

Discourse in the Professions

Perspectives from corpus linguistics

Edited by

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Rhetorical appeals in fundraising direct mail letters

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Background

As the previous chapter by Connor and Upton showed, philanthropic discourse is persuasive in nature. Fundraising letters represent the most common form of philanthropic discourse. They sell charitable objectives to donors. The letters need to arouse the readers' interest, and convince them of the worthiness of the cause for which he/she is donating money. People want to be wise in making investments of their money.

Direct mail letters in non-profit fundraising well represent the genre of promotional texts. Their purpose is to sell a product, in the case of a direct mail fundraising letter, a good cause. Despite their importance, they are not well understood.

A whole industry has developed around direct mail letters in non-profits as fundraising experts offer advice for fundraisers in books and newsletters and how to make them more effective. However, a great deal of emphasis is put on the physical appearance of the letter, saying little on how to structure the text itself. Language use, with the exception of reference to the *you* emphasis popular in American business letter writing, does not appear to be an important consideration in most "how to" resources. Even though donor segmentation is recommended, no specific advice is given about how to appeal to specific audiences.

Linguists' interest in the direct mail letters is relatively new. The first published research by linguists on the direct mail letter for fundraising purposes was done by Mann and Thompson (1992), whose edited volume provided analyses of a single direct mail letter by a number of well-known linguists.

Mann and Thompson's volume showcased the merits of particular linguistic/rhetorical analyses (such as the Rhetorical Structure Theory and the Topical Structure Analysis). However, the purpose of the volume was not necessarily advancing knowledge about the fundraising letter as a text type. Abelen, Redeker, and Thompson's (1993) treatise comparing the rhetorical structure of U.S. and Dutch fundraising letters, on the other hand, was really the first to provide a great deal of valuable information about the direct mail fundraising letter as an object of linguistic/rhetorical study.

In order to understand the nature of philanthropic discourse, the Indiana Center of Intercultural Communication (ICIC) Corpus of Philanthropic Fundraising Discourse was collected, serving as a resource for several recent publications. Among them, Upton (2002) studied the rhetorical moves structures in 245 fundraising letters of the corpus and suggested a prototypical successful letter. Connor and Upton (2003) analyzed the same letters using Biber's multidimensional analysis. Their results showed that fundraising letters resemble other planned written discourse such as academic papers rather than informal and interactive discourse.

These previous ICIC linguistic studies have contributed a great deal to our understanding of fundraising letters as a unique genre. However, persuasion in those letters has not been the focus of study in previous ICIC research. As is known from scholarship on persuasion, recipients of letters can be persuaded through three kinds of evidence: rational (*logos*), credibility (*ethos*), or affective/emotional (*pathos*). Persuasion, as argued by Burke (1969), Young, Becker, Pike (1970), and Lauer et al. (1985), integrates these three appeals in the effort to effect cooperation and identification with the audience.

The goals of the present study were to develop an operational system of the three persuasive appeals (*logos*, *ethos*, and *pathos*) that would help researchers and practitioners examine fundraising discourse from a rhetorical and linguistic standpoint. The developed system was applied to a corpus of 245 fundraising direct mail letters from the ICIC fundraising corpus described in more detail by Connor and Upton (see Connor and Upton this volume). This paper will first describe methods used to set up a rhetorical appeals system. Second, it will provide the results of the application of the rhetorical appeals system to 245 direct mail letters, followed by the discussion of the study. Finally, results from some preliminary analyses of word frequencies and key words in the appeals will be presented.

Development of the rhetorical appeals system

In order to evaluate the degree of persuasion in the direct mail letters, a working system of appeals was needed. Such a system was found in Connor and Lauer's (1985) work on persuasive writing. This system of persuasive strategies was designed and successfully used for teaching and evaluating college-level students' argumentative essays. It includes 23 persuasive appeals with 14 rational appeals (*logos*), 4 credibility appeals (*ethos*), and 5 affective appeals (*pathos*). The direct sources of the appeals were the works of Aristotle and the "new rhetorician" Chaim Perelman (1982). The Connor and Lauer (1985) system is shown in Figure 1.

Rational Appeals

1. Descriptive Example
2. Narrative Example
3. Classification, including definition
4. Comparison, including analogy
5. Contrast
6. Degree
7. Authority
8. Cause/Effect
9. Model
10. Stage in Process
11. Means/End
12. Consequences
13. Ideal or Principle
14. Information

Credibility Appeals

15. First Hand Experience
16. Showing Writer's Respect for Audience's Interests and Point of View
17. Showing Writer-Audience Shared Interests and Points of View
18. Showing Writer's Good Character and/or Judgment

Affective Appeals

19. Emotion in Audience's Situation
20. Empathy with Audience
21. Audiences Values
22. Vivid Picture
23. Charged Language

Figure 1. Connor and Lauer's (1985) system of persuasive appeals

The system was applied to the corpus of 245 direct mail letters. A team of three researchers trained in the Connor and Lauer system identified appeals in the letters. The raters worked separately. After the individual identification of the appeals was finished, the researchers together discussed the applicability of the system.

Since Connor and Lauer's system of persuasive strategies was developed for persuasive essay writing and not for the purpose of analyzing fundraising discourse, adjustments were needed. It was decided to combine three of Connor and Lauer's rational appeals – cause/effect (R_8), means/end (R_{11}), and consequences (R_{12}) – into one. In fundraising letters, these three appeals often merge and are similar to each other. Therefore, in the current system it was deemed necessary to combine them into an appeal titled: Cause/Effect, Means/End, Consequences (R_8). Furthermore, affective appeals A_{19} (Emotions in Audience's Situation) and A_{20} (Empathy with the Audience) in Connor and Lauer's system do not appear in our system because there was not enough evidence in the direct mail letters to support them as self-standing appeals. Rather, *Emotions* and *Empathy* were found to be embedded in other appeals, such as *Vivid Picture*, *Charged Language* and *Showing Writer's Respect for Audience's Interests and Points of View*. As a result, the negotiation of the differences as well as the consideration of the overall distribution of appeals resulted in the modification of Connor and Lauer's (1985) system of 23 appeals into a system of 19 appeals, as shown in Figure 2.

After the finalization of the appeals to be used in the analysis, two researchers analyzed a sample of 50 letters from the 245 direct mail letters in order to ascertain a coefficient of interrater reliability and to test the applicability of the modified system. The total number of appeals identified was 463. The number of appeals with disagreement was only 38, which resulted in a high reliability coefficient of $r = .92$. Some of the initial definitions of appeals were further refined in order to better describe fundraising discourse. Definitions and examples of the appeals in the developed system can be found in Appendix A. The following section describes the final system and the theoretical basis for it.

Rational appeals (logos)

"Persuasion is effected by the arguments, when we demonstrate the truth, real or apparent" (Aristotle 1932:xlii). Rational arguments are designed to appeal

Rational Appeals

- R1. Descriptive Example
- R2. Narrative Example
- R3. Classification
- R4. Comparison
- R5. Contrast
- R6. Degree
- R7. Authority
- R8. Cause/Effect – Means/End – Consequences
- R9. Model
- R10. Stage in Process
- R11. Ideal or Principle
- R12. Information

Credibility

- C13. First-Hand Experience
- C14. Showing Writer's Respect for Audience's Interests and Points of View
- C15. Showing Writer-Audience Shared Interests and Points of View
- C16. Showing Writer's Good Character and/or Judgment

Affective

- A17. Appealing to the Audience's Views
- A18. Vivid Picture
- A19. Charged Language

Figure 2. List of rhetorical appeals for analyzing fundraising letters

to the sensible and rational aspect of the reader's mind.

The first type of argument in Aristotelian persuasion is *Arguing by Example*. "This means of persuasion corresponds to the process of induction and induction is the basis of all reasoning" (Aristotle 1932: 147). By induction, the author means deriving a general assumption from a particular case. For instance, in a direct mail letter, the writer uses a compelling narrative example, which contains a beginning, middle, and end of a story.

Ted is a single father with three children under 10. He's never been on welfare and he's always had a job doing manual labor... There was a time when he felt like he had no choice but to tolerate his wife's constant abuse and neglect of their children. Then Ted decided the children deserved a chance to start over in another town, no matter how difficult it might prove to be.

The author of this description is trying to make the reader see the dreadfulness

of the situation. Moreover, reading this example describing one family, the reader, according to the logical rule of induction, infers a general conclusion that such an example is true of a number of families. Such a conclusion makes the reader willing to react to this appeal. As Aristotle (1932: 14) mentioned, the argument by example concerns the relation of like to like; consequently, when two things fall under the same type, one can be an example, and the other is exemplified. Depicting a family of a certain type, the author exemplifies all families of this particular type, thus intensifying the effect of the appeal by implying that the number of unhappy families is actually bigger than just one. As one can see, *Aristotelian Argument by Example* corresponds to the appeal of *Descriptive Example* (R_1) as well as *Narrative Example* (R_2) in our system.

Another type of argument found in Aristotle's theory is the argument of *Classification* (R_3). This kind of argument places a person or a thing into a certain class and then offers defining features. As Aristotle explained, a man defines himself as being akin to a certain class of noble people so that his deeds would seem more noble (Aristotle 1932: 163). Our example of Classification is as follows: "In joining SCS, you join the ranks of those who believe that bringing art and art education to the city makes life better, richer, and more rewarding for the entire community." By making this rational appeal, the writer classifies and then defines the reader as a member of a noble group by making him *akin* to a limited circle of noble and distinguished individuals.

The next two appeals, *Comparison* (R_4) and *Contrast* (R_5), build a logical argument on the relationship of like to like. In a fundraising letter, the appeal of Comparison sounds as follows: "Our faculty-student ratio is 1:27. For law schools in the United States, the range of faculty-student ratios is from 1:13 to 1:35, but well over half of the law schools in the country have better ratios than we do."

Comparison supports a conclusion about a subject from a description of a related subject; as in our example, the conclusion about one law school can be made from descriptions of other law schools. Unlike Comparison, the appeal of Contrast supports conclusion on a subject by describing its counterpart. For instance:

Unfortunately, our view of the importance of philanthropy is not shared by all Americans. Many see philanthropy as no more than the grand gestures of the rich. They do not understand, as you do, that the museums, parks,

hospitals and community organizations supported by philanthropy are the cornerstones of our very quality of life.

In this example, the writer's opinion of the donor is raised by denigrating his/her counterparts – people who do not donate.

Rational appeal of *Degree* (R_6) in Aristotle's original theory is called an argument of *More or Less*. The rational principle of this argument, according to Aristotle (1932: 161), is expressed by the following example: if the less frequent thing occurs, then the more frequent thing would occur. In fundraising discourse, one comes across the appeal of Degree in the form of asking for an increase in donations. For instance: "Please consider an increase in your contribution to the Girls Scout Annual Campaign". By employing this appeal, the writer implies that if the donor has already given X amount of money. The next logical step would then be to increase their donation.

One type of argument based on Perelman's category of person is the appeal of *Authority* (R_7) (Perelman 1982). The argument of Authority relies on the consistency between a person and his/her activities. In the argument from the authority, prestige is the quality that leads others to imitate acts of authoritative people. The Authority appeal in fundraising discourse employs a distinguished name to make the reader act under the influence of someone who is authoritative. For example: "Pat LaCrosse asked me to send this information inviting you to join the Georgia O'Keefe Circle of the Indianapolis Museum of Art's Second Century Society (SCS)." The author used the name of Pat LaCrosse without explaining who this person is. The author assumes that the reader will be acquainted with Pat LaCrosse and will consider his actions authoritative. "The example of the great is a rhetorician of such power that it can persuade people to commit the most infamous acts" (Perelman 1982: 217). An important name brings the flavor of authoritativeness to the discourse and makes it even more persuasive by presenting a model to be imitated by the reader.

The appeal of *Cause/Effect – Means/End – Consequences* (R_8) stems from both Aristotle and Perelman's (Perelman 1982: 83) theories. According to Aristotle, "Since it commonly happens that a given thing has consequences both good and bad, you may argue from these [to their antecedents] in urging or dissuading, in prosecuting or defending, in praising or blaming" (Aristotle 1932: 166). This appeal helps the writer to urge action on the reader's part by forecasting effects, consequences, or ends. Perelman adds, "Consequences can be observed or foreseen, ascertained or presumed. It is the truth of an idea

that can only be judged by its effects” (Perelman 1982: 83). Thus, the writers of direct mail letters often employ the Cause/Effect – Means/End – Consequences appeal to let the reader evaluate an event through its described outcomes. For instance: “As one of only a few zoos in the country that receives no local, state, or federal tax support, IZS must depend on donations for general operating funds from corporations like yours...” Here, the reader is urged to contribute in order to supply necessary funds to the organization that “receives no local, state, or federal tax support,” and as a consequence – “must depend on donations...”

The appeal of *Model* (R_9), as discussed by Perelman, provides the reader with a description of the way a proposed end can be achieved. A working model reflects and supports the current case by a precedent. For instance:

A group of your colleagues recently volunteered to help set the priorities for this campaign. They surveyed members of the staff and faculty councils, administrators and others and learned that we at IUPUI have a number of vital concerns.

Here, the author gives the reader a precedent – “A group of your colleagues recently volunteered...” – to make him/her follow this model and take the same actions.

Stage in Process (R_{10}) is also an important argument in the theory of persuasion. According to Perelman, this appeal is used when a gap exists between the concept accepted by the audience and the proposal the writer is defending. The gap is closed by showing how the proposed action can be a stage in a process. “Instead of going from A to D, one offers to lead the interlocutor first to B than to C and finally to D” (Perelman 1982: 87). In other words, when the audience might think that the distance between the initial and final stage or goal of the process is impossible to cover, the writer creates one or more middle stages or transitional goals, which, in audience’s opinion would be easier to reach. For instance:

Three years ago, the Heritage Trust set aside land for the restoration of the Limberlost Swamp, near Geneva in eastern Indiana. Now, wildlife is returning to the area. Egrets, ducks and geese now gather at waterfowl resting ponds in large numbers; and native prairie grass has been planted to return natural diversity and other wildlife to the area.

Before the author indicates the final step, which in this case would be “to return natural diversity...to the area”, he reviews what steps have been taken

– “set aside land for restoration..., native prairie grass has been planted,” – in the long process of achieving the final goal – “to return natural diversity...to the area.”

The rational appeal of *Ideal or Principle* (R_{11}) also helps persuade readers. “A convincing discourse is one whose premises are universalizable, that is acceptable in principle to all members of the universal audience” (Perelman 1982: 18). While persuading the audience, the writer should show that his/her argument is based on a universal principle that is accepted by all members of the audience. As Perelman (1982: 20) noted further, universal values play a key role in argumentation because they allow us to present specific values as more determined and, thus, logically easier to establish. In the fundraising letters, an example of this appeal occurs as follows:

The mission of the Indianapolis Zoological Society is to provide recreational learning experiences for the citizens of Indiana through the exhibition and presentation of natural environment in a way to foster a sense of discovery, stewardship, and the need to preserve the Earth’s plants and animals. In short, the Society is about connecting animals, plants and people.

In this example, the writer establishes a specific value: “...providing recreational learning experience...through the exhibition of natural environment” under a universal value – “connecting animals, plants and people.” If all members of the audience agree on the fact that bringing animals, plants and people together is valuable, then they would more quickly agree on a more determined value of learning the environment through the exhibition.

The last rational appeal, *Information* (R_{12}), also contributes to successful persuasion. “The speaker must, first of all, be provided with a special selection of premises (facts)... The more facts he has at his command, the more easily he will make the point” (Aristotle 1932: 157). The appeal of *Information* presents facts and statistics and gives definiteness to the writer’s argument. The writers of fundraising letters must persuade the audience not by vague generalities, but by providing the reader with accurate and meaningful numbers. For example:

Through the efforts of about 300 volunteers, nearly \$89,900 was raised through the IUPUI Campus Campaign. Almost 900 of us made new gifts in support of the things we care about. Together with those who were already donors, there are over 1,350 staff and faculty supporting the work of IUPUI with their gifts.

The numbers in this paragraph show the reader the definiteness of the writer’s point on the one hand, and on the other they demonstrate that the writer is

knowledgeable on the subject.

To conclude this section on rational appeals, it can be stated that rational appeals are used to target the logical and rational side of the audience's mind (*logos*). These twelve arguments are employed by the writers to demonstrate the truth to the reader in a persuasive way. As Perelman (1982:13) noted, one of the aims of persuasive discourse, and, consequently, of fundraising discourse, is to make the reader admit the truth and to provoke him/her to take an immediate or eventual action. However, one should remember that, apart from *logos*, persuasion is also effected through *ethos*, the character of the writer.

Credibility appeals (*ethos*)

According to Aristotle, the discourse must not only convince through the argument, it must create a trustworthy image of the speaker.

The character of the speaker is a cause of persuasion when the speech is so uttered as to make him worthy of belief; for as a rule we trust men of probity more, and more quickly about things in general, while on points outside the realm of exact knowledge, where opinion is divided we trust them absolutely. (Aristotle 1932:8)

In fundraising discourse, the writer plays an important role because the goal of direct mail letters is to elicit a response from the audience in the form of giving money to a particular non-profit organization. It is almost always the case in direct mail letters that the organization is represented by the writer. Since the trustworthiness and reliability of the organization can be a crucial factor in the donor's decision whether to give money or not, then it is the writer's responsibility to create such an image of him/herself and the institution in the letter that he/she would be thought of as a reliable and unfailing person.

According to Aristotle, the speaker should be a person of intelligence, virtue, and good will (Aristotle 1932:92). In fundraising discourse, there are four appeals that are used to create in the audience a positive attitude toward the writer as a person of intelligence, virtue and good will.

The first credibility appeal is the appeal of *First Hand Experience* (C_{13}). In fundraising discourse, it is used as a technique for providing information directly from the writer's experiences, thus, establishing the writer's credibility; it gives the impression that the writer is knowledgeable and versed on the subject he/she is writing about. An example follows:

Purdue has been a part of my life for as long as I can remember. I was raised in West Lafayette. As I grew older, I realized more and more that Purdue isn't just a state institution; it is a public university. Moreover, it is a world-class university.

This example indicates that the writer is a knowledgeable person, who knows and cares about Purdue University. Thus, the author of the letter tries to create an impression of him/herself as an individual of intelligence and virtue through the display of deep respect and gratitude for the place where he/she was educated: "Purdue isn't just a state institution; it is a public university...it is a world class university."

The next appeal centers on *Showing Writer's Respect for Audience's Interests and Points of View* (C₁₄) and is employed to create the necessary impression of a good willed writer in the audience's mind. This appeal often takes the form of the writer's appreciation for what the donors have done for the organization. For example,

In looking back at the last decade, we at the Indianapolis Zoological Society (IZS) wish to express our sincere thanks to all companies who have helped us to achieve so many successes at the Indianapolis Zoo and White River Gardens.

Since he/she is so appreciative of the noble and virtuous deeds of others, the audience would consider the writer as a man of good will.

When a writer acknowledges shared values and ideas that are held with the audience, this reflects the credibility appeal. Using this appeal, the author builds up solidarity with the audience by making himself a part of it. For example:

Because if you and I truly want to preserve philanthropy as a way of life, we must make certain that Americans everywhere take philanthropy seriously, that they talk about it, debate it, challenge it, and ultimately keep it alive as a cherished tradition.

The last of the credibility appeals is based on *Showing Writer's Good Character and/or Judgment* (C₁₆). It implies the same Aristotelian ideas of intelligence, virtue, and good will, but is focused on the creation of the image of the writer. In the case of this appeal, the author may take a subjective stance to make a judgment. For example: "Who helps Randy break a cycle of violence and become a better dad? Who helps Michael, who has spina bifida, learn to talk, dress himself, and get around independently? Without you, no one." Such a

judgment should work towards contributing to the positive image of the writer in the reader's eye. By making positive comments about the reader, a positive *helping* character, the writer urges the reader to view him/her as a person of good intentions, because it takes good will to notice and appreciate the good deeds of others.

To conclude the discussion about credibility appeals (*ethos*), it can be stated that persuasion cannot be effective without taking into consideration the role of the writer's image. According to Aristotle, the writer should make the audience see him/her as an individual of three basic merits: intelligence, virtue, and good will. So far, we have talked about the role of rationality and credibility in the theory of persuasion; however, Aristotle defined a third essential aspect of persuasion theory, namely, emotional or affective appeals (*pathos*).

Affective appeals (*pathos*)

"Persuasion is effected through the audience when they are brought by the speech into a state of emotion; for we give very different decisions under the sway of pain or joy, liking or hatred" (Aristotle 1932: 9). Emotions can serve as an impulse to take a certain action, and very often the audience will look at the presented case through the prism of their emotions. As Aristotle mentioned, to the audience that is eager and hopeful, the proposed object will seem as a valuable and worthy thing, while to the audience that is pessimistic and distrustful, the same object will seem the opposite (1932: 91). The following discussion presents the three appeals that are used in fundraising discourse to target the emotional aspect of audience's mind.

Appealing to the Audience's Views (A_{17}) arouses emotions in the reader by addressing his/her attitudinal and moral values. In fundraising discourse, this appeal can take the form of a direct request to donate, for this or that reason. For instance: "Please make a tax-deductible gift to Community Centers of Indianapolis in 1999, and know that <company> is playing an important part in meeting the needs of its community." In this example, the author makes an emotional appeal to donate followed by a reason for the donation. The word *tax-deductible* also appeals to the audience's values, suggesting that the donor also may profit by way of cutting his/her tax.

The next affective appeal, *Vivid Picture* (A_{18}), is very important to persuasion theory in the sense that it creates the effect of the presence of a reader in a situation depicted by the writer. "It is when suffering seems near to them

that men pity; as for disasters that are ten thousand years off in the past or the future, men cannot remember or anticipate them and either feel no pity at all for them" (Aristotle 1932: 122). According to Aristotle, the more temporarily and spatially close the event is to the audience, the more emotionally involved the audience will be. Consequently, the writer, trying to persuade the audience, needs to bring an object as close to the audience as possible. For example:

Do you remember how wonderful and how proud you felt in 1980 when the young United States Hockey Team beat the powerful Soviet Team 4–3, and then went on to beat Finland 4–2 for the gold... or in 1984 when 16 year old Mary Lou Retton, needing a 9.95 in her final event to tie for first place in the all around Gymnastics competition, vaulted her way to the gold by scoring a perfect 10?

The effect of presence acts upon the reader's sensibility. Putting the statement into the form of a question involves the reader and makes him/her look for the answer and thus, makes him present at the event that took place long ago. Another aspect of this appeal in this letter is the focus on details: "beat...the team 4–3 ...16 year old...needing 9.95...scoring 10." Perelman (1982: 37) noted that "it is useful to insist upon certain elements; in prolonging the attention; given them, their presence in the consciousness of the audience is increased." Dwelling on the details creates desired emotions in the reader. Thus, creating a Vivid Picture is an essential appeal to arouse desired emotions in the reader.

The last appeal in the system, *Charged Language* (A_{19}) is the appeal that usually arouses emotions of anger and indignation. The language that is used by the writer to evince those emotions has a negative connotation. As Aristotle (1932: 122) said, the writer should "heighten the effect of his description with fitting attitudes, tones, and dress." The emotions should be appropriate to the subject, and if the writer wants the audience to experience anger, he needs to be angry in his language. For instance: "When it comes to the misuse and destruction of our natural areas, reality is not only harsh, it is deadly. Once they are developed or altered, and their fragile ecosystems are disrupted, we lose them forever." Such words as "misuse," "destruction," "harsh," "deadly," "lose...forever" are charged with negative emotions. While employing such an "angry" description, the writer attempts to make the audience experience *relevant* emotion. Consequently, being in a relevant emotional condition, the readers might take a relevant action.

Application of the system to the ICIC fundraising letters data

The ICIC Fundraising Corpus was described in the previous chapter. Each of the 245 letters in the corpus was scanned into a computer and double-checked for accuracy. Each letter was then coded to indicate non-profit field, organization, and organization size (based on income). This information was obtained through questionnaires and interviews conducted with the agencies represented in the corpus.

The system of 19 rhetorical appeals was applied to the 245 fundraising letters. First, a sample of 12 letters was evaluated to ensure a high coefficient of interrater reliability. Three trained researchers worked separately on the identification of appeals in their copies of the sample. After the negotiation of differences in the analysis and finalization of the system, another sample of 50 letters was analyzed to test the level of agreement among the raters. After all the discrepancies were negotiated, the other 183 direct mail letters were put to analysis. Each occurrence of a particular appeal in the letters was identified, coded, and then, manually counted. The results of the analysis are presented in the following section.

Results and discussion

The results are shown in Tables 1 and 2. The overall number of appeals in the 245 sample letters was 1,829. Table 1 shows the breakdown of numbers and percentages of appeals by appeal type (rational, credibility, and affective) and by non-profit field. The overall percentage of rational appeals in all letters was 48% percent; the corresponding percentages for credibility and affective appeals were 25% and 28% percent, respectively. Table 1 indicates that the use of rational appeal was quite consistent across all six fields; however, the high amounts of use in the Health and Human Services and Environment fields (55% and 47%) were unexpected, since one might expect more emotional appeals in these fields.

Concerning the use of credibility appeals, Table 1 shows that Education had the highest percentage of credibility appeals (30%), Health and Human Services the lowest percentage (18%), with Environment (23%), Community Development (24%), Arts and Culture (27%), and Other Organizations (25%) falling in between. The high percentage of credibility appeals in Education

Table 1. Appeals counts totals and percentages in 245 letters by non-profit field

	Rational appeals	Credibility appeals	Affective appeals	TOTAL
All Letters				
Total Appeals (245 letters)	870 48%	453 25%	606 28%	1829
Health and Human Services (74 letters)	320 55%	104 18%	153 27%	577
Environment (10 letters)	43 47%	21 23%	27 30%	91
Community Development (10 letters)	34 49%	17 24%	19 27%	70
Education (108 letters)	316 44%	214 30%	193 27%	723
Arts and Culture (37 letters)	138 44%	83 27%	91 29%	312
Other (6 letters)	19 34%	14 25%	23 41%	56

reflects the relationship between the writer representing educational agencies and the target audience. Most of the letters in the corpus come from Indiana University schools, such as the School of Dentistry, the School of Law, and the School of Liberal Arts. These letters were addressed to former students of IU and were, for the most part, authored by faculty personally acquainted with the addressees. In the letters, the writers stress the interpersonal connection with students so that the students would find the information in the letter credible and, thus, more appealing.

As indicated in Table 1, 41% of the appeals in the letters representing Other Organizations were affective appeals, which is significantly higher than any other field. The letters in this category represent mainly religious organizations such as Saint Meinrad, the Church Federation of Greater Indianapolis, Elijah

Table 2. Individual appeals counts and percentages in 245 letters by non-profit field

Appeal	Health and Human Services		Environment		Community Development		Education		Arts and Culture		Other	Total		
R1	23	3.99%	1	1.10%	2	2.86%	7	0.97%	2	0.64%	0	0.00%	35	1.91%
R2	15	2.60%	2	2.20%	3	4.29%	2	0.28%	1	0.32%	0	0.00%	23	1.26%
R3	9	1.56%	3	3.30%	2	1.43%	16	2.21%	7	2.24%	0	0.00%	36	1.97%
R4	2	0.35%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	5	0.69%	5	1.60%	0	0.00%	12	0.66%
R5	11	1.91%	1	1.10%	0	0.00%	4	0.55%	2	0.64%	2	3.57%	20	1.09%
R6	26	4.51%	3	3.30%	3	4.29%	19	2.63%	10	3.21%	0	0.00%	61	3.34%
R7	6	1.04%	3	3.30%	5	7.14%	20	2.77%	9	2.88%	4	7.14%	47	2.57%
R8	74	12.82%	7	7.69%	4	5.71%	67	9.27%	34	10.90%	2	3.57%	188	10.28%
R9	1	0.17%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	4	0.55%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	5	0.27%
R10	20	3.47%	2	2.20%	3	4.29%	46	6.36%	7	2.24%	2	3.57%	80	4.37%
R11	18	3.12%	0	0.00%	3	4.29%	16	2.21%	2	0.64%	0	0.00%	39	2.13%
R12	115	19.93%	21	23.00%	10	14.29%	110	15.21%	59	18.91%	9	16.07%	324	17.71%
R Total	320	55.46%	43	47.25%	34	48.57%	316	43.71%	138	44.23%	19	33.93%	870	47.57%
C13	22	3.81%	1	1.10%	5	7.14%	56	7.75%	16	5.13%	2	3.57%	102	5.58%
C14	63	10.92%	15	16.48%	8	11.43%	124	17.15%	61	19.55%	10	17.86%	281	15.36%
C15	10	1.73%	2	2.20%	0	0.00%	23	3.18%	4	1.28%	1	1.79%	40	2.19%
C16	9	1.56%	3	3.30%	4	5.71%	11	1.52%	2	0.64%	1	1.79%	30	1.64%
C Total	104	18.02%	21	23.08%	17	24.29%	214	29.60%	83	26.60%	14	25.00%	453	24.77%
A17	107	18.54%	18	19.78%	13	18.57%	161	22.27%	73	23.40%	15	26.79%	387	21.16%
A18	35	6.07%	7	7.69%	4	5.71%	30	4.15%	18	5.77%	6	10.71%	100	5.47%
A19	11	1.91%	2	2.20%	2	2.86%	2	0.28%	0	0.00%	2	3.57%	19	1.04%
A Total	153	26.25%	27	29.67%	19	27.14%	193	26.69%	91	29.17%	23	41.01%	506	27.67%
Total	577		91		70		723		312		56		1829	

House, etc. As the appeals analysis demonstrates, writers for these mostly religious organizations address the audience through the extensive use of affective appeals.

Concerning the use of individual appeals in the letters, Table 2 shows separate appeal counts and percentages.

As Table 2 indicates, among rational appeals, appeals R_8 (Cause/Effect – Means/End – Consequences) and R_{12} (Information) had the highest percentages: 10.28 % and 17.71%, respectively. The credibility appeal that occurred most often was appeal C_{14} (Showing Writer's Respect for Audience's Interests and Points of View); the percentage was 15.36%, as compared to 5.58% in the case of C_{13} (First hand experience), 2.19% of C_{15} (Showing Writer-Audience Shared Interests and Points of View), and 1.64% of C_{16} (Showing Writer's Good Character and/or Judgment).

Among affective appeals, the highest percentage (21.16%) occurred with appeal A_{17} (Appealing to the Audience's Views). The other two types of affective appeals A_{18} (Vivid Picture) and A_{19} (Charged Language) appeared in the letters much less frequently: 5.47% and 1.04%, respectively. These numbers were quite consistent across fields.

In summary, the results of the application of the rhetorical appeals system to 245 fundraising letters show that all three major types of appeals are used: rational, credibility, and affective. However, the extent of the use of these appeals in the letters is not equal. As the study shows, the writers of fundraising letters choose, for the most part, to persuade the audience through the use of the rational appeal. As a matter of fact, in some of the non-profit fields, it is used almost twice as much as credibility and affective appeals combined.

As far as the use of individual appeals is concerned, we can conclude that the most extensively used rational appeals are the ones that provide the audience with the beneficial results or consequences of a particular philanthropic program (R_8), and those appeals that provide the reader with information about the organization (R_{12}). The credibility of the organization is most often achieved when the writers demonstrate appreciation of the donor's past actions (C_{14}) and less often by stressing organization-donor shared interests and goals (C_{15}). Among the affective appeals, the emotional appeal to the donor's views and attitudes, which in fundraising texts takes the form of a direct request for donation, stands out as the most frequently used individual appeal.

Computerized analysis of letters

To begin to answer questions about whether fundraising letters are semantically different from other texts and whether individual rhetorical appeals can be characterized by the words used in them, a computerized analysis with WordSmith Tools 3.0 software was used. The sample of 245 letters was sorted into two different electronic versions. In one version the beginning and the end of the rhetorical appeals were indicated with the word *begin* (name of the appeal) and *end* (name of the appeal), respectively. Thus, the rhetorical appeals were indicated by tags in each of the fundraising letters.

Another version included the rhetorical appeals sorted by type. For this version, the rhetorical appeals of the same type were taken from all original letters and put into a separate electronic text file. For example, part of a text that starts with *begin...*(name of the appeal) and ends with *end...*(name of the same appeal) was copied from every letter where such an appeal was found and pasted into a text document. As a result, we had 19 text files, named after each individual rhetorical appeal.

The first version was necessary for running the word frequency counts on all of the letters and to compare WordSmith generated frequency lists of six non-profit sectors to the frequency wordlist of the Bank of General English, as cited by Hunston (2002, p. 5). Frequency wordlists comparisons show the differences in the frequency of the words used in different corpora. In this research, we compared the frequency wordlists of a non-profit corpus with the Bank of General English.

The second version of separated rhetorical appeals gave us the opportunity to run frequency wordlist analysis on separate appeals and to examine frequency differences in the use of lexical items between the Bank of General English and each individual appeal. Also, this version allows for the keywords analysis of the individual rhetorical appeals. Keywords analysis displays how one corpus is different from the reference corpus. In our case, keywords were generated by comparing wordlists of each individual appeal to the general wordlist of all fundraising letters in the sample.

Table 3. Frequency lists of British National Corpus and the fundraising letters by non-profit field

British National Corpus	Fundraising Corpus	Health/Human Services	Community Development	Environment	Arts/ Culture
THE	THE	THE	THE	THE	THE
OF	TO	AND	AND	TO	OF
TO	AND	TO	TO	OF	TO
AND	OF	OF	OF	AND	AND
IN	A	A	A	A	IN
THAT	IN	IN	IN	IN	A
S	FOR	FOR	FOR	YOU	FOR
IS	YOU	YOU	WITH	WE	YOU
IT	YOUR	YOUR	I	YOUR	OUR
FOR	OUR	OUR	YOU	OUR	YOUR
I	THAT	THAT	THAT	FOR	SCHOOL
WAS	IS	WE	AS	IS	IS
ON	WE	AREA	IS	THAT	WE
HE	ARE	IS	WE	WITH	THAT
WITH	WITH	HELP	OUR	BY	ARE
AS	WILL	WITH	DISABLED	ARE	WILL
YOU	AS	WILL	BUSINESS	IT	AS
BE	I	I	AT	THIS	THIS
AT	THIS	HAVE	ON	WILL	BE
BY	HAVE	AS	MIYARES	AUDUBON	I
BUT	BE	CAN	HAVE	BE	WITH
HAVE	AT	PEOPLE	THEIR	OR	HAVE
ARE	SCHOOL	AT	WAS	AN	STUDENTS
HIS	ON	THIS	FROM	AS	AT
FROM	BY	BE	BE	AT	LAW
THEY	SUPPORT	SUPPORT	MORE	CAN	SUPPORT
THIS	FROM	FROM	THEY	MORE	BY
NOT	AN	THEIR	ARE	ON	ON
HAD	CAN	AN	BY	TAX	AN
HAS	OR	BY	HIS	HAVE	FROM
AN	HELP	ON	THIS	BEAUTIFUL	OR
WE	YEAR	CHILDREN	YOUR	US	YEAR
N'T	IT	COMMUNITY	CHILDREN	INDIANAPOLIS	ALUMNI
OR	MORE	GIFT	OR	IF	INDIANA

Table 4. Results of keyword analysis of individual appeals

C13	C14	C15	A17	R1	R2
I	YOU	WE	YOUR	SHE	HE
MY	YOUR		PLEASE	JOB	HIS
AM	PLEASE		YOU	HER	WAS
WAS	GIFT		GIFT	I	MIYARES
GIFT	THANK		TAX	WAS	JOB
YOUR	ENCLOSED		CONTRIBUTION	MY	HIM
	CONTRIBUTION		CONSIDER	YMCA	HER
	TAX		HELP	HIS	SHE
	HOPE		TODAY	WILL	WANDA
	CONSIDER		ENCLOSED	YOUR	BLIND
	SUPPORT		ENVELOPE	YOU	HAD
	CARD		CARD		BABY
	ENVELOPE		WILL		BUT
	US		DONATION		
DISABLED					
	TODAY		RETURN		WERE
	DONATION		MAKE		MOTHER
	IF		JOIN		
WANDA'S					
	HELP		CHECK		GIFT
	MAKE		HOPE		WILL
	RETURN		SEND		SCHOOL
	ANY		DEDUCTIBLE		YOU
	I		PLEDGE		ARE
	PLEDGE		US		
	CHECK		RECEIVE		
	OR		TO		
	JOIN		MEMBERSHIP		
	CALL				
	WILL				
	JOB				
	THEY				
	MR				
	HOME				
	PRESIDENT				

Note. C13 – Credibility Appeal “First-Hand Experience”
 C14 – Credibility Appeal “Showing Writer’s Respect for Audience’s Interests and Points of View”
 C15 – Credibility Appeal “Showing Writer-Audience Shared Interests and Points of View”
 A17 – Affective Appeal “Appealing to the Audience’s Views”
 R1 – Rational Appeal “Descriptive Example”
 R2 – Rational Appeal “Narrative Example”

Results of the comparison of frequency wordlists

As indicated in Table 3, the WordSmith frequency wordlists showed that there are differences in the frequencies of the Bank of General English and the corpus of fundraising letters. According to Table 3, the wordlist of the fundraising letters displays a high frequency use of content words such as *school*, *support*, *gift*, etc. These words characterize the essence of fundraising letters as texts designed to induce financial or other kinds of assistance on the part of donors. Also, as columns for specific non-profit fields in Table 3 show, words such as *people*, *children*, *community*, *disabled*, *students*, etc., are employed much more frequently in the fundraising letters. A high frequency of some words often reflects the nature of the non-profit fields the letters represent. For example, the high frequency of words *community*, *children* and *disabled* can be found in such philanthropic sectors as health/human services and community development, while the field of education has an unusually high frequency of the words *students* and *school*.

Another interesting point to note can be found in the high frequency of the personal pronouns *you*, *your*, *we*, *our* (Table 3). In the wordlist of the Bank of General English, personal pronoun *I*, which is the 12th most frequent word, is the most frequently used personal pronoun. In the current corpus of direct mail letters, however, *you* is the most frequent pronoun. In other words, fundraising letters have more instances of second person singular *you*, whereas the Bank of General English has much higher frequency on the first person singular pronoun *I*. Such a difference in the use of *you* can be accounted for by the characteristic of a letter as being a special form of a communication with the donor and as addressed personally to a certain individual. In other words, the writers of solicitation texts tend to be rather personal in their communication with the donor and the high use of *you* underscore this characteristic. Interestingly, the first personal plural pronoun *we* and its possessive derivative *our* are used much more frequently in direct mail letters than in the Bank of General English. In fact, *we* is the 13th most frequently used word in the corpus of fundraising texts, whereas, according to Table 3, it is the 33rd in the Bank of General English. The explanation for the extensive use of *we* and *our* can be found in the fact that the writers are trying to show to the donor mutual interests in certain non-profit programs and activities. Personal pronouns *we* and *our* make the reader feel included in a certain activity and, thus, more prone to positively respond to the solicitation.

Results of the keywords analysis

The keywords analysis was performed on the second version of the letters where the individual appeals were copied from the original letters and sorted into different text documents according to the type of appeal. The WordSmith keywords analysis searches for words that are used significantly more frequently in one corpus than in the other. In this study, keywords searched for the words that were used more frequently in individual appeals than in the entire corpus of fundraising letters (Table 4). If the keywords tool does not find any words that appear more frequently in the appeals than in the entire corpus, it means that semantically a given appeal does not differ from the reference corpus.

As the results of the analysis show in Table 4, some of the individual appeals indeed differ lexically from the corpus they were compared against. For example, credibility appeal, C₁₃ (showing First-Hand Experience) has a high frequency of first personal singular pronoun *I* and its possessive derivative *my*. As is indicated in Table 4, credibility appeal C₁₄ (showing Writer's Respect ...) is different from the reference corpus in the frequent use of second person singular pronouns *you* and *your*. Also, this appeal very often uses words which express the writer's gratitude for the donor's past contributions: *gift*, *thank*, *contribution*, etc., as well as the writer's hope for the donor's continuation of the support and interest in a certain philanthropic program: *hope*, *consider*, *support*, etc. According to Table 4, credibility appeal C₁₅ (Showing Writer – Audience Shared Interests and Points of View) has a very high frequency of first person plural pronoun *we*, which would be natural to use by the writers of solicitation letters to express mutual goals and interests. As the WordSmith keywords analysis has shown, credibility appeals are indeed lexically different from the general corpus of fundraising letters in their use of such words that contribute to the credibility of the writer and to the overall effectiveness of the letter.

As far as the affective appeals are concerned, the results of the analysis show affective appeal A₁₇ (Appealing to the Audience's Views) also has a distinctive word usage that distinguishes it from the general corpus. In the letters, this appeal is often seen in the form of a direct request for a donation. Therefore, it is not surprising that A₁₇ has a high frequency of the use of the word *please*. In fact, 85% of all occurrences of this word in the corpus of direct mail letters appear within this very appeal. Also, as Table 4 indicates, while directly asking for a donation, the authors of direct mail letters often use such words as

contribution, support, donation, help, etc. Sometimes, the writers are trying to appeal to the audience's financial motives by pointing out the tax benefits the donor will eventually have. This fact explains the high level of appearance of the word *tax* within the A_{17} appeal.

Keywords analysis on other emotional appeals A_{18} (Vivid Picture) and A_{19} (Charged Language) did not show any lexical differences from the general corpus of fundraising texts for the reason of their insignificant frequency in the corpus and the consequent inability of the WordSmith program to find any words that appear within the given appeals more frequently than in the general corpus.

As far as the results of rational appeals are concerned, keywords analysis showed that there were significant differences only in appeals R_1 (Descriptive Example), R_2 (Narrative Example), and R_{12} (Information). According to Table 4, rational appeals R_1 and R_2 differ from the reference corpus in the frequent use of third person singular pronouns *he, she* and their possessive derivatives *his, her* as well as personal names *Wanda, Mayers*. Such extensive use of third person singular pronouns and personal names may reflect the fact that the writers, while rationally appealing to the audience, tell stories about people whom the non-profit organizations helped in the past. According to the results of the keyword analysis, other rational appeals did not show significant difference from the reference corpus in the semantic aspects for the reason of their lexical resemblance to the text of fundraising letters.

In summary, the preliminary results of the WordSmith frequency analysis of the corpus and the keywords analysis of individual appeals have shown that fundraising texts indeed are semantically different from other English texts in their high frequency of the use of such words that define fundraising letters as solicitation texts: *gift, please, help, community, children, etc.* Also, since fundraising texts can be characterized as the form of communication between the non-profit and the donor, there is a high incidence of the use of second person singular pronouns.

The keywords analysis has shown that some of the appeals that were developed in the system can be characterized as using certain vocabulary that define their rhetorical function in the fundraising letter. Credibility appeals display extensive appearance of personal pronouns; affective appeals contain a considerable amount of such words as *please, hope, help, consider, etc.*

We hope that further computerized analyses of the semantic aspects of the corpus can build on these preliminary findings.

Conclusion and application

In this paper, we have described the development of a persuasive appeals system that can be applied to describe and evaluate direct mail letters. The system is based on solid rhetorical theories of persuasion stemming from the works of Aristotle and Perelman, and the empirical work of Lauer et al. (1985) and Connor and Lauer (1985). The latter two provided an operationalized system of persuasive appeals used for evaluating student persuasive essays. We took the work of the latter two and adjusted their systems to fit the text of fundraising letters.

We believe that the system we came up with for fundraising letters is reliable in measuring the intended persuasive effect. We applied it successfully with a high interrater reliability to a corpus of 245 letters from five different types of non-profit organizations. As was expected, some rational appeals, such as The Use of Statistics and Information, Showing Writer's Respect for Audience's Interests and Point of View, and Appealing to Audience's Views, were more frequent than some other appeals. Some of the findings were unexpected. For example, we did not expect the rational appeals to rank over the other appeals in frequency across non-profit disciplines since we typically associate fundraising discourse with appeals to emotions.

We believe that the system is a valid measure of persuasion in the letters. However, we can only make reference to its use with the present data. Other data sets should be subjected to the analysis for validation. It is true that the strength of the rhetorical appeals analysis will be increased after additional computerized analyses of the semantic and syntactic features of the appeals. It is important that we identify words, collocations, and modalities, for example, that characterize individual appeals. Findings of such research will be valuable for writers when coupled with the results of the appeals frequency counts in Tables 1 and 2. Writers will not only learn which appeals are frequent in successful letters but also how to develop such appeals through appropriate language.

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Appendix A

Definition and examples of the persuasive appeals used for analyzing fundraising letters

Rational

R₁ Descriptive Example
Using a compelling descriptive example from one's own or someone else's experience

- Letter A

Families are being torn apart, and too often, children are the victims. Kids like Tommie J., made a ward of the court because of repeated beatings by an alcoholic father; Alice, sent to a group home to get help because of severe behavior disorders; and John H., a recovering alcoholic, rebuilding a relationship with his family so they can live together again.

R₂ Narrative Example
Using a compelling narrative story that contains a beginning, middle, and end

- Letter B

Ted is a single father with three children under 10. He's never been on welfare and he's always had a job doing manual labor...There was a time when he felt like he had no choice but to tolerate his wife's constant abuse and neglect of their children. Then Ted decided the children deserved a chance to start over in another town, no matter how difficult it might prove to be.

R₃ Classification
Placing the reader in a class or unit and describing what that means

- Letter C

In joining SCS, you join the ranks of those who believe that bringing art and art education to the city makes life better, richer, and more rewarding for the entire community.

R₄ Comparison
Supporting a conclusion about a subject from a description of related subjects

- Letter D

Our faculty-student ratio is 1:27. For law schools in the United States, the range of faculty-student ratios is from 1:13 to 1:35, but well over half of the law schools in the country have better ratios than we do.

R₅ Contrast
Supporting a conclusion about a subject from a description of its counterpart

- Letter E

Unfortunately, our view of the importance of philanthropy is not shared by all Americans. Many see philanthropy as no more than the grand gestures of the rich. They do not understand, as you do, that the museums, parks, hospitals and community organizations supported by philanthropy are the cornerstones of our very quality of life.

R₆ Degree
Using an argument of more or less to imply next steps

- Letter F

Please consider an increase in your contribution to the Girls Scout Annual Campaign.

R₇ Authority
Using a distinguished name to make the reader act under the influence of someone who is authoritative

- Letter G

Pat LaCrosse asked me to send this information inviting you to join the Georgia O'Keeffe Circle of the Indianapolis Museum of Art's Second Century Society (SCS).

R₈ Cause/Effect – Means/End – *Consequences*
Urging action on the reader's part by forecasting effects, consequences, or ends

- Letter H

As one of only a few zoos in the country that receives no local, state, or federal tax support IZS must depend on donations for general operating funds from corporations like yours...

R₉ Model
Providing the reader with a description of the way a proposed end can be achieved

- Letter I

A group of your colleagues recently volunteered to help set the priorities for this campaign. They surveyed members of the staff and faculty councils, administrators and others and learned that we at IUPUI have a number of vital concerns.

R₁₀ Stage in Process
Reviewing previous steps and looking forward to what steps need to be taken

- Letter J

Three years ago, the Heritage Trust set aside land for the restoration of the Limberlost Swamp, near Geneva in eastern Indiana. Now, wildlife is returning to the area. Egrets, ducks and geese now gather at waterfowl resting ponds in large numbers; and native prairie grass has been planted to return natural diversity and other wildlife to the area.

R₁₁ Ideal or Principle

Persuading the audience by showing that the writer's argument is based on an ideal or principle that is accepted by all members of the audience

- Letter K

The mission of the Indianapolis Zoological Society is to provide recreational learning experiences for the citizens of Indiana through the exhibition and presentation of natural environment in a way to foster a sense of discovery, stewardship, and the need to preserve the Earth's plants and animals. In short, the Society is about connecting animals, plants and people.

R₁₂ Information

Using facts and statistics to give definiteness to the writer's argument

- Letter L

Through the efforts of about 300 volunteers, nearly \$89,000 was raised through the IUPUI Campus Campaign. Almost 900 of us made new gifts in support of the things we care about. Together with those who were already donors, there are over 1,350 staff and faculty supporting the work of IUPUI with their gifts.

Credibility

C₁₃ First Hand Experience

Providing information directly from the writer's experience to establish the writer's credibility

- Letter M

Purdue has been a part of my life for as long as I can remember. I was raised in West Lafayette. As I grew older, I realized more and more that Purdue isn't just a state institution; it is a public university. Moreover, it is a world-class university.

C₁₄ Showing Writer's Respect for Audience's Interests and Point of View
Creating the impression of a good willed writer by showing the writer's appreciation for the audience's past actions

- Letter N

In looking back at the last decade, we at the Indianapolis Zoological Society (IZS) wish to express our sincere thanks to all companies who have helped us to achieve so many successes at the Indianapolis Zoo and White River Gardens.

C₁₅ Showing Writer-Audience Shared Interests and Points of View
Building solidarity with the audience by acknowledging shared values and ideas

- Letter O

Because if you and I truly want to preserve philanthropy as a way of life, we must make certain that Americans everywhere take philanthropy seriously, that they talk about it, debate it, challenge it, and ultimately keep it alive as a cherished tradition.

C₁₆ Showing Writer's Good Character and/or Judgment
Taking a subjective stance to make a positive judgment of the writer in the reader eye

- Letter P

Who helps Randy break a cycle of violence and become a better dad? Who helps Michael, who has spina bifida, learn to talk, dress himself, and get around independently?

Without you, no one.

Affective

A₁₇ Appealing to the Audience's Views
Arousing emotion in the reader by addressing his/her attitudinal and moral values

- Letter Q

Please, make a tax-deductible gift to Community Centers of Indianapolis in 1999, and know that <company> is playing an important part in meeting the needs of its community.

A₁₈ Vivid Picture

Involving the audience emotionally by temporarily and spatially linking them to an event

- Letter R

Do you remember how wonderful and how proud you felt in 1980 when the young United States Hockey Team beat the powerful Soviet Team 4-3, and then went on to beat Finland 4-2 for the gold... or in 1984 when 16 year old Mary Lou Retton, needing a 9.95 in her final event to tie for first place in the all around Gymnastics competition, vaulted her way to the gold by scoring a perfect 10?

A₁₉ Charged Language

Using strong language to arouse emotions

- Letter S

When it comes to the misuse and destruction of our natural areas, reality is not only harsh, it is deadly. Once they are developed or altered, and their fragile eco-systems