as it happens with advertisement texts, for instance. Therefore, the selection of the appeals by these people is more likely to be a natural and organic choice rather than deliberate. Despite these facts, some relations of the findings with previous studies focusing on consumer's perceptions of online reviews might help to explain some results.

In a study about the influence of online consumer reviews and rating system towards consumer preferences in hospitality sector, Seng & Theng (2015), found that reviews presenting reasons based on specific facts influence more the consumer's purchasing intention and has more impact at their perception of information than emotional review content. On the other hand, this exploratory study found that reviewers used more logical appeals to write online reviews, having the label *Logos – Descriptive Example* as the most used in the three business categories. Considering that users of the website where the samples were collected are able to participate in the community as both writer and reader, the way they choose to report their experience might be related to the way they evaluate the most helpful and reliable reviews when they are reading it.

The inner characteristics of the Yelp community can also explain the high quality of the reviews regarding the writing style, text length, grammar, spelling and vocabulary. In fact, the review of the day (ROTD) works like a reward system for the reviewer. These reviews are elected as ROTD according to the website algorithm which claims to analyze whether the review is fake and the reviewer is reliable or not. The algorithm also takes into account the evaluation of the review by other community members. Therefore, psychological aspects such as the need for community identification (Veil, Buehner, & Palenchar, 2011), can explain why people might be attentive with their writing style and argumentation in order to be rewarded and "approved" by other members. The seeking for approval and recognition can also explain why the reviewers used less the appeal for *Pathos – Idioms* than all the other labels in the three business categories, since the high use of such idioms might affect the source and content credibility. This result is outstanding because the environment where these conversions occur, a social network, is generally where the use of neologisms and slangs is expected.

This study tried to make a parallel between the rhetorical appeals and the business types of the reviews. The distribution of the nine labels across the categories showed to be statically significant, so not only the content but also the frequency of rhetorical appeals was considered to answer the first additional research question: Are there differences in the application of rhetorical appeals in the business categories?

When comparing the use of rhetorical appeals between the reviews from each business category, some points are worth to be mentioned. The second most used label is *Logos –*

Narrative Example in the reviews from Bars & Nightlife and Food & Restaurant. However, *Ethos – Expertise* appears in such position for Beauty & Spas. This might be related to the similarity in the consumption nature of Bars & Nightlife and Food & Restaurants if compared to the third category of business. In fact, business from these categories have some common aspects in the nature of their service: consumers can purchase food and drinks in both of them, although they go there for different reasons. Also, they experience both service and product in such places, having a more complete and multi sensorial experience than in business from the category Beauty & Spas.

On the other hand, a notorious difference among these two categories appears in the use of *Pathos – Humor and Irony*. This appeal is more used in Bars & Nightlife than Food & Restaurants and Beauty & Spas. It might be explained by the motivation of this type of consumption: people go out for bars and clubs to have fun, so it makes sense that writers also appeal for humor to convince people how good the place is.

In Food & Restaurant, the use of *Ethos – Expertise* was also significant. In fact, it is difficult to talk about food without addressing personal taste. However, it might be too subjective and can compromise how the review is perceived. Thus, making a comparison with other places and past experiences and addressing personal expertise about the theme can be a way to be perceived as someone that knows what is talking about. This might also explain the high use of *Ethos – Expertise* for Beauty & Spas: the lack of more palpable proofs due the nature of the business, as said before, can motivate people to appeal for their character to make a point.

Goodwill is the type of ethos that is less used in the three categories. However, the act of posting reviews itself could be understood as an act of goodwill, since one of the reasons that motivate people to to do so, is the worry about other peers' members in a virtual community (Veil, Buehner, & Palenchar, 2011).

This exploratory study also attempted to investigate the use rhetorical appeals considering the whole set of reviews. Therefore, the second additional research question was: What types of ethos, pathos and logos are more likely to be used in consumer reviews?

The high use of Logos is outstanding. However, it is worth to say that the vast majority of the reviews showed at least two different major rhetorical appeals, not rarely presenting five different sub-labels in one text. Considering the mentioned characteristics regarding the quality of such reviews, this finding supports the the affirmation that a good persuasive content addresses all the appeals (Walker, 2005) because the set of studied reviews represent a select group of good texts posted in the website.

An interesting finding is the higher use *of Logos – Descriptive Example* rather than *Logos – Narrative Example*. Considering the characteristics of these two labels, it can be inferred that people are more likely to write about their general perceptions and conclusions after having a better overview of the place considering more than one experience before drawing a conclusion. The fact that reviewers give importance to their participation in such community also plays a role here: they might not want to use their voice and the space to talk about a place that does not deserve this in fact, so they might want be sure before telling people their perceptions. The need to keep a good reputation in the community might also be a factor.

Despite the fact that Pathos was less found in the reviews than the other appeals, it is important to notice that the appeal for emotions sometimes can be hidden behind others, functioning as a style of the writing. It was seen that people used emotional words to elicit facts sometimes, for instance. Therefore, although the appeal in such cases was considered Logos because of its message, the arousing of emotions was also there.

The analyzes reviews presented an extra feature: the rating scales. The readers had an active role evaluating the review by voting whether the review was "Useful", "Cool" or "Funny". Readers could also vote to more than one attribute, which was observed few times. This functionality brings the third additional research question: Is there a relation between the most frequent rhetorical appeal in consumer reviews and the rating of such reviews by other consumers?

When looking for the most voted attribute in each review, it was found that all the business categories had much more reviews voted as "Useful" rather than "Cool" or "Funny". A parallel can be traced with the fact that the most used rhetorical appeal is Logos. This finding can indirectly support the study of Willemsen, Neijens, Bronner, & de Ridder (2011), which shows that the perception of usefulness of a review is related to the argumentation and the level of argument density and diversity.

Other than the findings discussed, it was also observed a support of the persuasive power of online reviews (Constantinides, 2013). Reviewers repeatedly reported to check the community reviews about a place before trying it by themselves. In most cases they use such information to build their expectations and relate do the actual experience obtained in the business.

Finally, as showed in the result section, there are slight differences in the textual approach under the same sub-label (the different ways to appeal for *Ethos – Expertise*, for instance). These differences, however, were not big enough to configure different labels. It was not observed a specific relation between the use of such approaches to different business categories or other variables. Actually, the chosen approaches to address each rhetorical appeal seems to be more related to the writer's background and writing style rather than other variables.

5.1   Limitations and future research

This study analyzed a very specific set of reviews with unique characteristics. First, the data set is configured by only positive reviews from services because of the already mentioned features of the website: they affirm that ROTD are more likely to be positive due the posting behavior of their members, whose post far more positive reviews rather than negative ones. Thus, the findings might not be applicable for product reviews and reviews with negative tone. A future research could also analyze the use of rhetorical appeals by reviewers considering these variables. The investigation of the appeals used when the consumer is unsatisfied would be interesting. The comparison could also address the level of consumer involvement with the purchased product or service.

Another specific characteristic of this research is the cultural aspect. As argued by Higgins & Walker (2012), the classification of pathos relies in the intrinsic subjectivity of this mean of persuasion because there are ambiguous emotions and cultural or institution specifics regarding them. Therefore, it is worth to mention that the culture of both reviewers (North American) and the researcher and second coder (Latin American) might play a crucial role. The reviewers from other culture might appeal for different means of persuasion and researchers from other culture might perceive them differently. A future research could fill the doubt about this topic and Yelp would be a good source of data as well, since it has local pages in several countries.

Finally, a parallel between the most persuasive rhetorical appeal in both consumer-to-consumer and business-to-consumer conversations could be addressed in a future study.

5.2   Practical recommendations

Constantinides (2013) cites that one possible way for companies to make use of social media is considering these websites as a relevant source of information about their market and target. The willingness of users to interact, provide information, post product reviews and exchange experiences and recommendations enables companies to listen their customer voice in blogs, content communities and forums. Business evaluated in websites like Yelp, where the reviews tend provide detailed information, should pay attention not only to rating scale of reviews but also to the content of such conversations.

By looking deeply at it, marketers can have insights to understand what is actually important for the consumer: staff, ambiance, objectivity, samples and so on. On the other hand, despite the positive tone of the studied reviews, companies should pay attention to specific counterpoints mentioned in these narratives. Sometimes people mention a problem with staff or a delay that did not damage their perception about the place, but was responsible to not give the highest rate, for instance. They should not wait until it becomes a major problem to react.

Considering the apparent preference for reading and writing reviews with more factual basis, online stores should drive consumers to write their reviews in a more logical way. This can be achieved by structuring the review form into specific features of the purchase occasion, for example. It could lead a formation of a high quality data set of reviews, improving not only the other consumers' experiences with easy access to helpful reviews but also the data collected by the company, having a potential source of differentiation.

Marketers can also use the findings to improve the detection of reviews that have more or less potential to influence others and use them strategically. The possibilities include the placement of such reviews in a special place at their website or a digital marketing strategy involving the review and reviewer. This can also lead business to identify potential influencers and work with them by sending invitations, samples or discounts. The critical point in this active approach is whether the interaction seems artificial or not. In general, people would react negatively if they perceive any attempt to delude them with unauthentic reviews (Gass & Seiter, 2013). It is important to keep in mind that the trust in each community member is what makes these consumer-to-consumer conversations a unique and rich source of valuable information for both consumer and business.

6 CONCLUSION

Persuasion is everywhere. From the content made by advertisers to the communication made by normal people that do not aim to convince other peers explicitly or consciously. Consumer online reviews configure a source of persuasive discourse because despite of other psychological reasons to contribute for such consumer communities, people implicitly want to convince peers how good their choices are.

Classical rhetoric is the ancient art of persuasion. When combining this millenary set of theories with the content find in online consumer reviews, is possible to observe that classic rhetoric remains useful and applicable for the communication studies. Therefore, it is not for nothing that the theory remains valid.

The content analysis exploring the use of Ethos, Pathos and Logos in reviews from services pertaining three different business categories, shows that reviewers are more likely to use logical appeals to describe their experiences. They try to provide facts and logic to prove or illustrate their standpoint. This crucial finding can be related to the fact that most of the analyzed reviews were rated as useful by other consumers. Past studies showed that people tend to consider a review as useful when it provides facts. Notwithstanding, the perception of a more influencing review also relies at this point.

In the website from where the data was collected, users have a dual role: they can be reviewer and reader. Therefore, it is assumed that people tend to use more logical appeals in their consumer reviews because they replicate their own preference about helpful and persuasive reviews. It is not possible to infer, however, if this phenomenon occurs consciously, since these people do not write reviews professionally. On the other hand, people seem to strive to write a good review because of the moral obligation felt towards the community and already mentioned psychological needs.

The concern about what is said in the community can be also supported by the fact that people used more logical appeals based in more than one experience: they provided more facts summarizing other experiences than describing one try.

Despite the high use of logical appeals, in general the reviews addressed at least two different major appeal, not rarely presenting five different sub-labels. Since the reviews analyzed configures a sample of what is considered the best reviews in the website, this study can support the notion that a good persuasive message present the three rhetorical appeal, addressing therefore all the human dimensions and concerning to the message, the character and the audience.

It is important to address the persuasiveness of online reviews. Writers cited several time their previous research about the business before trying it by themselves. The consumer empowerment and the raise of their voice through social media is real and impacting: they trust more in each other words than paid advertising. On the other hand, companies willing to improve their services can take advantage of it. Social media can work as a valuable source of information and bring insights for improving.

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