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Half a Century of Forest Industry Rhetoric

Persuasive Strategies in Sales Argumentation

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Julkaisun nimike
Puoli vuosisataa metsäteollisuuden retoriikkaa. Vakuuttamisen strategiat myyntiargumentaatiossa

Tiivistelmä

Tässä tutkimuksessa tarkastellaan suomalaisen metsäteollisuuden käyttämiä suostuttelustrategioita myyntiretoriikassaan 1950–2006. Tarkoituksena on tutkia, miten argumentointi on muuttunut tuona aikana ja miten ulkoiset paineet ovat siihen vaikuttaneet. Tavoitteena on myös selvittää, viestiikö metsäteollisuus samalla tavalla ja onko teollisuuden viestinnän kollektivisointi siten ollut oikeutettua.

Tutkimusaineisto koostuu metsäteollisuuden englanninkielisistä asiakaslehdistä 1950–2006. Analyysin kohteena ovat asiakaslehtien 135 tuoteartikkelia ja näistä löytyneet 2867 argumenttia.

Tutkimuksen tulokset osoittavat, että muutokset metsäteollisuuden retoriikassa olivat pääasiassa pinnallisia. Pinnalliset muutokset kertovat kasvavasta kaupallisuuden paineesta asiantuntijaviestinnässä sekä suomalaisten metsäyritysten markkinointiviestinnän ammattimaistumisesta. Argumentoinnin ydinsanomat säilyivät lähes muuttumattomin 1950–2006. Teknisyys ja faktoihin perustuva argumentointi heijastaa teknisen asiantuntemuksen arvostusta teollisuudessa ja yhteiskunnassa, metsäteollisuuden nopeaa teknistä kehitystä viimeisen 50 vuoden aikana sekä uskoa, että faktoihin perustuva argumentaatio vetoaa parhaiten asiantuntijalukijoihin. Ulkoiset paineet vaikuttivat myyntiretoriikkaan vain vähän. Tulokset paljastavat lisäksi, että on oikeutettua puhua metsäteollisuuden retoriikasta.

Tutkimus osoittaa myös, että kielitieteellinen analyysi on hyödyllinen tutkittaessa yhteiskunnallisia ilmiöitä.

Asiasanat
argumentaatio, asiakaslehdet, myyntiretoriikka, metsäteollisuus

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Half a century of forest industry rhetoric. Persuasive strategies in sales argumentation

Abstract
This thesis investigates the persuasive strategies found in the sales rhetoric of the Finnish forest industry 1950–2006. In addition, the aim is to see how the argumentation has changed in the studied 56 years and how it has been influenced by external pressure. The analysis also seeks to find out whether treating the Finnish forest industry as a collective, as having one voice, has been justified.

The research material comprises English customer magazines of the Finnish forest industry 1950–2006. The in-depth analysis of the argumentation encompasses 135 product articles and 2,867 arguments found in these articles.

The analysis reveals that the changes in the forest industry rhetoric mainly took place on the surface. The changes on the surface reflect the increasing commercial pressures and professionalisation of the marketing communication of the Finnish forest companies. The core messages of the arguments, however, remained almost unchanged in 1950–2006. The technical and factual emphasis found can be interpreted to reflect the esteem for technical expertise in the industry and society, the technical advances in 1950–2006 and belief in the persuasiveness of factual argumentation when the readers are professionals. The results also confirm that it is justified to talk about a common forest industry rhetoric.

The research also shows that linguistic analysis is useful in investigating social phenomena.

Keywords
argumentation, customer magazines, sales rhetoric, forest industry

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This research was inspired by forest animals. In the 1990s several Nordic forest industry companies advertised their produce as environmentally friendly with the help of endearing birds or squirrels. I found these advertisements very puzzling having listened to family and friends working in the forest industry. In the 1990s the attitude was predominantly condescending: comments and jokes made about the manoeuvres were made to fulfil the wishes of the "ignorant" consumers. Also the efforts of the Swedish forest industry to actively promote an image of environmental friendliness were made fun of. Therefore this research was partly done to satisfy my curiosity regarding the valuations of the Finnish forest industry and the honesty of its sales rhetoric.

I would not have dared to enter the world of research without my first supervisor, Dr. Anitta Nuopponen. Without her encouragement I would never be writing these lines. The one who had to work hardest to get me here was my second supervisor Professor Merja Koskela. Merja guided and supported me from the very first exploratory drafts to my Licentiate's thesis and further to my doctoral thesis. Thank you for the parenting, for your firmness – and endless sense of humour.

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Without the support from one's family an intensive and time-consuming project like this one would have been hard. I want to thank the nearest and dearest to me, my unendingly patient and loyal husband, my supportive father and my children, who were both amused and curious about mum's hobby.

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1 INTRODUCTION: DO ACTIONS SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES?

Had Aristotle been a salesman, he could have been a good one. At least he knew what the central elements of persuasion were, namely the audience, the forum, the message and its form. These four cornerstones apply also in marketing communication. This is true even today, when the competition for the audience's attention is harsher and the available fora are infinitely more numerous than those of ancient Greece. Both rhetoric and marketing communications are about winning over the listener, be these Athenians or today's consumers. Every message an orator or a company sends creates an impression in the minds of the audience of himself or of the issue at hand. Thus, when a company is concerned about the impressions and images it conveys, marketing communication counts. Marketing communication builds on strategies of persuasion. These strategies construct the desired impressions and images. Therefore they are also worth studying. Rhetoric, as the art of persuasion, provides an ideal approach for studying strategies of persuasion in marketing communication.

This study is about the persuasive strategies employed by the Finnish forest industry in its sales rhetoric. The significance of sales rhetoric and the criticism voiced by researchers, journalists and communication experts of the Finnish forest industry rhetoric were the starting points for my research. The forest industry in Finland has undergone enormous changes in the last fifty years. Not only has it been totally restructured, but also its position within the Finnish society has changed. From having been the "star pupil", the forest industry has lost its position to the new star pupil Nokia. From having been sheltered financially as the provider of bread and protected from public criticism, the Finnish forest industry has found itself in a situation where its actions are constantly being criticised and questioned. In the last few years the industry has been blamed for being a polluter and exploiter of forest resources in other countries. In Finland the forest industry has been labelled greedy and unfeeling after the numerous closures of production units. The rhetoric employed in the external communications of the Finnish forest industry has been criticised for being too factual and insular for the last decades. The industry has been criticised collectively as a whole, as having one voice. This "collectivisation" has its roots in the joint organisation of the sales and marketing of the forest industry companies and the long tradition of cooperation. The critics have argued that the Finnish forest industry has a conservative image, reflecting the economic values of the 1960s forest industry. Thus the communication has been based on reporting on the financial result, tonnes and cubic metres (Makkonen & Tuomi-Nikula 1998: 12). It has been condemned as unpersuasive and insensitive, not trying to

adjust its messages to the audience (Uimonen 2008; Uimonen & Ikävalko1996: 24; Vitie 1998). Even if the global investments and operations have expanded, the attitude has still been the traditionally Finnish "actions speak for themselves" (see also Linnanen 1998: 14–15; Mikkilä 2006a: 56).

Criticism as the above does matter. It matters because rhetoric is relevant for a company and correlates with its success. It is significant in promoting the demand for a company's products or services as well as in constructing the company image (Gronstedt 2000: 203–204). A credible image relies on credible rhetoric. Particularly in a market full of similar products and companies, such as the forest industry, both product image and company image are vital for standing out of the crowd. An additional challenge for the Finnish forest industry is the global market that it operates in. The companies need to link their products or operations with values and images that are recognised and meaningful to the customers, also abroad. The buyers or investors buy the products, services or shares of a company that seem to fulfil their expectations. Rhetoric is the tool that creates the impression of this fulfilment.

1.1 Objective and research questions

The objective of my research is to show what persuasive strategies were used in the sales rhetoric of the Finnish forest industry customer magazines published in English in 1950–2006. The term *sales rhetoric* is used rather than *marketing rhetoric* as the analysis focuses on the argumentation found in product articles. Product articles aim at persuading the readers of the superiority of the products. Thus product articles aim at selling products to prospective buyers, while the customer magazines as a whole seek to market and promote the company to other stakeholders as well, such as investors or business partners. Customer magazines are part of the marketing communication of a company, within the bigger framework of its external corporate communications.

A *persuasive strategy* is, in this research, understood as the choices made to persuade a reader and to build the credibility of the message. A persuasive strategy comprises strategies regarding both the argumentation and the use of rhetorical means. Thus *argumentation strategies* are the choices made concerning the topics of arguments. The arguments are the claims and their justifications made to promote the products or companies. *Rhetorical strategies* are the choices of linguistic means made to enforce and strengthen the arguments. Figure 1 illustrates the components of a persuasive strategy as understood in this research.

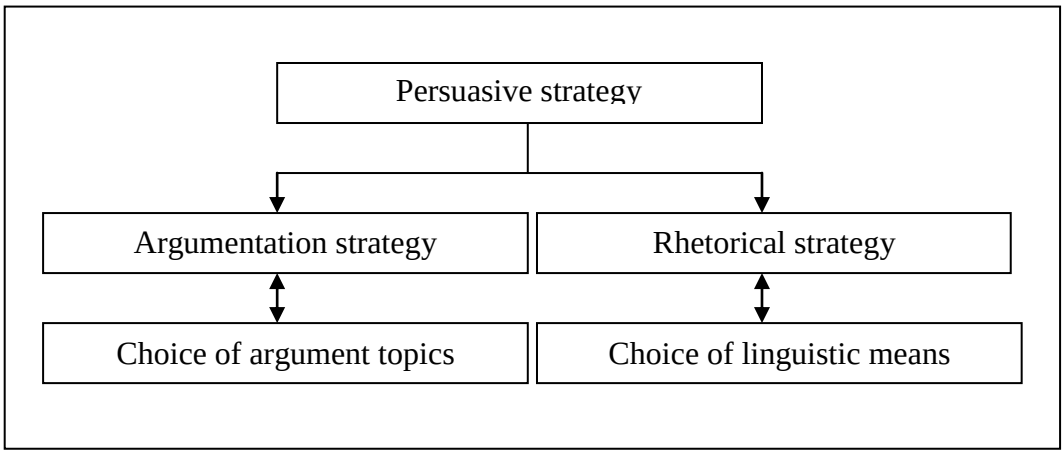

Figure 1. Components of a persuasive strategy.

The analysis of the persuasive strategies aims at making visible the image, the impression that the forest industry has wanted to convey of itself and its products in the different time periods. The choices that are made to build the desired impression are influenced by the valuations of the writers and their community as well as their perception of the valuations of the customers. Consequently, an analysis of the argumentation and rhetorical strategies can also reveal these valuations.

The approach to the forest industry sales rhetoric is diachronic in this study, based on the thought that to be able to interpret the rhetoric, one has to understand the tradition that it builds on. The past rhetoric is part of current rhetoric. Language use and textual conventions are layered, as these consist of elements from the past and the present. The research questions move on the axes change-permanence and differences-similarities. These axes help making visible the "life of the argumentation and language" (Nuolijärvi 2002: 15). The following three questions will be addressed in this research:

1. What persuasive strategies are found in the product articles 1950–2006?

2. How are the developments in the forest industry and society reflected in the persuasive strategies?

3. Is there a common forest industry rhetoric that justifies the collectivisation of the industry, regarding it as one whole and having one voice?

The first research question will be approached by analysing the argumentation in the product articles. With this analysis I want to find out what topics have been chosen to persuade the readers and what linguistic means have been employed to reinforce the message. Further, the aim is to discover whether there are differences in the persuasive strategies in the different time periods from 1950 to 2006. By tying this analysis to the context, the events and developments affecting the industry as well as the trends in advertising and marketing communications, my aim is further to discover how sensitive the argumentation has been to external developments and pressure. The third question explores whether there is a common way of communication and persuasion within the Finnish forest industry as has frequently been taken for granted.

The persuasive strategies and the developments in these strategies are analysed against the contents of the customer magazines 1950–2006. Consequently the developments in the contents of the customer magazines are examined, providing a background for the analysis of the persuasive strategies employed in the argumentation. The customer magazines and their contents are part of the textual and visual context surrounding the argumentation. An examination of the contents of the magazines will also point to influences from the trends in marketing, advertising and journalism.

Because of its multiple perspectives and dimensions, this research can contribute to research on rhetoric and corporate communications. Practitioners and educators within corporate communications can benefit from both the method of analysis built and the results themselves. Finally, this research can provide practical tools of analysis to promote critical literacy.

1.2 Scope of the research

The research material comprises 135 product articles published in the Finnish forest industry's English customer magazines from 1950, when these began to appear regularly, up to 2006. Customer magazines are part of a company's promotional activities that aim at creating an impression of the company and demand for its products. The product articles found in these magazines are articles about the company's products, such as paper, board or wood products. They provide information about the products and the company itself but also seek to persuade the readers to buy the products. The readers are professionals, many of them existing or potential clients working for example in publishing companies and printers. Because of their readership and explicit aim to sell, product articles can be considered the most promotional type of article in the customer magazines.

Consequently, my presumption has been that the impressions and images that the companies have wanted to convey would be most clearly visible in the product articles.

To reveal the argumentation and rhetorical strategies the topics of the arguments of the product articles and the linguistic means used to enforce the message have been analysed. Altogether 2,867 arguments could be found in the product articles. The arguments do not exist in a vacuum and their persuasiveness is based on the interaction with their context. Thus the first phase of the research, preceding the analysis of the argumentation and rhetorical strategies, has been to examine the surrounding text and illustrations of the product articles and the other articles in the magazines. The wider background, the time and societal contexts in which the articles and their arguments were created, has been considered throughout the analysis. Thus the analysis in this research combines the wider context-based interpretation commonly used in the social sciences and media analysis with the close reading of the text surface typical for linguistic research (see also Aslama 1998: 165; Enqvist 1980: 223).

The method and tools applied in this research mainly derive from rhetoric, but bear influences from hermeneutics, social constructionism, semiotics and discourse analysis. These schools of thought have contributed to the main conceptions of this research, namely interpreting text and language, language and context, language and persuasion, language and ideology and language and a community. The methodological approach is mainly qualitative and exploratory but is complemented by a quantitative analysis that has enabled a comparison between the different magazines and time periods. The method of this study will be discussed in detail in Section 4.2.

1.3 Research in corporate communications and rhetoric

This study fills a gap in the linguistic research on corporate communications and marketing rhetoric in Finland. Firstly, close and systematic rhetoric analyses such as this are not common. In Finland research on rhetoric has been dominated by social scientists. Sometimes the research done by linguists has not even been valued very highly by the social scientists (see Palonen 1997: 3–4). The research done within social sciences, however, approaches texts less systematically, choosing certain arguments and linguistic features to be analysed. The analyses tend to be more about using textual features as reflections of social phenomena rather than close analyses to discover typical features of language use, which is common within linguistics (see also Heikkinen 1999: 35). Outside Finland, a lot

of the rhetoric research by linguists has focused on advertising (e.g. Eves & Tom 1999; Phillips & McQuarrie 2002). Similarly to social scientists, education scientists have applied rhetoric as a method to some extent. In education sciences the focus has largely been on metaphor analysis (see e.g. Mahlamäki-Kultanen 1998; Granbom-Herranen 2008).

Secondly, topics of arguments have been of little interest to researchers. Van Dijk (1997: 26) considered more than ten years ago that "topics" or "topology", a major field of analysis was lacking and should be a sub-discipline of discourse analysis. This sub-discipline would study for example what discourses or parts of discourses in different situations may be about. Even today, very little such research has been done. In Norway Tønnesson (2004) studied topics found in the texts written by historians and Bakken (2007) the topics of articles in literature studies in 1937–1957. The topics or subject matter of the articles were grouped into categories according to what phenomena were discussed in these articles. In Sweden Sigrell's (2000) research on the implied content in argumentative speech is related to what van Dijk called topology. Sigrell aimed at reconstructing the propositional messages hidden in between the lines, in the parts that the speakers had left out.

The third contribution of this research concerns corporate communications. External communications and particularly marketing communication have not been studied very much by linguists. In external corporate communications press-releases and annual reports have been the most common targets of research. Henry (2008) studied earnings press releases and their effect on investors. The study of Beattie, Dhanani and Jones (2008) investigated the structural and format changes in UK annual reports 1965–2004. A lot of the research into corporate communication has been done within economics, management, marketing and sociology (see also van Riel 1997). Linguistic research has often served the needs of foreign language teaching (Charles 1998: 85–86; Yli-Jokipii 1998: 94–95). Internal and oral communication have been of particular interest to linguists. For example Asmuss (2006) studied job appraisal interviews in a Danish company using conversation analysis. Nickerson (2000) studied the discourse strategies and genres in the internal communication of Dutch subsidiaries of British companies. Corporate communications of Finnish companies have been studied mainly within business and economics and to some extent within social sciences. Anu Kantola's (2004) research within social sciences on the strategic rhetoric in Finnish companies, politics and labour unions 1980–2003 has much in common with this research. Kantola's research material included the annual reports of 10 Finnish companies, two of which were forest industry companies.

Research on rhetoric and marketing communication within business studies and linguistics in Finland before 2006 has been discussed in more detail in my licentiate's thesis (Volmari 2006: 12–13). Since 2006 few academic studies have been published. Joutsenvirta (2006) studied the debates between companies and environmental activists. In this study Joutsenvirta applied a discourse analytical approach. The company analysed in her research was one of the three big Finnish forest industry companies.

Fourthly, few studies with a diachronic approach have been published on corporate or institutional communications. Two of the above-mentioned studies on annual reports were diachronic. The research by Beattie, Dhanani and Jones covered a period of 39 years and Kantola's (2004) research 23 years. Research with a diachronic approach has been uncommon in linguistics in Finland (see also Kalliokoski 1996a: 28). In the last few years, however, a few diachronic studies have been published. Kankaanpää (2006) studied the language of administrative press releases 1979–1999. Kankaanpää's approach was mainly based on critical text analysis. Sääskilahti (2006) made a study on the text type of alcohol education in Finland and the changes in it between 1755 and 2001. Her analysis method was based on Perelman's argument theory.

Mass media communication and particularly advertising have been studied diachronically more than corporate communication. The research done has focused on consumer marketing and advertising, although the majority of marketing activity takes place between companies (see also de Pelsmacker, Geuens & van den Bergh 2007: 533). In research on advertising, Leiss, Kline and Jhally (2005), Myers (1994) and Dyer (1996) are classics. The above-mentioned study by McQuarrie and Phillips (2002) analysed rhetorical figures in advertising in magazines in the United States between 1954 and 1999. Decker's (2007) research within international business studies focused on themes in the rhetoric of advertising of British companies in West Africa in 1950-1970. In mass media studies Jucker (2005) studied the news discourse in British newspapers from the 17th to the 21st century.

1.4 Structure of research report

This research report begins with providing the background for the study. Chapter 2 outlines the developments within the forest industry and its position in Finnish economy and society. In the two following chapters the theoretical framework and the method used for the analysis will be described. In Chapter 3 the most important theories and schools of thought are discussed in relation to the key

issues of the approach of this research. In Chapter 4 the research material and method used in the analysis are described. Also the key concepts are discussed and defined.

Chapters 5, 6 and 7 form the empirical part of this study. Chapter 5 provides an overview of the contents of the customer magazines and characteristics of the product articles, thus presenting the context in which the product articles and their persuasive strategies appear. The chapter begins with an analysis of the customer magazines, their history, visual appearance and contents. It continues with an analysis of the characteristics of the product articles, such as their length, paratexts and illustrations. Chapters 6 and 7 report on the results and findings of the analysis of the persuasive strategies. In Chapter 6 the argumentation strategies are analysed by examining the topics of the arguments against their time context. In Chapter 7 the focus is on the rhetorical strategies, that is, the linguistic means used for strengthening the persuasiveness of the arguments. The final results are discussed in Chapter 8 in relation to the research questions. Finally, suggestions for the utilisation of the research results and further research are provided.

2 FOREST INDUSTRY IN FINLAND 1950–2006

The history of the forest industry in Finland has been both dramatic and eventful. The history has included both the total restructuring of the industry and remarkable changes in the valuations and acceptance of the industry's actions among the stakeholders and the public. The restructuring continues today and so do the changes in the world surrounding the industry. Consequently, research into how the industry's rhetoric has evolved alongside these developments gives an insight into the successfulness of this rhetoric and lessons to be learnt.

In this chapter I will summarise the developments and events that have affected the Finnish forest industry in the last half a decade. I will focus on the main developments that have moulded the industry and its position today. The specific developments linked to the argumentation have been described in the relevant sections in Chapters 6 and 7.

2.1 Forest industry and national economy

The forest industry has had a decisive role in what has become of Finland in the last fifty years. The special position of the industry in the Finnish economy and society can be partly explained by the developments in the 1950s. Finland was a poor country after World War II. The exports of the forest industry had stopped in the first years of the war. The industry's input was, however, sorely needed after the war when the war reparations had to be paid to the Soviet Union. The forest industry had a decisive role in restoring the nation's economy. (Heikkinen 2000: 224–229; Heinonen 1998: 242; Kuisma 1990: 98; Laiho 1998: 26, 55–57; Pekurinen 2005: 181.)

In the last fifty years the Finnish economy, and the forest industry with it, has fluctuated from economic growth to slower periods, even several recessions. During the economic upswings the forest industry took big steps forward. At the end of the 1960s, during the fast economic growth the structure of the work force changed in Finland. In 1966 the number of industrial employees surpassed that of people working in agriculture. In the 1960s research and development became important for the production of forest products. As a result the forest industry grew and the technological developments meant that the mills were able to double their production capacity. During the following upswing in 1967–1974 the forest companies invested in new machinery to the extent that the supply of raw material became a concern. (Auer 1968: 9; Heikkinen 2000: 328–330; Heinonen

1998: 242, 250; Kuisma 1990: 115–116, 123, 144–145, 150–151; Lammi 2000: 33, 56; Metsäteollisuus ry 2006: 1, 5.)

The Finnish economy was dependent on the forest industry for decades. In the early 1950s 85 per cent of the value of exports came from forest industry products. The dependence continued until the 1980s when the industry's share of exports was 42 per cent (Heikkinen 2000: 224–229; Kuisma 1990: 101). In 2005 the same figure had gone down to 24 per cent (Metsäteollisuus ry 2006: 2, 20). Until the 1980s the forest industry was supported by national policy-making. Support was offered by means of taxation, energy and foreign exchange policies. The importance of the forest sector and forest products industry is also reflected by the fact that the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry has drawn up national strategies for the forest sector since the 1960s (Reunala, Halko & Marila 1999: 10). These strategies have been created in cooperation between the financial sector and forest industry companies.

Even if the position of the forest industry has changed, it still has an important role in the Finnish national economy today (Pekurinen 2005: 181). In addition to accounting for one fourth of the exports, the industry employs directly and indirectly circa 200,000 Finns. The crisis of the forest industry in recent years has received considerable attention at national level. Solutions to the crisis have been sought by a high-profiled working group set up by the Finnish Government in 2007. This group prepared recommendations for actions to improve the viability of the forest sector. (Metsäteollisuus ry 2008; Valtioneuvosto 2008.)

The position as the most important industry has today been taken by Nokia. Nokia has achieved the same special position as the forest industry had occupied earlier. Matti Wiberg (2006) has criticised Nokia's "untouchability" that is seen in the lack of criticism of the company in Finland. History seems to be repeating itself. In a similar way the financial and political manoeuvres and special treatment by the state supporting the forest industry were never questioned. The untouchability and the loss of the status are relevant for the research questions of this study. The effects of the changed position on the sales rhetoric can mirror both the sensitivity and insensitivity to changes in the context, the self-image of the industry and attitudes towards the audience.

2.2 Restructuring of the forest industry

The late 1980s saw the beginning of several developments that had long-term effects for the Finnish forest industry. The industry started investing in mills

abroad more than earlier and today almost two thirds of the production capacity of Finnish forest industry companies is abroad. Further, the mergers that were to change the structure of the industry in Finland began in 1986 (Kuisma 1990: 156–157; Tuuri 1999: 483). The result of these mergers was that the number of for example paper and pulp mills was reduced from 25 in 1985 to 9 in 1996 (Metsäteollisuus ry 2006). Today the three biggest companies, Stora-Enso, UPM-Kymmene and M-real dominate the industry. Over 90 per cent of Finnish paper is produced by these three companies. (Valtioneuvosto 2008: 9–10.)

During the time of the mergers also the set-up of the sales and marketing came to a turning point in 1995 when Finland joined the EU. Before this time, since the early 1900s, most of the forest companies were partners in the joint sales associations Finnboard, Finncell, Finnpap and Converta, representing the different products groups. These were, however, considered sales cartels by the European Union. Consequently the associations had to be discontinued (Heikkinen 2000: 467–469; Laiho 1998: 7). The long-time cooperation, however, continued unofficially, until UPM-Kymmene in 2004 exposed a cartel it had supposedly been involved in together with the other two big forest companies Iivonen 2004a; Iivonen 2007). This was the end of the cooperation and the beginning of a cold war. The cold war has been visible in the newspapers, particularly in 2008, when the relationship between the forest companies deteriorated with the increasing competition and the sinking profitability of the industry. In 2008 the relationship came to a point where the companies criticised each other openly in the media, often in a hostile manner (see also Iivonen 2008a.)

The discontinuation of the cooperation in sales and marketing in 1995 was a turning point also regarding the marketing communication of the forest industry. Before 1995, the majority of the forest industry companies had joint customer magazines. As this cooperation was no longer possible, the forest companies had to set up their own magazines and start building their own independent image of their products and operations. This development is highly relevant for the analysis and interpretation of both the contents of the customer magazines, the characteristics the product articles and the persuasive strategies found in the argumentation. It is also relevant for the question whether a collective forest industry rhetoric exists.

2.3 Hard lessons in environmentalism

The by far biggest external influence affecting the image of the Finnish forest industry has been the rise of environmental issues. The environmental debates from the 1970s have ranged from chlorine bleaching and recycling to sustainable forest management. The environmental debate has also been a lesson in the importance of communication. The forest sector had been used to operating autonomously without outsiders disturbing it (see also 2.1). The general reaction to environmental questions had generally been passive before the 1980s and 1990s, so that the industry only changed their operations after changes in legislation or regulations (Pekurinen 2005: 196.)

Some efforts were made regarding communication on environmental issues in the export markets. In the late 1980s the joint export sales organisation Finnpap launched a campaign in Germany to communicate the concerns of the industry for the environment. This campaign, however, did not attract a lot of attention (Serlachius 2008). Against these efforts to demonstrate a concern for the environment, the accusations of being a polluter and exploiter of nature, particularly in the early 1990s, was a shock to the forest industry.

The first reaction was denial. The seriousness of the environmental demands was revealed to the forest industry only through demands from the market. Not being able to respond to the emotional rhetoric of the environmentalists, the forest industry responded in the 1980s and 1990s defensively and even arrogantly (see also 6.9). The industry experienced the criticism as unjust and unrealistic and based on ignorance. The passivity and reluctance in communicating about environmental protection and measures to save the environment was based on the post-war ideology of continuous economic growth and the strong consensus among the companies not to compete with environmental issues. It took time to understand that people demanded a right to a clean environment and that the juxtaposition of economy and the environment did not work anymore. (Pekurinen 2005: 196–201.)

The industry had done a lot in terms of controlling the damage on the environment already in the 1980s. However, the industry started paying serious attention to communication as late as in the 1990s when environmental protection had become a matter of competition. The industry realised that mere rational argumentation was not enough in an environmentally-sensitive business. The environmental organisations had managed to change the way people looked at the industry. Consequently, the forest industry intensified its communications, both at

national and company level. (Hagström-Näsi 1998: 102; Karvonen 2000: 44; Linnanen 1998 14; Pekurinen 2005:195–206.)

The developments in the attitudes and practices of communication of the forest industry can serve as a useful example to other industries and companies. After the hard lessons, the forest companies today communicate more actively than earlier about their environmental awareness as part of a wider responsibility that encompasses also corporate social responsibility and good governance. This approach is most clearly visible in the companies' web pages. In the studied customer magazines and product articles responsibility issues were visible much less.

2.4 From a privileged position to an industry among others

This brief outline shows that the history of the Finnish forest industry has been dramatic in the last fifty years. In the 1950s it contributed remarkably to the development of Finland. Until the 1980s it was an industry in a privileged position able to influence the financial decisions at national level. The 1990s saw the mergers of companies into three giant companies. The 2000s has been a rough time for the industry with overcapacity, rising costs, sinking prices and shortage of raw material. The future of the forest industry in Finland has even been questioned. Also the position as the "mother industry" has suffered and Nokia has taken the place as the number one industry. In the earlier decades the forest industry was seen to increase the well-being of the nation. Today the forest industry, however, is international. It owns production plants all over the world and its ownership is no longer only Finnish. (Metsäteollisuus ry 2006: 20, 38; Paajanen 1998: 80; Ryytteri 2005: 209–222.)

The importance of corporate communication and marketing has increased in a world where news, good and bad, about companies travel fast and where the awareness of the customers has increased. Similarly to the Finnish forest industry companies the corporate communications in other businesses have evolved as a result of communicative disasters. For example Daimler-Benz failed badly in its communications after its new car model rolled over in a test drive in the 1990s (see Gronstedt 2000: 1–6). The learning curve should, however, not always have to be as painful as it has been for the Finnish forest industry and Daimler-Benz. Diachronic research into corporate communication, such as this study, can serve to support good corporate communications by pointing to past failures or

successes in communication and analysing the reasons for these. Research can also strengthen the understanding of the importance of communication.

3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: PERSPECTIVES TO LANGUAGE AND PERSUASION

In this chapter I will outline the theories that have contributed to my "working theory". This working theory has influenced the approach, research questions and method of this study. The working theory derives from the different theories and schools of thought relevant to the area of research together with the impressions and questions that have arisen from the research material itself.

Although the method and tools applied in this research are mainly based on the theory and perspectives of rhetoric, there are influences from hermeneutics, social constructionism[1], semiotics and discourse analysis. These theories or directions of thought share an interest in how language is used and how reality is constructed in the use of language. They stress the persuasive power of language, hidden meanings and the interaction between language and its context. They also share the view that the starting point for an analysis arises from the research material and data, not a theory. (See also Fiske 1998: 179; Gadamer 2004: 33; Jokinen 1999: 38; Kakkuri-Knuuttila & Halonen 1999: 60; Littlejohn & Foss 2008: 35–37; Luukka 2000: 152; Väliverronen 1998: 32–33.)

These theories have contributed to the formulation of the underlying conceptions of this research. These are conceptions regarding interpreting text and language, language and context, language and persuasion, language and ideology and language and a community. The relationship between the key conceptions of my working theory and the research questions formulated in Section 1.2 is illustrated in Figure 2.

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[1] The terms constructionism and constructivism have been debated in Finland. For example Kakkuri-Knuuttila & Heinlahti (2006: 216) and Roos (2001) consider the terms synonyms. Roos prefers the term constructionism to constructivism as it stems from construction while constructivism stems from constructive. Erkki Karvonen (2002: 1.5), however, makes a difference between their meaning. He calls the theory that derives from cognitive psychology and theory on cognition constructionism while constructivism denotes a direction of research that is interested in the cultural constructions that are repeated and strengthened in text.

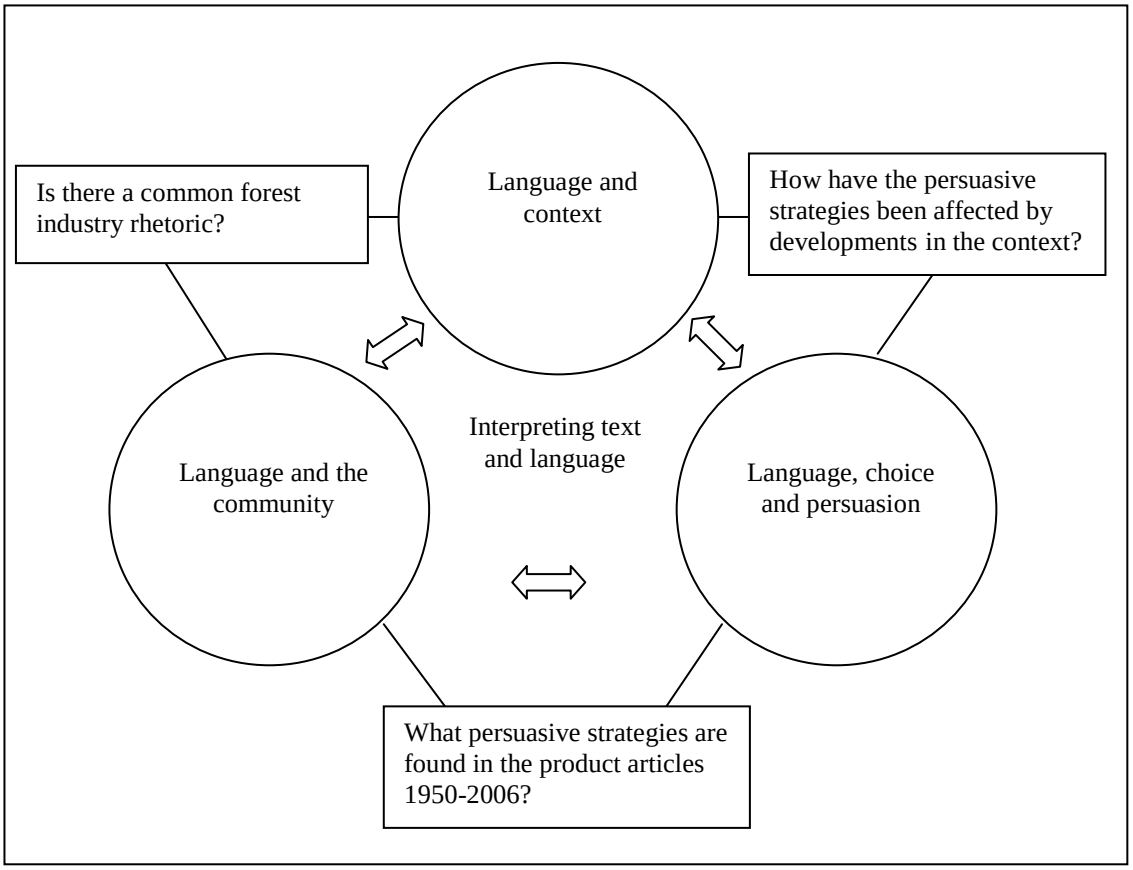

Figure 2. Key conceptions of the working theory of the research and their relationship to the research questions.

As seen in Figure 2, the starting point is the idea of language as a mirror of reality. Like a mirror, language can both reveal phenomena and shape these depending on the angle of observation. One can also see the many layers and perspectives necessary for interpreting the use of language. A perspective that is important in this research is the perception of the interrelation between institutions and language use. Thus an analysis of the language can also reveal attitudes of whole communities or institutions. In this study these attitudes would affect the strategies chosen for persuasion. The interrelation between language and a community is particularly relevant for the question whether there is a common forest industry rhetoric.

The centrality of the connection between language and the context for this research is also visible in the figure. Therefore it is apparent that the context must be considered when answering both the question concerning the impact of the developments in the surrounding world and the question concerning the persuasive strategies found as these could be influenced both by pressures from

the outside and trends in advertising and marketing. Finally, the figure illustrates how all the research questions and key conceptions are interrelated either directly or indirectly.

In the following sections I will first discuss the underlying conceptions of my research with regard to the different theories. After that I will reflect on why I have chosen rhetoric as the basis for my method.

3.1 Interpreting text and language

Interpreting text and language can reveal how realities are constructed in language. Hermeneutics, social constructionism and discourse analysis consider understanding a linguistic phenomenon. Language continuously constructs and supports our orientation in the world (Gadamer 2004: 95; Jokinen 1999: 39; Suoninen 1995: 92). In semiotics codes and signs, and their representation are seen as fundamental elements that support understanding and keep cultures alive. Understanding is seen as a process where one sign activates other signs which in turn activate others. The signs and their meanings are determined in a context. (Barthes 1985a: xi; Fiske 1998: 16–17; Fowler 1985: 61–62.)

Social constructionism departs from the idea that there is no one reality, but instead we confront a reality represented from a certain perspective. Thus the reality is something that is constructed socially and linguistically. It can be chosen and it could be different. In a socially constructed world people can not observe a phenomenon and conclude that it is real, instead they must construct it subjectively. Language determines what we notice and understand. Thus construction takes place also when information is being sent and received. Constructionism is interested in how and why a presentation has been built as well as from whose perspective and whose interests it serves (Jokinen 1999: 39; Karvonen 2002: 1.5; Roos 2001).

Similarly rhetoric and discourse analysis share the point of departure that meaning is related to perspective. Thus the realities in which people live provide different meanings to words or messages. Interpretation is also construction of meaning. Particularly in critical discourse analysis the aim is to see how a text constructs identities and phenomena, how text reproduces dominance and what the social consequences are (Halliday 1986a: xiv–xvii; Pietikäinen 2000: 211–212; Karvonen 2002: 1.5; Perelman 2007: 50–56; Suoninen 1995: 94).

The interest in how realities are constructed in language consequently means that interpretation of text is central. Hermeneutics is defined by Gadamer (2004: 74,

139) as the theory that makes text speak again. Thus, intuition and openness to what a text wants to say is emphasised in hermeneutics. In a hermeneutic approach a text is "undone" in parts looking for patterns and then a step backwards is taken to evaluate the meaning of the parts and patterns as a whole (Cassirer 1997: 88–89; Littlejohn 2002: 188). Interpreting the whole is also central in semiotics. Semiotics, however, studies all kinds of signs and their uses in society, representation and sign systems, not only language.

Interpretation is needed to understand the aims and constructions of reality embedded into text. Linguistic codes do not reflect reality neutrally, but interpret, organise and classify the subjects of the text (Fowler 1996: 40). One of the first linguists to adopt the thought that ideology is mirrored in language was J. L. Austin. Austin (1986: 5, 9) thought that language reflects both the situations in which it has been produced as well as the values of the participants. The expressions are visible signals of the thinking of the speaker or writer. In discourse analysis one of the main interests lies in analysing and interpreting these beliefs and social practices present in texts (Fairclough 1995: 6–7).

The interpretation of beliefs and values in a text is possible because these steer the formulation of a text. According to Gadamer (2004: 87) every statement has its motive and thus one can always ask "Why do you say that?" Statements can be fully understood only when the said is understood together with what is not said. The statements could be continued with "because this is what I value" or "this is what I think you value" (Turunen 1992: 116). An exchange is very often about what is valuated, either openly or between the lines. Perelman (2007: 33) saw it appropriate to use the concept *value* whenever something was placed above something else or considered better.

Following the reasoning above the analysis of the persuasive strategies of the Finnish forest industry is based on the assumption that the persuasive strategies, the desired impression conveyed through the strategies and the valuations of the industry are interlinked. The persuasive strategies reveal the impression that the industry has wanted to give of itself and its products. The desired impression in turn reflects the industry's conception of itself as well as the industry's assumption of the valuations of the readers. Thus for example by emphasising the research and development efforts or technical properties of the products, the forest industry companies could have wanted to paint a picture of a technologically advanced and reliable industry. The strong technical orientation and culture prevailing within the industry could have lead the Finnish forest industry to believe that technical expertise was what also the clients valued (see e.g. 6.11).

In this study I have used the concept *valuation* as something that is related to attitudes and values. According to Puohiniemi (1993: 13–15, 79) values are stable and permanent aims that steer our choices. Attitudes in turn are reactions to different stimuli. Attitudes and opinions can be influenced for example by new information or discussions. They further reflect the economic and technological changes in society. Values and attitudes and their importance vary depending on the culture and society. They can also change within one community in different times. Lybäck and Loukola's (2005: 272) definition of *valuation* is close to the one used in this study. They consider *valuation* the view of one or a group of individuals on an issue. This view can simply be a preference or opinion that serves as a motivator for the individual or group.

3.2 Language and context

The dialogue between language and context is a starting point in many theories focusing on language. As this research is diachronic and concerns an industry in transition, the question of context is vital. The data on the past context has been necessary for understanding the argumentation, as the perspectives and views of other time periods are incompatible with those of another (Foucault 1998: 284–285). The research questions regarding the sensitivity of the forest industry to the developments in the surrounding world and the image the industry has sought to build, as well as the choices of persuasive strategies, could only be interpreted and understood together with a close "reading" of the context. In the following sections the inseparable union of language and context will be outlined. I will also discuss the different dimensions of context and what they mean in this research.

3.2.1 Dialogue of text and context

The notion of context is fundamental in hermeneutics, social constructionism, semiotics, discourse analysis and rhetoric. The realisation is that interpreting and understanding text is possible only when it is analysed in the context it is presented (Aristoteles *Retoriikka* 1367b; Carter & Nash 1990 21; Jokinen 1999: 40; Luukka 2000: 138–140; Fiske 1998: 79–80). Fairclough (1995: 9) thinks that separating a text from the institutional and discoursal practices is artificial. Similarly Foucault (1998: 284) regards the description of a discourse as an independent layer as unproductive unless it is done in relation to the layer of practices, institutions or relationships. In semiotics codes are seen as related to conventions of use and agreements. Signs are activated in their context making the communication concrete. Consequently they can have different meanings in

different societies, situations and times. (Bergman 1998: 23–24; Karvonen 2002: 3.2; Vesala & Rantanen 2007: 29).

The hermeneutic circle can be used to describe the interdependence of interpretation and context. The interpretation moves in a circle from the text to its context and back to the text. In the process the text is understood and interpreted through its parts and the parts through the whole, including the context. Thus the meaning of a text can be construed only within its cultural, historical, and literary context. (Gripsrud 2000: 174–175; Kakkuri-Knuuttila 1999a: 30.)

Rhetoric links the context to the success of argumentation. Thus the successful use of language and techniques of persuasion depend on the context (Aristoteles *Retoriikka* 1355b). The term *kairos* illustrates the contextual dependence of rhetoric. *Kairos* means that a presentation must fit the occasion, that is, that the speaker or writer has to weigh and plan his presentation to suit the occasion. The Swedish rhetoricians Maria Karlberg and Brigitte Mral (1998: 21) have "modernised" the term as *good timing*.

Kairos is closely linked to the term *rhetorical situation*. While kairos can be seen as the opportunities provided by the situation, rhetorical situation can be regarded as limitations that steer a presentation. These limitations determine what can be said and how (see also Kakkuri-Knuuttila 1999c: 236; Kjeldsen 2008: 84–85; Perelman 2007: 16–17). Similarly Perelman (2007: 16–17) saw that deviation from these limitations could lead to a situation where the speaker or writer was considered ridiculous, rude or even shameful.

In classical times rhetorical situation meant the three types of public speeches, namely forensic, deliberative, and epideictic speeches that were relevant in Athens 300 BCE. Today the spectrum is wider, encompassing all types of communicative situations. The scope of a rhetorical situation has, however, remained the same. Thus, a rhetorical situation encompasses the speaker or writer, the audience and the forum. These are social concepts, meaning that the societal context determines who writes to whom and in what circumstances (Aristoteles *Retoriikka* 1358b). Thus the starting point for a rhetorical analysis should be the rhetorical situation. Texts do not exist in abstract linguistic spheres, but always have a history preceding and following them, they have an audience as well as a concrete reason or aim. (Karlberg & Mral 1998: 11–13; Kakkuri-Knuuttila 1999c: 235.)

3.2.2 Dimensions of context

The concept of *context* has many dimensions. Within classical rhetoric both Aristotle (*Retoriikka* 1358b; 1367a) and Cicero (*Puhujasta* 223) recognised the importance of the participants and the forum of the speech. In addition Aristotle (*Retoriikka* 1367b) expressed an understanding of the importance of the social and cultural background of the listeners. This is visible in his advice to take into account the values of different peoples, such as the Spartans, Scythians and philosophers.

Within contemporary rhetoric Burke and Perelman paid attention to different dimensions of context. For Perelman (2007: 16–25) one aspect of context was of particular importance. In Perelman's rhetoric *audience* was a central concept. Since the knowledge of the audience and its opinions are important for the success of the arguments, Perelman distinguished between universal and particular audiences. Different audiences have different preconceptions. For example particular audiences have their own established truths which are taken for granted and rarely questioned. Thus, Perelman (2007: 17–18, 20–25) claimed that argumentation directed to a particular audience should persuade[2], that is, the argumentation does not need to establish common truths. A universal audience, on the other hand, should be convinced by common truths, values and facts. For Burke, context meant more than the audience. Burke's interest was in the social context (Summa 1998: 53–57). He saw a linkage between persuasion, the selection of reality and use of power (Burke 1962: 567–570).

It would be unthinkable to do linguistic research today without paying attention to the context. Fairclough (1992: 81–82) underlines the importance of context for the interpretation and the influence of the context on the force of the message. The force is the actional component of text, what it is being used for. Although widely used today, there is no universal agreement or understanding of the meaning and dimensions of the concept of *context* (see also Martin 1999: 26–27; Thompson 1999: 101–103). For example van Dijk (2003: 95) argues that context is undefined psychologically. He proposes that context should not be understood as a social situation, but instead as the subjective mental model that participants construct of the properties of the social situation. Although I find van Dijk's thinking commendable in that he moves a step towards understanding the

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[2] Perelman's use of *persuade* and *convince* is different from the dictionary definitions today (see also 3.3, footnote 3). For a thorough discussion of Perelman's definitions of the terms, please see Rosengren 1998: 36–37.

individual and the psychological dimension of discourse, I have in this research used the interpretation of context by Halliday as the starting point.

The central theoretician within systemic functional linguistics, M. A. K. Halliday (1986b: 45–48) has recognised four dimensions of *context*. Firstly, he takes into consideration the *cotext* or *coherence*, the internal relationships within the text. Secondly, Halliday defines the relationship of a text to other texts as the intertextual context. Thus texts bear traces of earlier texts. Intertextuality is also an element of textual genres. Martin (2001: 44–46) sees genres as an additional level of context. This level is concerned with the way social relations, institutional activity and communication enact a dialogue. Genre and institutions have been discussed in more detail in Section 3.4.

The third dimension is the *situational context* that encompasses the participants, the topics and linguistic form. Concrete communication is created in certain situations (Bergman 1998: 23). A situational context is for example formed by the roles of the participants, the field of discourse, the type of activity, the topics of discussion etc (Halliday 1986b: 45–46). Thus situational context encompasses relationships both within the text itself and between the text and the participants or circumstances immediately involved in the production and consumption of the text. In its textual context the utterances get their meaning in relation to those utterances that precede them or follow them. Situations can also define what we say and how (Ventola 2006: 97). Thus the participants and the content-related aspects such as topic or type of activity are inter-connected.

The fourth and widest dimension is the *cultural context* which refers to the cultural or social context, the community within which the texts are produced and read. Part of this context is the historical context, the historical and ideological background against which the texts are read and interpreted (Mäntynen 2003: 29). Traditions and practices determine to a degree what the texts must be about (Perelman 2007: 17). The cultural context is also necessary for interpretation in different situations within a culture. (Bakhtin 1986: 6–7; Fairclough 1995: 34). Halliday (1986b: 46–47) defines the context of culture as the overarching context, the broader background that determines what features are present in text in certain situations and what meanings and values are attached to the texts. Thus for example the force of a message, the meanings of individual words and an understanding of what is implied between the lines of the message are dependent on the social context (Fairclough 1992: 185; Fairclough 2003: 10–11).

In my research on the forest industry rhetoric I have considered three dimensions of context, namely the intertextual, situational and social context. This is a somewhat simplified interpretation of the four dimensions identified by Halliday.

The focus in this study is on the interaction between language and the context it is being used in. Thus in my interpretation cotext, the relationships within the text, are part of the situational context, present in the situations when the text is constructed and particularly in the situation where it is consumed.

In this study the intertextual context comprises the practices of creating customer magazines and product articles and the repeated features and conventions of text. The relationship encompasses that of a product article to another, either past or present. Thus for example the product articles inherit certain characteristics and conventions from earlier product articles. An example of such a convention is the structure of the product articles in the 1950s to 1970s. In those decades the product articles typically began with an overview of the history of the product, production or its development (Volmari 2006: 59). Such conventions are also the "building blocks of genres (see 3.4.). The product articles in a customer magazine also interact with the other articles in the same issue, for example in supporting a chosen theme of that magazine. Such themes may be related to a current issue, such as the threat posed by digital media to the printed media and the consequent need for innovative uses of the company's products in UPM's Griffin 2/2006. In this issue the two product articles deal with the innovative solutions of using plywood for gas tankers and the development of intelligent labels.

The situational context comprises the motivation for writing the product articles, the writers' backgrounds, their roles and the choices they have made in the articles. Also the readers are part of the situational context. Thus for example the fact that the readers of forest industry customer magazines are professionals means that their expectations regarding the contents of the products articles are different from those of lay-men. Consequently, the choices of arguments have been influenced by the writers' notions of the expectations of these readers. Also the immediate "surroundings" of the arguments, the cotext, and the contents of the customer magazines are part of this situational context.

The history of the forest industry and developments in marketing and advertising in Finland as well as the ideologies and attitudes of the forest industry community form the cultural and societal context. All these dimensions of context steer and support the interpretations made regarding the developments in the customer magazines, persuasive strategies and the desired impressions as an outcome of the former. Furthermore, the cultural and societal context plays a key role in the analysis of the influence of external developments on the argumentation. The clearest examples of such developments in the societal context of the Finnish forest industry were the environmental debate in the 1990s and the accusations of the industry neglecting its social responsibilities in the 2000s (see also 2.3). This

influence can only be seen by reading and interpreting the arguments against the background of the developments affecting the forest industry and its sales rhetoric. Similarly, this context is central when addressing the questions whether there is a common forest industry rhetoric.

3.3 Language, choice and persuasion

The power of language as a means of persuasion[3] underlies the research questions on what persuasive strategies are found in the product articles of the forest industry customer magazines. Persuasion and the notion of linguistic choice are closely linked. They are linked because meanings are realised as syntactic and lexical choices and because certain meanings and forms have more influence in one context or combination than in another. Thus the author of a text chooses from a large number of communication options available to him. (van Dijk 2001: 357; Halliday 2004: xiv; 26–27; Jakobson 1990: 77–78; Perelman 2007: 55.)

In the constructionist view people create and maintain common conceptual structures. These are influenced by the historical and social processes that have made certain discourses necessary. Discourses can be defined as acts that form messages[4]. Within discourses every presentation, spoken or written, is the result of numerous choices. Every choice is influenced by how and from whose perspective the world is defined and represented. (Littlejohn 2002: 164–165; Karvonen 1998: 34.)

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[3] In this study *persuasion* is used to denote the result of persuading and convincing, that is a change or strengthening of somebody's response or attitude towards which the writer or speaker has aimed (see also Virtanen & Halmari 2005: 3–5; Stiff 1994: 4). Current usage is that *persuade* and *convince* are used as synonyms (Hornby 2000). Sometimes a difference between the two is made so that persuading means appealing to emotions while convincing means appealing to objective facts (Walton 1970: 42). Perelman (2007: 23–25) made the same distinction considering further that convincing with objective facts is the aim of presentations directed at universal audiences while persuasion appealing to emotions is aimed at in presentation to particular audiences. Perelman's distinction does not fit the setting of this research as the product articles function both as information sources and advertisements to professional readers, encompassing both of Perelman's means of persuasion (see also 3.2.2).

[4] The concept of *discourse* is not entirely clear. It can be thought to be based on the notion of sign systems and their societal role stemming from Saussure's structural linguistics. It can, however, be considered a system of distinctions. Different practices need different distinctions. (Karvonen 2002: 3.3; Luukka 2000: 133.) The interpretation of *discourse* used by Littlejohn (2002: 164–165) and Karvonen (1998: 34) lies in between the two extremes adopted by linguists and social scientists. Linguists can use discourse simply about spoken or written text, while social scientists apply a definition of discourse as a system of meanings and social practice (Fairclough 1998a: 6; Luukka 2000: 134-135).

It is the task of rhetoric to detect intended persuasive means in language. Therefore in rhetoric persuasion is analysed through the choices a speaker or writer has made. The focus of the interpretation is on the production of text and the language into which the techniques used for persuasion are embedded. (Aristoteles *Retoriikka* 1355b; Burke 1945: 172, Gripsrud 2000: 194; Kjeldsen 2008: 21; Summa 1998: 64; Perelman 2007: 181).

In addition to the persuasive means employed by individual speakers or writers, rhetoric can help understand human activities, their motives and to reveal the unconscious identifications, that is how language is used to persuade the audience to accept a common perspective. For being persuasive people must develop vocabularies that are selections of reality (Burke 1945: 59). Thus the selection of realities realised as culturally settled figures of speech create and maintain political power (Burke 1962: 570).

Similarly to rhetoric, research into the means of influence and persuasion in language is considered the main task of discourse analysis (Pietikäinen 2000: 200). Critical discourse analysis adds to this approach a critical interpretation, resembling that of Burke, to help reveal the disguised interests. Such revelation is possible because linguistic choices are not value-free choices, instead the writer can hide or emphasise different aspects according to his own perspective or aims (Carter & Nash 1990: 24). The starting point is that language is used as a means to support ideologies[5] and that language awareness can help change and improve societies. (van Dijk 1997: 11; Fairclough 1998a: 1–2; Littlejohn 2002: 214.)

In the same way as critical discourse analysis semiotics sees texts as representations, as stories of a reality. The choice can be used to direct the attention to certain sides of things as well as direct the attention away from others (Fiske 1998: 82; Tarasti 1990: 5, 12–13; Lehtonen 2000: 117). According to Saussure (1970: 37–38, 40) signs have social power and manipulative force. This is based on the choices available for creating meanings.

The above discussion on the relation between language, choice and persuasion is relevant for the questions of this research. Particularly so regarding the question related to the persuasive strategies employed in the forest industry product

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[5] According to Pietikäinen (2000: 202) i*deology* is a wide and much debated concept. It can be understood neutrally, when it means a view of the world. *Ideology* can also be understood culturally to denote a distorted awareness or use of power. In discourse analysis *ideology* can mean beliefs that underlie and steer the way in which something represented (see also van Dijk 1997: 17).

articles. Hence the choices made by the writers reflect the conventions and restrictions that are defined by both the type of text in question and the institutional setting. The forest industry or the companies define what the desired impression is that is to be conveyed. In addition, the writers' choices have to be such that produce the best persuasive effect in the given situation. Thus, the choices can be influenced for example by recent debates or interests of the audience. Such debates and interests concerning the forest industry were for example the shortage of products in the post-war 1950s and the focus on corporate social responsibility in the 2000s. However, these choices have to fit in with the constraints of the genre, that is, the tradition of expression. Institutional traditions and genre as defining and restrictive forces will be discussed in the following section.

3.4 Language and the community

The question whether there is a common forest industry rhetoric, a common way of communication and persuasion within the Finnish forest industry, is linked to the question whether beliefs and values can be common to a community. A community has its culture[6]. In the case of this study the culture is one shared by the people working in the forest industry, the forest industry community. In a culture, such as this, the values, which can be consciously chosen, can become institutionalised. This means that the values and beliefs of the members of a community become similar and lead to a common way of communicating and common norms. Consequently the communities define what can be said and how (Alasuutari 1995: 25–37; Carter & Nash 1990: 21; Kivikuru 1998: 322; Kress 1985: 28; Lehtonen 1998: 134). Van Dijk (2003: 89) talks about *social cognition*, a system of mental structures and operations, such as knowledge, attitudes and ideologies, shared by the members of social groups, organisations and cultures. The shared knowledge and attitudes form a resource for interpretation that repeats itself as a tradition (Habermas 1994: 84). These can also be a prerequisite for belonging to a community (Luukka 2000: 151).

The concept of *paradigm* can be used to describe the basic beliefs of a group of people. This paradigm functions as a collective filter which regulates how the members of a group conceive the surrounding reality (see also Fiske 1998: 81–82;

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6 *Culture* is a complex concept. In this study I am using *culture* to denote collective subjectivity, a way of life or outlook, shared beliefs and practices adopted by a community or social class (see also Alasuutari 1995: 25; Karvonen 1998: 31; Myers 1998: 20).

Pekurinen 2005: 182). This does not necessarily mean that everybody in the forest industry would share exactly the same opinions and values. Instead paradigm means that for example within the world of business and within different fields of business there are general and widely accepted basic beliefs and traditions of thought that steer the activities. In the case of the Finnish forest industry such paradigms have been for example the faith that the sophisticated production technology can not harm the environment. This shared belief was so strong that the forest industry shared a consensus for a long time of a "passive resistance" towards environmental issues. This resistance was an agreement to ignore the issue (see 6.9).

The notion of a tradition of thought, the values and beliefs, is closely connected to both discourse and genre. As discourses provide the tools for thinking, they also determine how things should be thought about. Consequently, texts can be seen partly as the products of a community being produced within this framework of thinking. "Institutions hold individuals within a linguistic web" (Shapiro 1984: 239). Thus the linguistic choices reflect, not only the speakers' or writers' beliefs, but those of the community. (Brown & Yule 1998: 1; Halliday 1999: xi, xxxi; Herrick 2005: 22–23; Suoninen 1999: 17; Leiwo & Pietikäinen 1996: 103; Fairclough 1998b; Lehtonen 2000: 120).

The institutional and shared perceptions of text, such as notions on what can be written about and how, can create a genre. Although genre is not the focus of this research or its research questions, it is relevant when considering the institutionalisation of language and whether an industry can be interpreted as having one voice. Institutionalisation and genre are also linked to the question of media type. A discussion on media type has surfaced in media research. Media researchers consider different types of media, such as television, internet, books and magazines, to have a role in the process of constructing meaning. A media type forms its own intertextual context, in which there is an interaction between its different parts (see Ridell 2006: 204–205). Thus the surrounding parts of the media type, such as articles in magazines, can influence the way the reader interprets one of these. The forest industry customer magazines can be considered a media type that surrounds the articles of the magazines, creating an intertextual context for the different articles. As these interact, the reader might, for example, after reading an article positively describing a company's business ethics and social responsibility, be more positively "attuned" to the arguments in a product article.

Media types can contain generic elements, for example certain types of magazine articles that can be considered their own genre. *Genre* is not a simple concept,

having many interpretations. On a very general level *genre* can mean the type of communicative event, for example texts with the same objective and the same audience or typical type of texts of an institution (Mäntynen & Shore 2006: 21–22; Swales 1990: 45–58). Further, the perception of the readers, their valuations and expectations steer the production of text (Ridell 1992: 28). In addition to steering the production of text, genre steers the consumption of text. Thus the readers for example expect to find certain contents and form in certain places (Ledin 1995: 45; Valtonen 1998: 109; Väliverronen 1998: 35).

Ledin (1995: 44–46, 48) emphasises that a genre is a social process, influenced by the institutional setting and conditions that affect the formulation of text. Therefore, a genre can contain heterogeneous texts and influences from other genres. When for example comparing texts from different time periods, the styles and structures may differ, but the conditions of production and consumption remain the same. Accordingly the production and consumption of the texts in this research were mostly unchanged during the studied 56 years: the aim of the texts was the same and the readers were publishing and printing professionals. The writers changed partly, but the editorial responsibility was always with the companies and the corporate communications department. Thus the texts can be considered part of the same genre even if they show differences in the argumentation and use of rhetorical devices.

Consequently, even if the choices in language are endless, the culture or genre restricts this choice. Genre for example defines which things can be in a causal relationship to each other (Hietala 2006: 103). The production of text is influenced by rules and conventions, typically regarding choice of topics, style and means of presentation (e.g. Luukka 2000: 150). The genre conventions, such as limitations concerning topics of discussion or structure of text, further contribute to the credibility and acceptability of a text (Bergenkotter & Huckin 1995: 13–15; Hellspong & Ledin 2001: 38). Halliday and Martin (1997: 36) characterise genres as predictable use of language.

Genres are anchored socially and thus those people who use the same genres form a communicative or discourse community. The roles and conventions of these communities strongly affect people. Thus the people who produce the texts are doing so in their institutional role, carrying out their institutional tasks and carrying with them an inheritance of textual tradition, all of which guide their text production and consumption. The culture or community further influences the writers' or speakers' perceptions of persuasiveness both in terms of form and content of the presentation. Thus the rhetorical choices and strategies available to a writer are limited or guided by the value and belief systems of the community

the text is produced in. (Bergenkotter & Huckin 1995: 1–4, 21–25; Fowler 1996: 113–114; Hirschkop 2001: 16–17; Mauranen 1993: 4; Nuolijärvi 2002: 25; Solin 2006: 75.)

The choices are also steered by the collective intention of the community (Searle 1995: 37–38). The resources and strategies available to the writer are not stable or unchanged. Instead they are dependent on the different contexts and the changes in these (see also Luukka 2002: 105). Thus especially in persuasive text, such as the Finnish forest industry rhetoric, the writers should be sensitive and perceptive to the changes around them. In the case of the forest industry the valuations within society and the conception of the legitimacy of the industry's actions have changed drastically. Therefore credibility and persuasiveness require sensitivity to these changes.

The theories and research discussed above support the assumption that the product articles of the Finnish forest industry customer magazines reflect the tradition of writing and argumenting as well as the collective thoughts and beliefs and collective intentions of the forest industry community rather than those of the individual writers. Thus those working in the forest industry would share the intention or aim to keep the industry going and make it prosper to secure their own well-being. It is also likely that the forest industry community has rejected the external criticism for the same reason. Thus, for example the criticism of the environmentalists in the 1990s and 2000s has been denied and the sophistication of the technology and naturalness of the raw material have been used as counter arguments (see also Sections 6.6 and 6.9).

The collective character of the product articles is further strengthened by the reality that texts produced for practical purposes are often created by a group of people. Somebody "commissions" the text and sets the objectives for it, after which somebody else produces the text according to these objectives. An even larger group of people influence the text production through a tradition. (Hellspong & Ledin 2001: 24.)

3.5 Rhetoric as a theory and tool

Rhetoric, discourse analysis, critical discourse analysis, hermeneutics, social constructionism and semiotics form the theoretical basis of this research. The last three schools of thought have contributed to my thinking on a theoretical level, to my perception of how language, understanding and persuasion are interlinked. Discourse analysis and critical discourse analysis have, in addition to rhetoric,

supported me in finding the practical approaches and tools for the method and analysis.

Rhetoric and discourse analysis have a lot in common. This is acknowledged by many researchers. For example Väliverronen (1998: 23) has expressed the view that discourse analysis has its roots in classical rhetoric. Rhetoric in Väliverronen's opinion emphasises language as actions that have certain consequences, while discourse analysis has conceptualised these actions and consequences in relation to power. Sometimes rhetoric is seen as a sub-discipline of discourse analysis. Fairclough (1998b) considers discourse analysis a wider approach that also encompasses rhetoric. Arja Jokinen (1999: 47) has formulated the relationship in a similar fashion. According to her the focus in rhetoric is primarily in the formulation of utterances and relationship to the audience, while in discourse analysis the production of linguistic form is more clearly tied to the creation of cultural meanings and processes of interaction.

The two central figures of rhetoric, Aristotle and Perelman, however, saw rhetoric as an overarching approach. In Perelman's (2007: 181) view all texts that aim to influence belong to the realm of rhetoric. Aristotle saw rhetoric both as the art of winning the belief of the hearer (Hobbes 1963: 80) and as a tool "to discover the real and apparent means of persuasion" (Freese 1947: 13).

Although the approach in this research is influenced by discourse analysis in the attention to the relationship between the institutional, social and ideological context and the use of language, the approach clearly belongs to the realm of rhetoric. Firstly, the interests of discourse analysis and rhetoric are different. While discourse analysis is more interested in how language reflects societal realities, rhetoric focuses on the means of persuasion.

Secondly, rhetoric has provided the methodological "scaffolding" for my research. The scaffolding results from the systematic approach of rhetoric to the means of persuasion. This systematic approach is visible in the ways of analysing arguments and classification of rhetorical figures and tropes according to what their persuasive force is based on. The "rhetorical clues" that are the result of a systematic analysis help the analyst to see more and gives meaning to what is seen (Myerson & Rydin 1996: 15, 23). They also help to detect the constructed nature of persuasive texts (Dyer 1996: 179).

Thirdly, the systematic approach and tools provided by rhetoric have helped to discover the persuasive strategies used in the product articles in different times. The analysis has further revealed the changes in the persuasive strategies and

enabled a comparison of these strategies in the different magazines and time periods.

In the following sections I will discuss the different perspectives to rhetoric, that is, the perceptions of its role as seen by different theorists. After that I will discuss perceptions on argument techniques and modes of persuasion.

3.5.1 Perspectives to rhetorical analysis

Rhetoric is traditionally divided into classical and contemporary rhetoric. In between the classical times 509–31 BCE, when the art of rhetoric flourished, and the first revival of rhetoric in 1600–1900 initiated by Francis Bacon lies a time period when rhetoric almost disappeared as a scientific line of thought and discipline (Foss, Foss & Trapp 1985: 3–8). The era of contemporary rhetoric is considered to have begun in the 1950s with Chaïm Perelman, Kenneth Burke and Stephen Toulmin. They questioned the condescending attitude towards rhetoric as an art of stylistic elements and brought back the interest in the study of argumentation, logic and persuasion. (Haapanen 1998: 23, 45; Herrick 2008: 198–199; Kjeldsen 2008: 16; Summa 1998: 51–52.)

A pragmatic approach to language existed already in classical rhetoric. It emphasised the appropriateness of language and was interested in what the speaker should say to persuade his listeners (Aristoteles *Retoriikka* 1355 a–b; Cicero *Puhujasta* 120). Thus language is adapted for a reason, for a certain audience and purpose (Gripsrud 2000: 194). The central figure in classical rhetoric, Aristotle (382 BCE), systematised rhetoric into a theory that could help the speaker in finding the material for his speech as well as the right way of presenting it. According to Aristotle, rhetoric was the philosophy of life as defined by language and speech. Cicero (106 BCE) considered rhetoric to be close to moral philosophy and a means to develop public speech aimed primarily at controlling people. (Cicero *Puhujasta* 44; Haapanen 1998: 23–26; Freese 1947: xvii.)

While classical rhetoric mainly provided advice for how to use language for persuasion, contemporary rhetoric is also interested in how people communicate. Consequently rhetoric today focuses on argumentation and its interpretation and analysis. (Kakkuri-Knuuttila 1999c: 241.) Contemporary rhetoric also draws on a variety of disciplines, such as psychology and social sciences (Foss et al. 1985: 10). For example Perelman (2007: 11–14) saw rhetoric as an indispensable tool for philosophy. Thus he saw rhetoric as the study of practical reasoning. Perelman also created, together with Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca, a taxonomy on the resources

in language that could be used for persuasion (Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca 1971; Summa 1998: 63–64).

Kenneth Burke saw rhetoric as the tool for understanding human activities and to reveal their motives and conscious identifications, the rhetorical ways in which the listener or reader is persuaded to accept the common view or opinion. Burke also underlined how the figures of speech naturalised into cultures support political power. (Burke 1945: xv–xv, 11, 59; Foss et al. 1985: 157–160; Summa 1996: 53; Törrönen 2006.) Burke's emphasis on the societal aspects of rhetoric is one of the fundamental ideas in critical discourse analysis.

Stephen Toulmin, also considered one of the founders of contemporary rhetoric, sought to establish a model for the analysis of arguments. Toulmin considered that the study of argumentation should be comparative rather than based on constructing formal models of argumentation. He rejected the idea that logic could be used normatively to judge the validity of an argument. Instead he examined the elements of practical logic of argumentation. Thus he wanted to capture the means used in practice to defend viewpoints or persuade others. Toulmin's approach to analysing arguments is described in Section 3.5.2. (Toulmin 2003: 89–100; Kjeldsen 2008: 188–189; Siitonen & Halonen 1997: 254–255.)

The analysis in this research has been influenced both by classical and contemporary rhetoric. Thus the classification of the rhetorical strategies according to ethos, logos and pathos, that is, whether the strategies appeal to the credibility of the writer, to reason or to emotions, derives from classical rhetoric. Also the analysis of the argument topics goes back to Aristotle's advice and classification of topoi or loci, the places or spheres where the speaker could find persuasive arguments. The inter-dependence between the contents and form of the arguments in persuasion in turn derives from contemporary rhetoric. Perelman (2007: 42) emphasised that meaning is constituted in both content and form and that content can therefore not be separated from the form. The contextuality of language is also underlined in contemporary rhetoric. Thus the interpretations of language depend on the relevant linguistic or cultural framework. (Burke 1962: 570; Perelman 2007: 48–49; Toulmin 2003: 64.)

3.5.2 Argumentation techniques

Perelman and Toulmin were interested in the logic and success of the argumentation, whether the reader adheres to the successive element of an argument. Perelman's analysis classified arguments into dissociative techniques

and associative techniques, such as quasi-logical arguments, arguments that appeal to reality or establish the real. Perelman saw that the basis of successful argumentation lies in creating an association between the premiss, the basis of the argument, and the claim. In addition he was interested in rhetorical figures as means of bringing new perspectives and ensuring that the audience is receptive to the argument. (Perelman 2007: 28, 48, 61.)

Toulmin's model is based on the analysis of the content of the arguments. With this model he aimed at specifying both the force and criteria for justification of arguments. The best-known part of his theory is the lay-out of practical argument. This is a model of the interrelated components of an argument. Toulmin focused on the justifications, believing that a good argument can succeed in providing good justification to a claim, which will stand up to criticism and earn a favourable verdict. In his model all arguments have at least three components: a claim, data to support a claim and a warrant that provides a connection between the data and the claim. The lay-out was based on legal arguments, but later it has been adapted as a model for communicating arguments and for explaining the process of persuasion. (Foss et al. 1985: 84–98; Kjeldsen 2008: 188–189; Summa 1998: 77–79; Toulmin 2003: 87–100.)

In this study the approach is somewhat different from those of Perelman and Toulmin. The focus in my research is not on the logic and success of arguments. Thus I will not be analysing the argumentation techniques, the way the arguments have been constructed with regard to logic or whether the justifications are successful. Instead the analysis aims at discovering the argumentation and rhetorical strategies, the semantic content of the arguments. The method and sequence of the analysis is described in more detail in the following chapter.

4 RESEARCH MATERIAL AND METHOD

In this chapter I will first explain the choice and composition of the research material. I will further describe how it was grouped for the purposes of the analysis. Section 4.2 is a description of the method building on the theoretical framework and key conceptions outlined in Chapter 3. In Section 4.2 I will first discuss the different layers of language present in the research material and the relationship of these layers to each other. Secondly, the sequence of the analysis will be described. Finally, the main concepts used in this research are defined. The method in this study is based, with small modifications, on the method used in my Licentiate's thesis (Volmari 2006).

4.1 Selection and grouping of research material

The research material of this study consists of 135 product articles from the Finnish forest industry's English customer magazines 1950–2006 (Appendix 1). Customer magazines in English were chosen for two reasons. Firstly, I presumed that the motivation for persuasion is stronger in articles that are directed at foreign readers than in articles for the domestic market. This assumption was based on the fact that the majority of the production of the Finnish forest industry has been exported. Moreover, most of the criticism against the industry has been voiced abroad. The second reason was that many of the magazines appeared only in English and thus the choice enabled a richer research material than if magazines in Finnish had been selected.

The studied product articles were published in the magazines of two associations and three companies. The first association was the association of Finnish forest industry professionals who published *Finnish Paper and Timber* together with the Finnish forest industry until 1980. The second association was the joint sales organisation Finnish Paper Mills Association Finnpap who published *Finnpap Express* and *Finnpap World* in 1981–1983 and 1984–1995 respectively. The first company-specific customer magazines of the Finnish forest industry were *Kymi Kymmene International*, *Kymi Kymmene International Magazine*, *Kymmene International magazine* and *Kymi Review* published 1977–1994 by Kymi Kymmene Corporation (see Table 1). The company was later merged with United Paper Mills (UPM) into UPM-Kymmene. *Metsä-Serla News*, the customer magazine of Metsä-Serla Corporation, was published from 1987 to 2000. In conjunction with the change of the company name Metsä-Serla to M-real in 2001, Metsä-Serla News was replaced by a new customer magazine called *Embrace*. In 2005 Embrace became *M-real Magazine*. *The Griffin*, the customer

magazine of UPM and later UPM-Kymmene, has been published since 1996. The history of the English-language customer magazines is outlined in Section 5.1.

The research material comprises 10 of the 14 forest industry customer magazines published in 1950–2006. The magazines not included in the research material are *Enso Vision*, published by Enso 1989–1998, *Finnboard News*, published by the Finnish Board Mills Association Finnboard in 1987–1996 and *Stora-Enso Tempus Quarterly Magazine* published by Stora-Enso in 1999–2007. These three magazines were not included into the research material because in the time period when they appeared, the number of product articles was already very high compared to the other time periods (see Table 1). The selection was also based on continuity. The magazines selected for the research from the time period 1980–2006 were Finnpap Express succeeded by Finnpap World and Metsä-Serla News succeeded by Embrace and Magazine. These magazines were published for a longer period than Enso Vision and Finnboard News. The Finnpap magazines appeared for 14 years and Metsä-Serla News together with its successors for 19 years. The longer publication period improves the opportunity to see the changes in the customer magazines and their argumentation strategies. In the case of Stora-Enso Tempus, the decision to exclude the magazine was also based on the background of the company. Stora-Enso is a Finnish-Swedish company while M-real and UPM-Kymmene are Finnish companies. The rationale was that this choice would simplify the comparisons as the cultural and societal contexts of the companies are similar.

For the purpose of the analysis of the argumentation the corpus was divided into groups that are both time- and magazine-specific (Table 1).

Table 1. Division of research material for analysis of argumentation.

Abbreviation	Magazine lot	Timespan	No of articles	No of arguments
Fpt 50	Finnish Paper and Timber	1950–1954	6	80
Fpt 60	Finnish Paper and Timber	1960–1969	11	268
Fpt 70	Finnish Paper and Timber	1970–1977	8	174
KK 77–86	Kymi Kymmene	1977–1986	8	237
KK 87–94	Kymi Kymmene	1987–1994	7	164
FW 80	Finnpap World	1982–1989	21	424
FW 90	Finnpap World	1990–1995	11	231
MSN	Metsä-Serla News	1987–1999	24	629
Gr 96–03	The Griffin	1996–2003	12	180
Gr 04–06	The Griffin	2004–2006	15	255
Embrace	Embrace	2003–2004	6	68
Magazine	M-real Magazine	2005–2006	6	157
Total			**135**	**2867**

Legend: Fpt = Finnish Paper and Timber
KK = Kymi Kymmene Magazine/International & Kymi Review
FW = Finnpap World
MSN = Metsä-Serla News
Gr = the Griffin

Table 1 shows the grouping of the customer magazines together with the time when these were published. In addition, the table contains the number of product articles found in the magazines and number of arguments found in the articles (for a definition and discussion on *argument*, see 4.2.1). As the number of product articles of Finnpap Express in 1981–1983 was only three, these were combined with the product articles of Finnpap World of the 1980s. Similarly, the two product articles of Kymi Kymmene International and articles of Kymi Review were combined so that their time span is 1987–1994. All product articles included in the research material have been listed in Appendix 1.

The grouping enabled a comparison both between different time periods and the magazines. Dividing the articles into groups per decade was not always possible as some of the groups would then have contained too few articles for the purpose of the analysis. For example Metsä-Serla News in the 1980s and Griffin in the 1990s were first published in the latter part of the 1980s and 1990s and would have contained only four and five product articles respectively. Consequently, the articles were divided so that the time span of one group is not over 15 years. Some of the groups, like Finnish Paper and Timber in the 1950s, and the Kymi Kymmene Magazines have relatively few articles, but they would have, if merged with another set of articles, spanned over a 20- year time period.

The number of arguments varies considerably between the groups (Table 1). However, the quantitative comparisons were done using proportional values, such as percentages and ratios. Thus the results are constant within each group, and the risk of a bias due to the numerical disproportion of the groups has been minimised. Further, with a number of arguments of 68 in the smallest group, the number of arguments in each group can be considered big enough to prevent systematic overrepresentation of one group of arguments.

M-real's customer magazines Embrace and Magazine have been kept as separate groups although they only contain six product articles each. As magazines of the same company they could have been combined had not the target group of the magazines changed. The company's investor magazine *Insight* was discontinued in 2004 and merged with the customer magazine. Thus the new publication, the Magazine, was directed at both investors and customers. A similar merger took place in UPM-Kymmene one year earlier, so that the Griffin and the investor magazine *UPM-Kymmene Watch* became the new Griffin. Thus the Griffin magazines were divided into two groups, Griffin 1996–2003 and Griffin 2004–2006. Analysing the magazines separately could reveal changes in the contents and argumentation resulting from the change in the readership.

The customer magazines and their product articles can be considered their own media type and genre respectively. Their production and consumption are steered by conventions and there are expectations regarding their contents (see also Ledin 1995: 19; Ridell 2006: 204–208). Further, customer magazines and product articles share the same communicative objective. The customer magazines aim at creating an impression of the company and its products. The product articles aim more specifically at persuading the readers to buy the products of the company. The readership is also similar. Most of the readers are either professionals working in companies that use the forest industry products in their own production. Further, the contents of the magazines show similarities when comparing the different magazines of the different time periods. Similarly, the product articles resemble each other both in their general characteristics and their subject matter. Consequently, even if there is variation for example regarding the contents and argumentation, the customer magazines and product articles have enough in common to be called a media type and genre (see also Mäntynen & Shore 2006: 11). Genre and institutional use of language have been discussed from a theoretical perspective in Section 3.4.

4.2 Structure of analysis

The starting point for the analysis of the arguments was to examine what the persuasive strategies the forest industry have used in its sales rhetoric. The persuasive strategies are the choices made to persuade the reader to buy the products. They are also part of the efforts to build an image of a company. Thus an analysis of these strategies shows what the image has been that the forest industry has constructed of its products and operations. *Image* or the more contemporary concepts *corporate brand* and *product brand* and *corporate reputation* all refer to the targeted and desired impression that the companies want to create. The image is based on the elements that the companies systematically and consciously convey. This image can also be affected by unconscious or accidental elements. Based on these elements the reader or audience creates the image in their minds. (See also Juholin 2001: 147–149; Karvonen 1999: 38–39, 44).

Text has many layers that together form a whole. Therefore, meanings produced in this whole require an analysis of these different layers (see also van Dijk 2001: 354; Nuolijärvi 2002: 31). The analysis of the text surface, the micro level, enables the interpretation of the meanings produced within the text itself. However, the meanings are also affected for example by traces of institutions, writers or connotations in the text. Consequently, to be understood, the analysis of the text surface must be complemented by an analysis of the macro level, the context. (see also Heikkinen, Hiidenmaa & Tiililä 2000: 13; Hodge & Kress 1988: 124; Leech 1984: 224; Väliverronen 1998: 32.)

The analysis in this study comprises three layers. I have called these layers that contribute to the meanings embedded into the arguments the micro, meso and macro levels. The three levels and their interrelations are illustrated in Figure 3.

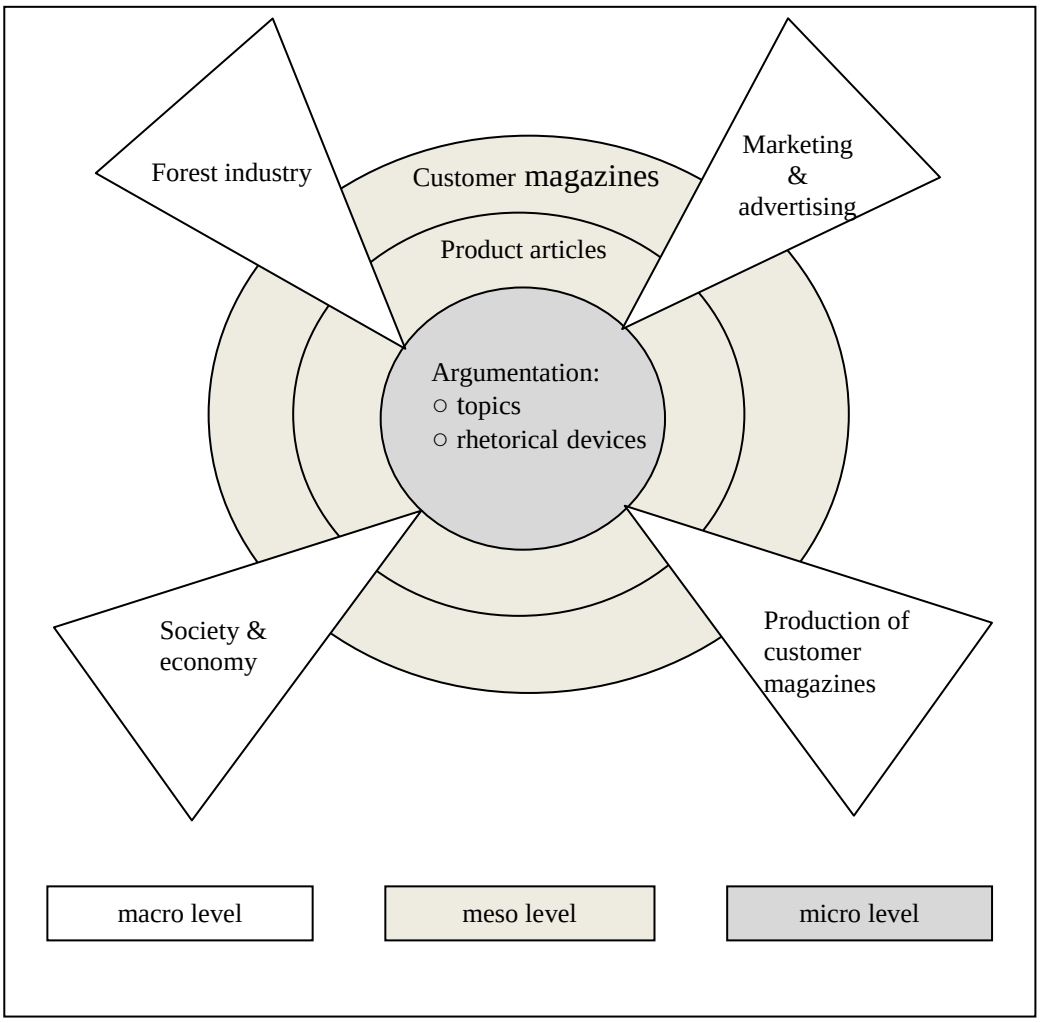

Figure 3. Layers of context and language in the product articles of the forest industry customer magazines.

The macro level comprises the time and societal context in which the argumentation was produced. In this research it ranges from the historical and economic context and the developments in marketing and advertising to the developments within the forest industry. In a diachronic study, however, understanding the context is challenging. Finding contextual information from past times is often incidental, depending on what studies have been made and what history has been recorded. The background information in this study derives from the forest industry history, which has been well recorded, Finnish economic history and the history of advertising. In addition, interviews with persons having worked or still working within marketing and sales of the forest industry have provided valuable insight to support the analysis.

The meso level includes the intertextual and textual levels around the argumentation. This level covers the customer magazines and their contents as well as the general characteristics of the product articles. The contents of the customer magazines were described according to whether their content had been motivated by developments within the industry itself, events in the outside world or developments in journalism and marketing. The study of the general characteristics of the product articles included a description of their length, argument density, products promoted as well as the immediate visual and textual elements surrounding the argumentation.

The micro level is the semantic and linguistic level, realised as the arguments in the product articles. The persuasive strategies at micro level were studied by analysing the argumentation and rhetorical strategies used in the product articles. Argumentation strategies are visible in the topics, the core messages of the arguments[7], while rhetorical strategies are seen as the choices of rhetorical devices, that is, the linguistic means used to strengthen the message of arguments. Both of these levels are vital for building the persuasiveness of the arguments although in rhetoric the main focus has often been on the linguistic level. For example Sornig (1989: 96) has claimed that persuasion in language should be seen as a stylistic procedure. His rationale is that as style has to do with the surface structure of language, then consequently the persuasiveness of message can only be conjectured from this surface structure. Many other linguists have, however, recognised that the choice of themes or topics is important in revealing persuasive strategies (e.g. Fairclough 1992: 183; Sigrell 2000: 176; Vološinov 1990: 122–124).

The first step in the analysis of the argument topics was to see what proportions of the topics were abstract and concrete. In addition the topics were grouped according to whether they referred to the products themselves or the companies. Thereafter the topics of the arguments were grouped into topic families. The topics within the same topic family share the same overarching message. The rhetorical devices found in the arguments were analysed and classified according to the classical division into ethos, logos and pathos (for more details on this classification see also Section 6.1). The sequence of the analysis is illustrated in Figure 4.

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[7] Arguments have in this research been defined as statements supporting the main argument of the product articles, which is "Buy this product" (see also 4.2.1 and Appendix 2).

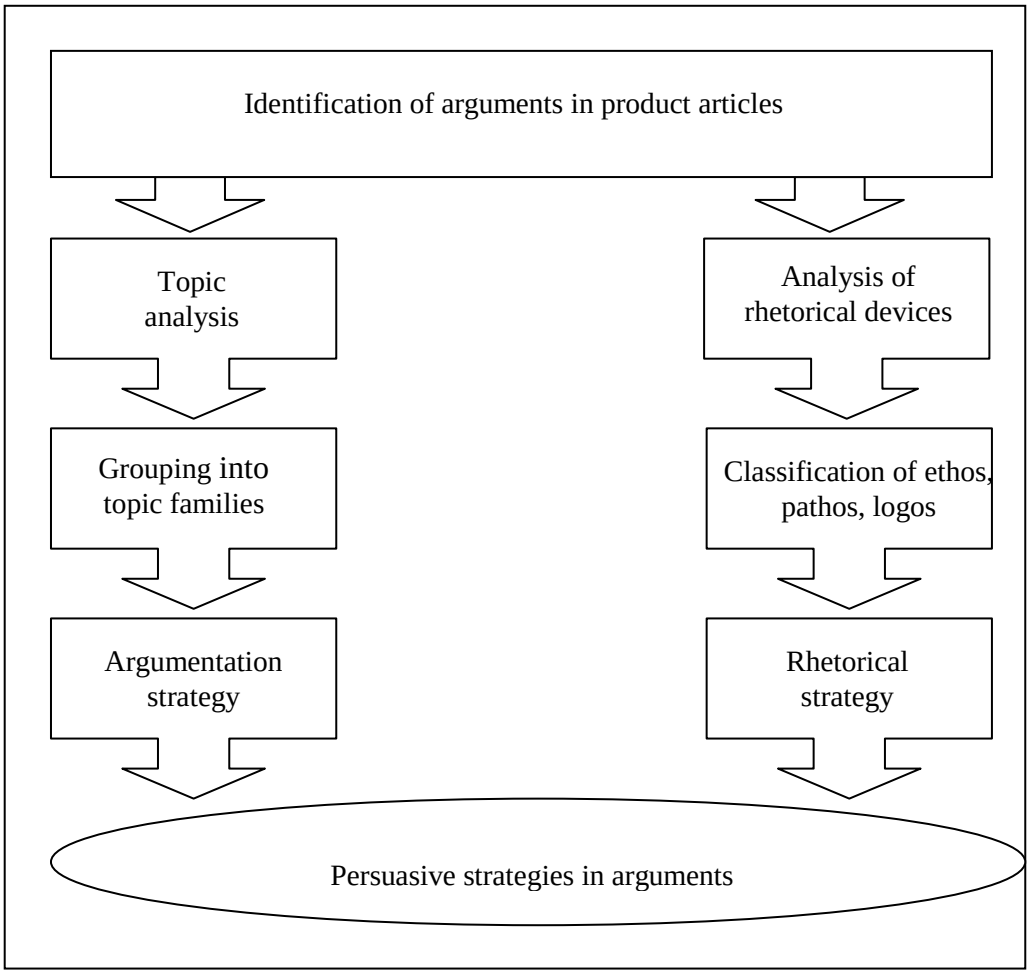


Figure 4. Sequence of analysis of persuasive strategies in the arguments.

The qualitative analyses of the argumentation and rhetorical strategies were supported by a quantitative analysis. The quantitative approach was employed to create an overview of the large material (see also Väliverronen 1998: 16). The approach provided the tools for studying relationships and average characteristics in the material (see also Piirainen-Marsh & Huhta 2000: 95). In enabling a comparison between the different magazines and time periods, the quantitative analysis provided the basis for the reflections and interpretations made. Thus the quantitative analysis revealed patterns which were then interpreted by the qualitative approach (see also Pyörälä 1995: 11–12; Alasuutari 1995: 28–31).

In the following sections the key concepts used in this study will be defined. These are *argument*, *argument topic*, *argumentation strategy* and *rhetorical strategy*. I will also briefly discuss alternative approaches to the analysis.

4.2.1 Arguments

Arguments are the basic elements of rhetoric. Arguments interact to create the argumentation in a text. Arguments differ from descriptive statements in that they are meant to influence the readers' or listeners' beliefs or attitudes and consequently their actions. An argument is generally defined as the support or justification for a claim. It can also be defined as the whole consisting of the claim and justification (Kakkuri-Knuuttila 1999b: 46; Walton 1970: 36). I have applied the latter definition in this analysis. Thus an argument is a claim and its justification that supports and is relevant for the main argument of the product articles "Buy our product" (see Appendix 2).

An argument is a functional unit which is created in its text context. Thus a claim is not an argument in itself but becomes one in relation to other arguments (van Eemeren, Grootendort & Kruiger 1984: 13; Cassirer 2003: 182). A sentence can thus be an argument in one text context, while a mere statement of fact in another. Example 1 demonstrates this dependence on context.

(1) The association approached the State Institute for Technical Research and concluded an agreement with it seven years ago. (Text 17: 1969)

Instead of reporting on an agreement made, example 1 is in its context an argument supporting the proposition "The quality control of our blockboard is stringent and involves an institution of high authority".

The identification of arguments requires interpretation. The text as a whole and the aims of certain types of texts help in this interpretation. Thus in the case of this study the texts often aim at giving a factual appearance while at the same time seek to persuade the reader of the positive characteristics of the companies or products. Thus the analyst can expect to find arguments in seemingly descriptive utterances. The analyst also needs sensitivity to the meaning of the arguments as in example 1. This "real" argument can be tested by what Kakkuri-Knuuttila and Halonen (1999: 61) calls the indicator test. Thus using the indicator *because* one can test whether the argument makes sense in relation to the main argument. The indicator test for example 1 would thus be "Buy our product, because the quality is high due to the stringent control".

In this research the units of analysis, the arguments, are single sentences. The definition has its restrictions but has been functional as those arguments that contained more than one sentence and did not fit into this definition were very few. Thus, considering the large material of nearly 3,000 arguments, they did not influence the results of the analysis.

4.2.2 Argument topics and argumentation strategies

In the analysis of argument topics I examined the semantic content of the arguments. Argument topics are related to the phase called *inventio* in classical rhetoric. In this phase the speaker or writer invents the contents of his presentation. Inventio is about finding the relevant and decisive arguments. Inventio is the most relevant phase for the argumentation (Rosengren 1998: 94). It is not only about using certain arguments but also about analysing the speech situation. Thus the speaker or writer must judge which arguments can be useful in the given situation. Inventio is also determined by the genre or tradition in that certain themes or topics are considered suitable for the rhetoric aims of the genre (Billig 1987: 56; Haapanen 1998: 29; Hellspong & Ledin 2001: 246).

An alternative to the approach I have chosen could have been to study the validity, strength or logic of the arguments or the argumentation following Perelman's classification of argument schemes and techniques (see also Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca 1971: 190–192; Iijolainen 1999). An analysis of the validity or strength of the arguments would be relevant for example in a debate where the opponent needs to recognise the weakness of the arguments to be able to present a counter argument. Analysing argumentation schemes and techniques in persuasive texts would result in the knowledge of the way the arguments have been constructed. Thus, the result would have indicated for example whether the common way of argumentation in the forest industry was quasi-logical (example 2) or appealed to reality (example 3).

(2) To produce this raw material all that is required is earth, water and sunlight; these requirements should be contrasted with those for materials such as steel, bricks, glass or concrete... (Text 85: 1993)

(3) Jamsa Matt, a Jämsänkoski product, is profoundly hated by hoards of schoolchildren. (Text 110: 1997)

Example 2 seeks to impress the reader by facts and logic. Thus example 2 is quasi-logical, that is, seemingly logical. Quasi-logical arguments aim at making an impression rather than giving information (Perelman 2007: 59, 88; Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca 1971: 193–196). Rosengren (1998: 140) considers that the main

question in quasi-logical arguments is about incompatibility. Thus in the example the environmental friendliness is proved by something that seems like a mathematical formula: you combine natural ingredients such as water and sun and the result is environmentally friendly wood. The incompatibility lies in the simplification of the reality. The production process is not only about mixing the listed natural ingredients, instead the process involves many less environmentally friendly operations, such as felling trees and using chemicals.

In example 3 the argument appeals to reality through generalisation. Firstly, the argument is based on the generalisation that children hate school books. Secondly, the generalisation *hoards of schoolchildren hate the product* implies that this is a widely used product in school books. This in turn implies that its success has to do with the good qualities of the product.

An analysis of the logic of justification of the argument would not have been relevant with regard to the research questions of this study. In this research the objective is not to test or analyse the validity or truthfulness of the arguments, but to analyse what argumentation and rhetorical strategies have been used to persuade the readers. Thus the basic question is "what is the argument?" The argumentation strategies, the chosen argument topics, reflect what the companies have wanted to appear like to the readers, the image the industry has sought to give to its clients (see also Lehtonen 1998: 135). Thus looking at the argument topics meant looking at for example whether the industry wanted to persuade the potential clients by giving the impressions that the companies are reliable, that the products are environmentally friendly etc. Analysing the argument techniques would not have answered this question. In addition, it has been questioned whether the logical validity of an argument is decisive for persuasion. Thus, for example the original preferences of the audience to the claim are seen as more likely to affect their judgment than the logic of the argument (see also Sigrell 2000: 42–44; Stiff 1994: 111).

Similarly to my approach, Sigrell (2000: 176) considers the propositional content, the message of the arguments meaningful. Thus his understanding of what argument analysis is about seems to coincide with mine. Sigrell claims that an analysis of argumentation aims at discovering what the writer or speaker aims at with his message and how he tries to do this. In addition, Sigrell (2000: 11) sees argument analysis as a means to discover what the effect is on the receiver, a dimension not included into this research.

In this study the concept of argument topic is close to both Aristotles' *topos* and Perelman's *starting point of argument*. In Perelman's rhetoric the starting points of argument are the writer's assumptions of the aspects with which a particular

audience should be approached. They are the presumptions that are not to be disputed (Perelman 2007: 37–38). Aristotles' concept *topos* is not completely clear. Aristotle never defined it himself. According to Haapanen (1998: 48) *topos* has been interpreted to mean elements that relate both to the content and form. Kakkuri-Knuuttila (1999c: 243) interprets argument *topos* to be the advice for finding arguments. Herrick (2008: 85) claims that *topos* eventually came to mean a line of arguments or type of argument in classical rhetoric. According to Billig (1987: 198) neither Aristotle nor Cicero used the term *topos* to mean argument topics but instead their form. Billig, however, admits that the definition was not always this clear and that it was used also to mean the content of the argument. Rosengren (1998: 138) has analysed the *topos* concepts in both Aristotle's and Perelman's work. According to Rosengren Aristotle used *topos* to refer to shared values, while Perelman used *topos* to refer to values, truths and facts.

Aristotle (*Topiikk*a 1359b–1362a) gave very detailed advice on appropriate areas from which the speaker could find his arguments for predefined rhetorical situations. As one could not speak about everything, Aristotle defined the most important topoi. These were for example war and peace, state finances and legislation. He went even further in his advice by describing the elements that these should be based on. Thus for example happiness could be the result of a large circle of friends, wealth, health and reputation.

The word *topic* derives from *topos* (Chambers 1906). Like *topos*, *topic* is hard to define. Both van Dijk (1989: 114–126) and Brown and Yule (1998: 68–94, 107–111) regard the much-used concept *topic* in discourse analysis as problematic. In their view it is not possible to define *topic* formally and objectively. A topic is, according to van Dijk and Brown and Yule, an intuitive way of describing what a part of discourse is about. Brown and Yule further state that the content, the semantic topic is of importance. The topic is important because what people remember are not the actual words of a text but the content or "gist". In addition, they underline that "it is speakers and writers who have topics, not texts" (Brown and Yule 1998: 68). Dik (1997: 12, 314) defines semantic content as the information that is coded into the linguistic expressions. Vološinov (1990: 122–124) called the topics of utterances themes. He saw the theme as the concrete manifestation of potential meaning, which in turn is the result of the interaction between the speaker and the listener (Vološinov 1990: 125). This conception of the interaction and situational context as an element of meaning is important in this study. Thus the interpretations of the topics and their relevance must be made in relation to the time context and the roles of the readers who are mainly professionals (see example 4).

In this research I have defined topic as the semantic content of an argument, its core message following the reasoning of van Dijk, Dik, Brown and Yule and Vološinov above. Thus the argument topic in example 4 is the growth in the production volume.

(4) This year, the Veitsiluoto paper mill will produce 16,000 tons of envelope paper, and next year's production is budgeted at 22,000 tons. (Text 60: 1989)

The exact production volumes "speak" to the involved readers, who are familiar with the general situation in the industry. The force of the argument is based on the message that this is a big company aiming to be even bigger. Having growing production volumes implies success, efficiency and reliability. This in turn means that the company is a good business partner.

The arguments in the product articles were analysed and classified according to their topic and then grouped in topic families. A topic family is a group of topics whose overarching message is the same. Thus for example the topic *Size* together with topics such as *Reliability* and *Efficiency* belong to topic family *Preferred partner*. The overarching message is that the companies are good business partners and model companies. Topic families reflect the wider argumentation strategies chosen for persuasion and that have been thought effective in persuading the readers and constructing certain impressions. The topics and argumentation strategies and their frequencies have been discussed also in relation to the time context. The context is central for two reasons. Firstly, context influences the interpretation of arguments (see also Leech 1983: 19). Secondly, the events within the industry and wider world as well as the developments in marketing and advertising have influenced the choice of topics and their linguistic form.

4.2.3 Rhetorical strategies

Rhetorical strategy is in this research the choice of rhetorical devices made to strengthen the message of the arguments. Thus the rhetorical strategy can be considered the outline or plan on how to better persuade the reader, while the rhetorical devices are the concrete tools or instruments chosen to put the strategy in practice. The objective of the analysis of rhetorical strategies was to discover what types of rhetorical devices were used in the arguments to strengthen the message of the arguments. The rhetorical devices examined comprised figures and tropes as well as vocabulary used to strengthen the arguments. The rhetorical strategies were analysed by looking at what type of devices could be found in the

arguments and what their functions were. The rhetorical devices were classified according to their function using the classical classification into *ethos*, *logos* and *pathos*. The functions and classification of the rhetorical devices are discussed in detail in Section 7.1. Also the frequencies of the devices were examined to see the variations in the different time periods and different magazines.

The rhetorical devices form the second semantic layer, which together with the first layer, the argument topics, constitute the linguistic opportunities used for persuasion. As text is a semantic whole with the meanings coded into the choice of words and structures, an analysis of this layer was also necessary. (See also Halliday 2004: 26–27; Saukkonen 1984: 91–92; Vološinov 1990: 40). An interpretation of contents and meaning requires a simultaneous analysis of the linguistic form, as the contents is realised in the form (Fairclough 1998a: 187–188). Mäntynen (2003: 152) defines rhetorical devices, such as metaphors and rhetorical questions, as devices of argumentation that are visible on the text surface and that together with the contents construct the arguments. Further, an analysis of rhetorical devices complements the possible gaps of other approaches and strengthens the conclusions drawn using other methods (Dyer 1996: 179).

Aristotle saw the importance of rhetorical devices as "it is not sufficient to know what to say; we must also know how to say it" (Freese 1947: xl). The researchers of rhetoric today agree that rhetorical devices such as figures and tropes are part of persuasive communication and that their function is to clarify, and strengthen the persuasiveness of the arguments, engage the reader as well as help make the language colourful and dramatic (Cassirer 2003: 203; Hedlund & Johannesson 1993: 98; Hellspong 2001: 114; Kakkuri-Knuuttila 1999c: 256; Perelman 2007: 42; Summa 1998: 59). According to Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (1971: 169–170) rhetorical devices can be considered argumentative when these bring a new perspective to an argument. In other cases they are merely stylistic figures. Such figures can, however, influence the reader for example by directing the readers' attention to something in particular (ibid. 142–143).

Similarly to rhetorical figures and tropes, the choice of vocabulary has an essential role in persuasive texts (Karvonen 1998: 38–39; Leiwo & Pietikäinen 1998: 93; Mäntynen 2003: 125). Words have a perspective. The choices of words reflect the writers' attitudes and opinions. They are context dependent, as their meaning can change both according to culture and speech situation (Carter 1998: 88; 109; Carter & Nash 1990: 23; Cruse 2000: 82, 117; Puukari 1968: 42). Words not only describe, they also communicate associations and attitudes and thus create thoughts and associations in the readers' minds. "Words have feelings" (Dyer 1996: 140).

5 FOREST INDUSTRY CUSTOMER MAGAZINES: FUNCTIONS, DEVELOPMENTS AND CHARACTERISTICS

This chapter provides an overview of the customer magazines of the forest industry in Finland and the contents of the magazines included in this research. The aim is to provide a background for the analysis of the argumentation in the product articles in Chapters 6 and 7. For this purpose I will describe the communicative whole of which the product articles and their argumentation are part. This communicative whole is the meso level of analysis described in Section 4.2, comprising the immediate context of the arguments, the cotext of the arguments in the products articles, and the other articles appearing in the customer magazines. Further elements of the communicative whole are the paratexts, such as headlines, layout and illustrations of the product articles themselves.

To identify recurrent features in the contents and general characteristics in both the customer magazines and the products articles, a number of quantitative analyses were carried out for the description presented in Sections 5.4–5.8. Thus in Section 5.4 the types of articles appearing in the magazines were classified into categories depending on the subject matter of the articles to discover what these articles had been motivated by. The motivation could for example come from what was seen as interesting within the industry itself or from outside pressure. The number of articles belonging to each category was compared to the total number of articles in the different magazines and time periods.

In Section 5.5 the frequency of product articles is presented by comparing their number to all articles in the different magazines and time periods. For the discussions on the general characteristics of the product articles I counted the proportions of articles about new or already existing products of all product articles. The general characteristics further encompass the argument density of the articles. Argument density was calculated by comparing the proportion of arguments to the whole text of the articles. This was done by counting the number of words in the arguments and comparing their number to the total number of words in the articles (for a definition of argument, see 4.2.1).

In Sections 5.6 and 5.7 the paratexts and illustrations of the product articles are discussed. In the analysis of the headlines they were classified into informative and promotional headlines and the frequency of these types was compared to the total number of headlines in each magazine and time period. The frequency of ingresses and lift-out quotes in turn was analysed by counting how many product

articles out of the total of 135 product articles had ingresses or lift-out quotes. In Section 5.7 the analysis of the proportion of illustrations was done by roughly estimating whether the illustrations took up 0–30, 40–60 or 70–80 per cent of the page space. Each illustration was further counted and classified into concrete or abstract illustrations. The proportion of these groups was then calculated for the different magazines and time periods. Also the number of illustrations accompanied or unaccompanied by captions were compared to the total number of illustrations. The captions of the illustrations were further classified according to whether they had an informative or promotional function, that is, whether they were descriptive or contained evaluative statements of products (see 5.3.3). The frequency of these against the total number of captions was calculated for the different magazines and time periods.

5.1 Functions of customer magazines

Customer magazines are magazines that are distributed to potential buyers and other stakeholders. They are commonly part of the marketing communications of a company, complemented by web pages, advertisements etc. Customer magazines are part of the company's public relations (PR) activities and represent what Bhatia (1993: 74–75; 2004: 59–62) calls the *promotional genre*. Texts belonging to this genre have the same communicative purpose of promoting product or services to customers. PR activities aim at creating and maintaining the understanding and trust between the companies and their customers and stakeholders, while the promotional activities aim at creating a demand for the products (Lamb & McKee 2005: 1, 62; Lehtonen 1998: 119; Vuokko 1996: 13). Customer magazines can inform, persuade, reinforce and build images to profile and differentiate a product or service (see also Fill 2006: 10). Customer magazines can not function as mediators of current affairs or developments as they appear only 4–6 times per year. Instead they function to provide background information, to give an impression of the company in question, maintain the clients' loyalty to the company and its products and to remind the clients and stakeholders of the existence of the company (Juholin 2001: 169–170; Mykkänen 1998: 25; Siukosaari 2002: 192).

The forest industry customer magazines have appeared regularly in English since the 1950s (see also 5.1), generally with 3–4 issues per year. In addition, the companies publish annual reports, environmental reports and today also corporate responsibility reports. Also the web pages of the forest companies have dedicated sections to environmental and corporate responsibility issues. These issues are very prominent on the companies' web pages. The different reports and web

pages serve the companies' general PR objectives and as information resources for a large audience, such as investors, clients, the media and the general public.

To summarise, the function of a customer magazine is threefold. Firstly it serves as a business card for the company. Like a business card, the company magazine aims at leaving a positive impression through its visual appearance, the paper used, the cover, illustrations as well as the contents. The appearance of the magazine is a collection of signs meant to send a certain message to the reader (see also Lehtonen 2000: 102). Secondly, it wants to persuade a prospective buyer or investor to take a positive decision to purchase the products or shares. This can be achieved through the articles and their messages. Thirdly, customer magazines are used for "post-marketing", for retaining already existing clients. This is particularly important in business-to-business marketing (Mauranen 2005: 117).

The forest industry customer magazines were until the 2000s part of the companies' business-to-business marketing. The target group were professionals in other businesses such as publishers or printers. In the 2000s the readership, however, changed in the magazines of UPM-Kymmene and M-real. As the separate investor magazines were discontinued, the readership of the customer magazines came to include also investors (see also 4.1).

5.2 Finnish forest industry customer magazines 1950–2006

The research material of this research comprises the majority of the forest industry customer magazines published in English in 1950–2006. The research material and its selection have been described in 4.1. This section provides an overview of all customer magazines published in English in 1950–2006.

Customer and information magazines have a long history in the Finnish forest industry. The bilingual Finnish and Swedish *Finsk Papperstidning –Suomen Paperilehti* was published already in 1917 by the Finnish Paper Engineers' Association. It was succeeded two years later by *Suomen Paperi- ja Puutavaralehti – Pappers- och Trävarutidskrift för Finland* published by the Association together with the forest industry. (Arjas 1984: 405–408.)

In 1950 the first magazine of the Finnish forest industry was published in English. The Finnish and Swedish language *Paperi ja Puu – Papper och Trä* was supplemented by an English-language magazine, *Finnish Paper and Timber*. Before this, articles in English had been published in supplements of the Finnish

and Swedish-language magazine. (Arjas 2005.) The emergence of a magazine in English in the 1950s was at least partly linked to England having become the most important export market for the Finnish forest industry (see Haavikko 1999: 149).

Finnish Paper and Timber can be considered the forerunner of English-language customer magazines in Finland. The forest industry was the first industry to publish a customer magazine in a foreign language. Other industries followed suit at the end of the 1950s. Arabia-Notsjö glass works published its magazine *Ceramics and glass* in 1958, some years later came *Wärtsilä news* in 1962, *Outokumpu News* in 1964, *Tamrock news* in 1969 and *Valmet news* in 1974. English-language customer magazines became common in Finland as late as in the 1980s and 1990s. (Fennica database 2005.) Today customer magazines form a big group of magazines and have the second most readers in Finland after general magazines (Aikakauslehtien liitto 2005: 2).

Similarly to Finnish Paper and Timber customer magazines representing the main part of the industry were *Finnboard News* 1987–1996, *Finnpap Express* 1981–1983 and *Finnpap World* 1984–1995, which were published by the joint export sales organisations.

Companies that had their own magazines were Kymi Kymmene and Enso. The latter resigned from the sales organisations in 1986 (Heikkinen 2000: 418) and had thus a need for its own magazine. *Enso Vision* was published 1989–1998. After the merger with the Swedish company Stora, a joint magazine *Tempus Stora Enso Quarterly Magazine* was published 1999–2007. Although Kymi Kymmene was a member of Finnpap, the joint sales association, and its products were frequently written about in Finnpap World, the company also published its own magazines. This was related to the fact that the company had built up a sales organisation of its own and diminished its cooperation with Finnpap since 1975 (Heikkinen 2000: 357–363). The customer magazines were *Kymi Kymmene International* 1977–1981, *Kymi Kymmene International Magazine* 1982–1983, *Kymmene International Magazine* 1984–1988 and *Kymi Review* 1988–1994.

Also Metsä-Serla published its own magazine *Metsä-Serla News* 1987–2001, although the company was a member in the sales associations. For a short period, the newest of Metsä-Serla's mills published its own *News & Paper. Kirkniemi Paper Mill Customer Magazine* in 1988–1991. Metsä-Serla also published an investor magazine, *Insight* 1998–2004 alongside its customer magazine. In 2002 Metsä-Serla changed its name to M-real and the name of its customer magazine to *Embrace*. Two years later the company merged the investor magazine *Insight*

with its customer magazine, following in the footsteps of UPM-Kymmene (see also below). The new magazine was named *M-real Magazine*.

In 1995 Finland joined the European Union and the joint export sales organisations and their magazines had to be discontinued as illegal sales cartels. Consequently also UPM-Kymmene started its own magazines. The company published a special magazine for investors *UPM-Kymmene Watch* 1996–2003 and the customer magazine *the Griffin*. After 2003 the two were combined into a "new" Griffin.

The forest industry customer magazines have always primarily been directed at professionals. The target group comprises sales agents and the customer of the forest industry such as publishers, printers and wholesalers (Finnish Paper and Timber Vol. 3. 1952). UPM-Kymmene had a readership survey conducted in 2000 (Griffin 4/2000). According to this survey 70 per cent of the readers are executives, professionals and managerial personnel. The fact that most readers had reported their satisfaction particularly in articles on printing processes and types of paper, points to the majority being either existing or prospective clients. As professionals or investors the readers of the customer magazines can be described as involved readers. Involved readers actively seek information and are willing to process information on the subject they are interested in (de Pelsmacker et al 2007: 535; Lehtonen 1998: 162). According to Fill (2006: 157) the messages should appeal to a more rational, information-processing style when the readers are highly involved, whereas it is better to use more emotional messages for readers with low involvement as these do not want to use a conscious effort in processing the information.

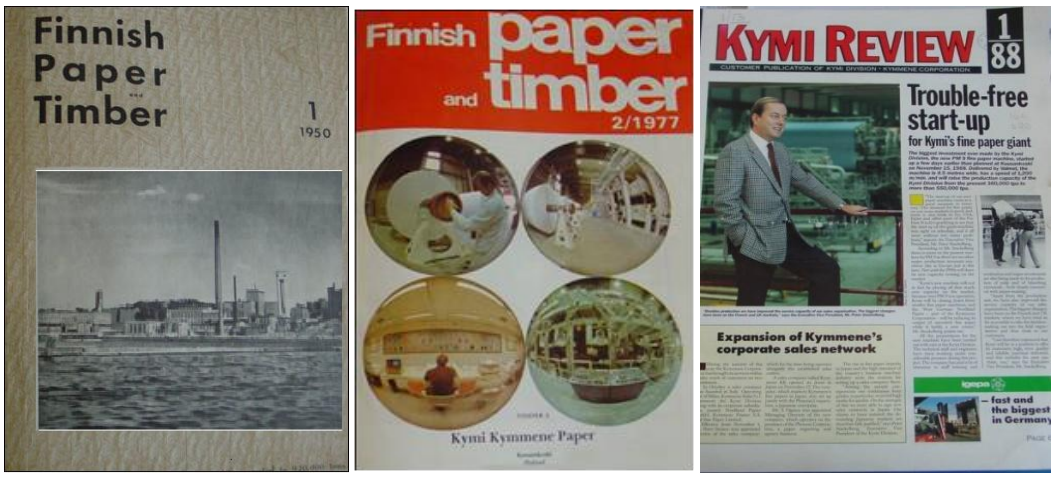
Although magazines before the late 1980s were published only in English, many of them have contained article summaries in other languages. From the late 1980s complete issues of magazines have been published in languages other than English. Metsä-Serla News was published in German, French and Spanish, UPM-Kymmene Watch in Finnish, Swedish, English and German and Embrace in French, German and Spanish. Of the current magazines the Griffin appears in Finnish, Swedish, German and French and the Magazine in French, German and Spanish. Stora-Enso's Tempus was published in German and French in addition to English.

Today UPM-Kymmene's Griffin is available as a summary and M-real's Magazine as a full version on the companies' web pages. Stora-Enso finished publishing a separate customer magazine in 2007 due to cost-cutting (Westlund 2008). Today Stora-Enso provides targeted information on its web pages, such as

investor news, product information and news, information on research, wood and the forest as well as sustainability.

5.3 Visual appearance of customer magazines

The visual appearance of the forest industry customer magazines was quite modest until the 1980s. The magazines were black and white and printed on ordinary paper. An example of the lack of attention to the visual appearance particularly in the 1950s was the "recycling" of cover photographs in Finnish Paper and Timber. Thus the same photograph could appear in one of the magazine issues in the following year. One cover illustration even appeared in three different issues. The illustrations of the covers showed a move away from their earlier plainness in the 1970s (Picture 1). In the 1980s both the Kymi Kymmene Review and Finnpap Express were tabloid format, resembling newspapers more than magazines.



Picture 1. Front covers of forest industry customer magazines 1950, 1977 and 1988.

The visual appearance of the magazines changed with Finnpap World in the 1980s. The customer magazines became colourful, they were printed on high-quality glossy paper and attention was paid to the design and appearance of the cover pages (Picture 2).

Picture 2. Front covers of forest industry customer magazines 1995, 2001 and 2006.

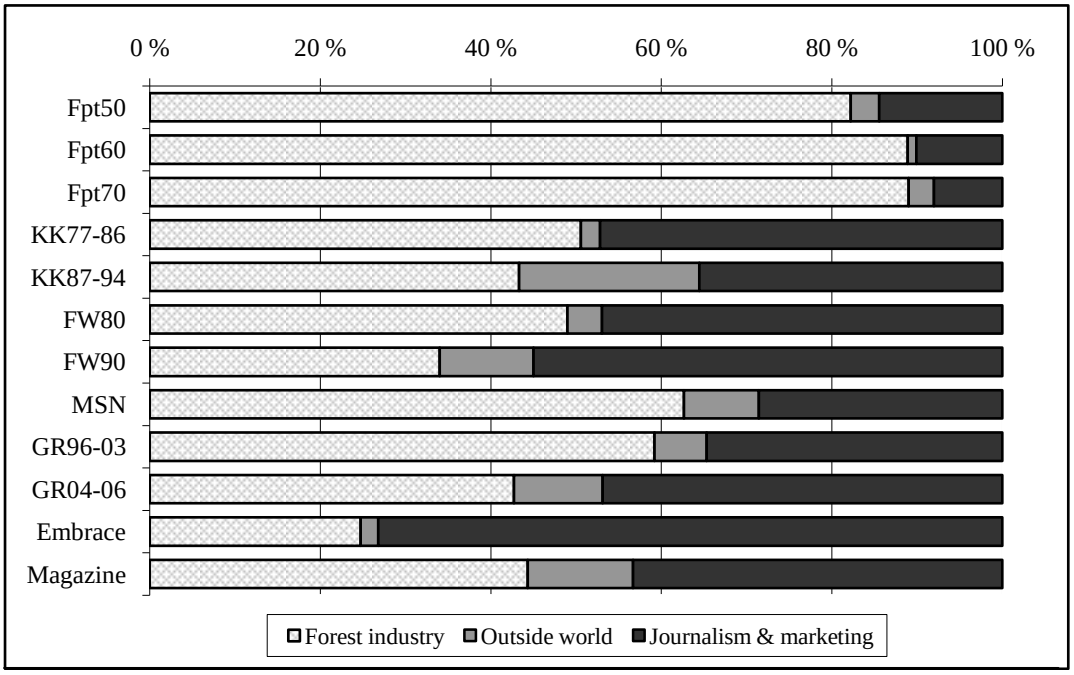
As seen in Picture 2, the illustrations were no longer concrete as the cover illustrations in Picture 1. The themes of the illustrations often had a symbolic link to the main topics of the issues. Thus, the cover of Finnpap World (2/1995) with the paper reel sunbathing could be interpreted as a message of modern and untraditional thinking in an issue whose main theme was whether traditional paper products were threatened by new technology. The cover illustration of the Griffin 3/2001 was linked to the theme of cooperation of the issue with the caption *YOUR INFLUENCE AND ACTION CAN BRIDGE THE INFORMATION GAP… Rub the color off the stepping stones*. The attention paid to the visual appearance of the customer magazines was connected to the professionalisation of the customer magazines. Parts of the production of the magazines were outsourced in the 1990s. For example in Finnpap World the photographers used were often well-known Finnish professionals, such as Ilmari Kostiainen and Kaj Kujasalo. (See also 5.3.1 and 5.5.)

5.4 Types of articles in customer magazines

There were altogether 4,699 articles in the studied magazines. The types of articles3found in the ten different customer magazines were fairly similar. Thus it was possible to group the articles and recognise patterns in their occurrence. A table with the proportions of all article types in the magazines 1950–2006 as well as their grouping can be found in Appendix 3. Articles in customer magazines are motivated by different things. To see what the motivators have been for the contents of the magazines of this study, the articles were grouped in three main categories. The first category comprises articles whose subject matter reflects

developments within the forest industry, such as mill and company news and research and development. The second category comprises articles that reflect events in the outside world, such as environmental issues, and the third category articles that reflect developments in journalism and marketing. Examples of the latter are general interest articles and articles about the customers.

The forest industry related articles dominated in Finnish Paper and Timber in 1950–1980 (Figure 5). This was the result of the high proportion of Mill news particularly in the 1960s and 1970s as well as articles about Market news which gradually disappeared after the 1950s. After Finnish Paper and Timber, forest industry related articles were a majority only in Metsä-Serla News and Griffin 1996–2003. The articles that reflected changes in marketing and journalism were a common group in all other magazines. They were particularly common in Embrace, in which the high proportion of general interest articles, 35 per cent, accounts for the difference compared to the other magazines (Figure 5).



Legend: Fpt = Finnish Paper and Timber
KK = Kymi Kymmene Magazine/International & Kymi Review
FW = Finnpap World
MSN = Metsä-Serla News
Gr = the Griffin

Figure 5. Proportion of articles of the three main categories.

Looking at the subject matter of the articles, it is obvious that the customer magazines have not been very responsive to external developments or even pressure, such as environmental and corporate responsibility issues. It is of course logical that in magazines targeted at experts and involved readers, the main focus is on the promotion of the companies and the product properties as well as practical issues such as reliability, service and products. However, one would expect an increase of for example environmental articles in times of heated debate and attacks against the industry, as was the case in the early 1990s. However, this environmental debate increased the number of articles on environmental issues in Finnpap World, Kymi Review and Metsä-Serla News for three or four years after which the articles more or less disappeared. It can be seen in Figure 5 that the increase of articles on the environment affected the proportion of the different categories of articles only moderately. Whether the same will happen with the social responsibility and governance articles, which increased in number since 2004, remains to be seen.

A further development that has influenced the contents of the magazines has been the change in the target audience to include also investors in both Griffin and Magazine in 2003 and 2004. In the two magazines this resulted in two different approaches. After the change in the target audience the Griffin contained proportionally less articles on the internal affairs of the company and the industry than in the previous phase, while the change was the opposite in M-real Magazine.

In the following sections the most common article types belonging to the three categories will be discussed. I have also discussed articles that are not significant in numbers but which mark a change in marketing approaches and the companies' concern for their public image, that is, articles about corporate social responsibility and governance. Product articles will be analysed in more detail in Section 5.5.

5.4.1 Articles related to the developments within the industry

The frequencies of articles dealing with issues within the industry or the companies themselves can be connected to main developments in the industry. These articles covered news from the company, research and development, products, forestry, forest industry, markets, marketing, customer service and personal items, such as appointments.

The developments in the context visible in the article topics were the growth of capacity and building of mills, the technical advances and focus on research and

development, the end of the common marketing and sales as well as the issue of raw material resources. The most frequent subject matters were mill or company news, markets and marketing as well as research and development (see also Appendix 3, Table 1).

News from the company or from the mills were a regular article type in the customer magazines during the studied 50 years. However, their frequency was particularly high in the 1960s and 1970s. The frequency of articles on the markets and marketing has fluctuated, having been most common in the 1950s and then again in the 1980s and 1990s. In the contemporary magazines Magazine and the Griffin their proportion has decreased notably. Articles about research and development (R&D) were not very frequent in the 1960s and 1970s, accounting for five per cent of all articles. They became more common in Kymi Kymmene magazines in the late 1980s and early 1990s and then again in the 2000s. The frequency of articles dealing with R&D accounted for 25 per cent of the articles in the Griffin in 1996–2003 and 14 per cent 2004–2006. The corresponding proportion in Embrace and the Magazine were 5 and 14 per cent respectively. In the following I will outline the contents of the articles belonging to the three categories as well as attempt to link these to events inside and outside the industry.

Articles on mill news in Finnish Paper and Timber in 1950–1980 mainly reported on new building projects or investments in machinery at a production plant. In these articles the building timetables, production technology and capacity were accounted for in detail. This echoes the time period. The 1950s was a time when the Finnish forest industry was built up while the 1960s and 1970s were decades of heavy investment in the building of new mills and machinery. In the magazine of the common sales organisation, Finnpap World there were also articles on the sales organisations around the world. In the later magazines, both in the Griffin from 1998 and M-real's Embrace from 2002 the articles about mill news have undergone a remarkable change. From having been full articles on for example modernisation projects, the majority of the company news are now collages of short news items. These cover technical aspects of the products or production and news on sales. In addition they inform about appointments and practical issues, for example how to order paper samples.

Full articles about company or mill news still appeared in the late 1990s and the 2000s when completely new production plants were being built. These articles also addressed corporate responsibility issues. For example a Griffin article on the building of a sawmill in Russia (Griffin 1/2004) contained a so called sidebar, an accompanying article, where local people gave positive statements on the

prosperity and opportunities that the sawmill brought to the area. The interviewees were for example asked about the salaries and quoted saying that "Compared to what other companies in the same region generally offer, it's more than double." The same message was conveyed in the name of the article "Massive interest from locals in sawmill jobs" or the ingress "Highly qualified workforce delighted to work for a new employer".

Both M-real Magazine and the Griffin had articles on their jointly owned Metsä-Botnia's Uruguay pulp mill, which later reached the headlines due to the massive opposition in Argentine against the project. The first of these appeared in the first half of 2005, before the trouble started. The Griffin article was very factual, describing the project preparation, the production and the access to raw material. The article in M-real Magazine expressed a strong optimism already in its title: *Uruguay here we come!* After the massive protests in Argentine that brought bad publicity to Metsä-Botnia in the summer of 2005 (Iivonen 2005a; Iivonen 2005b), the articles become more focused on the benefits for both the paper company and the region where it was built. Sometimes there were series of articles within the same issues. For example in Griffin 1/2006, an article on the Uruguay mill was followed by another in which local people reported on how they felt about the new mill.

The importance of research and technology within the industry can be seen in the frequency of articles presenting the technological developments and research activities of the company. These articles became common in the late 1980s, when the Finnish forest industry was moving on from using technology patented abroad to developing its own technology and innovations. The deep recession of the early 1990s, when investments in research went down, is also visible in diminished number of R&D articles (see also Section 6.5).

Judging by the proportion of R&D articles in the Griffin it would seem that UPM-Kymmene has been profiling itself as an active developer. The company also invested most in R&D among the three big forest products companies in the late 1990s (Lammi 2000: 43–44). Later, in the 2000s, the other companies stepped up their investments in R&D (Tilda statistics 2008). The image built by UPM-Kymmene and M-real to a lesser extent as innovators has been reflected also in the product articles in the 2000s. Many of these are not about traditional products, instead for example wood plastics or freshness sensors.

Articles on the markets accounted for the exports of different products and the market prospects of these. The marketing articles reported on the companies' marketing ideology, marketing efforts and activities abroad. In the late 1990s branding was discussed. In Embrace in the 2000s market forecasts and scenarios

on trends by outside experts appeared. A reason why articles about marketing have decreased since the late 1990s might be that with the dismantling of the common sales organisations the setting has simplified. There has been no need to explain who is marketing what as the companies themselves are now responsible for their own marketing.

5.4.2 Articles related to events and development in the outside world

The article types that are related to developments outside the forest industry are articles on environmental issues, corporate social responsibility and governance as well as economy. The outside issues written about were related to economy alone until the 1970s, mainly in Finnish Paper and Timber in the 1950s. The articles were about the economic situation in Finland, trade relations of Finland to other countries and the economic development within the forest sector. The information provided in these articles was very detailed. Before the 1970s articles on economic affairs also in newspapers were detailed accounts of trade and shipping (Korhonen 1988: 100).

Articles on the environment started appearing in the 1970s, but increased in number as late as the 1980s and 1990s. In the late 1980s and early 1990s complete environmental special issues appeared in Kymi Review and Finnpap World. After 1994 environmental articles became scarcer until 2004 when they became more frequent and regular than earlier in the Griffin. M-real Magazine followed suit after 2005. Articles on corporate social responsibility and governance first appeared in the Griffin in 2002. These articles became regular elements in the late 2004 in the Griffin and 2005 in M-real Magazine. The proportions of the article types in the different magazines are seen in Appendix 3, Table 2.

No other development in the outside world has had the same dramatic effect on the forest industry as the rise of the environmental issues. Environmental articles appear fairly late in the forest industry customer magazines considering that environmental issues were under debate as early as the 1960s. The criticism reached the industry only in 1976 with the Italian chlorine catastrophe in Seveso in 1976 (Laiho 1998: 129). Another accident that made the Finnish forest industry take environmental issues more seriously was the explosion of the Tsernobyl nuclear power plant in the Soviet Union in 1986.

In Finnish Paper and Timber in the 1970s articles on environmental issues concentrated on proving how stringent the control was in the Finnish forest industry. Environmental articles became regular in 1992, a year that was quite

dramatic for the forest industry. The German magazine der Spiegel published its very critical article on Finnish forest industry with the title "Plunderer im Norden", *the plunderer in the North*. This article caused a massive debate and discussion in Finland. It was also reflected in the number of arguments with an environmental topic (see also Section 6.9). The reaction of the forest industry to the Spiegel article was defensive. The defensiveness was visible in the editorial in Finnpap World 4/1992. It began with:

> "Finns are more at home in nature than people in industrial countries on the whole; we have an intimate relationship with nature and with forests in particular, that is more complex than that of most people in the West. Therefore, we tend to take it very seriously when we are criticized about the way we manage our forests." (Finnpap World 4/1992)

The titles of the environmental articles reflected the same defensiveness: "Getting down to the magnifying glass and pincers level"; "Stop dramatizing dioxins"; "Confusing the public with environmental arguments". The articles typically reported on measures and programmes for environmental protection at the different mills, of paper production "in harmony with nature".

Lehtonen (1999: 108–109) detected the same defensiveness in the Finnish press at the time. In most of the articles the tone was aggressive and hurt. The newspapers also clearly took the side of the Finnish industry. The negative effects of the der Spiegel affair could, according to Lehtonen, be seen in the damaged reputation of the Finnish forest industry in Central Europe as late as the end of the 1990s.

As the appearance of articles on the environment were so clearly linked to the external pressures in the 1980s and 1990s, it is also logical to seek for an explanation in the context for the frequency of articles on the environment after 2004. This explanation may be the current European debate on climate change, but also the awakening of the US buyers to environmental issues. For example the publishing giant Time started putting stringent demands on their paper suppliers regarding felling, energy consumption and emissions (Iivonen 2004b).

Environmental issues are today linked to the economic sustainability and social responsibility of the companies. The articles on the companies' social responsibility and good governance are examples of the growing concern for the public image of the companies. In 2000 the director for stakeholder relations of UPM-Kymmene compared this to the environmental awakening in the 1990s (Kause 2000). Both environmental and social responsibility issues are now also used in marketing to bring added value to the company and its products.

The concepts of corporate social responsibility and corporate governance have made a breakthrough in the 2000s. The realisation is that good governance can have an impact on a company's reputation and long-term success. It is also seen as an increasingly important factor for investment decisions. Corporate social responsibility means integrating social and environmental concerns into a company's operations and interaction with the stakeholders. It is about voluntary actions to address societal needs. (European Commission 2006.) Corporate governance refers to factors such as good administration, business ethics and corporate awareness of the environmental and societal interests of the communities in which a company operates. (OECD 2004.)

The articles on company social responsibility or governance in the studied material were partly responses to external events, such as the drastic restructuring actions of UPM-Kymmene in 2004 and 2006 or the pulp mill project in Uruguay. However, they also mark a shift in marketing attitude. Instead of the defensive attitude found in the 1980s and 1990s regarding the environmental pressures, the approach in the 2000s is to market the products of a company that cares about people and communities. This is clearly visible for example in an article written in response to the closure of two mills in 2004. The article appeared half a year after this event and a year before the following closure in 2006. In addition to reporting on the actions to re-employ and retrain the laid-off employees, the article aims at appealing to the readers' emotions:

> Leena and Juha Antila **are satisfied** with their new home in Lappeenranta. "**A lot of good things have happened to us**, and we really had good luck when we both got jobs in the same place," they say. The Antilas, who had worked at the Viiala plywood plant that closed at the beginning of the year, both got new jobs at the Kaukas mill. Leena began as an operator at the plywood plant and Juha has started working at the power station.
>
> The move from Viiala to Lappeenranta 250 kms away was **dramatic** in many ways. **For the first time in his life Juha is living away from the town where he was born**. Both Leena and Juha were employed at the Viiala plywood plant for almost 20 years. The couple had spent 10 years turning their old house into an architectural gem. **"We thought then that we would be spending the rest of our lives in that house," Leena smiles.** It was, however, easy to find a buyer for a property in such good condition, and they bought a new home in Lappeenranta. Naturally having to leave colleagues, friends and neighbors was a bittersweet experience. "But our friends are very eager to come here and see how we are doing. Luckily the house is big enough so we can host guests overnight." (Griffin 1/2005)

The story is sad, but has a happy ending. Satisfied interviewees account for the tragedy with a smile. The caring of the company is conveyed by underlining the sadness and thus the empathy of the company. The article describes the dramatic and nostalgic move from *the town where he was born* and the very particular house, *the architectural gem*.

5.4.3 Articles related to developments in marketing and journalism

The third development visible in the contents of the magazines is the focus on the customer, the appearance of editorials and frequency of articles on general topics, mainly aimed at entertaining the readers. The articles on the customers link to changes in marketing while the latter are related to trends in journalism and practices within the customer magazine genre.

In the customer magazines articles on customers first appeared in 1977 in Kymi Kymmene International, being particularly common in the customer magazines in 1980–1985. For example almost 37 percent of the articles in Finnpap Express in 1983 were articles on customers. The article type became one of the most common in 1980–2006, accounting for one third of all articles in the Griffin, Embrace and the Magazine.

Articles on issues of general interest were the third most common type of article in the studied magazines (see also Appendix 3, Table 3). They were most frequent in Finnpap World in the 1990s and the M-real magazines of the 2000s. General interest articles were least frequent in Finnish Paper and Timber in the 1970s, Kymi Kymmene Magazine 1987–1994, Metsä-Serla News and the Griffin in 1996–2003.

Editorials in the customer magazines appeared relatively late, in Finnpap World in 1985 and Metsä-Serla News as regular elements in 1991. In the contemporary magazines of M-real, the Magazine, there were no editorials. In Griffin editorials were sporadic, but after 2004 in the renewed Griffin there were both a short editorial focusing on the contents of the issue and "from the CEO", which in turn concentrated on current issues within the company or the industry.

The appearance of articles on customers, customer features, was related to the rise of customer-oriented marketing in the 1980s. The customer-orientation was also very visible in the argumentation (see also Section 6.7). The articles were typically accounts of client companies, their history and road to success. Often

part of this success was the consequence of the cooperation with the forest company in question. The articles were accounts of why a particular product was chosen and how it had contributed to the success of the client. The subheading "Since we started using CHROMOLUX, we have had fewer problems on our production line" (Magazine 7/06) illustrates the approach. Another typical plot was where the success of the client was based on the development work done by the client and the forest company together. Articles that resembled these customer features were product articles, included into the research material, whose subject matter was seemingly the client company. These articles differed from the customer features in that at least 30 per cent of of their text was arguments promoting the product or companies, while the customer features contained very few such arguments.

The general interest articles in the 1950s to 1970s covered either serious topics such as Finnish economy, paper-making history and politics or lighter ones, such as nature, culture, sports and tourism. Later, typical topics were Finland from a touristic perspective, such as under-ice fishing, skiing, places to visit and Santa Claus. Political topics appeared again in the few years 1992–1995 before Finland joined the EU. The Griffin in the late 1990s and 2000s often covered general topics related to a country or area where the company was investing or expanding its operations. The rise of the social responsibility issue in the 2000s was reflected in articles on adult literacy, importance of education and newspapers in education, appearing particularly in the Griffin.

While the general interest articles in the earlier magazines were either informative or entertaining, these are often a mixture of marketing paper and general interest issues in the contemporary magazines. Thus an article for example on the conservation of old books, refers in "by-passing" to the durability of the company's papers.

Advice given for writers of editorials in customer magazines is that they should relate the magazine's or the company's standpoint to an issue (Mykkänen 1998: 85). However, the editorials found in the magazines were mainly informative. In Finnpap World the editorials were generally short introductions to the current issue, covering the main topics of the magazine or the current situation in the industry. In Metsä-Serla News and Embrace, the editorials were introductions to the main topics written by company executives or other experts. The Griffin editorials were introductions to the general theme of the magazine issue or the subject matter of the lead story. In most cases the writers were identified with their name and photograph. The Embrace editorials ended with the signature of the writer. The Griffin editorials were written by the editor-in-chief, whose name

appeared at the bottom. The signatures and identification of the writers aimed at giving a human touch and face to the magazine (see also Siukosaari 2002: 192; Suhola, Turunen & Varis 2005: 123–1).

5.5 Product articles

The research material of this study comprises 135 product articles found in the forest industry customer magazines 1950–2006. Product articles were not one of the most frequent articles in the forest industry customer magazines. In Finnish Paper and Timber 1950–1980 one product article per year appeared on the average. In the customer magazines 1977–2006 the frequencies of the products articles were slightly higher (see also Appendix 3, Table 1). Product articles were most common in Finnpap World in the 1980s and Kymi Kymmene International Magazine 1977–1986 when their proportion of all articles was on the average 7 per cent. Since the early 1990s products articles have accounted for 5–6 per cent of the articles in all magazines.

The purpose of customer magazines is to promote the products and the image of the company. This can be done implicitly through articles about issues linked to the products or company, such as the types of articles described in Section 5.2. The promotion can also be explicit as in the product articles. Being the most promotional type of articles in the customer magazines, the product articles were chosen for analysis. The assumption was that the impressions the companies wanted to create, would be most clearly visible in these.

The main aim of a product article is to inform and persuade. The readers need information on new products and technical information as the products become more and more sophisticated. The readers of the forest industry customer magazines are further involved readers who require more informative content than non-involved readers (see also 5.1). In product articles the products play the main role. Their main role is generally signalled by the headlines which name the product or product group that is the topic. The main message of a product article is "Buy this product". This main message is supported by arguments, that is, claims and their justifications that reinforce the main message. The arguments can be related either to the products themselves or the producing company. For marketing purposes the product articles need to persuade the reader of the superiority of the product or company, to capture their attention and at least today to be effective. In today's terms effectiveness would mean that the articles contain enough information without being too long.

In the following sections I will first briefly discuss the general characteristics of product articles and which products are promoted in the articles. After that I will take a closer look at the textual and visual characteristics of the articles, such as length, proportion of arguments as well as the illustrations and paratexts surrounding the argumentation.

5.5.1 General characteristics of product articles

As mentioned above, the product articles have a twofold function, to inform and to persuade. Consequently, they can be characterised as hybrids in the sense that they have the characteristics of both professional texts and advertisements. Advertisements are explicitly persuasive. Thus the readers are aware of the promotional character of the advertisements and do not expect them to be objective or necessarily informative (Blom 1998: 200). Professional texts are more difficult to characterise than advertisements. They have been defined from the perspective of communicative situations in a variety of ways. The stringent definition is that these are texts whose audience are professionals of a field, whose topic is related to this field and whose writers are experts in the field. The least stringent definition is that these can be discussions between laymen on a topic belonging to a professional field. Professional text written by laymen to processionals, in turn, can be called professional journalism. (Gunnarsson 1987: 9–10; Koskela 1996: 14; Laurén 1993: 9–14; Laurén & Nordman 1996: 123–124.)

The writers of the product articles in the research material were in most cases identified. They were experts from the companies, relevant associations and institutions or professional writers. In Finnish Paper and Timber the experts from the industry were identified in detail, both by name, title and position, for example *Pentti Salanterä, M. Forestry, Helsinki* or *O. Tavaststjerna, Managing Direcor of Finnish Plywood Industry*. In Finnish Paper and Timber expert writers were the majority in the 1960s and 1970s. In the later magazines expert writers were uncommon. In Finnpap World most articles were written by in-house editors or freelance journalists. Similarly the articles in Metsä-Serla News were written by in-house editors and dedicated freelance journalists until the mid 1990s when the writing was outsourced to companies specialised in company magazines (Kivelä 2008).

Also the successors of Metsä-Serla News, Embrace and the Magazine, were compiled by such companies. Thus the articles, including the product articles,

were mostly written by external professional writers, some of whom were foreign. Some of the articles were written in-house. The articles are today produced in close cooperation between the external writers and the experts from the different business divisions. The impulses for the article topics come from the mills and divisions that are also responsible for checking the final contents of the articles (Laine 2008). In Griffin articles were written by both in-house and external writers.

Although who the writers are is interesting, the background and link to the companies of the writers are not central for the analysis of this research. The articles are collective products in the sense that they are collectively created and influenced by a tradition of writing and argumentation (see also 3.4). The presumption is that they repeat the conventions of writing and argumentation and realise the functions of the discourse in the forest industry customer magazines. Thus the texts do not mirror the writers' personal opinions or values, instead they reflect the conception of the industry of what effective argumentation and sales talk should be like. The genre also limits the writers' choices regarding topics and expression (see also Väliverronen 1998: 35). For the same reason writers of professional texts are not generally considered of interest. The insignificant influence of the individual writers on the text is seen as the result of the restrictions created by the demands and expectations set by their professional text genre (Nordman 1992: 27–28). In the case of the products articles of this study, the writers' individual input was further diminished by the reality that most of the articles were translated from Finnish into English.

5.5.2 Promoted products

The products promoted in the product articles were new products, products to be launched in future, existing products or existing products that had been improved or rebranded. Articles about new products were most common in Finnish Paper and Timber in the 1960s, Finnpap World 1990s and the Griffin in 2004–2006 (Table 2).

Table 2. Types of products promoted in products articles 1950–2006.

	New products	Products to be launched	Existing product	Improved product	Rebranded products	**Tot***
Fpt 50	2	0	4	0	0	**6**
Fpt 60	8	0	3	0	0	**11**
Fpt 70	3	0	5	0	0	**8**
KK 77–	4	0	3	1	0	**8**
KK 87–	3	0	1	0	3	**7**
FW 80	2	1	9	6	3	**21**
FW 90	3	4	3	1	0	**11**
MSN	2	3	13	3	3	**24**
Gr 96–03	2	3	3	3	1	**12**
Gr 04–06	6	4	5	0	0	**15**
Embrace	1	1	2	0	2	**6**
Magazine	0	1	1	1	3	**6**
Total	**36**	**17**	**52**	**15**	**15**	**135**

Legend: Fpt = Finnish Paper and Timber
KK = Kymi Kymmene Magazine/International & Kymi Review
FW = Finnpap World
MSN = Metsä-Serla News
Gr = the Griffin

* Tot is the number of product articles in a magazine

The first pre-launch article appeared in Finnpap World in 1987. A few years later, in the 1990s, articles on products to be launched increased (Table 2). Both in Finnpap World in the 1990s and in the Griffin they accounted for 26–30 per cent of the product articles. Articles on existing products and products that had been rebranded or improved were particularly common in Finnpap World in the 1980s as well as the Metsä-Serla and M-real magazines Metsä-Serla News, Embrace and Magazine.

Existing products were most commonly promoted in the product articles. Old products were either given a new marketing approach or promoted by accounting for improvements made to them. Thus the products were given new names, provided with a brand or launched as groups of products, so called product families. Marketing products as a product family was first visible in the articles of Finnpap World in the early 1990s. Products could also be "reintroduced" by accounting for their successful performance in technical tests. Such reintroductions could be found in the Griffin in 1999–2001.

New products were written about in times of technological development. For example in Finnish Paper and Timber in the 1960s articles on building boards, such as plywood, fibre board and glue laminated wood as well as prefabricated houses were most frequent. These products were the result of new technologies; in the 1950s new glues were developed that created new opportunities for the production of different wooden and particle boards. A novelty was also the manufacture of prefabricated houses. The dominance of boards and houses as article topics may also reflect the high demand for paper and pulp in the 1950s and 1960s, the marketing of which would thus not have been so important (see also Virrankoski 1975: 252, 268; Ahvenainen 1984: 404). Also the investment in developing magazine papers that started in the 1970s, was reflected in the articles. Thus more than half of the articles in Finnpap World were about magazines papers in the 1980s and 1990s (see also Lammi 2000: 16; Tuuri 1999: 421).

The proportion of articles on new products in the M-real magazines was very low even if the innovation cycles in the forest industry were according to Häggblom (1998: 298) more intensive than earlier in the late 1990s. The view of a long-time marketing executive at M-real, however, is that new products were strictly speaking not developed in the forest industry in the 1990s; instead old products have been improved or renamed (Serlachius 2008). Renaming and rebranding products was sometimes considered bewildering by the clients and could even have a negative impact. This view could have affected the marketing and communication strategy of M-real.

The communication strategies of M-real and UPM-Kymmene clearly differed from each other. While M-real relied on writing about existing products, UPM-Kymmene actively built an image of an innovative company. The relatively high proportion of articles on new products in the Griffin is consistent with this image. The image of an innovative company was further supported by the high proportion of articles on research and development particularly in 1996–2003. This profiling was based on UPM-Kymmene's investment in research and development which was the biggest in the Finnish forest industry in the late 1990s. (Metsäteollisuus ry 2007; Lammi 2000: 44). UPM-Kymmene has also been actively informing about its development projects that extend beyond the traditional forest products, such as developing radio frequency identification (RFID) tags and biopulp made out of straw (Rantanen 2008).

5.5.3 Textual characteristics of product articles

Product articles vary with regard to how much of their text is argumentative and whether the arguments are predominantly about the product or the company.

There are also articles that are seemingly about the client company even if the arguments are all about the products or companies. The proportions of company and product arguments have been discussed in Section 6.1.

One of the characteristics of the product articles that reflect the communication strategy of the writer or company is their argument density, that is, the proportion of arguments of the whole text. The density is counted so that the number of words in the arguments is compared to the number of words found in the whole article. The concept of argument density is adapted from Halliday's calculations of lexical density in spoken and written language in his earlier work[8] (Halliday 1986a: 64; Halliday & Martin 1993: 76–77). In Halliday's calculations the content words were counted in proportion to grammatical words such as pronouns, articles and conjunctions. Also Hiidenmaa (2000: 45–46) has used the same formula to calculate the lexical density in meeting agendas.

The argument density serves as an indicator of the communication strategy. This strategy is the choice between a promotional and informative approach, that is, of how much to provide information and how much to "sell" the products. The non-argumentative parts of the text inform the readers for example on how a product can be used or how it is produced or has been tested (example 5).

(5) Glues placed in the WBP class have proved in systematic tests and during year-long use highly resistant to weather, micro-organisms, cold and boiling water, steam and dry heat. The same standard states further: Nowadays only certain phenolic glues have been able to meet these requirements". There is thus no mention any longer of the requirements made of glue, but of a certain type of glue. (Text 17: 1969)

The non-argumentative text could also be about clients. Product articles that were seemingly about the customers started appearing in 1987 (see also 5.5). In these the non-argumentative text provided information about the client company and its operations (see also Appendix 2).

The distinction between the argumentative and non-argumentative text is not entirely unambiguous, as even the informative parts of the text are means to direct the readers' opinions and impressions so as to make a positive decision regarding the products (see also Siukosaari 2002: 30). However, even if the non-argumentative text can be persuasive indirectly, the difference to argumentative

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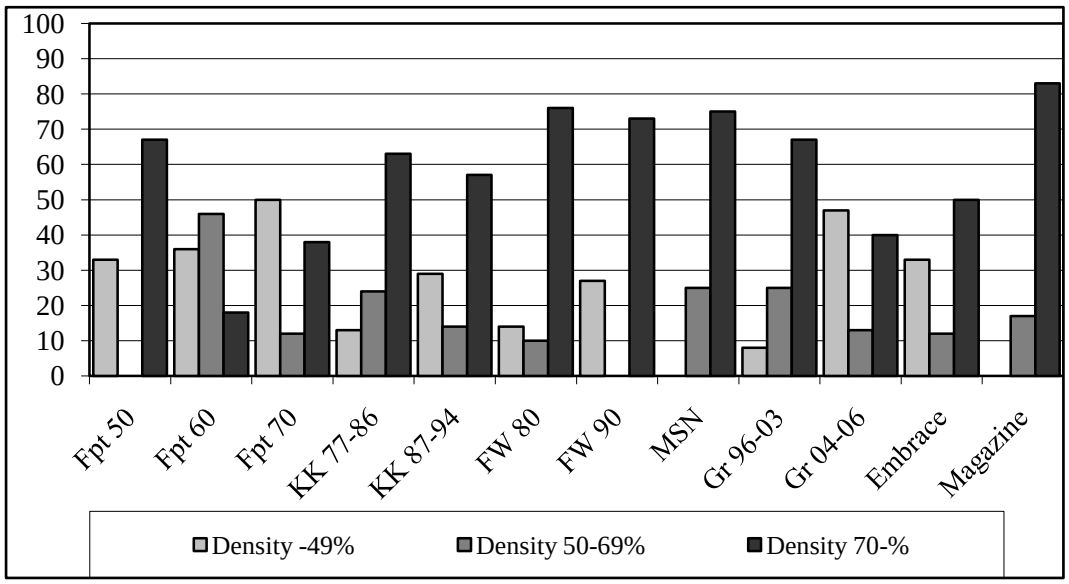
[8] In the third edition of An Introduction to Functional Grammar Halliday measures lexical density by dividing the number of lexical items with the number of ranking clauses (Halliday 2004: 654–655).

text is that it does not directly and explicitly argument in support of the proposition to buy the products promoted.

Looking at the different magazines, Finnish Paper and Timber in the 1960s and 1970s had the biggest proportion of informative articles. In these the non-argumentative text accounted for more than half of the text (Figure 6). Nearly half of the articles in Finnish Paper and Timber 1960–1970 were such.



Legend: Fpt = Finnish Paper and Timber
KK = Kymi Kymmene Magazine/International & Kymi Review
FW = Finnpap World
MSN = Metsä-Serla News
Gr = the Griffin

Figure 6. Proportion of articles per argument density in product articles in 1950–2006.

Product articles with an argument density of over 50 per cent were the majority in all other magazines (Figure 6). The highest argument densities could be found in Finnpap World as well as Metsä-Serla News, Magazine and Griffin 1996–2003. In the latter the majority of the articles had an argument density of over 70 per cent. In Griffin 2004–2006, however, nearly half of the articles had an argument density under 50 per cent. In M-real's magazines the trend was the opposite so that in Embrace half of the articles had a very high argument density of more than 70 per cent while this was the case for the majority of the articles in the successor, the Magazine. The differences can be linked to similar patterns in the argumentation (see also 8.3.1). In the Griffin the change has been towards greater

factualness while in the M-real magazines the change has been opposite, so that the rhetoric became more advertisement-like.

When comparing the argument density of the articles and who the writers were, the only clear correlation could be found in Finnish Paper and Timber in the 1960s. In this magazine the writers of product articles with a low argument density were all professional writers, such as researchers, engineers or sales experts. In the other magazines no such correlation could be found.

In addition to argument density, the length of the articles is also a result of a choice. The choice is between the amount and exhaustiveness of the information to be given to the reader and the level of readability. The product articles varied in length during the research period 1950–2006. The overall development was, however, towards shorter articles. After being relatively short, with 300–400 words in the 1950s, the product articles clearly increased in length in the 1960s and 1970s. Articles of 1,000 words were common in Finnish Paper and Timber at that time. The long articles also had a low argument density. In the later articles such a correlation between length and argument density could not be seen. From the end of the 1980s onwards the articles became noticeably shorter with the majority of the articles being under 800 words long in all magazines. In the 1990s the Finnpap World articles shortened further, more than half of the articles were under 600 words long. In Embrace and Magazine articles in the 2000s were of medium length, with 500–800 words. The Griffin had mostly short articles, more than half of these were under 500 words long. The shortening of text has been a general trend in journalism since the 1980s (see also 5.6.2).

5.5.4 Paratexts

In this chapter I will discuss the paratexts that are embedded into or surround the main text of the product articles and the illustrations. A paratext is a typographically marked, semi-independent element of an article or news story. Paratexts are textual elements that are neither inseparable parts of the text nor independent texts. They can have a lot of commonalities with the main text body while they also have their own conventions regarding language and typography. The function of paratexts is to identify, to guide the interpretation of the text itself and to evoke the attention of the reader. (Heikkilä 2006: 22–23, 216). Van Dijk (1997: 36) compares graphical elements such as headlines and use of colours to volume, pitch and intonation in speech in that they attract attention and emphasise preferred meanings. The paratexts are in the articles for a purpose (see also Hiidenmaa 2000: 170). They are the choices made by the writers or editors. Some of these choices are made to increase the persuasiveness of the message, some to

increase the readability and attractiveness of the text and some because of journalistic or genre-specific conventions.

In the product articles of this study the paratexts found were headlines, subheadings, ingresses, lift-out quotes and captions. The characteristics and functions of the headlines, subheadings, ingresses and lift-out quotes will be discussed in Section 5.5.5 and 5.5.6. Captions will be discussed together with the illustrations in Section 5.6.3.

5.5.5 Headlines and subheadings

Texts generally have at least a headline. In addition to serving as a name for the text, the headline gives the reader a starting point for the interpretation of the text (Brown & Yule 1998: 133; van Dijk 2003: 99). As many readers are happy to read just the main titles, the function of a headline is also to arouse the interest of the reader and entice him or her to read on. A good headline is striking and strengthens the message of the text (Karlberg & Mral 1998: 64; Turpeinen 1973: 299; Suhola et al 2005: 130).

An analysis of the headlines of the articles of this study showed that they could be classified into two main categories. The first category contains headlines which are informative, for example *New Type of Wood Particle Board, Smooth on Both Sides – Production Started at Tiwi Oy´s Factory at Keuruu*. These headlines provide information on the main contents and focus of the articles. The second category consists of headlines that are promotional, resembling headlines found in advertisements. These headlines generally express the main argument of the article. These in turn can be factual but complimentary, such as *KYMCOLOUR COPY does full justice to colour copying* or advertisment-like and witty, playing with words or associations, such as *PEEL IT AND YOU'LL FEEL IT*, *Bake it Easy* and *SWEET, SOFT AND SENSUAL*. The promotional headlines based on a play with words or expressions fulfil the requirements set for effective advertisements: they are short and they contain the selling proposition, the benefit offered by the product. Use of language such as this directs the attention to the language and is thus also considered very efficient in attracting the readers' attention (see also Kankaanpää 2006: 125; Lahtinen & Isoviita 1994: 86, 88; Miettinen 1988: 171).

In Finnish Paper and Timber 1950–1977 factual headlines prevailed in the product articles. Promotional headlines were infrequent (Table 3).

Table 3. Number of informative and promotional titles of product articles in the different magazines.

	Informative	Promotional
Fpt 50	5	1
Fpt 60	8	3
Fpt 70	6	2
KK 77–86	2	6
KK 87–94	3	4
FW 80	4	17
FW 90	2	9
MSN	3	21
Gr 96–03	5	7
Gr 04–06	3	12
Embrace	0	6
Magazine	0	6
Total	**40**	**95**

Legend: Fpt = Finnish Paper and Timber
KK = Kymi Kymmene Magazine/International & Kymi Review
FW = Finnpap World
MSN = Metsä-Serla News
Gr = the Griffin

The few promotional headlines in Finnish Paper and Timber either praised the product's properties, as in *Softwood at its best* or aimed at an image of an international business, as in *Slapshots with Finnish sticks already in Canada*. The factual headlines in Finnish Paper and Timber were very often simply the name or type of the product. Frequent were also headlines which underlined the novelty of the product and provided an idea of what the article was about. In the 1950s the titles were short, for example *A Loggers' Cabin on Wheels*. Later, in the 1960s the headlines became long and sometimes specified the topic of the article precisely, as in *Glued Laminated Timber Structures as Wide-Span Supporting Roof Beams*. Such headlines frequently mirrored the contents that were very technical and detailed.

As can be seen in Table 3 above, promotional headlines became much more frequent than the factual ones in all magazines from the late 1970s onwards. The promotional headlines containing the main sales argument of the text and the advertisement-like headlines playing with words and associations were equally common. A similar timing was discovered by Kankaapää (2006: 154–155). The municipal press releases that she studied started appearing with promotional headlines in the late 1970s. Before that time these were very rare. Kankaanpää assumes that this was related on one hand to the professionalisation of the production of the texts, that is, that the press releases were increasingly produced

in cooperation with communication experts. On the other hand, she considers that promotional and colloquial language was used intentionally to appeal to the audience and give an impression of the municipal administration as a non-bureaucratic institution. A analogous explanation is likely in this study. Professional writers were used in the customer magazines since the late 1970s. Similarly to Kankaanpää's conclusions, the promotional headlines seem to have been used both to raise the attention of the readers and to make the companies seem more approachable.

In the 2000s the product articles showed differences regarding the headlines. The majority of the headlines in the Griffin contained the main sales arguments, for example *New paper grades for digital printing* and *Wood products improve indoor air quality*. In M-real's Embrace and Magazine, however, the witty and playful headlines were predominant, such as *Pick me up* and *It's logic launching specialty papers*.

Subheadings appeared in the articles for the first time in 1964, but did not become regular until the end of the decade. The subheadings mainly resembled the headlines in that factual headlines were accompanied by factual subheadings while promotional headlines were accompanied by promotional subheadings. Generally long articles had subheadings but the use of subheadings varied in short articles. After 2002 the Griffin articles, whether short or long, all had subheadings. This was the case also in the Magazine after 2004.

The subheadings give variation to the text and summarise the content of the following paragraph. Like the headlines, the subheadings repeat an important message from the text. They are the skeletons of the text, containing the key messages of the text (Suhola et al 2005: 137). Like most paratexts, they also motivate the reader to read on.

5.5.6 Ingresses and lift-out quotes

Ingresses and lift-out quotes appeared quite late in the product articles. Ingresses could be found in the Kymi Kymmene magazine articles sporadically from the late 1970s while lift-out quotes appeared in the early 1990s. Ingresses could be found in most articles after the early 1980s while lift-out quotes remained very rare until the 2000s, when they could be found in half of the Embrace articles and most of the Magazine articles. More than half of the Griffin articles had lift-out quotes 1996–2003, but in 2004–2006 only in a few articles. The lateness of ingresses and lift-put quotes is consistent with the developments in journalism. Newspaper editors started paying attention to layout, textual elements and

illustrations in Finland in the 1960s and 1970s following American and British trends (Mervola 1995: 294–296). In textbooks on journalism in the 1980s the use of paratexts were encouraged to add the attractiveness of the articles to the reader (Miettinen 1988: 151).

Ingresses in the product articles served as introductions to the articles. The ingress often provided background information, setting the scene for the main text, as in example 6.

(6) In the early 1990s, when the price gap between SC offset and LWC narrowed significantly, Metsä-Serla's Kirkniemi Mill developed a new papermaking technology specifically for the HSWO printing process. FCO – film coated offset – was born. (Text 91: 1996)

Thus the ingresses in the product articles rarely followed the journalistic advice that the ingress should contain the most important issues of the article (see also Miettinen 1988: 173).

Lift-out quotes are quotations taken from the main text, often foregrounded by the use of a different font and font size (Picture 3). They provide samples or "titbits" of the story itself aiming at attracting the reader to read the text itself (see also Heikkilä 2006: 21).

D I G I T A L L Y P R I N T E D

Text: Jouse Kontiinen Photo: Hermes

In recent years we have been witnessing a rapid high technology development. Due to this a lot of new technical solutions and applications have been introduced that most of us couldn't even have imagined a few years ago. These have been penetrating into almost every area of living, and also the business scene has had to face these new opportunities and threats.

NEW PAPER GRADES FOR DIGITAL PRINTING

In the printing industry probably the most significant case is the rapid development of digital printing applications.

In UPM-Kymmene we have followed closely this development of this area, and the market that it creates. Already today the digital printing applications provide a lot of

In 1999 UPM-Kymmene launched a research and development project with the aim to develop new grades suitable for digital printing and with different basic characteristics than those grades currently in the market.

advantages compared to the traditional printing systems, such as short run economy, just in time printing, reorganized distribution, use of variable data and on-demand printing. By following the recent forecasts concerning the development of

his supplement which you are holding in your hands is digitally printed with Agfa Chromapress. The paper grade is designed for digital printing providing such unique characteristics that makes it very different from any other current papers in the market for digital printing.

the share of digital printing from all printing processes we have come to a conclusion, that digital printing probably will be the fastest growing printing methods in the future.

At the moment the product palette that paper suppliers provide for digital printing is quite narrow consisting only of heavier basis weight woodfree grades. However, in UPM-Kymmene we have seen that as digital printing expands, a more wider product palette is needed. Therefore in 1999 UPM-Kymmene launched a research and development project with the aim to develop new grades suitable for digital printing and with different basic characteristics than those grades currently in the market.

The task was not easy because papers for digital printing are required to have specific electrical and thermal properties, and their controllability is a bit of a work of art. But in UPM-Kymmene we managed to climb over this wall by combining our past knowledge of developing papers for digital printing and our experience with paper developing in general. And now we are proud to present you one of our achievements.

This supplement which you are holding in your hands is digitally printed with Agfa Chromapress. It's a paper designed for digital printing providing such unique characteristics that makes it very different from any other current paper in the market for digital printing. The characteristics of this paper make it very suitable for end-products where consumer expects to receive a paper with the same look and feel as the papers printed with traditional printing methods have. Therefore this paper is very suitable for example corporate newspapers, advertising supplements, books etc.

This grade will probably face its commercial release soon, and as our research project proceeds, other new grades for digital printing will be introduced to you in the near future.

Picture 3. Lay-out of product article in the Griffin 2/ 2000.

The lift-out quotes in the studied articles were arguments from the text that were foregrounded to enforce the key message of the article. As in Picture 3, they almost always repeated the arguments word to word.

Both ingresses and lift-out quotes can be dominant elements in the articles, as in Picture 3. The paratexts have been designed so that the reader can get a good idea of the content and main messages of the articles by only reading these. Although paratexts are, according to some researchers, taking on the functions of the main

text itself as in Picture 3 (see also Heikkilä 2006: 214), the development in the customer magazine products articles has not been this straightforward. In the magazines of M-real, the paratexts and particularly the lift-out quotes became a regular part of the articles in the 2000s, while they were used less than earlier in the articles of the Griffin 2004–2006.

5.6 Illustrations

This section provides an overview of the illustrations found in the product articles 1950–2006. In addition to being important parts of the cotext of the argumentation, the illustrations are of interest when studying the changes and developments in the product articles, in particular regarding changes in their functions. I will be looking at the proportions of illustrations and text, types of illustrations as well as types of captions used with the illustrations.

Illustrations are a means to attract the readers' attention besides their function to enrich the text and improve the readability of the text (Heikkilä 2006: 55; Suhola et al. 2005: 158–161; Turja 1993: 143–144). Readers can even make their decisions on whether to read an article or not on the basis of the visual material (Miettinen 1988: 182; Seppänen 2001: 197). Illustrations can also influence the image of the product or company. Further, illustrations can be the main source of information. Many readers skim through the magazines, looking at the illustrations and headings, not having the time or interest to read whole articles. Barthes (1985b: 3–4) considers that photographs greatly influence the interpretation of the message of the text. The pictures interact with the text and thus together form a totality of information.

Different types of illustrations have different functions. For example photographs give the impression of being visual copies of a reality. They function as evidence of something that really has happened (e.g. Seppänen 2001: 34). Tables and graphs in turn give an impression of expertise. Symbolic illustrations mainly attract the readers' attention, provide an aesthetic experience and break-up the text mass, particularly those which do not have a caption.

Illustrations also have genres. Thus the illustrations follow certain conventions both in form and in function. For example in factual texts illustrations are meant to provide information rather than visual experiences (Järvi 2005: 16, 29; Seppänen 2001: 34, 77–78). In promotional contexts the illustrations are used to strengthen the argumentation and to evoke feelings in the readers. In customer magazines, the common photographs of company representatives provide the

company with a human face in addition to identifying them, whereas photographs of people for example in advertisements can be affectively loaded.

All illustrations are the result of choices. The writers or editors have decided, either consciously or unconsciously, what they want to convey through the illustrations. Thus the illustrations are not reflections of a reality, but they construct the reality (see also Fiske 1998: 114, 137; Heikkilä 2006: 65–69).

5.6.1 Proportion of illustrations and text

The proportion of illustrations compared to that of text varied in the different magazines and particularly in the different time periods. A general trend was the increase in the proportion of illustrations versus text as well as the growth in the size of the illustrations. The proportion of illustrations in the product articles per magazine can be found in Appendix 4.

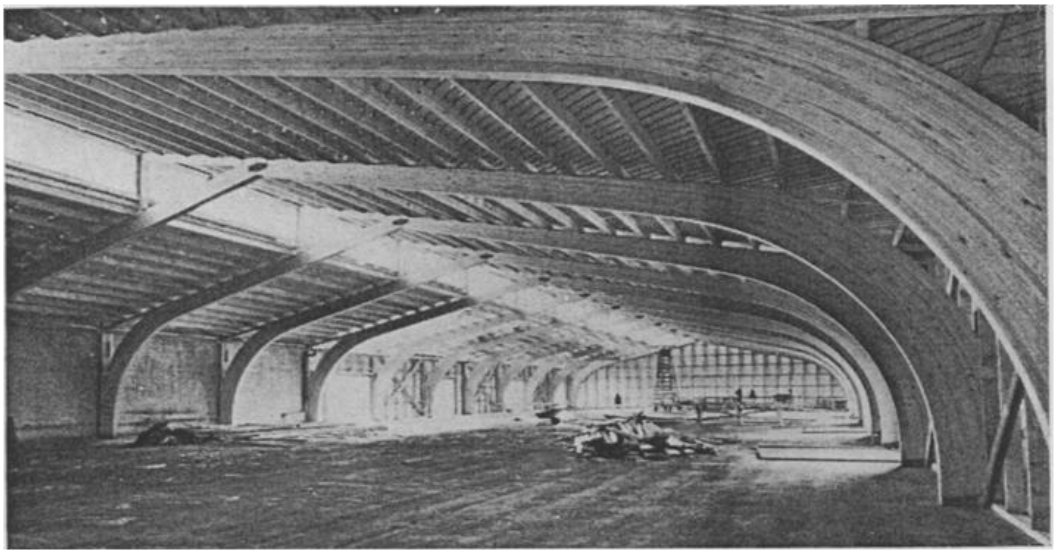
The proportion of illustrations was very high in the 1950s. There were generally more pictures than text. Until the end of the 1960s the illustrations were fairly abundant, but after that the text dominated in the articles. After the mid 1970s the proportion of illustrations increased again both in Finnish Paper and Timber and the Kymi Kymmene magazines. The page space devoted to illustrations varied between 40 and 80 per cent in the articles. In Finnpap World in the 1980s and 1990s the number of articles with more text than pictures increased. This was partly due to the fact that illustrations covering a whole page became frequent. Also later illustrations dominated in Metsä-Serla News, Embrace, the Magazine and the Griffin. For example in two thirds of the articles in Metsä-Serla News 60–80 per cent of the page space was illustrations. Particularly in the articles on log buildings, the illustrations were very big, often whole-page pictures of log houses and holiday villages.

The growth in the proportion of illustrations has been a general trend both advertisements and in Finnish newspapers in the last few decades. In advertising the visual elements became dominating after the 1950s (Leiss et al. 2005: 231–232). In Finnish newspapers the proportion of illustrations doubled from 1940 to 1994. In addition, the size of the illustrations grew. (Heikkilä 2006: 53, 62; Kivikuru 1995 111; Mervola 1995: 265–266, 315, 366; Miettinen 1988: 184.)

5.6.2 Types of illustrations

I have analysed the illustrations in the articles by applying the classification of Miettinen (1988: 185). Miettinen classifies illustrations into concrete, symbolic and fictional illustrations. I have simplified the classification into concrete or abstract illustrations. The concrete illustrations depict their objects realistically, while the abstract are symbolic and artistic. Concrete illustrations in the product articles are for example photographs of the products or people, or drawings of machinery and structures. Abstract illustrations can be visual elements or real objects used for aesthetic purposes rather than for information and attracting the attention of the reader.

The illustrations were all concrete and informative in Finnish Paper and Timber in 1950–1977. They were all photographs that either depicted the product selection or the end-uses of the products (Picture 4).

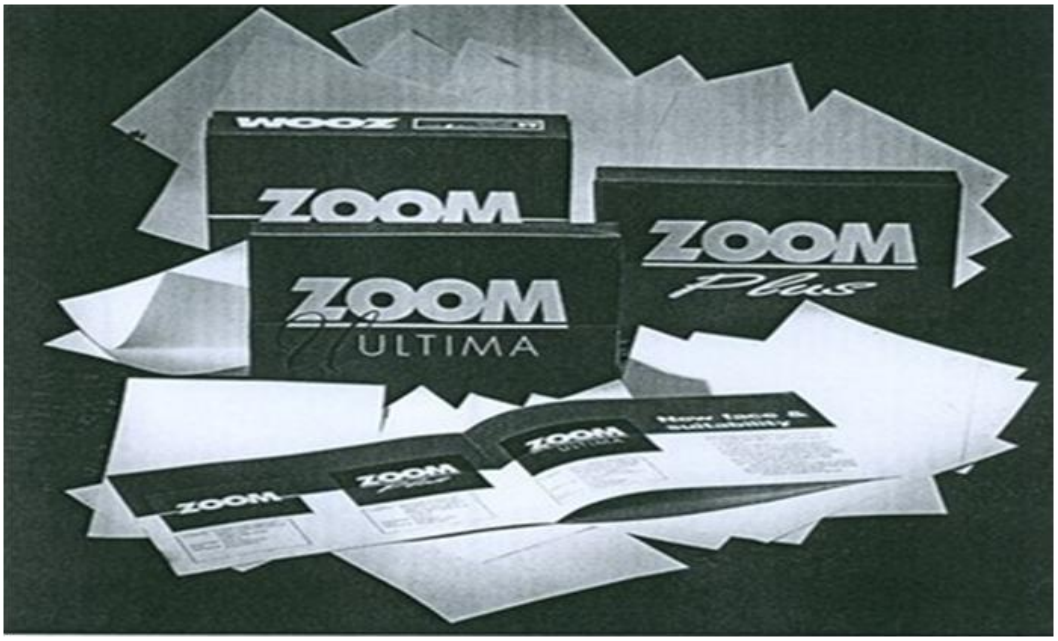


Picture 4. Illustration of product article in Finnish Paper and Timber 3/1960.

Also the captions were generally very factual and informative. For example the caption of the picture above was *Raision Tehtaat Oy, Raisio. The storage and despatch department. The framework of the building consists of 12 LATE three-hinged frames of 65 ft (20 m) span, spaced at 16 ft (4.5 m). The average time expended on the installation of one frame was 45 min*.

The products maintained their main role in the illustrations even if pictures of mills and machinery became common in the latter half of the 1960s. Later, from

the 1980s, the products came to play more of an aesthetic role than an informative one in all magazines. Products, parts of products or their logos appeared as visual and artistic elements in the articles (Picture 5).



Picture 5. Illustration of product article in Finnpap World 4/1993.

In addition to photographs of products, graphs and tables were used to some extent. These contained information about the products, their technical specifications or the companies.

People appeared in the illustrations in a few articles in the 1960s. In the photographs the people were seen working in a mill, the forest or in a laboratory. The persons in the pictures were never identified. The people in the photographs were always men. The only photograph where women appeared before the late 1980s was in an article from 1969. The caption underlined the exceptionality of the photograph by identifying the person depicted as female (example 7).

(7) **"Female worker** doing internal quality control for the plywood mill itself, taking a sample to control glue-spreading". (Text 17: 1969)

In the later magazines photographs of people became regular elements in most product articles. The people in the pictures were commonly company representatives, always executives who were identified by name and by title. They generally posed for the photographer, looking straight into the camera.

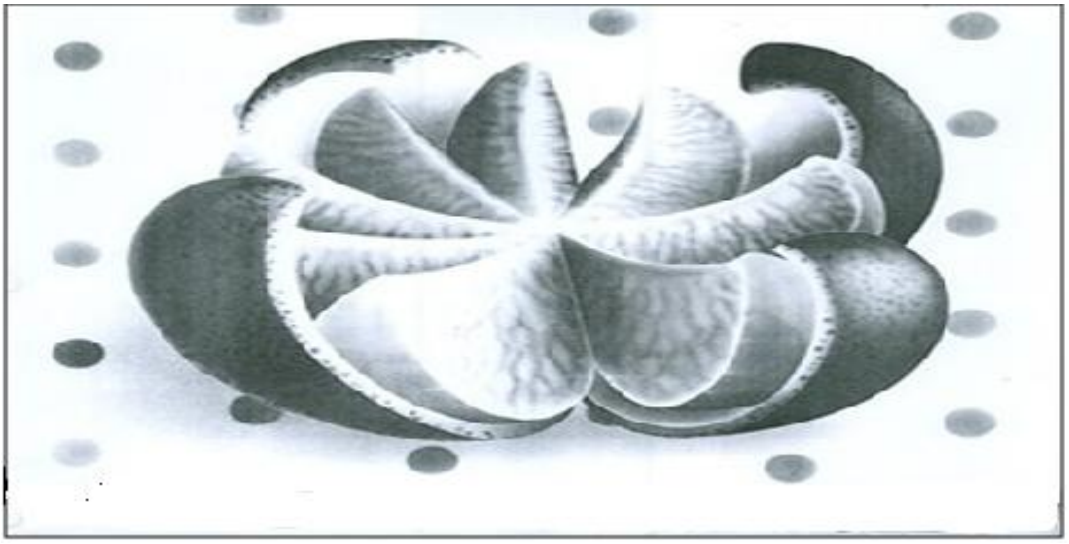
When workers appeared for example in a mill setting, they were not identified. From the mid 1980s onwards pictures where the persons were seemingly in midst of a situation or activity, started appearing (Picture 6).

Picture 6. Illustrations in product articles 1987and 1994 (Kymi Kymmene International Magazine 1/1987 and Metsä-Serla News March 1994).

In short, all the concrete illustrations in the product articles were very conventional particularly until the early 2000s. In the Metsä-Serla and later M-real magazines the majority of the illustrations were concrete until the mid 2000s, particularly in articles about log houses or buildings. The illustrations were photographs of the exteriors and interiors of the houses. Similarly, the set-up was traditional when people appeared in the pictures. Heikkilä (2006: 54) has paid attention to the abundance of conventional pictures of persons in newspapers. These are portraits, pictures of people shaking hands, giving presentations etc. Heikkilä regards their function primarily as identifying. This would partly be the case also in the product articles. Identification would seem important in a business which is based on long-term business relationships and personal contacts However, the pictures of people or groups of people might also serve as faces for the companies. The message is of an approachable company and a team of reliable-looking people working hard to serve their customers (see also Miettinen 1988: 196).

The first abstract illustrations could be found in Kymi Kymmene Magazine where most of the illustrations were abstract in 1977–1994. In the other magazines

abstract illustrations became common in the 1990s. Similarly to the concrete illustrations the majority of the abstract illustrations were photographs. One of their functions, for example in the M-real magazines, was to demonstrate the print qualities of the paper (Laine 2008). Both the illustrations in Kymi Kymmene Magazine and Finnpap World in the 1980s and 1990s were very often laced with humour. The illustration in Picture 7 is from an article on peelable wallpaper.



Picture 7. Illustration of product article "Peel it and you'll see it" in Finnpap World 5/1989.

In addition to attracting the readers' attention very effectively, pictures with humour also get the reader into a positive and receptive mood. In advertising humour is seen, in addition to disarming criticism and opposition, as a way of raising attention and help the reader remember the advertisement. Humour can also make a product or a company more approachable (Harrison 1987: 150–152).

While the illustrations were mostly concrete in the M-real's contemporary magazines (see also above), they were predominantly abstract in UPM-Kymmene's Griffin, especially so from 1999 to 2003. The abstract illustrations in Griffin were linked to the products, however not containing information but rather being visual elements. They had no informative function and neither were they linked to the main text with captions. The informative function was fulfilled by the frequently occurring tables and graphs. From 2004 to 2006 the Griffin illustrations in the product articles became more conventional than in the previous phase 1996–2003 with concrete pictures of products and photographs of people.

The photographs of people differed, however, from the earlier tradition so that the people were rarely company executives, but instead for example end-users.

5.6.3 Captions

Illustrations usually have captions. Like other paratexts captions have an important function in attracting and arousing the interest of the reader. Further, captions have an important role in guiding the interpretation of the picture. The caption strengthens or underlines some interpretation of the picture and guides the reader towards a chosen meaning. Thus the caption points to what the reader should see in the picture and what is important. This is what Barthes (1985b: 14) calls the parasitical function of captions: the captions define the illustrations, loading them with connotations and provide the illustrations with a secondary meaning. The closer the caption is to the illustrations, the fewer connotations there are (Barthes 1985b: 15). Such captions can merely provide background information on a situation in the real world that links to the picture. (Heikkilä 2006: 19, 71–72).

I have analysed the captions according to their function. The captions in the product articles are either informative or promotional. The informative captions can be descriptions of the photographs, for example the location of a mill, or identifying, providing the names of the persons or products in the photographs (example 8). The promotional captions are arguments containing evaluative statements of the products or the companies (example 9).

(8) The general view of the manufacturing line of Tiwi-board. (Text 11: 1967)

(9) In early 1993 Rantasalmi Log Houses introduced **a new type of log house with the accent on comfort**. (Text 85: 1993)

The promotional captions often contained new arguments that added to the arguments of the main text and less commonly repetitions of arguments from the text. Sometimes, particularly in Metsä-Serla News the captions were long, containing several arguments.

Up to the 1980s almost all pictures had captions. These contained both informative and promotional captions. After that all pictures did not necessarily have a caption. This is connected to the use of illustrations as visual elements instead of as a source of information (see above 5.6.2). Some differences between the magazines were visible. The predominantly conventional illustrations in Metsä-Serla News 1987–1994 generally had captions, most of which were

informative. In Embrace and the Magazine captions were totally absent. Also in the Griffin captions were scarce until 2004, but became more frequent after that.

5.7 Developments in the Finnish forest industry customer magazines and product articles 1950–2006: information providers and sales promoters

The aim of this chapter was to give an overview of the Finnish forest industry customer magazines and their product articles. The contents and visual appearance of the magazines and product articles were analysed to provide a background for the analysis of the argumentation in Chapters 6 and 7.

The forest industry has been a pioneer in Finland both in publishing a customer magazine and in doing so in English. The first customer and information magazine was published in the early 1900s. English versions began appearing in 1950. The customer magazines of the forest industry were mainly joint publications by the industry until 1995 when the long-time sales cooperation became illegal.

During the studied period the production and readership of the customer magazine changed. Until the mid 1990s most articles in the studied magazines were written either by experts from the industry or in-house editors. Today the production of the magazines has been completely outsourced by M-real, while this has been done only partially in UPM-Kymmene. Until the 2000s the readers of the magazines were mainly buyers of the products, professionals working for publishers and printers. In 2003–2004 the readership came to include also investors, as the separate investor magazines of both UPM-Kymmene and M-real were discontinued.

Customer magazines have several functions. The first is to serve as a business card of the company. Like a business card the customer magazine leaves an impression through its visual appearance and contents. The visual appearance is of particular importance in the case of companies producing paper and thus the magazines are also samples of the products. The second function of the magazines is to persuade the reader to purchase the products of the company or buy its shares. In the Finnish forest industry customer magazines and their product articles big changes took place regarding these two functions in 1950–2006. These changes will be summarised in the following sections. Section 5.7.1 is an outline of the development in the visual appearance of the customer

magazines. Section 5.7.2 provides a summary of the developments in the product articles.

5.7.1 Contents and visual appearance of customer magazines: from news bulletins to business cards

The forest industry customer magazines contained a wide variety of articles. Some of the articles, such as general interest articles, were only implicitly connected to the companies or products. Articles explicitly connected to the products and companies were articles containing news or reports from the companies, marketing network and research and development. Product articles belong to the latter type (see also 5.7.2).

During the studied time period of 56 years both the contents of the customer magazines and their visual appearance evolved from modest-looking and informative news bulletins to high-quality publications serving as business cards of the companies and their products. Figure 7 summarises the developments and changes in both the customer magazines and product articles. The horizontal axis represents the developments in time starting from the 1950s and ending in the 2000s. The main changes and events within the forest industry itself, in economy and society as well as journalism and marketing have been outlined. The vertical axis shows the main developments in the customer magazines and product articles. To point to the developments that have increased the promotionality of the magazines and product articles and provide an impression of their timing, these developments have been highlighted. Promotional characteristics are such that attract the readers' attention and actively sell and promote the product or company in question. These characteristics can be borrowed from the world of advertising such as promotional headlines. They can also be an increase in the argument density or sensitivity to the valuations in society and among clients, for example articles expressing a concern for the environment.

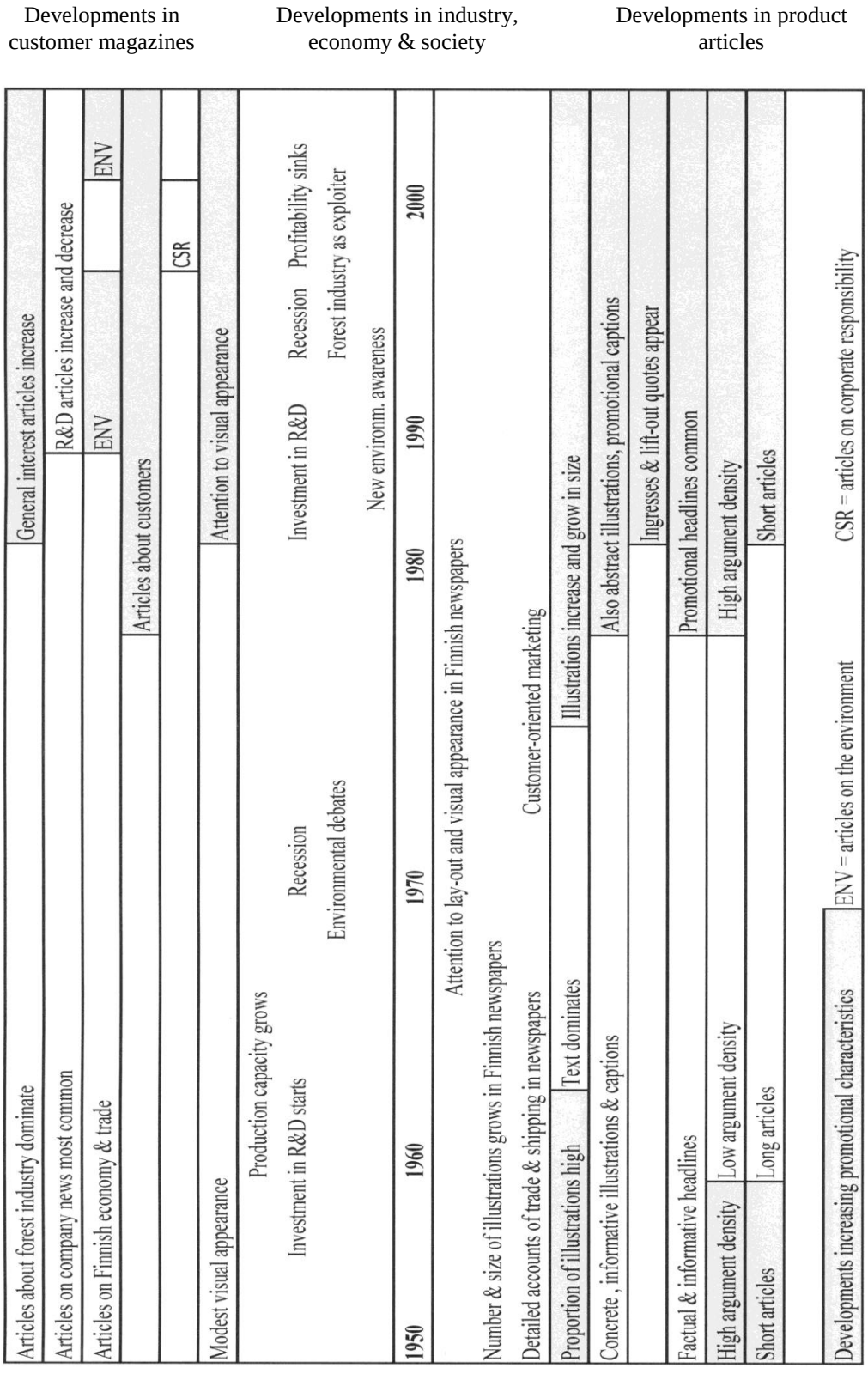


Figure 7. Developments in the Finnish forest industry, economy, society and customer magazines and product articles 1950–2006.

As seen in Figure 7, in the contents of the magazine articles about the developments within the industry itself dominated, particularly before the late 1970s. After the end of the 1970s articles that reflected influences from marketing and journalism, such as editorials and general interest articles, became common in all magazines. Also the rise of customer-orientation in marketing could be seen in the appearance of articles about customers in the 1980s (Figure 7). These articles commonly outlined the client company's road to success and the contribution of the forest companies and their products to this success.

External developments in society have had a fairly small influence on the contents of the customer magazines. Articles related to public debates, such as environmental and corporate responsibility issues were not common. The proportion of these articles increased only for the period of time when the issues were debated about. As can be seen in Figure 7, articles on environmental issues were at their most common in the late 1980s and early 1990s when the environmental criticism reached the forest industry. Similarly, their number increased in the 2000s with the environmental consciousness of American customers and the European focus on climate change. Articles on corporate social responsibility and governance appeared when these had become the new "buzz words" in business in the early 2000s.

In 2003 and 2004 the target audience changed in UPM-Kymmene's Griffin and M-real's Magazine to include investors in addition to clients. After this the contents of the two magazines evolved differently. In the Griffin there were fewer articles on the internal affairs of the company and industry than earlier, while the proportion of these increased in Magazine. The developments might be results of different strategies. By choosing to write more about external issues and developments, UPM-Kymmene might have wanted to signal its interest in the surrounding world and that external developments were considered important and taken seriously when developing the operations and production. Writing more about internal affairs on the other hand, can be seen as an effort by M-real to communicate that the company and its operations were efficient and well-organised. This is realistic as M-real's economic results have been very poor for years. Consequently the company has had a strong need to maintain its credibility, particularly in the stock market.

A clear pattern in the development of the visual appearance of the magazines was that the promotional elements, elements that were intended to attract the readers' attention and desire to buy the products, increased strongly after the late 1970s (see also Figure 7). Until the late 1980s the magazines' visual appearance was modest. The magazines resembled news bulletins, printed on ordinary paper in

black and white. The whole concept changed with Finnpap World in 1984: the customer magazines were printed on high-quality glossy paper and attention was paid to their visual appearance. The production was professionalised. Part of the writing was outsourced and for example well-known photographers and graphic designers were used.

5.7.2 Characteristics and visual appearance of product articles: from providing information to promotion

Product articles can be considered the most promotional type of article found in the customer magazines. In these articles the products or companies are "advertised" more explicitly than in any other type of article. The readers of the customer magazines and particularly the product articles were professionals making the purchasing decisions for their companies. Such readers are looking for information about products and are thus likely to make their decisions based on the product articles rather than other types of articles. In addition, as most of the production of the forest industry was exported, the targeted readers were mostly foreign. Therefore the articles also had an important role in building the industry or company images, which would not have been necessary had the readers been from Finland. Thus my presumption is that the persuasive strategies would be most clearly visible in the product articles. Consequently, the product articles were chosen for the analysis of the persuasive strategies, even if they were not the most frequent type of article in the forest industry customer magazines. The proportion of products articles varied between 1 to 7 per cent of all articles in 1950–2006.

The early articles of the 1950s contained many promotional elements, such as a high proportion of illustrations and high argument density, but these disappeared for almost two decades in the 1960s and 1970s when the general impression was factual, informative and technical. The complete change in the persuasion strategy from the 1950s to the 1960s and 1970s might be attributed to the technological advances and growth of capacity in the Finnish forest industry in 1960–1980. Thus the focus would have moved to the production technology and technical and informative rhetoric from the earlier focus on the products and their promotion in the 1950s, motivated at least partly by the post-war shortage of goods (see also 8.1.1).

The development in the product articles was in line with the general development in the forest industry customer magazines towards greater promotionality (Figure 7). Thus from the late 1970s their visual appearance became more important than earlier, the use of paratexts increased, the articles became shorter and their

argument density increased. This attention to the visual appearance reflected the trend in journalism. In the 1980s the importance of the appearance of the newspapers grew in Finland. The illustrations increased and the text was split up into pieces using pictures and different types of paratexts, following international trends (see also Pietilä 2008: 655, 663).

The increased importance of the visual appearance in the product articles could be seen in that the illustrations grew in proportion and size, and moved from informative pictures and captions in 1950–1980 towards a mixture of concrete and abstract illustrations with argumentative captions from the 1980s. The studied product articles seem to be hybrids aiming at providing information and at the same time functioning as advertisements. This was also reflected in the use of illustrations. During the latter part of the studied time period 1980–2006, the illustrations and captions contained a mix of informative and promotional elements, often in the same article. Until the 1990s the illustrations and their captions generally supported the arguments of the main text. Since the 1990s, however, the use of illustrations as argumentative elements decreased. It became common to use them as visual elements and evidence of the print qualities of the paper.

Also the use of paratexts contributed to the promotional character of the articles. The general development in the product articles was that the headlines became promotional in all magazines after the late 1980s. Further, subtitles, ingresses and lift-out quotes became usual means to support the argumentation and to improve the readability in the 1980s and 1990s. The contemporary magazines, the Griffin and Magazine, however, again evolved differently. While the promotional elements continued to increase in M-real's Magazine, the trend was the opposite in UPM-Kymmene's Griffin. The headlines in the Griffin became argumentative rather than catchy and advertisement-like and the lift-out-quotes and ingresses nearly disappeared in 2004–2006.

The promotional characteristics of the main text of the product articles also increased in 1950–2006. The articles were generally short in the 1950s but lengthened remarkably in the 1960s to shorten again in the late 1980s. In newspapers the articles have also shortened considerably since the 1980s (Pietilä 2008: 654–655). Hemánus (2002: 64) has attributed the shortening of texts in newspapers and magazines to the competition with other types of media. To survive in the competition the printed media had to become more entertaining and readable.

A fairly similar pattern as in the shortening of the texts could be distinguished when comparing the proportions of informative text to promotional text in the

product articles (Figure 7). The lowest argument densities, that is, articles with a high proportion of informative and non-argumentative text, could be found in product articles in Finnish Paper and Timber in the 1960s and 1970s. After that the general trend was that the argument density in the articles increased. The argument density in the Griffin, however, decreased in 2004–2006.

The analysis of the contents and visual appearance of the product articles strengthened the presumption made in Sections 3.4 and 4.1 that the product articles can be considered their own genre. Not only do the product articles have the same purpose and audience, but they also showed similarities and patterns that were more often time-specific than magazine-specific. Whether the forest industry customer magazines can be considered their own genre can not be answered based on the analysis in this study. The analysis of the contents covers only the subject matter and visual characteristics and is therefore too superficial for such a purpose. The customer magazines can, however, be considered their own media type. This means that the magazines form a whole that is at least partly predictable. Thus the reader can expect them to contain information related to the companies and their products. The customer magazines as a media type can also be significant for the reader's interpretation of the product articles. For example a magazine printed on thick and glossy paper can strengthen the message conveyed by arguments emphasising the high quality of the products of a company (see also 5.1).

6 ARGUMENTATION STRATEGIES: ARGUMENT TOPICS IN FOREST INDUSTRY PRODUCT ARTICLES

In this chapter I will discuss the argumentation strategies used in the product articles. Argumentation strategy or textual strategy refers to the choices made by the writers in relation to the aims of the text (e.g. Enkvist 1975: 19; Koskela 1996: 10). The writers of the product articles have chosen the topics of the individual arguments that they have considered effective in order to persuade the reader of the supremacy of the product or the company. The topics of the arguments are the semantic content of the arguments, the justification for the main argument of the articles "Buy this product". The topic is the core message that makes the argument. The topic analysis reveals the argumentation strategies, whether the force and persuasiveness of an argument builds for example on the size or reliability of the company or on the product's properties.

The approach of this study is qualitative. It has, however, been complemented by a quantitative analysis to discover the proportions of the different argument strategies and changes in these. The quantitative analysis made it possible to see what the recurrent images and impressions were that the industry and companies sought to give of themselves and their products in the different customer magazines and different time periods.

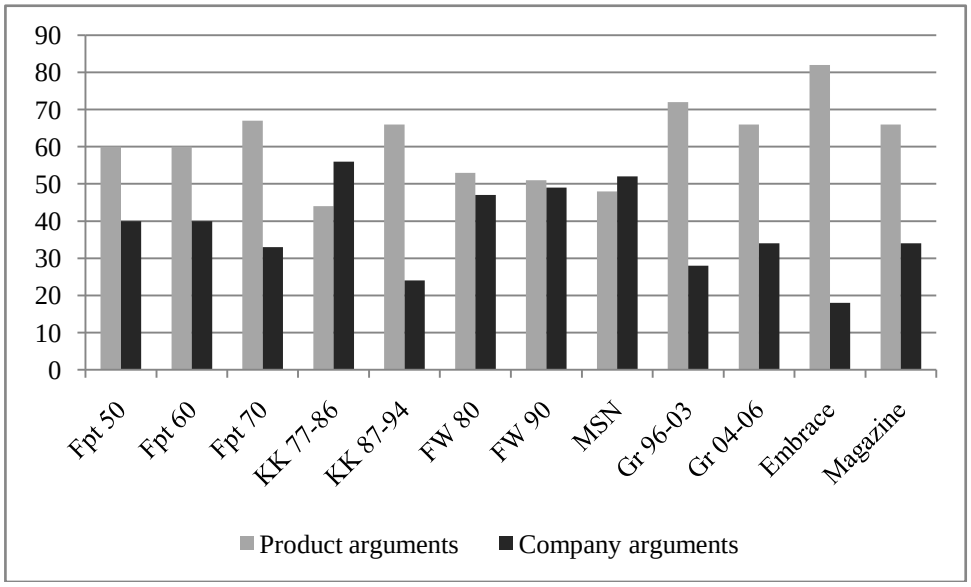
The quantitative comparisons have been made using percentages as there were some differences in the numbers of arguments in the different magazines (see also 4.1). For the quantitative analysis the arguments of each article were first identified and grouped according to their topic (arguments and their definition are discussed in 4.2.1). The arguments were grouped according to their topics into abstract or concrete arguments and product or company arguments. As the number of topics was very high, the arguments were grouped under nine topic families with the same overarching message. A topic family is for example *Customer in focus*, which seeks to communicate to the reader that the company pays attention to the customers' needs. To discover the overall frequency of the topic families and their frequencies in the different magazines and time periods, the number of arguments within each topic family was compared to the total number of arguments as well as to the number of arguments in a certain magazine or time period. Within each topic family a number of messages conveyed by the arguments could also be identified. For example one of the messages within topic family *Customer in focus* is that product development is done together with the customers. The number of arguments with the same message was compared to the number of arguments of the same topic family to discover the recurrent or

dominant messages within the different topic families. Thus the topic families and their messages reflect the argumentation strategies chosen for persuasion.

I will begin by providing an overview of the argumentation strategies by examining what proportions of the arguments were about the products and companies. I will also look at the frequency of concrete and abstract topics. Then I will analyse and discuss the argument topics themselves and their relation to the context.

6.1 Overview of argument topics and topic families

The research material comprised the 2,867 arguments found in the 135 product articles. The arguments provided either a positive claim regarding the product or the company. The argument topics could also be concrete or abstract. The proportions of product versus company arguments varied noticeably in the different magazines (Figure 8).



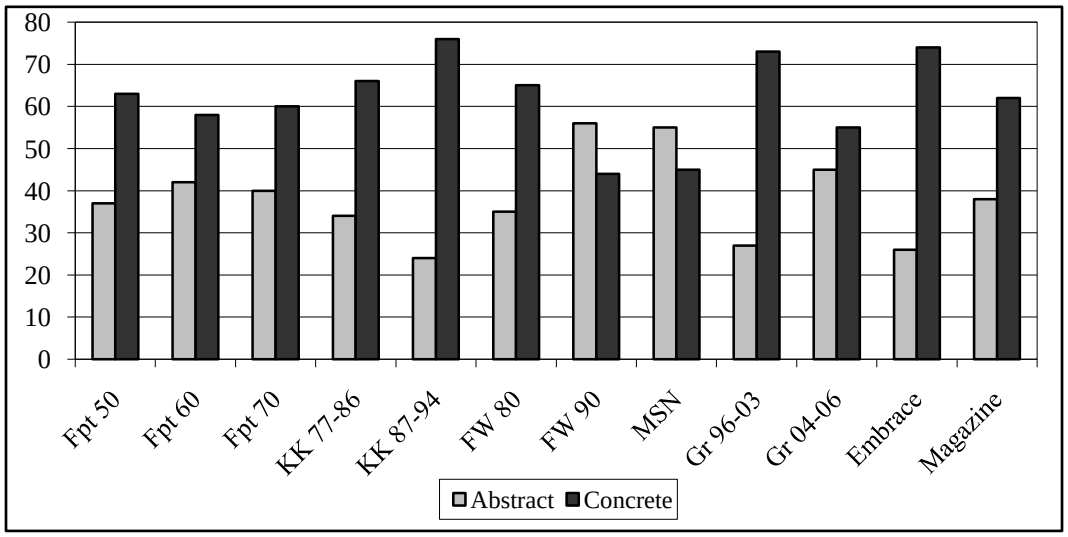
Legend: Fpt = Finnish Paper and Timber
KK = Kymi Kymmene Magazine/International & Kymi Review
FW = Finnpap World
MSN = Metsä-Serla News
Gr = the Griffin

Figure 8. Proportion of product and company arguments as percentages of all arguments 1950–2006.

The proportion of product arguments of all arguments varied from 44 to 82 per cent. The variation in company arguments was from 18 to 56 per cent. As can be seen in Figure 8, product arguments were more common than company arguments in all other magazines except Kymi Kymmene 1977–1986 and Metsä-Serla News in 1987–1995. Further, in Finnpap World in the 1980s and 1990s the difference was very small. After 1996 the proportion of product arguments was particularly big compared to the proportion of company arguments in most magazines. The proportion of products arguments varied from 72 per cent in the Griffin 1996–2003 to 82 per cent in Embrace 2003–2004.

There could be several reasons for the high proportion of company arguments in Kymi Kymmene magazines in 1977–1986, Finnpap World and Metsä-Serla News until 1995. In Kymi Kymmene magazines and Metsä-Serla News the companies may have needed to profile themselves in their own customer magazines which appeared alongside the joint magazine Finnpap World. A reason for the high proportion of company arguments in Finnpap World in turn can have been its status as a joint magazine, and consequently its need to promote the individual manufacturers and their strengths in the articles and the argumentation. This emphasis may also have had a political reason. The relationship between the joint sales organisation and the mills was problematic. From the perspective of the mills the sales organisation was seen to have had a far too dominant role regarding the export market, and seen as an obstacle between the clients and the producers. The mills had the feeling that the clients were not really theirs (Serlachius 2008; Tuuri 1999: 398). Finally, promoting and focusing on the companies could have been a marketing trend in the 1980s and 1990s.

In order to get a general idea of the extent to which the marketing has been based more on providing exact data or on building images and impressions, I have divided the topics into abstract and concrete topics. A concrete topic is for example the technical properties of a product, while an abstract topic is the beauty of the product. Arguments with concrete topics persuade by providing facts to the readers while abstract topics evoke positive impressions and images, such as high quality and popularity. Looking at the proportion of arguments with concrete and abstract topics, one can see that the concrete arguments were more common than the abstract ones in all magazines except Finnpap World in the 1990s and Metsä-Serla News 1987–1999 (Figure 9).



Legend: Fpt = Finnish Paper and Timber
KK = Kymi Kymmene Magazine/International & Kymi Review
FW = Finnpap World
MSN = Metsä-Serla News
Gr = the Griffin

Figure 9. Proportion of abstract and concrete arguments as percentages of all arguments 1950–2006.

The proportion of abstract topics increased in 2003–2006 compared to the beginning of the decade. UPM-Kymmene's Griffin and M-real's Embrace and Magazine showed similar trends. Thus the proportion of abstract arguments increased in both the Griffin 2004–2006 and the Magazine compared to the earlier magazines Griffin 1996–2003 and Embrace.

Generally the proportion of abstract topics was higher among company arguments than product arguments. On the average 64 per cent of the product arguments were concrete while the corresponding figure for company arguments was 55 per cent (Appendix 5). Thus, it would seem that it was more common to build the image of the companies based on vague impressions than exact data, while the product image was based on providing concrete information. Describing something in concrete terms can enrich the meanings attached to the object (Rydstedt 1993: 246). The concretisation makes the issue or object seem more tangible.

The proportion of concrete topics in product arguments varied from 53 to 68 per cent, while the differences were bigger in the company arguments, from 39 to 85 per cent. The lowest frequency could be found in Metsä-Serla News, in which the argumentation also differed from the other magazines in that it was vaguer and

less technical (see also Section 6.6). The highest proportion of concrete company arguments were found in the magazines of the early 2000s. This was a time when the argumentation also became more factual than earlier (see also Section 6.11).

As the number of individual argument topics in the material was very high, they were grouped into topic families that shared the same overarching message (see also above 6.1). Altogether nine topic families could be found. The topic families were named according to the main message of the argument topics constituting each topic family. Thus arguments in topic family *Product in focus* centre round the products, as for example arguments with the topics *Properties* and *Price*. The topic families contain both concrete and abstract argument topics with the same overarching message. A separation of these would not have contributed very much to the detailed analysis within the topic families as many of the abstract topics were justified in concrete terms and vice versa. Thus for example arguments with the abstract topic *Quality* were often justified by naming concrete quality assurance systems. Arguments with concrete topics in turn such as *Size of company* could be justified by vague references to being *market leader*.

The proportion of the topic families varied considerably so that the biggest topic family *Product in focus* contained nearly half of the arguments while the smallest topic family *More than a product* accounted for only two per cent of all arguments (Table 4).

Table 4. Proportion of topic families as a percentage of all arguments 1950–2006.

PIF	PP	NOT	DVP	TWT	CIF	WHR	ENV	MTP
44	12	11	9	8	6	5	3	2

Legend:
CIF = Customer in focus
DVP = Developing continuously
ENV = Environment
TWT = In technology we trust
MTP = More than a product
NOT = Nine out of ten
PP = Preferred partner
PIF = Product in focus
WHR = We have resources

The proportions of the topic families varied slightly between the magazines and time periods, reflecting the developments within the industry itself, trends in marketing as well as external developments. Thus for example the rise of customer-oriented marketing was visible in an increase of the proportion of the arguments of topic family *Customer in focus* in the 1980s. Similarly, the environmental debate was visible in the number of arguments of topic family

Environment in the early 1990s. The proportions of the topic families in each magazine can be found in Appendix 6.

In the following sections the topic families and their frequencies in the different magazines and time periods have been discussed. First the proportions of the topic families and topics in the different magazines have been examined. Secondly, the main messages found within the topic families are discussed together with a more detailed analysis of the arguments and the impressions and images conveyed in them.

6.2 Product in focus

The topic family *Product in focus* comprised topics whose persuasion strategy focused on the characteristics of the products. These characteristics could be concrete, such as the technical properties and price, or abstract, such as quality and reputation. The type of informative marketing found in the arguments of *Product in focus* arguments, is considered the most traditional type of advertising (Leiss et al. 2005: 262; Malmelin 2003: 31). In Finland product information still dominated the advertising of the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s (Heinonen 2005: 269; Heinonen & Konttinen 2001: 272, 305–306). Leiss et al. (2005: 240) call advertisements where the products are the centre of attention, the product-information format.

The topic family *Product in focus* was the biggest topic family throughout the time period 1950–2006, although its share varied slightly in the different magazines. In Finnish Paper and Timber in the 1960s and Kymi Kymmene magazines 1987–1994 half of the arguments belonged to the topic family. In the 2000s in the Griffin and Embrace the share of the topic family increased further, so that in Embrace the topic family had a clear majority with 77 per cent of all arguments (see also Appendix 6).

The most frequent topic within the topic family in all magazines was *Properties* (Table 5). Its share of the topics within the topic family ranged from slightly under 50 per cent in the Kymi Kymmene magazines 1977–1994 to over 70 per cent in Finnish Paper and Timber in the 1970s and the Griffin 1996–2006.

Table 5. Number of arguments per topic and magazines of all arguments in topic family *Product in focus*.

	Properties	Quality	Product selection	Price	Benefits	Need	Repu-tation	**Tot***	N**
Fpt 50	22	1	8	0	0	2	0	**33**	80
Fpt 60	81	37	8	8	3	3	0	**140**	268
Fpt 70	60	6	4	12	0	0	1	**83**	174
KK 77	43	19	9	7	6	4	2	**90**	237
KK 87	42	16	20	1	0	5	2	**86**	164
FW 80	94	31	18	10	3	6	6	**168**	424
FW 90	57	17	7	3	1	0	1	**86**	231
MSN	114	45	13	15	13	3	0	**203**	629
Gr 96–03	75	7	4	13	3	3	1	**106**	180
Gr 04–06	71	25	6	3	20	6	0	**131**	255
Embrace	34	4	4	1	8	1	0	**52**	68
Magazine	44	10	3	5	10	5	0	**77**	157
Total	**737**	**218**	**104**	**78**	**67**	**38**	**13**	**1255**	2867

Legend: Fpt = Finnish Paper and Timber
KK = Kymi Kymmene Magazine/International & Kymi Review
FW = Finnpap World
MSN = Metsä-Serla News
Gr = the Griffin

*Tot. is the total number of arguments in topic family *Product in focus* in a magazine.
**N is the total number of arguments found in a magazine.

The second most common topic *Quality* could be found frequently in all other magazines except Finnish Paper and Timber in the 1950s, Griffin in 1996–2003 and Embrace. The low frequency in the 1950s can be explained by the preoccupation in the product articles and arguments with describing the technical properties and availability of the products, but no obvious explanation can be found for the low frequency in the other two magazines.

Price was a topic that did not appear at all in the 1950s, which is logical against the context. Price or savings is not an issue in times of rationing and shortage of goods and when availability must have been more important. *Price* was most commonly found in the articles of Finnish Paper and Timber in the early 1970s. A reason for this might be that the 1970s, particularly the beginning, was a time when the plywood industry was in crisis (Tekes 2004: 13) and price could have been used to boost the sales. Two of the three articles that contained price and savings arguments were about plywood. Another explanation might be that prices started to be used as arguments in advertising generally from the late 1960s onwards (Heinonen & Konttinen 2001: 204).

Product selection and *Reputation* could be described as early topics. *Product selection* was at its most common in the magazines before the 1990s. *Reputation*

was a topic belonging to the 1970s and 1980s, hardly occurring at all after 1987. This absence is surprising in the light of the trends in marketing communication. One of the main competitive issues in the 2000s has been the reputation of the companies. Marketing researchers realised already in the 1990s that a good reputation creates a beneficial operating environment for the companies (Juholin 2002; Lehtonen 1998). In the 2000s the good will of a company is recognised as an asset alongside the financial performance.

Topics appearing late were *Benefits* and *Need*, coinciding with the interest in the clients and their needs within marketing in the 1980s. *Benefits* did not appear at all or appeared very sporadically in the argumentation of the 1950s to 1970s becoming gradually more common in the 1990s. *Need* in turn was on the whole a sporadic topic except in the 1980s and 2000s when its share of all arguments in the topic family was four and five per cent respectively.

The arguments in topic family *Product in focus* sought to persuade the readers either by providing information about the products or by underlining the product properties that answered to the needs of the customers. In the following sections 6.2.1 and 6.2.2, I have discussed the arguments and topics according to these two approaches, that is, whether the arguments build an impression of product-orientation or customer-orientation.

6.2.1 Product-orientation

More than 70 per cent of the arguments in topic family *Product in focus* were product-oriented. Arguments most often emphasised the technical properties of the products. In most cases the technical specifications were those of the final product (example 10). In other arguments the technical details were described either as conformity to certain standards (example 11) or from the production point of view (example 12).

(10) The **runnability** was the most important target and it has materialized because of **higher stiffness and bulk comparing to the other LWC**. (Text 113: 1999)

(11) Envelope production is currently one-sized **conforming to the DIN C-6 specification of 110 X 220 mm**. (Text 27: 1978)

(12) The paper was first called MFP (machine finished pigmentized), partly because **the amount of coating was limited to be less than 5 g/m2 per side** so the new grade would not compete with LWC. (Text 118: 2002)

Arguments with detailed technical specifications as in the examples above were particularly common in the 1970s. The technical details provided evidence for the good quality of the product (see also 7.2.3 and 7.2.4).

Product selection was frequently introduced by listing products or product groups by name, by providing the technical specifications or by just stating that there was a selection of products. The latter was quite rare, occurring sporadically up to the 1980s. Until the 1970s it was common to name products generically, for example *boxboard, kraft paper sacks* as well as in terms of the technical specifications, such as *tongued, grooved and jointed* and *round-edged boards* particularly in the 1960s. After the 1970s it became more common than earlier to describe the product selection more specifically, using the names of the products or product ranges. From the 1980s onwards products were predominantly referred to by product names such as *Luminova*, *Galerie* or *Swanwhite* rather than generically.

Even if *Quality* could be considered an abstract topic, the arguments most commonly provided concrete evidence of quality. This evidence was often the use of a quality assurance system or the control exercised by an outside body. The latter was typical in the 1960s. These outside bodies were generally of high status nationally such as *the State Institute for Technical Research*. A new type of evidence, provided by mentioning the name of the certification or a guarantee, appeared in the argumentation in the 1990s (example 13). In addition to evidence in the form of standards or outside control, proof could also be provided by explaining in detail what the high quality stemmed from (example 14).

(13) **BGW and FDA certifications** are proof of the suitability of our paper for hygienic uses," says Lindvall. (Text 123: 2004)

(14) **Carbon fibres woven to glassfibre texture strengthen the sticks** and enable quick, accurate and powerful shots with a puck speed of over 200 km an hour. (Text 24: 1974)

Exceptions among the very concrete product-oriented arguments were the arguments that based their persuasion on the reputation of the products. These arguments were mainly vague and did not specify what the reputation was based on (example 15). If the basis for the reputation was specified, this was expressed in terms of certain qualities of the products or earlier experiences (example 16).

(15) Kyro Plus, Kyro Lux, Kyro Lux Paste, Kyro Strong, Kyro Cote and Kyro PVC are **trade names that say a lot to wallpaper experts**. (Text 47: 1987)

(16) The choice of paper was greatly influenced by the publication issued on **the 50th anniversary of the Battle of Britain**. (Text 38:1990)

In the latter example evidence for the reputation was provided by referring to an authority. The strength of the reputation was later in that same article backed up by claiming that "The paper was so good, they say, that the Queen Mother demanded to have the same".

6.2.2 Customer-orientation

Customer-orientation in the arguments meant a step towards greater persuasiveness than in the product-oriented arguments, which focused on providing mostly factual information on the products. In the customer-oriented arguments, the properties or benefits of the products were viewed from the customers' perspective, giving an impression of a concern for the customers' best interests. This type of orientation was found to some extent in arguments within all topics of the topic family *Product in focus*. It was, however, most commonly visible in the arguments with the topics *Quality*, *Price*, *Benefits* and *Need*. The customer-orientation became increasingly common after the mid 1990s in the *Product in focus* arguments.

The persuasive point in the arguments could be the advantages to the customers brought about by the high quality (example 17) or added value (example 18). The latter was common especially in the 2000s. The advantages for the clients brought by the quality were commonly specified as in example 17, while the other benefits were most frequently referred to in a general way as in example 18.

(17) It guarantees good packaging **throughout the processing and packaging chain**," says Arto Halonen, Sales Manager at UPM Bag, Sack and Tech Paper. (Text 124: 2004)

(18) Publishers using our products **have found entirely new business opportunities available to them**," says Henrik Damen, Vice President and Marketing Director of the Publishing Paper Division. (Text 96: 1999)

In the arguments about price the persuasive point was typically the savings that could be gained by using these products. Savings in the form of indirect costs, such as mailing costs and printing inks, appeared sporadically in the 1980s, but became increasingly common in the 2000s (example 19). A "less is more" ideology, a symptom of efficiency-thinking was visible from the mid 1990s onwards (example 20). The example is an illustration of how important the

savings were from an argumentative point of view. The writer thoroughly listed all the cost benefits and savings.

(19) **Savings not just on postage, but also on paper itself**, gain extra appeal now that lighter grammages do not mean sacrificing quality. (Text 103: 2005)

(20) **UPM Cote from Rauma produced impressive results including**:
–2.5% savings in paper
–reduction in core waste totaling – saving 19.2 tonnes based on consumption of 30,000 tonnes/year (60 g/m2 paper), reels 88 cm wide, 120 mm diam, weight 1 tonne)
–1–2% savings on paper
–17% savings in 4 hours production time
–50% (8 min) savings in blanket washing time
–2% savings on mailing costs
(Text 113: 1999)

The argument in example 20 reflects its time context: the 1990s was a decade when the ideology of effectivisation, increasing the efficiency of operations and cost-efficiency, was strengthened in the aftermath of the global recession.

Actual prices or costs were mentioned somewhat less than the benefits in savings. When the price or costs were mentioned, they were formulated as general expressions such as *cost advantage* or *competitive price* in the 1980s to 2000s. In the earlier arguments, however, the actual price was occasionally mentioned (example 21).

(21) The range of use and economic advantage of stressed skin panels – **their price is 60–70 marks/m^2** – could be said to begin from the length at which it ends in "ordinary" building panels. (Text 19: 1970)

It was very rare to find arguments that described the products as inexpensive. The reason for this infrequency can be the desire to present the products as up-market products. For such products price is less relevant. Rather, the arguments emphasised the cost-effectiveness ratio, that the products might not have been cheap but that they improved the performance and business of the clients (example 22).

(22) **Someone could therefore think that Astralux is too expensive**. But if **you can sell more of your products with Astralux**, the image is ok.", says Mr. Rossall and hints at the promotion of John Player Special cigarettes in a carton made of Astralux. (Text 29: 1982)

In arguments referring to the needs of the customers the persuasion was based on the gap or niche in the market that the product in question filled. This type of argumentation strategy reflected a situation where there was competition among producers and consequently new needs had to be created. Further, the arguments suggested a concern for the problems of the clients. Sometimes the background was described in detail in several consecutive arguments (example 23).

(23) For some time now**, increasing mail costs have been a major cause of concern** for just about every publisher and direct marketer on the planet – and **that situation seems unlikely to change** in the near future.

The majority of **Public Postal Operators (PPOs) across the world are regularly upping their rates** to offset higher labour and fuel costs, while continuing to base their prices on weight, as they have done for the last 100 years.

"Mail and other distribution costs are an important angle in the steady reduction of weight of our Galerie papers," says M-real's Lasse Lerche, assistent vice-president of technical marketing. (Text 103: 2005)

As in example 23, a common rhetorical device used in the *Need* arguments was the before-and-after technique, in which a new product brought a positive solution to an unsatisfactory situation. The use of before-and-after as a rhetorical device is discussed in more detail in Section 7.2.8.

Generally speaking the argumentation was very concrete in the customer-oriented arguments of topic family *Product in focus*. The persuasion was based for example on specific benefits or savings. To some extent, however, arguments were vague. Thus a product could be described as *an advantageous alternative* or that it opened *new opportunities* for the clients. Also quality, although mostly specified in concrete terms, could be characterized for example as *high* or *at its best* particularly in the 1950s to 1970s.

6.3 Preferred partner

The topic family *Preferred partner* comprised argument topics that wanted to persuade the reader of the companies being good business partners and model companies. These companies were reliable and had authority, they were committed to their work and were dynamic partners. The message was that

dealing with such companies benefited the customers. The argument topics underlined the reliability and success stemming from the companies' size and position on the market, their efficiency and the quality of their operations. The reliability and success was also communicated in the frequent reference to the companies as European or global actor, especially in the 1980s and 1990s.

The topic family was the second biggest comprising an average of 12.2 per cent of all arguments in the material. It was not as uniform as many other topic families when considering its frequency in the different magazines. The frequency of *Preferred partner* arguments varied considerably from magazine to magazine (see also Appendix 6). Only two trends were visible. The first one was that the topic family was very infrequent in Griffin until 2004 and Embrace but showed an increase in Griffin after 2004 and the successor of Embrace, the Magazine after 2005. The second trend was that Metsä-Serla News deviated noticeably from the average. The *Preferred partner* arguments accounted for 23 per cent of all arguments of the magazine.

A reason for the high frequency in Metsä-Serla News could be linked to the dominance of company arguments and the desire to stand out from the rest of the Finnish forest companies (see also 6.1. above). Further, in the mid 1990s the support from the joint marketing organisations Finnpap and Finnboard disappeared and as the smallest Finnish company, Metsä-Serla could have had a particular need to promote and raise its profile.

As can be seen in Table 6, the most common topics within the topic family *Preferred partner* were the *Size of the company*, *Efficiency* and *Quality of operations*. Other topics were *Marketing, Position* and *Deliveries*.

Table 6. Number of arguments per topic and magazines of all arguments in topic family *Preferred partner*.

	Size	Efficiency	Quality of operations	Marketing	Position	Deliveries	Tot*	N**
Fpt 50	5	0	0	0	2	0	**7**	80
Fpt 60	7	18	5	2	2	0	**34**	268
Fpt 70	6	1	1	1	1	0	**10**	174
KK 77–86	6	7	3	6	4	6	**32**	237
KK 87–94	6	0	0	1	2	2	**11**	164
FW 80	22	10	4	8	3	2	**49**	424
FW 90	7	8	5	2	5	6	**31**	231
MSN	29	23	32	28	20	11	**143**	629
Gr 96–03	2	0	2	0	1	0	**5**	180
Gr 04–06	1	5	2	1	3	1	**13**	255
Embrace	0	0	1	0	0	0	**1**	68
Magazine	0	2	2	2	2	5	**15**	157
Total	**91**	**74**	**57**	**51**	**45**	**33**	**351**	2867

Legend: Fpt = Finnish Paper and Timber
KK = Kymi Kymmene Magazine/International & Kymi Review
FW = Finnpap World
MSN = Metsä-Serla News
Gr = the Griffin

*Tot. is the total number of arguments in topic family *Preferred partner* in a magazine.
**N is the total number of arguments found in a magazine.

The frequency of the topics varied at different times and in the different magazines. Some trends could be distinguished. *Size* was proportionally more common as an argument in the magazines before the 2000s. Further, *Deliveries* was a relatively late topic, it did not appear at all in Finnish Paper and Timber in the 1950s–1970s. The topics that showed no clear trends were *Efficiency*, *Marketing* and *Quality of operations*. Finally, in addition to its high proportion of *Preferred partner* arguments in Metsä-Serla News, the magazine showed an even distribution of all the topics (Table 6).

Two main messages could be distinguished looking at the arguments and their topics in the topic family. Being a preferred partner was based on being either reliable or dynamic. These two messages and the means how these were constructed in the arguments are discussed in Sections 6.3.1 and 6.3.2.

6.3.1 Reliable partner

The reliability and authority of the companies as partners was the message of the majority of the topics. Size was one of the most common means of giving the impression of authority and reliability. The message was that a company was big because it was so good and successful. Continuous success in turn indicated that it was due to the companies' own doing instead of merely chance (see also Aristoteles *Retoriikka* 1367b). The customers could rely on its operations and services. The frequency of references to size in the 1950s–1970s reflected the reality in the forest industry particularly in the 1960s. In the 1960s the production capacity doubled due to the advances in technology and the size of the companies grew as a result of mergers (Kuisma 1990: 123, 130–131). The fact that size as a topic diminished in the 1990s and 2000s would point to the fact that it was no longer important. Possibly the companies were so big by then that they did not need to specify this or provide evidence in figures anymore. Instead they referred to their positions as market leaders or some of the biggest companies in the world. The same type of rhetoric, where the companies declared their aim of being among the biggest companies in the world, was found by Kantola (2004: 37–38) in the forest industry annual reports after the late 1980s.

In the studied arguments size was mostly about the volume of the production (example 24). In addition to production volumes, it was common to emphasise size in relation to other companies or share of the market (example 25). In Metsä-Serla News of the 1990s also the size of the personnel and turnover were used as arguments (example 26).

(24) This year, the Veitsiluoto paper mill will produce **16,000 tons of envelope paper**, and **next year's production is budgeted at 22,000 tons**. (Text 60: 1989)

(25) Koho **is the biggest stick factory in Europe** with a yearly production of almost 2 million sticks. (Text 24: 1974)

(26) In 1990 Kirkniemi's **turnover amounted to some FIM 910 million** and **the mill's employees numbered 750**. (Text 81: 1991)

As can be seen in all of the above examples, the arguments were very often supported with exact facts and figures. Figures and details have been analysed as rhetorical devices in Section 7.2.4.

To boost the image of reliability as a partner the position of the company was referred to. Position was mostly about the position in the markets, but also about the reputation of the company. The market was either a global market as in example 27 or a more specific market area. To some extent position was described in relation to the competitors (example 28).

(27) UPM is already **the world's leading supplier** with several mills that are qualified and approved for the production of plywood for LNG carriers. (Text 133: 2006)

(28) Tissue products made by Metsä-Serla AB command some 50 per cent of **the Swedish market** as against the 35 per cent of the closest competitor. (Text 78: 1990)

The above examples illustrate the most common means of underlining the companies' position. In addition to exact figures as in example 28, the position of the company was very commonly expressed by *leading* as in example 27. *Leading* and *leader* were used in half of the arguments referring to position. As in example 28 the context of reference, *of the Swedish market*, was mostly expressed explicitly. It was much rarer to find vague references such as *world-wide* or *European*. Such vague references were found mostly in the 1970s and 1980s.

Besides size and position on the market, the efficiency of the operations was used to communicate the reliability of the company. The topic *Efficiency* was found particularly in the argumentation of the 1960s, 1980s and 2000s. In the 1960s the efficiency was about the productivity and the cost-effectiveness of the production (example 29). In the 1980s efficiency was predominantly about the efficiency of the production, not so much cost-efficiency. In the 1990s this was also the case, except in Metsä-Serla News, where efficiency gained through a collaborative approach was equally common (example 30).

(29) With the modular system a construction may gain the greatest possible benefit e.g. from **the utilisation of material, the increasing of phase work in factory production and larger series, improved delivery times**, and the possibility of making individual ground level solutions as with panelbuilt component buildings. (Text 12: 1967)

(30) The main factors behind their success appear to be their well-defined strategy and their **ability to get the whole organization to 'buy into' the need to achieve the objectives**. (Text 89: 1995)

The emphasis on a collaborative culture in example 30 particularly in 1995–1996 could have reflected the situation in Metsä-Serla at that time. In those years the joint sales and marketing organisations were discontinued and for example most of Finnboard, the joint sales organisation for board, merged into Metsä-Serla. In reality the marketing operations continued to be separate for ex-Finnboard and Metsä-Serla although they had been officially merged (Serlachius 2008). From the point of view of corporate image it might have been of importance in the sales rhetoric to create a picture of one united company working together. Collaboration and a sense of community generally signal efficiency of operations and commitment to the success of the company.

To underline the efficiency in Finnish Paper and Timber in the 1960s and 1970s, a wide variety of attributes were used, such as *dynamic*, *expedient* and *continuous*. In the later magazines two types of attributes became recurrent. One type was those attributes referring to the speed of service or operations such as *quick*, *prompt* and *fast*. The other type appearing in the 1980s was *efficient* and its derivatives, such as *efficiency* and *effective*. *Efficient* resembles the widely used verb *develop*. They are both positively charged words, but at the same time vague enough to avoid exact promises (see also van Dijk 1997: 21; Fairclough 1998a: 113–114). Claiming to be quick is a definite promise while being efficient is not.

In the arguments claiming quality of the operations the reliability was mainly justified by the existence of control and quality assurance systems and the companies' commitment to quality. Quality assurance systems were mentioned as evidence sporadically in the 1960s but began appearing more often after the late 1970s (example 31). The image of reliability and high quality was further strengthened by emphasising the good management and conscientiousness as well as being part of a bigger company as in example 32. These two types appear in Metsä-Serla News in the 1990s, but are almost totally absent in the other magazines.

(31) Savon Sellu is committed to quality, and this commitment is underlined by the **ISO 9002 quality certificate** it received in 1991 for its entire process from production to dispatch. (Text 87: 1994)

(32) "Also, the fact that **Rantasalmi is part of Metsä-Serla** increases its dependability as a business partner." (Text 85: 1993)

Deliveries and logistics became recognised as an important part of the effectiveness of the companies in the 1990s and is one of the key considerations of sales nowadays (Holma 2006: 242; Sormunen 2008: 21–23; Serlachius 2008).

The frequency of the topic, however, did not reflect this reality. The topic appeared for the first time in the late 1970s, being most frequent in the 1980s and 1990s. After 1995 the topic disappeared reappearing as late as in 2005 and 2006 in the Griffin and the Magazine. Arguments with the topic *Delivery* were mostly about delivery times and methods (example 33).

(33) Not only, therefore, does this assist Kymmene Papier's conversion output but assures that West German indent **customers are guaranteed the promptest delivery times**. (Text 27: 1978)

Management of the whole distribution chain was also commonly used to underline the reliability of the companies. Thus for example the cooperation in logistic operations with the different parties involved was described as *a strong asset* and *efficient distribution networks* were used to underline the efficiency. The thinking of logistics and distribution as wider concepts was visible in the arguments from the late 1970s. This thinking in the Finnish forest industry which was new at that time meant that delivery was not only about shipping goods. The clients wanted more carefree deliveries. The forest industry saw undisputable benefits in improving their customer service and started by setting up their own transport company already in the late 1960s (Laiho 1998: 99–100).

6.3.2 Dynamic partner

Being a dynamic partner was communicated in the arguments by referring to increase in size, improvements in quality and active marketing efforts. Increase in size was mostly speculations for the future as in example 34.

(34) Production, which two years ago was only 5,000 tons, **is now expected to rise to 40,000 tons a year by the start of the 1990s.** (Text 60: 1989)

Example 34 is an example of the rhetoric of growth found particularly in Finnpap World in the 1980s. It was commonly strengthened with verbs denoting growth, such as *rise*, *grow* and *increase*. These types of verbs could be found in 25 per cent of the topic family *Preferred partner* arguments in Finnpap World in the 1980s. The corresponding figure was 7 per cent on average in all *Preferred partner* arguments. This rhetoric fitted in well with the time context. The 1980s

was in the forest products industry characterised by strong growth in production and profitability after the recession of the previous decade (Kuisma 1990: 146).

A company's dynamism was also emphasised by underlining the continuous improvements in the quality of production or operations. Such arguments appeared most commonly in the arguments of Metsä-Serla News in the 1990s. The improvements were mostly about the operations (example 35) but also about the quality of the products (example 36).

(35) Soili Hietanen continues by explaining that **progress has been made** in all areas of production. (Text 89: 1995)

(36) **The extensive programme for upgrading the paper quality and the modern paper machines** of the Group ensure that the printability and strength of face papers will meet exacting printing quality requirements. (Text 30: 1984)

The progress was rapid regarding the quality requirements of paper in particular in the 1990s. "A paper that was good in 1994, was not good anymore in 1998" (Serlachius 2008). This was partly tied to the developments in printing technology which placed more demand on the paper than earlier. The arguments about marketing wished to impress the reader with the level of activity and progressiveness of the marketing operations. The aim also seems to have been to communicate that buying was easy and that support was close at hand as there were so many sales offices around the world. The most commonly emphasised aspects were the improvements in marketing, sales and channels (example 37) and marketing policies (example 38).

(37) "In addition to our sales effort at home, **we have subsidiaries to handle sales in our most important marketing areas**." (Text 79: 1990)

(38) The key factor is **the ability to choose the right sites and make a precise initial survey and marketing plan** right from the very beginning. (Text 77: 1990)

Both of the above examples are from Metsä-Serla News in which marketing was a frequent topic. The explanation for the frequent occurrence in the magazine might be the same as for the frequency of arguments of *Size* and *Quality* communicating reliability, namely that Metsä-Serla was reorganised in the mid

1990s. Thus it could have been important to communicate to the clients that the operations and marketing had not suffered from the change.

6.4 Nine out of ten

A television advertisement in the 1960s on the soap called Lux claimed that "Nine out of ten film stars use Lux". The technique is based on two elements of persuasion, namely that the product is used by famous people and that the majority of them do so. This same approach could be found in the arguments of the topic family *Nine out of ten*. The topic family comprised argument topics that emphasised the desirability of the products and the companies. The persuasiveness of the arguments was based on the sales figures and popularity among customers (example 39).

(39) According to one study, **nine out of ten builders** of small owner-occupied houses **used particle board** in their houses. (Text 22: 1972)

The topic family was the third largest topic family with 11 per cent of all arguments. *Nine out of ten* was an early topic family. It was at its most frequent in the 1950s accounting for almost 30 per cent of all argument topics and then gradually diminished to less than ten per cent in the late 1970s, staying on that level for the next twenty years. The occurrence in the later magazines was relatively even, with the exception of Metsä-Serla News, where the topic family was quite common in the 1980s (see also Appendix 6).

Topic family *Nine out of ten* comprised the topics *Success*, *Demand* and *Customers*, the last two accounting for nearly 36 and 31 per cent respectively of the topics in the topic family (Table 7).

Table 7. Number of arguments per topic and magazines of all arguments in topic family *Nine out of ten*.

	Demand	Customers	Success	**Tot***	N**
Fpt 50	8	14	0	**22**	80
Fpt 60	22	17	0	**39**	268
Fpt 70	19	9	0	**28**	174
KK 77–86	11	7	4	**22**	237
KK 87–94	8	0	5	**13**	164
FW 80	26	7	7	**40**	424
FW 90	11	4	4	**19**	231
MSN	27	17	30	**74**	629
Gr 96–03	2	4	10	**16**	180
Gr 04–06	7	4	12	**23**	255
Embrace	2	3	1	**6**	68
Magazine	2	7	4	**13**	157
Total	**145**	**93**	**77**	**315**	2867

Legend: Fpt = Finnish Paper and Timber
KK = Kymi Kymmene Magazine/International & Kymi Review
FW = Finnpap World
MSN = Metsä-Serla News
Gr = the Griffin

*Tot. is the total number of arguments in topic family *Nine out of ten* in a magazine.
**N is the total number of arguments found in a magazine.

Looking at the proportion of the topics in the different magazines, one can see that *Demand* was the most common topic in nearly all magazines appearing evenly throughout the 1950s to the 2000s. *Customers* was an early topic, most frequent in the 1950 to 1970s. *Success* in turn was a late topic appearing as the most frequent topic in the 1990s and 2000s in Metsä-Serla News and the Griffin.

The two persuasive messages found in the topic family *Nine out of ten* arguments were that that sales volumes and quantities were evidence of demand and that popularity and the patronage of well-known or respected clients, in addition, were guarantees of quality. Evidence of demand was mainly produced in the form of figures for sales quantities while the popularity was proved by referring to the preferences of clients. The two messages and their formulation will be discussed in detail in the next two sections.

6.4.1 Quantities speak for themselves

Demand is a traditional way of persuasion in advertising. It communicates that the demand is based on qualities desirable to the customers. The arguments with the topic *Demand* in the forest industry product articles mostly sought their persuasive force from the concrete demand and increase in demand of the products. This demand was mostly for the products but could also be about the company in some cases. When a product was the issue, the argumentation was very explicit in all magazines. Thus, for example sales volumes were specified as in example 40. In addition to sales volumes, it was fairly common to refer to concrete and exact data, such as the increase in the use of a product (example 41).

(40) Present sales, at approximately **30,000 tonnes**, go direct to printers or through fairly small merchants. (Text 68:1993)

(41) Since **MWC consumption accounts for about 20 per cent of coated wood-containing papers and is expanding faster than LWC**, it seems natural for us to transfer some of our production volume to the more highly processed product." (Text 35:1998)

When the demand had to do with the company, it was generally specified in the 1990s and 2000s but unspecified and vague in the 1980s. When the demand was not specified, it was described with expressions such as *good*, *favourable* or *healthy*. When specified in exact terms, the argument specified when a sales agreement has been made, with whom, and its size. As in example 42, explicitness was often strengthened by naming exact dates, volumes or clients (see also 7.2.4 and 7.2.7).

(42) Under the new order covering the period **2006–2008**, UPM will supply DSME with a total of more than **120,000 m^3 of plywood** for its latest LNG carriers. (Text 133: 2006)

The impression of demand could also be created with speculations on future demand. This type or argumentation was common between 1988 and 1996 in Metsä-Serla News, disappearing almost completely after that. In terms of vocabulary and grammar, however, vague references to the future could be found during the whole time period 1950s to 2000s. Future demand was described by using the future tense, by frequent use of verbs or nouns denoting growth such as *increase*, *huge growth potential*, as well as attributes referring to the growing demand and success, such as *positive* or *optimistically*. The arguments conveyed a belief in the future in general (example 43) or anticipation of good market trends.

A conviction in the company itself and its efforts (example 44) could also be detected.

(43) Kaj Sandelin feels that **graphic boards have a bright future**. (Text 88: 1994)

(44) “We believe **we can outdo the competition**," says Lepola. (Text 67: 1992)

The optimism for the future of the arguments was understandable in the early years of the 1990s. It was a time of recession and the collapse of the Soviet trade (Heikkinen 2000: 462–463). This type of “future talk” or promises for the future became very common in the 2000s, the time when the competition and profitability of the industry declined (see also 2.2 and 6.5). In his research into political discourse, van Dijk (1997: 27) found similar future-orientation promising to make things better.

6.4.2 Favourite producer

In addition to justifying demand and popularity by sales volumes and figures, the arguments could communicate that the demand was based on the preferences of clients or whole nations and groups of professionals. The popularity of products among customers was mostly expressed in specific terms, for example by listing or naming actual clients. The popularity was presented vaguely until the 1980s. In the late 1980s and 1990s the popularity was generally specified in all magazines. In the 2000s there was no clear predominance of either type. When unspecified and vague, the products had for example *attracted considerable attention* or were *more and more popular*. In most cases the circles in which the products enjoyed popularity were not named.

Also in the arguments with the topic *Success of the products*, the source was commonly not specified. The products had *enjoyed a positive reception* or *turned out to be a success*. In cases where the success of products was specified, the arguments focused on where or among whom this success had taken place (examples 45 and 46).

(45) The UPM Cote from Rauma (RaumaExel) has proved its worth on all key performance measures in comparison tests conducted in **Switzerland, Italy and the U.S.A**. (Text 113: 1999)

(46) We have been very enthusiastically received, **especially by designers**. (Text 84: 1993)

Arguments such as the above mentioning the customers aimed at convincing the reader by claiming that the popularity was not based on individual preferences. Instead, when a whole group was in question, the argument became truth-like, confirmed by respected groups of users. According to Perelman (2007: 150) the strength of this type of argument is based on its reality and truthfulness. Aristotle (*Retoriikka* 1363a) advised speakers on the use of this type of technique stating that something chosen by a good man or woman must be a good choice.

When *Customers* appeared as an argument topic, they were generally explicitly identified, either as the name of a company, country or field of business. The customers who were mentioned were well-known manufacturers or publishers (example 47). Only seldom were they described in more general terms, as for example *trading houses* and *public authorities*.

(47) Galerie Fine gloss 100g/m2 is a favourite for high-quality catalogues, such as **Marks and Spencer's Design Directory**, the mail order catalogue for its homeware collection. (Text 103: 2005)

This type of name-dropping is discussed in more detail in Section 7.2.7. Together with the name-dropping, the use of flattering attributes referring to the customers increased in the 2000s. The clients were described as *leading book publisher*, *top quality interior design magazine* or *THE publication read by all self-respecting wine lovers*. The earlier attributes used of clients were much more factual, such as *Europe's largest makers of envelopes* or *major users of plywood*. In the 1950s and 1960s the attributes used often referred to positive characteristics from the seller's perspective, for example *considerable buyer* or *good customer*.

Customer feedback was also used as proof of success until the mid 1990s. In half of the cases the feedback was explicitly accounted for by providing the source of the feedback and thus seeking to add credibility to the argument (example 48). The other half of the arguments referred to user feedback vaguely (example 49).

(48) **Mark Smith, responsible for Cooper Clegg's paper procurement, is extremely satisfied with UPM Star papers**: "As long as Cooper has printed the Elle Decoration magazine, in other words since 1994, the paper has been either UPM Star or its predecessor." (Text 127: 2004)

(49) **The result of consumer surveys** commissioned by UPM Raflatac and carried out by TNS Gallup, **have been favorable**. (Text 134: 2006)

Half of the arguments persuading through customer feedback were testimonials, as in example 48. Testimonials have been discussed in Section 7.2.1.

6.5 Developing continuously

The argument "Constant improvements of all paper grades is the best way to inspire confidence among customers" (Text 34: 1987) demonstrates the strategy of topic family *Developing continuously*. The arguments of this topic family wanted to impress and strengthen the confidence of the reader in the unremitting efforts to develop the products and technology in the industry. The aspects that were emphasised both in the arguments and their vocabulary were long-term commitment, concrete actions and hard work as well as innovativeness.

The topic family *Developing continuously* was the fourth biggest topic family with 9.6 per cent of all arguments. The topic family could be characterised as a latecomer as most of the topics within the family began appearing in the argumentation regularly as late as in the 1970s and 1980s. On average, its share of all argument topics gradually grew, beginning from two per cent and increasing from eight per cent in the 1970s to nearly 13 per cent in the 2000s. This development was fairly uniform when comparing the different magazines (see also Appendix 6).

The topic family consisted of three topics, *Research and development (R&D)*, which is the most frequent topic within the topic family, *Product development* and *Innovativeness* (Table 8).

Table 8. Number of arguments per topic and magazines of all arguments in topic family *Developing continuously*.

	R&D	Product development	Innovativeness	**Tot***	N**
Fpt 50	0	2	0	**2**	80
Fpt 60	6	0	0	**6**	268
Fpt 70	7	10	0	**17**	174
KK 77–86	11	4	0	**15**	237
KK 87–94	16	0	0	**16**	164
FW 80	46	8	4	**58**	424
FW 90	17	0	7	**24**	231
MSN	38	12	11	**61**	629
Gr 96–03	17	2	11	**30**	180
Gr 04–06	17	3	1	**21**	255
Embrace	4	0	1	**5**	68
Magazine	7	7	5	**19**	157
Total	**186**	**48**	**40**	**274**	**2867**

Legend: Fpt = Finnish Paper and Timber
KK = Kymi Kymmene Magazine/International & Kymi Review
FW = Finnpap World
MSN = Metsä-Serla News
Gr = the Griffin

*Tot. is the total number of arguments in topic family *Developing continuously* in a magazine.
**N is the total number of arguments found in a magazine.

As can be seen in Table 8, *Research and development* and *Product development* were the earliest of the topics, appearing already in the 1950s and 1960s. *Research and development* was most frequent in the 1980s and 2000s. *Product development* arguments showed no clear trend in their occurrence. *Innovativeness*, on the other hand, was a late topic, appearing in the 1980s and being most common in the 1990s and 2000s.

The fact that the topic family started appearing more frequently than earlier in the 1970s coincides with the developments within the forest industry. The 1970s was characterised by fast developments in technology. Product development was central and new products and solutions were in demand (Papertec & Forestec 2005: 37). To improve the profitability, product development focused on more technically demanding and further developed products. Research and development were also seen as a way to survive from the global oil crisis in the early 1970s (Laiho 1998: 112; Eloranta, Ranta, Ollus & Suvanto 1994: 41; Tekes 2004). In the annual reports of Finnish forest industry companies a rhetoric of change that emphasised the readiness for continuous change was visible later than

in the sales rhetoric. It emerged during the recession in the early 1990s and remained visible until the end of the 1990s (Kantola 2004: 47–48).

The arguments in topic family *Developing continuously* aimed at imparting an image of companies committed to development, that they did not spare their troubles in doing so and that the companies were at the forefront of the forest industry as regards development and innovation. These three messages and their realisation will be discussed in the next three sections.

6.5.1 Commitment to research and development

The commitment expressed in the arguments was commonly about long-term commitment and continuity of research and development. This was the case particularly in the 1980s (example 50). It was typically expressed by verb tenses such as the present continuous or the future tense (example 51). The weight of the promise was increased by the use of *will*. According to Fairclough (1995: 4) using the auxiliary verb *will* makes statements firm and categorical, even if future events are uncertain as in example 51. Also common in the 1980s to 2000s was to emphasise the results of the development activities (example 52).

(50) However, the forest industry is **continuously looking for new areas of development**. (Text 45: 1987)

(51) Development **efforts will continue** with a view to the paper grades of the 1990s. (Text 33: 1986)

(52) Kirkniemi has been working in this direction for many years, **developing new brands of lightweight printing papers and reducing the grammages of its existing grades**. (Text 96: 1996)

The use of the future tense also indicates a promise. Promise has today become a common way for companies to justify their actions and maintain their customers (see also 7.4.2). Continuation and promise to pursue development work was further emphasised with calling the work a *process*, *programme*, *continuation* or by the frequently found adverbs *continuous*, *in the future*, *for many years now*, *a number of years already*, *over the last few years*. In the 1990s and 2000s the vocabulary choices were much the same.

The development of research and development in the Finnish forest industry was reflected also in the fact that in the early days of the industry in the 1960s, the

arguments stressed the need for research and development. Later, when research and development had become an integral part of the operations, the focus was, in addition to the promises described above, on investments in R&D. The investments were generally expressed in terms of exact figures and served as further proof of commitment to development.

6.5.2 Development is about actions and hard work

In the arguments of the 1990s and 2000s it was usual to report on the concrete actions or method and aims of the research. The hard work involved in gaining a leading position was stressed, particularly in the 2000s (example 53).

(53) **Target group tests** in London, Frankfurt and Paris, and **tests of paper purchasers** from major companies, small to medium-sized companies and office suppliers were carried out and the **results were incorporated into product development**.

We started from scratch with respect to the technical challenges, the raw material, the production steps and the marketing," says Latvala. (Text 132: 2006)

As in the above example, it was relatively common that several consecutive arguments on the method or process of the research and development activities formed a story or report on the efforts. Such detailed accounts were very common in the arguments of topic family *In technology we trust* (see also 6.6.2).

The hard work that went with research and development was boosted by the choice of vocabulary in the arguments of the 1980s to 2000s. Hard work was stressed in the arguments of the 1960s already, but in a factual manner. The choice of words became more evaluative than earlier (example 54).

(54) This development has by no means come about solely by itself but **is the result of focused research and development work** in the paper industry. (Text 41: 1982)

The hardness was stressed by words and expressions such as *as a result of these efforts*, *thoroughly tested* or as in the 1990s and 2000s adjectives such as *extensive*, *intensive* and *consistent*.

6.5.3 Vanguards of innovation

Arguments about product development mostly focused on the innovativeness of the products. The innovativeness was generally expressed inexplicitly and vaguely. When concrete, it was expressed as real and tangible activities or measures carried out regarding the products. This type of argument became more common than earlier from the late 1980s onwards.

Product development was the most frequent topic in 1995–1997 particularly in Metsä-Serla News. This coincided with the introduction of a totally new product by the company, paper manufactured out of aspen, a new raw material in paper-making (example 55).

(55) ”To make Galerie Fine we have combined raw materials in a way that has never been done before”. (Text 93: 1997)

As in example 55, the tone was often very confident. This confidence was typical in the argumentation of the 1980s to 2000s (see also below). Confidence was also expressed in arguments claiming the innovativeness of the companies. The companies were being described as forerunners (example 56). This position was up till the beginning of the 1990s defined on a domestic scale, for example as being *pioneer in Finland* or *only Finnish mill*. Later the position, if defined, was global, for example *as the first mill in the world*, *a genuine world's first*.

(56) Kirkniemi Paper Mill of the Metsä-Serla Group is the last so called green field paper mill in Finland, and **it has always had a reputation of being an innovative pioneer in the paper making field**. (Text 62: 1990)

The vocabulary used in the arguments of the whole topic family stressed innovation, being a forerunner and continuity. In the 1950s to 1970s the argumentation was low-key and factual. The arguments did not underline the positive characteristics of the products or companies. Innovation was expressed using words such as *new*, *novel* and *prototype*. Being a forerunner was simply hinted at by stating that *this was the first time that termite-impregnated particle board was used*. Continuity was expressed for example as *work on their solution will continue* or *continuous study is being made*. Hard work was also expressed without any evaluative expressions, such as simply stating that something was developed *after a year's work*.

The low-key and factual argumentation style gave way to argumentation in the 1980s in which the progressiveness and continuity of development was expressed much more persuasively. The companies were, for example, described as *pioneers* and *forerunners* and development was characterised as *active* and *continuous*. Further, in the 1990s and 2000s there was a definite change in the arguments towards greater boastfulness. An emphasis on the uniqueness of the products appeared in the choice of words. The products were characterised as *revolutionary*, *unique* or *very different*. The results of the research and development could be emphasised by describing a new product as *an answer to many a publisher's prayers* or *an innovation that has never been done before*. The choices of expression also frequently communicated the continuity of the successes. In the 2000s the confidence expressed by the choice of expressions became even stronger. The company was for example described as one taking global initiatives as in *We decided to lead the development*.

The increase in boastfulness relates to Fairclough's (1998a: 139–140) observations on the marketisation of discourse and what he has called the colonialisation of discourse by promotion. Fairclough ties this to the increasing promotional culture surrounding us including the importance of self-promotion in contemporary society. More recently, also Bhatia (2005: 213, 224) has discerned that promotional elements have increased in most forms of discourses in the 2000s. He attributes this partly to the increased competition in most fields of human life and the rise of a consumer culture.

In addition to the increase of clearly promotional language another trend was visible. Most arguments in the 1980s and 1990s praised the product development, the process and innovativeness of the products vaguely without going into concrete details, for example *The production process must be kept right up to date*. Later, in the 1990s and 2000s arguments providing specific technical details, such as *load-bearing capabilities and unwinding stability have been constantly improved*, become more common than earlier. Thus the argumentation moved partly closer to the earlier factual argumentation of the 1960s and 1970s.

6.6 In technology we trust

The persuasion strategy in the arguments of topic family *In Technology we trust* was to convince the reader that the industry employed the latest and state-of-the-art technology. This was commonly done by describing the investments in new technology and rebuilding of the mills accurately and in detail, as well as accounting for timetables of the modernisation projects. The topic family

reflected the industry's strong faith in technology and willingness to employ the latest innovations. Also the Finns as a nation have been characterised as eager to take on new technology. The strong belief in technology in Finland dates back to the 1950s when for example informative films showed production processes and product testing (Heinonen 1998: 348).

The topic family *In technology we trust* contained 7.7 per cent of all the arguments in the material and was the fifth biggest topic family. The arguments belonging to this topic family were most frequent in the Kymi Kymmene magazines in the 1980s and early 1990s when their share was 17–18 per cent of all argument topics (Appendix 6). Also in Finnish Paper and Timber in the 1960s their frequency was relatively high especially when compared to Finnish Paper and Timber in the 1950s and 1970s. The percentages were average in the magazines in the 1990s except in Metsä-Serla News and 2000s in Embrace in which there were no arguments of this topic family.

It is possible that the low percentage of arguments of topic family *In Technology we trust* in Finnish Paper and Timber in the 1970s reflects the recession that hit Finland in the first half of the 1970s. The exports of the forest industry decreased and the atmosphere was very pessimistic (Kuisma 1990: 145). The high frequency in the 1980s in turn could have echoed the increased attention and investment in technology (see also Kantola 2004: 29). Finnish industry underwent an exceptionally strong structural change in the 1980s and 1990s as the technology became computerised. The new technologies meant more efficient production. In the 1990s this was enforced by the recession which forced the companies to increase productivity. Further, during this time investments in research and development were emphasised (Kantola 2004: 16, 29). The 1980s was a time of strong economic growth also in the forest industry and the decade saw a lot of investments being made in the different mills (Forssell 1983: 304; Lammi 2000: 42).

The topic family consisted of the topics *Production method*, *Production capacity* and *Production technology*. *Production technology* was clearly the most common of the topics (Table 9), although it could not be found at all in Finnish Paper and Timber in the 1950s and 1970s. *Production capacity* was exceptionally frequent in Finnish Paper and Timber in the 1960s, but this was result is not representative of the whole time period as ten out of the twelve arguments were found in one and the same article from 1968.

Table 9. Number of arguments per topic and magazines of all arguments in topic family *In technology we trust*.

	Production technology	Production capacity	Production method	**Tot***	N**
Fpt50	0	1	0	**1**	80
Fpt60	10	10	2	**22**	268
Fpt70	0	1	0	**1**	174
KK 77	43	1	0	**44**	237
KK 87	27	1	0	**28**	164
FW80	45	2	0	**47**	424
FW90	18	0	2	**20**	231
MSN87	17	0	2	**19**	629
Gr 96–03	13	0	1	**14**	180
Gr 04–06	11	0	4	**15**	255
Embrace	0	0	0	**0**	68
Magazine	4	0	5	**9**	157
Total	**188**	**16**	**16**	**220**	**2867**

Legend: Fpt = Finnish Paper and Timber
KK = Kymi Kymmene Magazine/International & Kymi Review
FW = Finnpap World
MSN = Metsä-Serla News
Gr = the Griffin

*Tot. is the total number of arguments in topic family *In technology we trust* in a magazine.
**N is the total number of arguments found in a magazine.

Production capacity was clearly an early topic not appearing at all in the arguments of the 1990s and 2000s. *Production method* in turn appeared slightly more frequently than earlier in the Magazine and the Griffin in 2004–2006. In the Magazine the five arguments with the topic were all to be found in the same article, whereas the arguments were evenly spread in Griffin.

The arguments of the topic family *In Technology we trust* based their persuasiveness on two messages. The first one was that the companies' competitive edge arose from the fact that they have the biggest and best machines. The second was that the up-to-date machinery and productions methods meant high quality. These two messages are discussed in the following two sections.

6.6.1 We have the best machines

In the arguments on production technology and production capacity the aim was to convince the readers and potential buyers of the up-to-date state of the technology used in production as well as the size and efficiency of the machinery.

The most common way was to communicate this by describing the investments in new technology and rebuilding of the mills. It was usual to do this by accounting for the exact money invested (example 57). Equally detailed were those arguments that concerned the timing and timetables of the rebuild (example 58).

(57) UPM Cote is the result of a **FIM 2 billion (USD 370 million)** investment at Rauma. (Text 113: 1999)

(58) The decision to renew Voikkaa's production line was taken **in 1985** and the start-up was **in March 1986**. (Text 118: 2002)

In addition to accounting for investments in production technology already carried out, the arguments reported on future investments (example 59) and the quality improvement or the competitive edge gained by these investments. This type of argument describing the investments and their effect, letting the facts speak for themselves, was typical in the 2000s. In the 1980s and 1990s, on the other hand, arguments containing evaluative elements were common (example 60).

(59) The conventional size press **is to be replaced** by a film size press representing the most advanced technology. (Text 37: 1989)

(60) **No machine of comparable size** turning out pigmentized paper by the short dwell time application method is as yet operating in the market". (Text 33: 1986)

The latter types of arguments were more directly persuasive, pointing out the excellence of the production technology. This excellence was also often emphasised by the use of a comparison of quality or position in the market.

Production capacity was an early topic. In the arguments of the 1960s and 1970s the production capacity was expressed in factual terms and in great detail (example 61). Later, in the 1980s, the factual approach was replaced by more evaluative and persuasive expression (example 62).

(61) The output of the new sawmill is 4 **standards per hour, 32 standards per shift**. (Text 16: 1968)

(62) Five of the machines have a web width of more than 830 cm, **one of them holding the annual world record for magazine paper production** (207,000 tons). (Text 51: 1988)

Both the pride in the modernity of the machines and their capacity visible in the arguments were probably related to the situation where the forest industry competed for a position at the forefront of technology by investing in technology. For example in the chemical forest industry the advances were particularly big after the mid 1970s when the Finnish producers became as technologically advanced as their competitors abroad. In the 1980s and 1990s the industry had moved ahead of its competitors to the forefront of technological development (Lammi 2000: 41).

6.6.2 Technology goes hand in hand with quality

Production methods were described in the arguments to emphasise the high quality of the products. As a topic *Production method* occurred more frequently in the magazines of the 2000s than in the earlier decades. The method and resulting qualitative properties of the products were described very thoroughly as in example 63. Sometimes, the descriptions were detailed accounts of the technical steps (example 64).

(63) The coating technology itself creates the **high gloss level**, so no extra super calandering step is needed. (Text 108: 2006)

(64) The MFC recipe was mechanical pulp base, china clay applied on-line to the surface in a short dwell coating station and, in addition, soft-calendering in the same machine, meaning a 2-nip matt calendering. (Text 118: 2001)

The type of detailed reporting exemplified in example 64 was very common in the arguments of the topic family *In technology we trust*. Sometimes the different stages of the process were described in several consecutive arguments as in example 65 in which the rebuilding of a paper machine was accounted for.

(65) Early in 1983 the management of Voikkaa Paper Mill arrived at the crossroads: PM 18, the largest production unit in the Mill, had to be modernized**. The round wood storage area was surfaced and fitted with moistening equipment. A new barking drum with rubber**

> **beams was installed in the debarking plant. Damatic computer control system was introduced in the groundwood mill. The Damatic control system, which represents the state of art technology, was taken into use** at Voikkaa the same year around midsummer. **New glazing calenders were acquired in the autumn of 1984 and the slitter winder was modernized during the same period**. (Text 31: 1985)

The detailed technical accounts and technical vocabulary emphasised the modernity and efficiency of the technology and production process. The accuracy found in the arguments served as evidence, convincing the reader of the truthfulness of the argument. Keeping to facts and details also strengthened the credibility and reliability of the writer (Jokinen 1999: 144–145). In addition to strengthening the image of reliability, both the topics and use of technical terminology could have been used to signal that the writers and readers belonged to the same group of professionals (see also 7.2.3).

Arguments with these detailed accounts could be found in all other magazines before the 2000s except in Metsä-Serla News. In Metsä-Serla news there was less technical vocabulary. Instead evaluative expressions and superlatives were used, such as *latest technology*, *most advanced in the world*. Technical vocabulary as a rhetorical device is discussed in detail in Section 7.2.3. The type of detailed account as in example 65 became rare by the 2000s. The technical detail found in the above examples was replaced in the 1980s, 1990s and 2000s with descriptions of investments made concerning production capacity, resembling those found in the arguments about production technology. The aim was, however, the same, that is, to impress the reader with up-to-date and effective production and commitment.

6.7 Customer in focus

The topic family *Customer in focus* reflects a historical shift in attitude. Customer-orientation could be seen as a move away from marketing products with certain technical or esthetical properties to a more added value approach. The companies were no longer selling mere products but a wider concept which comprised customer support and products with added value, for example tailored solutions for each client.

The topic family *Customer in focus* was found in only 5.9 per cent of all the arguments on the average. However, the topics of the family were only found in two arguments before 1985. After that the number of arguments of the topic

family increased from 3.8 per cent in the 1980s to 7–8 per cent in the 1990s and 2000s. This trend was the same in the different magazines with the exception of Finnpap World in the 1980s and 1990s in which there was a slight decrease in the later articles (see also Appendix 6).

The interest in the customer, emerging after the mid 1980s coincided with the economic developments within the industry itself: in the 1980s the competition in the market became very hard and the industry had to think of new sales arguments. The board industry claimed "copyright" for the approach. According to the history of the joint sales organisation Finnboard the origin of the customer-oriented approach dated back to the turn of the 1960s and 1970s when one of the board mills started developing products together with a customer. The approach then took wind under its wings in the late 1980s. (Laiho 1998: 120.)

The customer-oriented approach was visible also in the new strategy of the joint sales organisation for paper, Finnpap in 1984. The strategy was to move from the old production-centred thinking to a customer-centred approach. The ideology was formulated into seven theses that were to guide all the operations of the sales companies. Five of these focused on the customer; on customer satisfaction, service, personal attention to the customer and finding out customer needs and suitability of solutions to the customer (Heikkinen 2000: 428–430).

The emphasis on customer-oriented marketing was a trend found also elsewhere in the 1980s and 1990s. For example in the United States communication specialists were starting to focus on customer relationships and business leaders rediscovered market orientation (Gronstedt 2000: ix). According to Kantola (2004: 3, 8, 34) big Finnish companies started investing in customer relations, hoping to build long-term relationships. The "customer talk" Kantola detected in the annual reports emphasised customer-orientation and deepening of this relationship. In the 1990s it reached a point where the customer-orientation became almost a routine-type of approach. The underlying reasons were the same that affected the forest industry. The international competition became harsher in the 1980s and 1990s, forcing the companies to specialise and shift the focus to customer needs and deepening the customer relations (Kantola 2004: 35–36). The paper industry in particular today competes with electronic media and publishing. The gloomy prospects have made the paper producers listen even more carefully than earlier to the customers (Huuskonen 2007). The new CEO of M-real in 2002 went as far as to claim that

> As the new chief executive officer of M-real Corporation, I promise you that we will have four priorities: firstly, the customer; secondly, the

> customer; thirdly, the customer and fourthly, internal efficiency. (Jouko M. Jaakkola in Embrace Winter 2002)

In advertising the trend towards customer-centredness could be found in Finland already in the 1970s. Up to this time advertising had been very sender-centred. In the 1970s the advertisements were more and more designed taking into account the customers and their values as well as an emphasis on flexibility to suit the customer needs (Heinonen & Konttinen 2001: 268, 309).

In the articles of this study the argument topics of the topic family were *Customer-orientation*, *Customer relations* and *Customer service*. The arguments wanted to strengthen the impression of an industry which paid close attention to its customers and their needs. The industry was also one that invested in cooperation with the customers, for example in developing new products. The proximity of the relationship was often emphasised in arguments thus wanting to communicate an interest in supporting the customer's business by offering expert advice and technical service.

As can be seen in Table 10, *Customer-orientation* was the dominating topic within the topic family. It constituted altogether nearly 74 per cent of the topics in the family. It appeared as a topic once in 1972, but became recurrent after 1985. It was particularly common in the late 1980s and 1990s when its proportion of the topic family was 87 per cent in Metsä-Serla News and 94 per cent in Finnpap World in the 1990s. In the later magazines, its share varied from 47 to 76 per cent.

Table 10. Number of arguments per topic and magazines of all arguments in topic family *Customer in focus*.

	Customer orientation	Customer service	Customer relations	**Tot***	N**
Fpt50	0	0	1	**1**	80
Fpt60	0	0	0	**0**	268
Fpt70	1	0	0	**1**	174
KK77	9	0	0	**9**	237
KK	7	3	0	**10**	164
FW80	23	6	6	**35**	424
FW90	15	1	0	**16**	231
MSN87	40	4	2	**46**	629
Gr 96–03	11	1	2	**14**	180
Gr 04–06	11	5	3	**19**	255
Embrace	1	2	0	**3**	68
Magazine	8	8	0	**16**	157
Total	**126**	**30**	**14**	**170**	**2867**

Legend: Fpt = Finnish Paper and Timber
KK = Kymi Kymmene Magazine/International & Kymi Review
FW = Finnpap World
MSN = Metsä-Serla News
Gr = the Griffin

*Tot. is the total number of arguments in topic family *Customer in focus* in a magazine.
**N is the total number of arguments found in a magazine.

Customer service appeared in the arguments at the end of the 1980s and was most frequent in the 2000s, appearing regularly in the Griffin and Magazine after 2005. Arguments with the topic *Customer relations* was found once in the 1950s and then more evenly over the time period 1987–2006, with the exception of M-real's Embrace and the Magazine where there were no arguments with the topic.

There were two messages visible in the arguments and their topics. The most common was that the companies sought to cooperate closely with their clients based on the needs on the latter. The other message was that the business was not only about supplying forest products, instead that the companies were responsive to signals from the market and actively supplied customer and technical support. In the next two sections these messages are analysed in more detail.

6.7.1 Together with the customer

Customer-orientation was most typically about basing the production and product development on the needs of the customers and working together closely with them. The products were presented as tailored, often in close cooperation with the

customers. Further, the arguments often referred to personal relationships and commitment to the customers' needs (example 66).

(66) We are determined to **gain the necessary insights into our customers' business** to allow us to **make suggestions for improvements throughout the value chain** – in the paper mill, in the publisher's business and among advertisers and advertising agencies," Henrik Damen explains. "We are not just selling paper, we are selling solutions to meet our customers' objectives. (Text 96: 1999)

The proximity to the customers was underlined with attributes such a *common*, *shared*, *close* and *personal*. Also the very frequent use of *our* when referring to the customers emphasised the same closeness (see also 7.3.1). Words to do with tailoring, such as *tailor* and *individual* appeared, to some extent in the 1980s and 1990s.

Customer relations was in the 1980s about trust and personal relations (example 67) and the 2000s about the length of the relations. This was often enforced by mentioning the length of the cooperation, for example the company and customer having cooperated *for more than thirty years*. The arguments also referred to the quality of the relationship, such as depth of relationship or mutual interest (example 68).

(67) "In fact, the main aim of our Customer Service team is to **build up a relationship of mutual trust between the customer and the mill**, "explains Mr Norrgård. (Text 55: 1988)

(68) **A shared understanding and common goals** take the jargon out of long-term cooperation and partnership, and replace it with **business that is profitable to both partners**. (Text 110: 1997)

The emphasis on customer relations was also related to the fact that when companies competed on a market with similar products and similar prices[9], personal relationships became crucial. (see also e.g. Laiho 1998: 121). In addition to visiting the customers, the companies organised visits for the customers to the mills. In the 1990s when environmental questions were in focus, the visitors were even taken to the forests. (Laiho 1998: 89.)

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[9] The Finnish forest products industry formed sales cartels that agreed on prices until the late 1990s (Iivonen 2004 a; Raivio 2000).

6.7.2 At your service

Customer-orientation in the arguments was also about being aware and knowing what the needs were in the market. It was about having experienced personnel and about responding to the signals from the clients (example 69). Sometimes the arguments claimed that the company in question was a trend-setter (example 70).

(69) UPM Raflatac and UPM Corporate Venturing's **response to the food industry** is the indicator label, attached to the inside surface of the protective package's film. (Text 134: 2006)

(70) **We don't only lead the way**, we are sensitive to swings in the consumption pattern. (Text 78: 1990)

This interest reflects the situation in the late 1980s when the joint sales companies started to actively map the needs of the customers in the different market areas. They also changed their sales organisations to correspond to this new approach so that they had departments for the different business areas such as the tobacco and cosmetics sector. (E.g. Laiho 1998: 120.)

Sometimes the customers were offered advice for their business. Selling paper and board was not only about the product and concrete customer service, the sales arguments were often strengthened by justifying the products' importance for the customer, for example in terms of branding, increased sales and product image (example 71).

(71) The most important element of business communication is, however, the text, the bearer of the message, so **the readability of the paper must not suffer at the expense of the other properties**," says Pekka Suursalmi, Director, Forms Papers, Kymi Fine Papers. (Text 37: 1989)

This advice-type of arguments could be found in two articles from 1989 and 1997. Although not frequent, these arguments reflected one of the sales strategies of those times. The strategy was to advise the customer how they could improve their own operations and profitability by using the Finnish forest products (Laiho 1998: 75).

Customer service was mostly about technical and product support. In addition to praising and emphasising the company's commitment to customer service, the

arguments aimed at strengthening the impression of sophisticated products. Sophisticated products required more customer support (example 72).

(72) **"When you manufacture a beautiful product**, you want to see the possibilities of that product used to their best," explains Helga Zollner-Croll, Business Development and Marketing Manager, based in Bergisch Gladbach in Germany, home of Zanders Gohrsmühle. (Text 108: 2006)

This type of argument also mirrored the fact that the products had become more specialised requiring technical knowledge. Support became more and more necessary also as the product selection grew (Laiho 1998: 75–76). The arguments further expressed a very close interest in the customer's and their success (examples 73 and 74).

(73) OPTI is not confined to paper-making alone; we are also able to tell our customers the best and most economical grades for the job on hand. (Text 35: 1988)

(74) "We make a point of choosing our customers, and **these customers are visited regularly**. (Text 64: 1990)

The type of argument as example 74 could be found between 1986 and 1994. Why personal customer service was visible only during that time period is not clear, as personal sales work and building long-term customer relationships has in the forest products industry always been considered vital (Heikkinen 2000: 297; Laiho 1998: 74; Serlachius 2008).

The vocabulary in the arguments stressed both the commitment to the customers and the proximity to them. Customer *needs*, *requirements* and *demands* appeared repeatedly in the arguments together with *close* and *closely* and *our customers* to underline the close relationship. This was particularly the case in the 1980s and 1990s. In the 2000s the emphasis seems to have been toned down somewhat, for example *close* and *closely* were not used at all in the arguments.

6.8 We have resources

The resources referred to in the arguments of topic family *We have resources* were mainly immaterial resources, that is, the know-how, long tradition and expertise of the personnel. To some extent the argument topics were about raw material resources.

The topic family *We have resources* was one of the smallest topic families in the material. It was found in 5.3 per cent of the arguments. The topic family was clearly the most common in the magazines between 1950 and 1986 (Appendix 6) after which its share dropped considerably. Further, the arguments of the topic family were totally absent between 1996 and 1999 in Metsä-Serla News. *We have resources* was neither of importance in the magazines of the 2000s, the Griffin, Embrace and Magazine.

A reason for this development might be found in the fact that some of the topics were rather old-fashioned, such as *Long tradition* (see also 6.8.1). The proportion of the arguments in the late 1990s and 2000s was low, even if the topic family also comprised more modern topics such as *Personnel*. Low in frequency were also the arguments about raw material resources, although the discussion on the limitations and future of forest resources had been much debated in the 1990s and 2000s.

The topics comprising the topic family were *Long tradition*, *Know-how*, *Personnel* and *Raw material resources*. Table 11 illustrates the earliness of the topic family. The number of arguments in the magazines after the late 1990s was very low and even totally non-existent as in Embrace. As can be seen in the table, *Know-how* was the most frequent topic in the earlier magazines, particularly so in Finnish Paper and Timber in the 1950s to 1970s. In the later magazines *Personnel* and *Long tradition* alternated as the most frequent topics. *Raw material resources* was the least frequent topic.

Table 11. Number of arguments per topic and magazines of all arguments in topic family *We have resources*.

	Know-how	Personnel	Long tradition	Raw material resources	**Tot***	N**
Fpt 50	6	0	1	0	**7**	80
Fpt 60	22	0	1	3	**26**	268
Fpt 70	18	1	3	4	**26**	174
KK 77	9	10	3	3	**25**	237
KK 87	0	0	0	0	**0**	164
FW 80	2	5	7	0	**14**	424
FW 90	2	4	0	1	**7**	231
MSN	8	9	16	3	**36**	629
Gr 96–03	1	0	1	0	**2**	180
Gr 04–06	1	4	0	2	**7**	255
Embrace	0	0	0	0	**0**	68
Magazine	0	1	0	0	**1**	157
Total	**69**	**34**	**32**	**16**	**151**	2867

Legend: Fpt = Finnish Paper and Timber
KK = Kymi Kymmene Magazine/International & Kymi Review
FW = Finnpap World
MSN = Metsä-Serla News
Gr = the Griffin

*Tot. is the total number of arguments in topic family *We have resources* in a magazine.
**N is the total number of arguments found in a magazine.

The two main messages conveyed by the arguments of topic family *We have resources* were mainly related to the know-how and expertise of the companies and less to the raw material resources. On one hand the message was that this wide expertise and know-how in the field was the result of the long history of the companies and forest industry tradition in Finland. On the other hand, the message was that the know-how, personnel and raw material resources were purely economic assets.

6.8.1 Know-how and tradition

The topics *Know-how* and *Long tradition* aimed at persuading the reader of the expertise residing in the companies. This expertise was the result of the technological know-how and experience brought about by the long history of the companies and the whole country in the field. Justifying knowledge and expertise by a long history is traditional. It has been used in advertising as support for example for quality already in the early 1900s (Mauranen 2005: 37, 127). However, in the arguments in this study references to a long experience did not

appear frequently in the 1950s and 1960s. Long tradition implying expertise was most frequently used in the arguments in the 1970s and 1980s. In the 1990s it only appeared in Metsä-Serla News, in which it was fairly frequent. It was almost non-existent in the magazines of the 2000s Embrace, Magazine and the Griffin. Know-how was referred to specifically in the arguments in the 1980s and 1990s.

Know-how was in the arguments both about the specific know-how of how to make a product, a generic reference to the know-how possessed by the company or know-how brought about by a long experience. The perspective varied to some degree in the different magazines. In Finnish Paper and Timber in the 1950s to 1970s know-how was something that made the companies stand out as forerunners and particularly in the 1960s and 1970s it was often very specifically described (example 75). In the 1980s the know-how was increasingly expressed vaguely, but still in the same factual and low-key way as earlier (example 76).

(75) Koho was the first manufacturer to introduce the carbon fibre reinforced ice hockey stick. (Text 24: 1974)

(76) **The accumulated knowledge** enables the introduction of further improvements in the process. (Text 31: 1985)

In the early arguments about long tradition the naturalness of the industry in a country like Finland was emphasised (example 77). Later the tradition referred to the long experience in making certain products or product types (example 78). There was, as in example 78, very often a reference to Finland or Finnishness (see also 7.2.6). Tradition was seen as a strength and the long experience was seen as evidence for know-how that had evolved during the years either in one company or the nation as a whole.

(77) It is a natural branch of industry for the country. (Text 25: 1977)

(78) The birth of Mänttä soft tissue papermaking took place in 1961 when PM 8 started production as **the first tissue paper machine in Finland**. (Text 61: 1989)

In the 1950s and 1960s technical details or figures were used to support the claims. For example the importance of the company's as in *dates back to 1940, fifty years ago*. This type of evidence for long tradition appeared throughout 1950–2006, but in the 1980s and 1990s comparisons and evaluative vocabulary

were used as well. The industry or companies were described as *oldest* or *traditional*. Also in the arguments about know-how a shift could be detected from factual or evidential argumentation towards more evaluative and self-confident and vague expressions at the end of the 1970s. In most of the arguments the nature of know-how was no longer specified but was instead described in evaluative words, for example *wealth of expertise*, *unique characteristic*, *high international standard*. In the 2000s there were very few arguments on know-how, but in the few arguments a move back towards argumentation supported by facts could be seen (example 79).

(79) But in UPM-Kymmene we managed to climb over this wall by combining **our past knowledge of developing papers for digital printing** and **our experience with paper developing** in general. (Text 114: 2000)

The confidence in the know-how might have been linked to the change in the education level of those working in the forest industry and the technological advances made in the 1980s and 1990s. In these decades the forest industry evolved from an industry using technology developed elsewhere to one leading the development (see also 6.6.1). The training of staff was also closely linked to this development. In the 1970s those working in the forest industry were less educated and trained than employees in other branches of industry. By the beginning of the 1990s, however, the level of education had risen due to the increased employment of staff with higher and research education, as well as the development of upper secondary education and training in the field (Lammi 2000: 46–47; Maasola 1996: 241, 252, 278).

6.8.2 Resources as an economic asset

The perspective visible in both the arguments about personnel and raw material resources was economic. The background for the perspective can be found in Finnish economic history. Raw material resources and their meaning for the Finnish economy was realised as early as in the 1800s when the first big mills were established (Autio & Nordberg 1972: 15; Kuisma 1990: 17). Forest resources have also been a visible issue of debate for the last 15 years. Some arguments reflect the critical debate about the limits of the resources (example 80).

(80) **When the mass media sound the alarm about the shortage of this or that raw material** it is consoling to know that there is a raw material which will not disappear: wood. (Text 23: 1974)

As a whole, the importance and debate about forest resources was, however, not reflected in the numbers of arguments about the resources. *Raw material resources* was never a frequent topic. The raw materials as a topic showed some regularity in Finnish Paper and Timber, particularly in the 1960s and 1970s. In Metsä-Serla News only 8 per cent of the argument topics were about raw-material resources. This could be considered illogical as Metsä-Serla was the subsidiary of Metsäliitto, a cooperative of the forest owners. One explanation might have been that Metsä-Serla consciously wanted to shed the image of being closely connected to the forest owners. Instead the company might have wanted to be seen as a competitive forest products company rather than an extension of a forest cooperative seeking to maximize the earnings of its owners in the form of high raw material prices. If the topic was almost non-existent in all magazines in the 1980s and 1990s, it was even more so in the 2000s. In the 2000s the two arguments could be found in the Griffin, but here the resources were recyclable materials and woodplastics, not forest resources.

Personnel was a late topic, not appearing at all in the 1950s and 1960s. It appeared for the first time in the mid 1970s becoming fairly frequent in the 1980s and 1990s. *Personnel* could be found as a common topic in the magazines from the late 1980s to the mid 1990s. After the mid 1990s the topic disappeared again to reappear in 2006. In Embrace and Magazine the topic hardly occurred at all and in the Griffin it could be found in one article in 2006. The perspective in the Griffin article was new. The company's social responsibility for the staff was the issue. The argument's perspective was untraditional: one of the reasons to pursue research was to ensure continuous employment for the staff (example 81). Also earlier, in the articles of Kymi Kymmene magazines in 1977–1986, Finnpap World in the 1990s and Metsä-Serla News there had been occasional glimpses of an interest in the well-being of the personnel (example 82).

(81) "Besides the core functions, we are searching for new growth areas for products where **all of UPM's human resource capabilities can be applied.** (Text 134: 2006)

(82) For a **pleasant working environment** is offered to those involved in the annual production of 32,000 tonnes of board. (Text 26: 1977)

Kantola (2004: 10–11) detected a turn in the strategic talk of the companies in the beginning of the 2000s. The tone became softer compared to the discourse affected by the economic perspective during the years of recession in the early 1990s. Instead of economy and efficiency the rhetoric emphasised company values and welfare. The increased competition and globalisation meant pressure on everybody working in the companies and this was addressed by talking about the personnel in a new way in order to create a sense of community (see also Åberg 1997: 59). The social responsibility of companies towards society and personnel also replaced environmental issues as the new topic in profiling the companies in the 2000s (Joutsenvirta 2006: 55).

The arguments claiming responsibility and well-being of personnel were in stark contrast to the way the value and input of personnel was conveyed in the majority of arguments in 1974–1995. These arguments most commonly praised the expertise of the personnel or emphasised their importance for the operations and development (example 83).

(83) **"Our personnel have also played a major role** in helping to develop our SC production." (Text 55: 1988)

A well-trained and highly motivated staff were seen as an economic asset and as cogs in the machinery. The personnel were frequently referred to using neutral expressions such as *employees*, *staff* or *salesmen*. The expressions that emphasised the collectivity and being a team, such as *our personnel*, *our people*, *people at Kirkniemi* appeared for the first time in 1985, but never became common. Not even in the 1990s, when the so called we-talk became common in industry annual reports (see also Kantola 2004: 55). The attributes used underlined the professional skills of the staff in the 1980s, for example as *expert knowledge*, *experienced technicians* and *expert salesmen*, but in the 1990s the attributes referred to qualities that were important from a productivity point of view, such as *highly motivated* and *enthusiastic*, *open-minded* and *co-operative*. In the arguments of the 2000s staff was seen as a production resource, as in *UPM's human resource capabilities* and example 84 where products and staff are juxtaposed.

(84) "We're continuing to invest **in our people and in our product** –and Kemiart is a very special product." (Text 105: 2006)

Kantola (2004: 3) claims that praising the personnel for their efficiency would be typical in times of recession. In this material, however, the efficiency and

expertise of the staff was the main argument throughout the two decades, whatever the economic cycles were. Thus interest in the well-being of staff was very infrequently expressed in the arguments before 2006, even if personnel matters had gained visibility also in the forest industry. The end of the 1990s and the 2000s were times of increased productivity without increases in personnel. These were also times of lay-offs and shutting down production units and whole mills to improve the company results (see also e.g. Iivonen 1998, 2000; Raivio 2001). Staff issues had been a sore point of the forest industry, especially in the 2000s. In 2005 a Belgian businessman, who had sold his paper mill to M-real, hit the headlines by claiming that the Finns mismanaged his company and amongst other things, only thought about productivity and had no esteem for the personnel (Peltola 2005).

Alongside competent staff sufficient raw material supplies were necessary. The arguments on the forest resources stressed their value, richness and location close to the mills. The location of the forest resources in the arguments were seen a question of economy and efficiency (example 85). Also common were arguments strengthening the image of the abundance and sufficiency of wood (example 86).

(85) The sawmill is located in a forest-rich district where **the topography places no obstacles to logging and haulage**. (Text 16: 1968)

(86) "Our wood procurement is in the dependable hands of the Metsäliitto forest owners' association, and **our supplies are, guaranteed in all circumstances**," he says. (Text 79: 1990)

The arguments were formulated in a situation where the companies could still confidently use the domestic raw material resources as a marketing argument. However, from the 1990s, wood had increasingly been imported from outside Finland. In 2006, 24 per cent of all wood material and most of the hard wood was imported (Hetemäki, Harstela, Hynynen, Ilvesniemi & Uusivuori 2006: 37; Julkunen 1994).

Linked to these circumstances was the vagueness with which references were made to the forest resources in the arguments. These were predominantly vague, describing the resources as *abundant* or *large*. One of the reasons behind the obscurity could have been be the fact that exact figures might not have supported the claims made in the arguments or that the writer considered the matter self-evident and in no need for further justification (Heikkinen 1999: 204). The former is realistic, as the limitations of the forest resources was a concern voiced by many already in the late 1960s and early 1970s. The concern for the limits of the

forest resources in Finland dates back to the late 1800s, before the paper industry had even been born (Väliverronen 1996: 31).

After 1991 there were no arguments about forest resources, which could well have reflected the situation in the forest products industry. Shortage of wood was a reality that the industry was faced with in the 1990s. The shortage was claimed to be the result of the high prices of domestic wood and the forest owners' reluctance to sell. The issue was, however, controversial. Some researchers claimed that the shortage had been strongly exaggerated and that the discussion was political aiming at increasing the supply (Järvinen 2007). Whatever the truth was, the issue of raw material resources was highly visible in the public debate, with the wood import from Russia, the felling of old forests in northern Lapland and the controversial pulp mill in Uruguay (see also Iivonen 2005a; Palo 2007). Consequently the absence of the arguments was meaningful. Looking at the issues of raw material supplies and the environmental questions (see also 6.10), the silence around the difficult issues seems to have been a strategy of the forest industry in Finland before the 2000s.

The choice of words in the arguments reflected a traditional view of the raw material resources. The perspective was economic and was conveyed in using *resources*, *raw material supply* and *stock* as synonyms for forests. If these arguments appeared today, they might rather be based on the industry actually promoting an ecological balance in using domestic wood. This balance would be the result of the short transport distances producing less pollution and using a raw material resource which is renewable.

6.9 Environment

The arguments in topic family *Environment* aimed at convincing the readers of the environmental concern of the companies and the environmental friendliness of their products and production. However, the smallness of the topic family signals that environmental arguments were of little importance in the product articles. It also reflects the attitude on the industry that "actions speak louder than words" (Ranta 1993: 19).

Environment was one of the smallest topic families in the research material. Its arguments constituted 2.9 per cent of all argument topics. Its frequency varied greatly in the different time periods (Appendix 6). It appeared late, in 1974 in one article, and the following time in 1987. The topic family was at its most common in the early 1990s in Finnpap World in the 1990s and Metsä-Serla-News. In the

2000s in Embrace, Magazine and the Griffin the proportion of this topic family was again very low.

The frequency of the topic family in the 1990s was closely linked to events that forced the forest industry to react to environmental issues. The forest industry remained detached to the environmental concerns for a long time, even if the environmental awakening took place in Finland already in the 1970s. Developments such as the global oil crisis that almost quadrupled oil prices, the Harrisburg nuclear power station accident made environmental issues part of everybody's life. All political parties included environmental questions into their programmes (Heinonen & Konttinen 2001: 210; Palonen 1997: 44.) One of the real "wake-up calls" for the Finnish forest industry came in 1993 when the German magazine der Spiegel published an article claiming that the Finns and the Finnish forest industry mismanaged their forest resources. The article gave the impression that the last old forests have been depleted in Finland (Laitinen 1993). The Spiegel article was followed in 1995 by an article in New Scientist in which the publicity campaigns of the Finnish forest industry's sustainable forestry were accused of being empty words as the industry was simultaneously felling old forests (Pekurinen 2005: 205). After these events the forest industry's customer magazines began to contain articles with environmental topics. Even special issues completely devoted to the environment and its protection were published in the early 1990s (see also 5.4.2). Environmental concern was visible also in the annual reports of the forest companies in the early 1990s (Kantola 2004: 30).

The relatively high frequency of environment arguments in Metsä-Serla News could be linked to Metsä-Serla being the company that broke the consensus regarding the "passive resistance" towards environmental issues of the forest industry. In 1989 the company started utilising steps that the company had taken regarding cleaning up their effluents to profile themselves as the best company in Finland with regard to environmental concerns (Pekurinen 2005: 203). The company was also the first one to publish an environmental report.

The low frequency of the topic family *Environment* in the 2000s seems to indicate that the environment is today an obvious consideration and does not need to be particularly mentioned. Other topics, such as corporate social responsibility and good governance have taken its place (see also Joutsenvirta 2006: 55).

There were two argument topics in topic family *Environment*, *Environmental friendliness of products* and *Environmental friendliness of production*. The majority of the arguments referred to the products, these arguments constituted almost 70 per cent of the topic family (Table 12).

Table 12. Number of arguments per topic and magazines of all arguments in topic family *Environment*.

	Environmental friendliness of products	Environmental friendliness of production	**Tot***	N**
Fpt 50	0	0	**0**	80
Fpt 60	0	0	**0**	268
Fpt 70	7	0	**7**	174
KK 77–86	0	0	**0**	237
KK 87–94	0	0	**0**	164
FW 80	5	2	**7**	424
FW 90	17	11	**28**	231
MSN	24	12	**36**	629
Gr 96–03	0	9	**0**	180
Gr 04–06	1	1	**2**	255
Embrace	1	0	**1**	68
Magazine	1	0	**1**	157
Total	**56**	**26**	**82**	**2867**

Legend: Fpt = Finnish Paper and Timber
KK = Kymi Kymmene Magazine/International & Kymi Review
FW = Finnpap World
MSN = Metsä-Serla News
Gr = the Griffin

*Tot. is the total number of arguments in topic family *Environment* in a magazine.
**N is the total number of arguments found in a magazine.

The main messages conveyed by the environment arguments were based on the natural environment-friendliness of wood, the technical sophistication of the products and the high level of technology applied in the production process. In the early environment arguments in Finnish Paper and Timber in the 1970s the claim for the products' environmental friendliness were justified by the inherent environmental characteristics and naturalness of wood (example 87) and value of forests as a source of enjoyment (example 88).

(87) Timber, e.g. building waste, left on the ground gradually disappears of itself: it then **returns to nature without causing any pollution problem**. (Text 23: 1974)

(88) They increase enjoyment, provide excursion areas, and help to keep the atmosphere clean. (Text 23: 1974)

The claim of being a natural raw material and thus by nature friendly to the environment was found also in arguments from the late 1980s to the early 1990s.

Nearly half of the evaluative attributes in the 1980s and 1990s referred to the naturalness of the products. These were characterised as *natural*, *healthy*, *pure* and *of nature*. This type of argumentation was found particularly in articles of wooden products.

When the justification for the concerns for the environment were sought in the technical sophistication of the products, the most commonly recurring issue in the 1990s was bleaching (example 89). Other justifications for the environmental friendliness of the products were the savings from using less raw material, the fact that the products were recyclable and in 1993–1995 certification of the products (example 90).

(89) The pulps used for producing Galerie Lite are **bleached without the use of elemental chlorine**. (Text 96: 1999)

(90) Naturally, Veitsiluoto's Zoom products have been granted the **Nordic swan label and the ISO 9002 certificate**. (Text 70: 1993)

When the environmental friendliness of the production was the topic, the most recurrent issues mentioned in addition to bleaching was emissions (example 91). References to low emissions could be found in the arguments in the early 1990s.

(91) Therefore the waste water emissions from Äänekoski Paper Mill already **fall below the limits set for 1995 by the Ministry of the Environment**. (Text 83: 1992)

Most of the product arguments were concrete, in the sense that there was always a concrete justification or reference. In the company arguments, however, a fair number of arguments appeared that were abstract and vague in their argumentation. In these arguments the justifications were for example that the companies *were known for their pro-environmental paper production*, *environmental friendliness* or that they were *front-runners in the business where the environment is concerned*. This type of argument could be found in articles 1990–2005.

Many of the issues of the environmental debate were visible in the arguments. The most obvious questions were bleaching and emissions, whose appearance in the arguments coincided in time with the public debates. Thus for example the arguments on bleaching coincided with the discussion on chlorine and bleaching that was most intense in the early 1990s (see also Linnanen 1998: 12–13). The environmental topics were visible in the argumentation during the most critical

years in the 1990s but later even big issues were not taken up in the argumentation. One of the most prominent issues in the late 1990s was certification of forests. Forest certification was only dealt with in a separate article on the testing of forest certificates in 2005. Certification was also mentioned in the annual report of UPM-Kymmene in 1999 (Kantola 2004: 31). Other the prominent questions of the 2000s that were not visible in the argumentation of the product articles were for example the felling of old forest and the controversial pulp mill project in Uruguay.

The general impression of the arguments in topic family *Environment* was factual. This impression stems from the choice of vocabulary and rhetorical devices used. The majority of these served as evidence for the claims. Such were typically figures and technical vocabulary (see also 7.2.3 and 7.2.4). In the *Environment* arguments technical attributes, such as *unchlorinated*, *low-waste* and *re-cycle*, accounted for over 60 per cent of all attributes used to refer to the products or the production.

6.10 More than a product

The topic family *More than a product* is the name for a group of topics which emphasised the abstract qualities of products instead of the technical and concrete ones. These topics were related to the image of the products. This type of argumentation might also be seen to reflect the reality that Finland could not as a country of high costs build its future on mass production. Instead the industry had to sell products with added value (Kuisma 1990: 175). The arguments within the topic family underlined the abstract qualities of the products as well as the added value of design and branding.

The topic family was the smallest of all topic families, its arguments constituted 1.8 per cent of all argument topics. There was some variation in its frequency in the different magazines and time periods, but the general trend was that it was most common in the 1950s and became very infrequent in the magazines in the 1960s to the 1990s (see also Appendix 6). In the contemporary magazines, the Griffin and Magazine, its frequency increased again after 2003–2005.

The topic family *More than a product* comprised the argument topics *Beauty*, *Brand*, *Design* and *Pleasantness*. As can be seen in Table 13, *Beauty* was an early topic, appearing mostly in the 1950s but very sporadically after that. Late topics were *Brand* that appeared in 1987 and *Design* that appeared as late as 2005. The

majority of arguments with the topic *Pleasantness* could be found in articles after the late 1980s.

Table 13. Number of arguments per topic and magazines of all arguments in topic family *More than a product*.

	Beauty	Brand	Design	Pleasantness	**Tot***	N**
Fpt 50	6	0	0	1	**7**	80
Fpt 60	1	0	0	0	**1**	268
Fpt 70	1	0	0	0	**1**	174
KK 77	1	0	0	0	**1**	237
KK 87	0	0	0	0	**0**	164
FW 80	0	6	0	0	**6**	424
FW 90	0	0	0	0	**0**	231
MSN	2	3	0	6	**11**	629
Gr 96–03	0	0	0	3	**3**	180
Gr 04–06	3	0	11	1	**15**	255
Embrace	0	0	0	0	**0**	68
Magazine	2	4	0	0	**6**	157
Total	**16**	**13**	**11**	**11**	**51**	**2867**

Legend: Fpt = Finnish Paper and Timber
KK = Kymi Kymmene Magazine/International & Kymi Review
FW = Finnpap World
MSN = Metsä-Serla News
Gr = the Griffin

*Tot. is the total number of arguments in topic family *More than a product* in a magazine.
**N is the total number of arguments found in a magazine.

The abstract images communicated through the arguments of this topic family varied depending on the products in question. Thus beauty, pleasantness and design and were referred to mainly in arguments about wooden products, while brand tended to be used as an argument for paper and board. Thus qualities such as beauty and design were used for products that were long-term products and close to the end-user while such considerations were not so important for the raw material for throw-away products such as magazines and consumer packages. Instead, brand was used as a sales argument. The two messages visible in the arguments were of products with traditional qualities such as beauty and pleasantness and the more modern good design and well-known brand.

6.10.1 Beauty and pleasantness

Arguments about the beauty and pleasantness of the products were mainly about wooden products, although after 1982 beauty could also be found in arguments on paper. When beauty was the topic and when wood products such a log houses or sawn wood were in question, the natural beauty was emphasised (example 92). In case of paper products the beauty was man-made, a result of the production process (example 93).

(92) Viiste and Laine were praised as clean-lined and contemporary solutions in which the play of light and shadow accentuates the wood surface's **inherent softness and natural beauty**. (Text 125: 2004)

(93) Some users feel it a sacrilege to cover **the beautiful gloss** with ink. (Text 29: 1982)

As in the above examples, the topic was often underlined by evaluative vocabulary. The noun *beauty* and the adjective *beautiful* could be found in half of these arguments.

Pleasantness occurred as a topic before 1997 mainly in arguments on wooden or log buildings. In most cases the pleasantness was about the ambiance, the pleasant situations or ideal lifestyles they could be associated with. In two articles from 1997 and 1999 the pleasantness was a characteristic of paper. In the earlier article the aim was to create an association between the product and pleasant feelings in the reader (example 94). The argument had elements of drama advertisements which tell a story and are entertaining in their expression (Malmelin 2003: 66). One argument in an article from 1989 on fluff, the raw material used for diapers, claimed to have the children's satisfaction and well-being as their goal (example 95).

(94) For what **fills a rainy weekend afternoon, a long-haul flight or a boring train journey** better than a good, solid paperback from the nearest bookstand. (Text 110:1997)

(95) It is **the satisfaction of the child that is paramount**, not the philosophizing of marketing people about non-essential matters. (Text 76: 1989)

Characteristic of the arguments about pleasantness was that they built the argument on association and mental images. The following argument (example 96) was an example of so called life-style advertising which became common in

Finnish advertising in the 1970s and 1980s (see also Heinonen & Konttinen 2001: 16, 200). In these arguments the product was described either in a surrounding or situation that created pleasure. In example 96 the product advertised brought with it a healthy lifestyle.

(96) They symbolize a lifestyle that is closer to nature, providing a wholesome, healthy and safe environment for living. (Text 82: 1991)

What was sold here was not just the product but a better life. Myers (1994: 24) claims that the effect builds on the fact that people can always be dissatisfied and thus new needs can be created.

6.10.2 Added value and image

The argument topics that strengthened the added value and image of the products, *Design* and *Brand*, were contemporary topics. *Design* occurred for the first time as late as in 2005. It was only found in the Griffin in articles about the use of UPM-Kymmene products in interior design. *Brand* as a topic could be found in the arguments from the late 1980s, some years after brands and brand thinking emerged in Finnish advertising. In one article in Finnish Paper and Timber from the mid 1970s some signs of branding ideology appeared in the repetition of the product name (see also Volmari 2006: 142–143).

Similarly to *Beauty and Pleasantness*, *Design* also appeared as a topic mostly in arguments on wooden products. There was only one case where the product was paper. In the design arguments the image was, however, no longer of being natural and close to nature, but of products with added value that should be taken seriously when talking about design (example 97). The company's commitment and seriousness regarding design was "proved" by the connection to well-known professionals and linked to the reputation of Finnish design (on the use of authorities as a rhetorical device see also section 7.2.1 and 7.2.7).

(97) Lighting and WISA-Deco's colors play a vital role in this, as do the interesting details, which give a bright look to the interior," **Jouni Leino, interior architect emphasises**. (Text 130: 2005)

In contrast to the other topics in topic family *More than a product*, the *Brand* arguments were very rarely about wooden products. Instead the arguments about brand were about paper and in most cases more specialised products such as coated paper.

The concept *brand image* was adopted from the United States already in the 1960s, a time when a more marketing-oriented thinking increased (Pietilä 1980: 199). Brand is about heritage and meanings associated to the products or producer (Myers 1998: 21). In marketing brand is seen as an instrument that can both help consumers in their decisions as well as support the marketing efforts of the producer (Fill 2006: 19, 393).

Only in a few arguments of this material was brand described as the uniqueness, quality or novelty of the product. The fact that brand did not appear as a topic very much does not mean that there was no branding in the product articles and the customer magazines. Brand was also built through arguments of design, quality, innovativeness as well as the lay-out, illustrations and paper used in the customer magazines. However, whether the aims of building a brand were reached in the customer magazines remains doubtful, at least if the vision of the role of marketing communications in branding is the following.

> Marketing communications plays a vital role in the development of brands and is the means by which products become brands, that is, how customers can see how a product is different and understand what a brand stands for and what its values are. (Fill 2006: 407)

In the arguments of this study brand was expressed as a new or known name in half of the arguments, particularly in the articles of the late 1980s (example 98).

(98) After three years of fine-tuning the quality and marketing its LWC under no special name, Myllykoski is now convinced that the **Myllykoski LWC deserves its own brand name**. (Text 49: 1987)

Example 99 also serves as an example of how brand seems to have been understood, that is, as a name and as a label attached to a product. This was strengthened by the frequent use of product names in 1996–2006, in some cases very repetitively. In the 2000s the brand had evolved into a "being", which could communicate with the clients (example 99).

(99) The biggest change is how **Data Copy talks to its consumers**, in a conversational and engaging way. (Text 107: 2006)

The above example could have been taken from a marketing textbook. The product was equipped with an identity and a product personality and it could interact with the reader. Giving a product a personality is one of the cornerstones of a branding (Malmelin 2003: 64–65; Heinonen & Konttinen 2001: 199). In

addition to giving the products a personality an important branding element is about building a relationship with individual buyers (Fill 2006: 394–396). The effort to provide a product with a personality resembles personification, which is discussed in 7.3.2.

6.11 Summary of topic analysis

In this chapter the focus of the analysis was on the argumentation strategies in the product articles. The argumentation strategies are realised as the choice of topics. These are central when considering issues that the writers have chosen to use to reach their aim of persuading the readers of the benefits of the products and the companies.

The analysis revealed that the argumentation in the different customer magazines was relatively uniform. Thus time-related trends were more prominent and consistent than any magazine-specific trends. The specificities visible in the different magazines were sporadic.

The proportion of product arguments was bigger than the proportion of company arguments in most magazines in 1950–2006. This proportion was particularly big in the magazines after 1996. The high proportion of company arguments in some of the magazines could be attributed to the need for some companies to profile themselves in their own customer magazines appearing alongside Finnpap World, the magazine of one of the joint sales organisations. A reason for the high proportion of company arguments in Finnpap World in turn could have been the importance to promote the separate mills for political reasons, related to the internal relationship between the sales organisation and the mills. The focus on the companies could also have been a marketing trend in the 1980s and 1990s.

The proportion of arguments with concrete topics was bigger than the proportion of arguments with abstract topics in most magazines. The proportion of abstract arguments was generally higher among company arguments than product arguments. Thus it seemed to have been more common to build the image of the companies based on vague impressions than on exact information, whereas the product image was built by providing concrete information. The proportions of abstract versus concrete arguments remained similar until the 2000s. In the contemporary magazines the proportion of abstract arguments increased after 2003 and 2004.

The impression of the products conveyed by the arguments was rather one-dimensional. The clear majority of the product arguments conveyed an image of

high-quality products with a lot of sophisticated and useful technical properties. Even in the arguments of topic family *Environment* the justifications arose mainly from the technical properties of the products. Only in the *More than a product arguments* an effort to give the products a more value-added image through en emphasis on beauty, brand and design could be seen. However, as one of the smallest topic families, this image was not significant when looking at the argumentation strategies as a whole.

The image conveyed by the arguments of the companies was more versatile and multi-dimensional compared to that of the products. The companies were pictured as big, efficient and reliable. They were committed to continuous development and their clients. The early arguments focused on the size and efficiency in terms of costs whereas the later arguments from the 1990s onwards painted a picture of innovative companies with efficient production technology. Frequent was also the message that the companies lead the development in the forest industry globally. The arguments further contained plenty of speculation and visions for the future.

Commitment to the customers came late into the arguments. The customer-focus and emphasis on the customers' best interests increased from the 1980s onwards. The image was of companies that worked closely with their clients and were able to tailor their production and even products development to suit the needs of the customers. The customer focus was also visible in the arguments on the properties of the products. In the 1980s to 2000s the products were frequently presented from the perspective of benefits for the customer.

The argumentation was predominantly technical and factual during the whole time period. In the 1950s factualness was a general trend in advertising. When products became available after the war, advertising partly followed the models and conventions of the pre-war advertising. The informative approach was used to make the consumers aware of the products (Hovi-Wasastjerna 1996: 5, 35, 93). The factualness also reflected the post-war seriousness, values and the image built for the export markets. According to Kalha (1998) Finland appeared as humble and poor abroad, which was considered noble.

The factualness of the 1960s and 1970s was different from that of the 1950s. While the argumentation in the 1950s relied on providing information, the perspective in the 1960s and 1970s was technical. The argumentation was based on providing technical details and specifications of products, accounting for investments made, production methodology, timetables etc. This type of persuasion could be found in traditional advertising. According to research on the development of advertising in Finland product information and technical production facts still dominated the advertising of the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s.

Although evaluative elements could be found and the advertisements aimed at creating a product image, a lot of the advertising in Finland still trusted the traditional product-centred and informative approach. A more relaxed trend in advertising arrived to Finland as late as in the 1980s. (Malmelin 2003: 31; Heinonen 2005: 269; Heinonen & Konttinen 2001:272, 305–306.)

The technical emphasis found in the arguments of the product article could have had many reasons. Firstly, it could be connected to the general atmosphere in Finland starting from the 1960s, when the industry was understood as the provider of material good. According to Kuisma (1990: 120) the optimistic faith in continuous growth, technology and the strength of the factory chimneys was very strong. This faith still prevails in Finland, and is strengthened as high-tech companies like Nokia succeed (Wiberg 2006). Secondly, the products became more sophisticated and complex and both the sales people and the buyers needed more and more technical understanding (see Autio & Lodenius 1968: 186; Laiho 1998: 77). Finally, the forest industry customer magazines are directed at professionals working in publishing companies, printing houses and whole-sale. Thus these readers are so called involved readers who expect to find technical facts and data.

Only the 1980s and 1990s seemed to stand out, so that there was more vagueness in the justifications of the arguments than in the other time periods. In those years vagueness was particularly found in the arguments of topics family *Preferred partner* when the position of the companies was described. References and promises for the future were generally vague. These could be found especially in the arguments of topic families *Nine out of ten* and *Developing continuously*. Vagueness was also characteristic for certain single topics. Such were the know-how of a company and environmental-friendliness of the production process. The vagueness might have been an effort to to create an postivie image and indefinable aura around the companies, a strategy commonly used in advertising (Myers 1994: 67). When comparing the magazines, Metsä-Serla News differed from the other magazines in that its arguments were generally less factual. For example the arguments in Metsä-Serla News about the machinery and technology contained less technical jargon than in the other magazines.

In the 2000s there seemed to be a move towards more fact-based and informative argumentation than in the 1980s and 1990s. However, the difference to the earlier factual and technical argumentation was the confidence expressed in the arguments. This could have reflected the situation in the market. Today the market is full of very similar products and consequently the competition is harsh. In such a situation the traditional type of informative argumentation is not

enough. There is more need than earlier for argumentation that enforces an image of the products and companies that make them stand out from the rest. Thus from having been very low-key, with no obvious praise and promotional elements, the argumentation from the 1980s onwards became increasingly self-confident. The self-confidence of the 1990s evolved into boastfulness in the 2000s. Cassirer (2003: 196–197) calls this type of extreme confidence the "peacock trick". The boastfulness is related to the increasing promotion in the contemporary world detected by Fairclough (1998: 139–140) and Bhatia (2004: 213, 224) and discussed in 6.5.3. Increased promotion leads to an inflation in the expression. When everything is promoted in positive terms, the mere choice of positive expression is not enough. Consequently the only way to stand out is to retort to boastful and even pompous expression.

In the argumentation difficult or controversial issues were avoided. The topic family E*nvironment* was the smallest topic family and mostly found in the 1990s. Since then, none of the critical issues having hit the industry were visible, although the 1990s and 2000s had been eventful in the forest industry. These events concerned, for example, the limitations and exploitation of the forest resources, the debate about the forest certification as well as the opposition to new investments abroad.

7 RHETORICAL STRATEGIES: LINGUISTIC DEVICES SUPPORTING ARGUMENT TOPICS

In this chapter I will analyse and discuss the rhetorical strategies found in the arguments. The rhetorical strategies are the choices of rhetorical devices that construct the arguments together with the contents, their topics. The aim is to find out what types of rhetorical devices were used, how they reinforced the message of the arguments and what the changes were during the time period 1950–2006. The rhetorical devices analysed comprise figures and tropes as well as vocabulary used to strengthen the arguments. Rhetorical devices, their definition and function have been discussed in more detail in Section 4.2.3.

For the analysis of the use of rhetorical devices both the overall frequency of rhetorical devices in the arguments was counted and the frequencies of the individual devices according to their persuasive function, following the classification into ethos, pathos and logos. The overall frequency of the rhetorical devices was determined by dividing the number of rhetorical devices found in the arguments with the total number of arguments. Thus an average ratio of rhetorical devices per argument was obtained. Similarly the average ratios of rhetorical devices for the different time periods and magazines as well as the different topic families were counted. The ratio of ethos, pathos and logos devices to all arguments per topic family was also counted for the different topic families and magazines. For the analysis of the use of individual devices, the percentage of arguments with the device in question was counted of the arguments in the different topic families and the different magazines.

7.1 Frequency and classification of rhetorical devices

The frequency of rhetorical devices in the arguments was analysed by counting the average ratio of rhetorical devices per number of arguments (r/a) in the different magazines. The ratio varied to some extent in the different topic families and the different magazines. The average ratio was 1.8 in all magazines (Table 14).

Table 14. Average ratio of rhetorical devices per arguments in different magazines.

	Fpt 50	Fpt 60	Fpt 70	KK 77–86	KK 87–94	FW 80	FW 90	MSN	Gr 96–03	Gr 04–06	Em	Ma
r/a	1.9	1.3	1.4	1.8	1.8	1.9	1.8	1.9	2.1	1.9	2.0	2.1

Legend:
Fpt = Finnish Paper and Timber
KK = Kymi Kymmene Magazine/International & Kymi Review
FW = Finnpap World
MSN = Metsä-Serla News
Gr = the Griffin
Em=Embrace
Ma= Magazine

As can be seen in Table 14, rhetorical devices were found least in Finnish Paper and Timber in 1950s–1970s but showed an even increase from Kymi Kymmene from the late 1970s to 2006.

The statistical significance of the results was tested using the Kruskal and Wallis one-way analysis of variance by ranks (see Metsämuuronen 2005). The test showed that the increase in the frequency of rhetorical devices was systematic. However, testing the differences between the different magazines, a statistically significant difference was detected only between the frequencies of Finnish Paper and Timber in the 1960s–1970s and the Griffin, Embrace and the Magazine. The Kruskal and Wallis method is the only one which suits such small samples as the grouping of the magazines. Testing the statistical significance using the method, however, proved to be cumbersome. As the aim with the quantitative analysis was to detect patterns in the ratios of rhetorical devices and arguments rather than prove a statistical significance, the statistical significance of the other r/a ratios of this chapter were not tested.

Looking at the use of rhetorical devices in the arguments of the different topic families, the variations were bigger than between the magazines (Table 15). The r/a ratio in the different topic families generally lay between 1.8 and 2, but was notably low in *Environment* arguments and high in *More than a product* arguments. These two topic families were also opposites in terms of argumentation strategy. Thus the *Environment* arguments relied on providing facts while the *More than a product* arguments aimed at creating images of the products (see also Sections 6.9 and 6.10).

Table 15. Average ratio of rhetorical devices per arguments in topic families.

	CIF	DVP	ENV	TWT	MTP	NOT	PP	PIF	WHR
r/a	1.8	2	1.4	2	2.3	1.8	1.7	1.8	1.9

Legend:
CIF = Customer in focus
DVP = Developing continuously
ENV = Environment
TWT = In technology we trust
MTP = More than a product
NOT = Nine out of ten
PP = Preferred partner
PIF = Product in focus
WHR = We have resources

The rhetorical devices analysed and discussed in this chapter comprised rhetorical devices such as repetition and metaphors. In addition, some lexical devices that were universal and common to all topics were analysed and discussed. These have a character of being conscious and systematic choices and functioned in the same way as rhetorical devices. Such lexical devices were for example evaluative attributes, name-dropping and numbers and figures. The topic-specific vocabulary and grammatical features have been discussed in conjunction with the analysis of the topics in Chapter 6.

Rhetorical devices can be classified according to their function in many different ways. Their classification is challenging as they are context-dependent. Thus their meaning and function is ultimately determined by the context in which they appear. The perhaps most common classification is into figures or ornaments and tropes, that is, figures of speech. Tropes are those devices that create new meanings for example through association whereas figures or ornaments would be conventionalised aesthetic elements that do not implicate a change in meaning but whose effect is based on the variation they bring to the structure of the text. Thus they can be used to underline or highlight important parts of the text (Karlberg & Mral 1998: 46–47; Sigrell 2003: 188; Hedlund & Johannesson 1993: 99). In addition Kjeldsen (2008: 208, 221) emphasises that even figures have the ability to affect the readers' or listeners' feelings and bring weight to what is being said.

Rhetorical devices can also be classified according to Halliday's linguistic metafunctions into ideational, textual and interpersonal devices as Hellspong and Ledin (2001: 94–95, 140, 183) have done. The ideational devices reveal how the textual form affects the content, interpersonal how the relationship to the reader is created and what kind of attitudes the writer has. The textual devices reveal how the text is constructed into a whole and how it links to the world outside the text. Such a classification is, however, more suited for research into the textual and interactive properties of text than for research in persuasion which aims to discover how the rhetorical means seek to influence the reader.

In this research I have grouped the rhetorical devices according to their persuasive function following Aristotle' classification of modes of persuasion into ethos, pathos and logos (Table 16). The devices can serve as evidence for the arguments (logos), they can have an interpersonal and emotive function (pathos) or they can foreground some aspects of the product or companies (ethos).

Table 16. Classification of rhetorical devices found in the arguments according to their function into Logos, Pathos and Ethos devices.

Logos	Pathos	Ethos
Quotation	We/our	Evaluative attribute
Comparison	Personification	Repetition
Technical terminology	Colloquialism	Promise
Figures & dates	Metaphor	Threat
List	Exclamation & question	Litotes (understatement)
Finnishness	Addressing the reader	
Name-dropping	Dash-pause	
Before-and-after	Humour	
	Flattery	
	Catch phrase	
	Narrator	
	Digression	

A classification which was close to the one used by Aristotle was used by for example Cicero (Kjeldsen 2008: 36). Peter Cassirer (2003: 207–216) has used this classification of rhetorical devices according to the tasks delectare (to delight), movere (to move) and docere (to teach). The distinction between delectare and movere is vague and would in Aristotle's classification both come under pathos. Further, there is no clear class for devices increasing the authority and credibility, which in Aristotle's classification is related to ethos. Comparing these two ways of classification of rhetorical devices, it was clear that Aristotle's classification was more suitable for the purposes of this study because of its greater clarity and attention to ethos.

The context-dependence of the rhetorical devices and their function is seen also in Cassirer's classification. Many of the devices belong to several of the categories. Further, some of the classifications are different from the ones adopted in this study. Thus Cassirer classifies for example metaphor as functioning to both teach and delight. In my classification metaphor is found under pathos devices, which is related to moving (movere).

Aristotle's three modes of persuasion are based on the effect they have on the reader's state of mind. The state of mind affects the interpretation of a message and its acceptance (Aristoteles *Retoriikka* 1356a; Kakkuri-Knuuttila 1999a: 23). Ethos can be based on knowledge, authority, position or experience. It can be the authority of the writer or speaker or another expert. Ethos can also be based on the writer's role to which he expresses commitment. (Karlberg & Mral 1998: 31–33; Myerson & Rydin 1996: 23.) The classification of ethos, similarly to the other modes, is challenging and far from clear-cut. There are overlaps and room for interpretation. For example Sigrell (2000: 69) classifies the expressions of commitment of the writer as pathos-type of argumentation. Summa (1995: 75) also considers appealing to authorities as a pathos device in the rhetoric of administration, while I have interpreted the same device as an ethos device, aimed at increasing the credibility of the "persuader".

Logos in the rhetoric of Aristotle (*Retoriikka* 1356a) refers to argumentation based on the facts presented in the speech. Also Kakkuri-Knuuttila (1999c: 233) defines logos as the factual content of the speech. Karlberg and Mral (1998: 34) and Kjeldsen (2008: 34), however, also see logos as a deliberate rhetorical device. Logos arguments are such that appeal to the reader's reasoning and intellect. Thus the argumentation in logos arguments can be based on facts, such as statistics and figures, generalisations and professionalism.

In most cases appealing to reason is not enough as the state of mind of the reader or listener affects the way the message is interpreted. According to Aristotle (*Retoriikka* 1356a, 1378a) the same message can be understood differently depending on whether the reader is angry, frightened or trusting. With pathos argumentation the writer appeals to the reader's emotions.

The classification is not free of overlaps. Thus in the arguments of this study the same devices could sometimes, depending on the context, function both as logos and ethos devices, for example lists and comparisons. Such devices have been discussed in conjunction with the type of means to which they belong to in the majority of cases. Another complicating factor was that as texts intended for involved professional readers, the product articles also have the function of providing information. Providing information frequently meant technical data. Thus, although technical vocabulary and numbers and figures have been discussed as rhetorical devices, they have not always been the result of a conscious effort to impress the reader. Instead, they have been used simply to provide the readers with the necessary information about the products or the companies. This "informative" use of technical vocabulary, however, has a minor influence on the results of the analysis. The rhetorical devices are discussed and

analysed as elements of ethos, logos and pathos and thus the quantitative weight of an individual device is not decisive. Further, the aim has been to see the patterns and trends in the use of the devices rather than compare the numbers of individual devices.

For similar reasons, the differences between the types and "sizes" of the devices has not been considered a problem. Thus the classes of rhetorical devices comprise small syntactical units such as evaluative attributes or pronouns and bigger units such as lists or quotations.

The biggest group of rhetorical devices found in the arguments were the logos devices and the second biggest the pathos devices. Ethos devices were the least frequent. Thus the dominance of logos devices also contributed to the impression of factualness found in the analysis of the argument topics in Chapter 6 (see also 8.1.3).

There was only little variation in the use of the types of devices in the different topic families. Logos devices were clearly the most common in all topic families, except in *Customer in focus* where the differences between the three types were very small. Another deviation from the average was the high ratio of ethos devices in *More than a product* arguments (Table 17).

Table 17. Ratio of different types of rhetorical devices to all arguments per topic family.

	CIF	DVP	ENV	TWT	MTP	NOT	PP	PIF	WHR	**Average**
Logos	0.7	0.9	0.9	1.3	1.2	1.1	0.8	1.2	0.9	**1.1**
Pathos	0.6	0.5	0.2	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.2	0.4	**0.3**
Ethos	0.6	0.5	0.3	0.3	0.8	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.6	**0.4**
Average	**0.6**	**0.6**	**0.5**	**0.6**	**0.8**	**0.6**	**0.6**	**0.6**	**0.6**	**0.6**

Legend:
CIF = Customer in focus
DVP = Developing continuously
ENV = Environment
TWT = In technology we trust
MTP = More than a product
NOT = Nine out of ten
PP = Preferred partner
PIF = Product in focus
WHR = We have resources

Looking at the distribution of the different types of devices in the magazines, one can see some small differences. Thus the frequency of pathos devices increased in the magazines published after the late 1970s. Also a slight increase in logos devices after the late 1990s can be seen. The general impression, however, is of

uniformity in the use of rhetorical devices. In addition, the order of frequency between the three types of devices was the same in all magazines (Table 18).

Table 18. Ratio of different types of rhetorical devices to all arguments per magazine.

	Fpt 50	Fpt 60	Fpt 70	KK 77–86	KK 87–94	FW 80	FW 90	MSN	Gr 96–03	Gr 04–06	Em	Ma
Logos	1.3	0.9	1	1	1.1	0.9	1	1	1.3	1.2	1	1.2
Pathos	0.1	0.01	0.01	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.5
Ethos	0.5	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.3	0.5	0.5

Legend:
Fpt = Finnish Paper and Timber
KK = Kymi Kymmene Magazine/International & Kymi Review
FW = Finnpap World
MSN = Metsä-Serla News
Gr = the Griffin
EM = Embrace
Ma = Magazine

In the following sections, the different types of devices, their functions and their frequencies are examined. As some of the devices appeared very sporadically, only those devices are discussed which appeared in more than one per cent of the arguments.

7.2 Logos devices: rhetorical devices used for evidence

Logos devices are used to appeal to the reader's reasoning and intellect. Therefore, devices providing evidence for what is being claimed are used. The evidence is presented for example as statistics and figures or statements by authorities. Devices functioning as evidence were recognised as effective means of persuasion already in classical rhetoric. Logos-type of argumentation, whose persuasiveness was based on facts and rationality, was one of the three fundamental types of argumentation that Aristotle discovered (*Retoriikka* 1356a; Karlberg & Mral 1998: 34). Cicero considered evidence efficient as it could affect the reader quickly, whereas evoking emotions could take longer (Cicero *Puhujasta* 214). Contemporary research also points to the fact that motivated readers, such as the readers of the studied product articles, are able to process the content of the message and thus rational appeals are effective in their case (Lehtonen 1998: 162; Stiff 1994: 131.)

In the research material the logos devices were the most common type of devices as could be seen in Tables 17 and 18. Also the individual devices were among the

most frequent (Table 19). Logos devices accounted for almost 60 per cent of all devices and the majority of the individual logos devices were among the most common. Thus, out of the five most frequent devices, four were logos devices.

Table 19. Number of arguments containing logos devices.

Device	Number arguments where found
Quotation	802
Comparison	616
Technical terminology	595
Figures & details	383
List	274
Finnish	145
Name-dropping	139
Before-and-after	77
Total	**3031***

*The total number of arguments in the study was 2867. The total number of occurrences of rhetorical devices was 5205.

All these devices provide evidence through facts or through status and authority. The authority can stem from the position or expertise of a person quoted, or through reputation as is the case in Finnishness. It can also stem from the use of technical vocabulary or name-dropping. The persuasive power of logos-type of rhetorical devices is based on the seeming objectivity of these. The state of things is made to seem free of interpretation and attitudes of the writers. Thus for example science and scientific results are considered an undisputable authority (e.g. Jokinen 1999: 140; Palonen 1997: 36). The impression of objectivity and factuality can be strived at to appear wise and sensible and to distinguish oneself from those who rely on emotional and coloured argumentation, such as the environmentalists in the 1980s and 1990s. Supporting their arguments with evidence and facts proves that the writers are both competent and honest. By choosing exact formulations the writer shows their pursuit of the truth (Hedlund & Johannesen 1993: 146; Blomstedt 2003: 104).

In the following sections, I will discuss the individual logos devices and their functions in the arguments. I will also look at their frequency in the different topic families and magazines.

7.2.1 Quotations

Quotations report somebody's speech or thought (Biber, Johansson, Leech, Conrad & Finegan 1999: 196). As quotations are recommended in journalism

studies today for increased credibility and vividness, Gibson and Zillman (1998) tested the readers' reactions to texts with direct quotations. They came to the conclusion that direct quotations greatly increase the credibility and persuasive power of text. They further detected that the readers did not experience the quoted content as biased or that the quotations presented only one side of an issue.

Quotations are either direct or indirect repetition of what a person has said. Exact direct quotations were dominant in the arguments of this study. The quotations were predominantly quotations given by experts and to some extent testimonials, quotations by satisfied users and clients supporting the claims in the arguments.

Quotations were among the most frequently found rhetorical devices in the material. They could be found in 28 per cent of all arguments (see also Table 19). The first quotation in the product articles was one single quotation in an article from 1967. The next quotation appeared ten years later. The appearance of quotations in the product article arguments was late considering the trends in advertising. For example testimonials had been used in advertising since the 1930s (Heinonen & Konttinen 2001: 304; Leiss et al 2005: 264). Quotations became common in the product articles from the late 1970s to 2006. An average of 34 per cent of all arguments in that period contained quotations. The frequency was particularly high in the Kymi Kymmene magazines in 1987–1994 with 37 per cent and the Griffin 2004–2006 and the Magazine. The number of quotations doubled when comparing Griffin 1996–2003 to Griffin 2004–2006 and Embrace to the Magazine.

Two reasons for the increase in the number of quotations seem obvious. Firstly, the frequency of the quotations in the later magazines coincided with the emergence of a new type of product article in the early 1980s. These articles were interviews with executives of the companies. Secondly, product articles have since the late 1990s been increasingly written by outside journalists. Such journalists can not specialise solely in one industry or field and can thus not be expected to have the same understanding of the products or the companies as the in-house editors who had earlier mainly been in charge of the writing. Thus these journalists needed to depend on direct quotations to get the facts right. A third reason could have been that quotations were a rising trend in journalism (see also Gibson & Zillman 1998). According to Mörä (1996: 112) quotations are frequently used to give an air of objectivity and as a defence strategy in contemporary journalism. By accounting for an issue through other people, the journalists defend themselves and their organisations against criticism (see also Huovila 1995: 69).

In addition to the variation in the frequency of quotations in the different time periods, there was variation between the different topic families. Quotations were most frequent in *Customer in focus* and *More than a product* arguments and least frequent in *In technology we trust* arguments (Table 20). A reason for this could have been that in topic families like the first two, the arguments were not about the products' concrete properties or the production. Instead they contained abstract topics such as *Beauty* and *Customer-centredness* that are difficult to support or prove with facts. Instead, quotations could be used as substitutes for hard facts.

Table 20. Percentage of arguments containing quotations per topic family.

CIF	DVP	ENV	TWT	MTP	NOT	PP	PIF	WHR
52	31	23	20	49	24	27	26	24

Legend:
CIF = Customer in focus
DVP = Developing continuously
ENV = Environment
TWT = In technology we trust
MTP = More than a product
NOT = Nine out of ten
PP = Preferred partner
PIF = Product in focus
WHR = We have resources

The quotations in the arguments of this study had three functions. Firstly they provided authority. Secondly they were used to increase the credibility of the arguments by serving as exact reports. Thirdly, the quotations were used to create a feeling of immediacy. In the three functions the quotations appeal to the reader's rationality. Thus, authorities are experts and therefore trustworthy. Exact reporting provides facts and facts can not be refuted. Also the feeling of immediacy created by being addressed by a real person serves as evidence of the truthfulness of the statement. The use of quotations is discussed from the perspective of these three functions in the following sections.

7.2.1.1 Quotations and authority

The authority brought about by the quotations was based on a number of factors. Firstly, another person's voice was used to support the argumentation. Further force arose from the fact that the persons quoted were always authorities regarding the matter at hand. This was underlined by supplying the exact titles and other relevant details of the persons quoted as in examples 100 and 101.

(100) "We had a vision that such products would become important in the future," recalls Juha Lounasvaara, **Vice President, Corrugated Case Materials**. (Text 105: 2006)

(101) It is cleaner, brighter, has sharper definition, incredible detail with wonderful, flesh tones and truer color reproduction," **says the Press and Publishing Manager of The Irish Times, the largest selling daily broadsheet newspaper in Ireland**, with a touch of pride in his voice. (Text 126: 2004)

The titles have a similar function to the outward signs of expertise and authority, such as uniforms and the white coats of doctors. Titles construct the authority of the speaker (see also Fairclough 1995: 166). Status is very important from the point of view of credibility: we tend to listen to people of high status or experts with more interest mainly because they have influence and often possess knowledge others do not (see also Perelman 2007: 125; Cassirer: 1997: 57; Hedlund & Johanneson 1993: 55; Jokinen 1999: 139). In example 101 the credibility also arose from the speakers' status as a representative of an important customer. Testimonials such as in this example, also make the praise more credible than self-praise. This was recognised already by Aristotle who considered self-praise tactless and therefore thought it better if the praise was put in somebody else's mouth (Freese 1947: xlvi).

Almost 90 per cent of the quoted persons were employees working in the companies. One third of them were sales and marketing executives and staff, one third directors and one third technical staff. Testimonials, the references or recommendations given by a client, affirming the quality of a product or service, accounted for 11 per cent of the quotations on the average. Testimonials were particularly common in Finnpap World in the 1990s and 2000s in the Griffin and Embrace, where their share of the quotations ranged from 24 to 57 per cent.

The number of quotations by technical personnel was relatively high, between 26–52 per cent of the quotations in all other magazines except Finnpap World in the 1980s and 1990s. In Finnpap World the proportion of quotations by directors in turn was high, more than half of all quotations. This was partly related to the new type of product article appearing in the early 1980s in Finnpap Express where top executives were interviewed. There were three such articles in Finnpap Review in 1982–1983. Further, the low frequency of quotations by technical staff in Finnpap World might have been a question of toning down the technical emphasis in the product articles to fit the magazine profile. Another underlying reason could have been the fact that the publisher was an export sales organisation and consequently not so close to the production. The export sales companies, including Finnpap, were often accused by the member mills that they were detached from the reality of the mills (Serlachius 2008).

The choice of authority is also a question of esteem. The authorities selected to support the argumentation are often based on the values of a culture. The strength of the authority arises from the status that a person has in a community (Mäntynen 2003: 105). Thus technical personnel were more visible as authorities in those magazines that were published by the companies themselves and that were closer to the production, whereas directors were valued as authorities in communities, such as the export organisations, consisting mainly of sales personnel and executives.

From the readers' point of view the authority would also depend on the contents of the quotation. Thus for example in technical matters a technical person would have more authority than a sales executive. There was some variation in the proportions of persons quoted in the different topic families, but in many cases the links between the status of the person quoted and the content of the quotation were obvious. Thus technical staff was quoted in the technology-focused *Developing continuously* and *In technology we trust* arguments, whereas executives and sales personnel were typically quoted in customer-related arguments in *Customer in focus* and *Nine out of ten*. Testimonials by satisfied users and clients could be found in all topic families but they were infrequent in topic families *We have resources* and *In technology we trust* whose arguments were about the companies' own resources and technology. The testimonials in the arguments of *More than a product* were given by designers. Interestingly, executives were quoted in the *Environment* arguments. The reason for this could have been that environmental issues were considered strategic and sensitive issues and therefore for the top management to comment on. Using "elite sources" is common in journalism when more weight and credibility is required to back up a claim or issue (see also Mörä 1996: 108–109.

7.2.1.2 Quotations and reporting

The second function of the quotations found in the arguments was using the quoted speakers to provide facts, details of the products and production as well as to assure of developments and state of things. These arguments frequently gave an impression of reporting (example 102).

(102) "Every morning our production, development and quality experts get together and assess quality and quality consistency on each machine reel." (Text 89: 1995)

A detailed description such as the one in example 103 makes things seem real and tangible, almost as if the reader was there witnessing the event (Hedlund & Johannesson 1993: 135). In the arguments of this research the quotations with

detailed reporting often resembled witness statements, strengthening the truthfulness of the arguments. In *We have resources* arguments quotations were often found in the arguments about human resources, especially in the late 1990s and 2000s, to assure the reader of the expertise and commitment of staff (example 103). In *In technology we trust* arguments almost half of the quotations reported on the improvements done or foreseen (example 104).

(103) The mill staff are well trained and their professional skills and motivation are second to none." (Text 133: 2006)

(104) "The prospects for reaching new targets and results are now brighter than ever." (Text 55: 1988)

The latter type was common in many topic families but especially so in *Nine out of ten* arguments, where more than half of the quotations were predictions of future. These types of promises of future successes were most common in the 1980s and 1990s (see also promises as rhetorical devices in 7.4.3).

7.2.1.3 Quotations and immediacy

The third function of quotations was to give an impression of immediacy, that the reader was being addressed by a real person. The evidence therefore had to be true. In some cases this immediacy was strengthened by the use of colloquial language (example 105), informal spelling (example 106) or exclamations (example 107), all of which aimed at making the text sound as if it was spoken.

(105) "We sometimes say jokingly that Kymtech is an **`old folks' paper'**, because it does not strain the eyes. (Text 35: 1988)

(106) **That's** the only way **we've** been able to get ahead in quality and technical innovations. (Text 67: 1992)

(107) UPM Satin from Voikkaa is absolutely fantastic here! (Text 117: 2001)

The colloquial language further increased the feeling of proximity between speaker and reader. Thus the reader could feel that the speaker was addressing his words directly to him. This type of language use lightens the text and makes it less formal (see also Kankaanpää 2006: 151). The examples also demonstrate the overlapping boundaries of the different modes of persuasion. Here the logos is strengthened by the evidence supplied in the form of quotations, while the informal and colloquial language appeals to feelings, the pathos.

The use of colloquial and conversational language will be discussed in more detail in Section 7.3.3. Quotations such as the examples above were, however, were not very common in the material. There were only 85 arguments with colloquial language in the whole material, forty of which were found in quotations.

7.2.2 Comparisons

Comparisons have been classified as devices used as evidence in this study, although they could also have a foregrounding function. Hedlund and Johanneson (1993: 99) see this as the main function of comparisons. Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (1989: 242), however, think that comparisons are often presented as facts. This is strengthened by the expression of the criteria that the comparison is based on. Also Biber et al. (1999: 529) see comparisons as important means of understanding and explicating meaning. It is difficult to explain the nature of something without describing how it resembles or contrasts with other comparable things. In the arguments of this study the majority of the comparisons were comparisons of a product to another or earlier product as well as companies or machinery in terms of position or size on the market. Thus the aim of this type of comparison seems to have been of providing evidence rather than foregrounding. The type of comparison used for foregrounding, that is, comparisons that are evaluative rather than comparative, such as *superior in opacity*, accounted for less than 14 per cent and those that underlined a quantitative aspect such as *more and more customers*, accounted for less than 7 per cent of all comparisons.

Comparisons could be found in 21 per cent of the arguments on the average (see Table 19). When comparing the frequency of comparisons in the different magazines, there were little differences. Comparisons appeared in 16–26 per cent of the arguments in all magazines. However, the frequencies of comparisons varied between the topic families (Table 21).

Table 21. Percentage of arguments containing comparisons per topic family.

CIF	DVP	ENV	TWT	MTP	NOT	PP	PIF	WHR
8	16	37	23	22	14	23	25	15

Legend:
CIF = Customer in focus
DVP = Developing continuously
ENV = Environment
TWT = In technology we trust
MTP = More than a product
NOT = Nine out of ten
PP = Preferred partner
PIF = Product in focus
WHR = We have resources

The highest frequency of 37 per cent could be found in the *Environment* arguments. Thus comparisons were more frequent in those topic families that focused on the products and the concrete sides of companies. They were less frequent in topic families whose arguments focused on the customers or the abstract characteristics of the companies.

Approximately half of the comparisons found in the arguments of this study were comparisons in which the target of the comparison was explicitly mentioned. This was the case in all other topic families except *Customer in focus* where their share was only 21 per cent. A likely reason for this could have been that the focus of the arguments was neither on the products nor production, which due to their concrete nature, would be more natural targets for comparisons than for example customer-orientation.

The other half was implicit comparisons. In these, the reader is expected to infer the basis from the text context (see also Biber & al. 1999: 526). In the arguments the underlying target of the comparison was most often to previous products or services. The implicit comparisons and the fact that these were to previous products and never to competing products had to do with the conventions and codes of conduct in the business and marketing. According to these codes marketing should comply with the principles of fair competition and thus claiming to have a better product than your competitor is not common (see also Bhatia 2004: 63; Louhija 1963: 47; ICC 2006). In circa 14 per cent of the implicit comparisons these were used as attributes (example 108). Thus, in example 108 the comparative *superior* has a meaning of better quality, not better than some other paper or an earlier paper grade.

(108) We developed one new grade**, to provide superior results in office colour printing** – but still in the context of value for money, since we know that's how our customers choose their paper. (Text 107: 2006)

The comparisons in this study were used in two functions. Firstly, comparisons were used as evidence for continuous development and secondly to prove the excellence of the products and production. The use of comparisons in these two functions is discussed in the following sections.

7.2.2.1 Comparisons as evidence of continuous improvement

The implicit comparisons were mainly used to give the reader the impression of continuous improvement and development as in example 109.

(109) We also think that the machine **will enable us to provide even better service** for our fine and coated paper customers as regards volume, quality standards and delivery schedules. (Text 28: 1982)

In example 109, the comparison referred to improvements that were to take place or effect in future, resembling the device of promise (see also 7.4.3). This type of comparison was particularly common in *Preferred partner* arguments and in quotations.

7.2.2.2 Comparisons as evidence of excellence

While the implicit comparisons aimed at providing evidence of development, the explicit comparisons underlined the excellent properties of the products or companies. These accounted for over 80 per cent of the explicit comparisons. To some extent the comparison was to earlier products of the company itself or to its own earlier operations.

The comparisons in *Product in focus* arguments were most commonly to other products (example 110) although comparisons to previous versions of the product itself became more common than earlier in the magazines of the 1990s and 2000s. When the production process was the topic, improvements made in the company or its production were described in comparison to the market (example 111). In arguments convincing the reader of the companies being a preferred partner, the size and position of the companies on the market was emphasised (example 112). In *Environment* arguments half of the comparisons were to other products. The comparisons were either implicit, for example to *other material* or naming the competing raw materials such as steel or plastics. The comparisons were generally used as evidence of the environmental friendliness of the products and the production process (example 113).

(110) The runnability was the most important target and it has materialized because of **higher stiffness and bulk comparing to the other LWC**. Text 113: 1999)

(111) With a wire width of 9 metres and a speed of 1,500 metres per minute, Kirkniemi's PM3 will be **one of the world's largest double-coated fine paper machines**. (Text 90: 1995)

(112) Koho-Tuote Oy, Forssa, Finland, is **the biggest producer of ice hockey sticks in Western Europe and one of the best known manufacturers of professional sticks in the whole world**. (Text 24: 1974)

(113) **The use of sulphate pulp generates less effluents and emissions than sulphite pulp**; Metsä-Serla has thus taken another step in promoting the sustainable development of the environment. (Text 66: 1991)

As in example 113, the comparisons found in the *Environment* arguments typically did not contain evidence in the form of technical and numerical data. Instead, technical terms and the comparisons seemingly provided evidence, although the arguments remained vague in reality.

7.2.3 Technical terminology

In this section I will discuss the technical terminology used as rhetorical device in the arguments. With technical terminology I refer to the use of terms that would not be totally transparent to a non-involved reader. This would be either because the terms are infrequent or do not exist in everyday language. They can also be familiar words but carry a meaning that is different from their everyday meaning. An example of the former would be *basis weight* 'weight per unit area of paper' and of the latter *brightness*, which in a paper and pulp technology context refers to 'reflectivity of a sheet of pulp or paper measured under standardised conditions; used to indicate the degree of "whiteness' (Puunjalostajan sanasto 2008). The examples also illustrate the accurate classification of a concept that is typical for professional terminology (Hellspong & Ledin 2001: 71; Kankaanpää 2006: 119; Walton 1970: 20).

The use of specialist terminology in the product articles communicated several things. Firstly, it communicated that these articles have been written for experts and involved readers, in this case buyers from other industries, wholesalers and publishers. Such readers expect the articles to contain technical data and

consequently technical terms. Thus the technical terms also constructed the text, as product articles were expected to contain technical terminology as part of their informative function satisfying the needs of the readers.

Secondly, they constructed an image of expertise. The use of technical terminology communicated a command of the field and preciseness, making the arguments seem like unarguable facts (see also Jokinen: 129). Thirdly, the special terminology signified the belonging to the same group of professionals, that the texts were written by professionals to other professionals (see also Fiske 1998: 102–103; Karihalme 1996: 39). In addition, groups can emphasise their exclusiveness using jargon. The technical terminology is part of a jargon, a group language that signals a belonging to a group (see also Wodak 1989a: 141–142). Groups can "define their territory by means of their language" (Wodak 1989a: 137).

In the early days of advertising specialist vocabulary was used in advertisements. Scientific language was used to attract the attention of the consumers in the early 1900s. However, as early as the 1920s the scientific language was replaced by conversational and associative language. (Myers 1994: 27.)

For the purpose of analysis, the frequency of technical terminology was counted in the same way as the evaluative attributes (see also 7.4.1), that is, by counting the number of arguments containing technical terms. Although this method is not as accurate as one where every technical term was counted and compared to the number of words in the arguments, the method enables comparison in the use of technical terminology between the topic families and the different magazines.

Technical terminology could be found in an average of 21 per cent of the arguments (see also Table 19). There were big differences between the topic families (Table 22). The frequency was highest in *In technology we trust* and *Product in focus* arguments. Technical terminology was very scarce or non-existent in *Customer in focus*, *More than a product*, *Nine out of ten* and *Preferred partner* arguments. These were the topic families that did not deal with the concrete properties of the products or companies and thus the absence of technical terminology was not unexpected.

Table 22. Percentage of arguments containing technical terminology per topic family.

CIF	DVP	ENV	TWT	MTP	NOT	PP	PIF	WHR
3	14	6	55	0	0	1	33	7

Legend:
CIF = Customer in focus
DVP = Developing continuously
ENV = Environment
TWT = In technology we trust
MTP = More than a product
NOT = Nine out of ten
PP = Preferred partner
PIF = Product in focus
WHR = We have resources

Arguments with a high number of technical terms contained few evaluative attributes and vice versa. This was particularly the case in *In technology we trust* arguments that had a high frequency of technical terminology. The reverse applied to arguments in topic families *Customer in focus*, *More than a product*, *We have resources* and *Preferred partner* in which there were very few or no technical terms but a high frequency of evaluative adjectives.

The frequency of technical terms in the arguments varied between 6–12 per cent in the 1950s and 1960s. After that technical terms were used in 20–30 per cent of the arguments in most of the magazines. The exception was Metsä-Serla News, where the frequency was 14 per cent. This coincided with the finding that the arguments of Metsä-Serla News contained less exact technical details and more vagueness than those of the other magazines. Also the proportion of abstract topics was bigger than that of concrete topics, which was unusual in most magazines (see also 6.1 and 6.6.2).

The technical terminology in topic family *In technology we trust* was used to underline the modernity and efficiency of the machinery and processes. The technical terms used in the arguments conveyed an impression of technical expertise and know-how (example 114) and devotion to high quality (example 115).

(114) The switch to a **more neutral pH value** and the use of **calcium carbonate** was originally undertaken **to enhance the brightness of UPM Ultra**. (Text 127: 2004)

(115) For the maximum precision and flawless surface **the cutters include dust extraction equipment** on both sides of the sheet, and **a synchro-fly cutting system utilising two revolving knives**. (Text 29: 1982)

Comparing the number or arguments containing technical terminology in topic family *In technology we trust* in the different time periods, the 1980s together with the 2000s stood out. In those decades the frequency of technical terminology was clearly higher than in the other decades. In the 1980s more than 60 per cent of the *In technology we trust* arguments contained technical terms and 97 per cent in the 2000s. In the other decades the corresponding figure was around 30 per cent. An explanation for the frequency in the 1980s could have been the wave of investments and the increased focus on research and development in the forest industry. A reason for the very high frequency in the 2000s could also have been a shift towards more factual argumentation, in the 2000s (see also Section 6.11).

In *Product in focus* arguments the technical terms always referred to the properties or usage of the products. In the majority of cases the technical properties were such that had relevance for the clients or users (example 116). In the 1980s and 1990s, however, in nearly half of the arguments the technical terms were used to describe the products' properties without the users' perspective (example 117).

(116) High whiteness, good opacity and printed surface gloss **ensure that pictures containing even the boldest colours are flawlessly reproduced**," he says. (Text 111: 1999)

(117) Numerous problems related to adhesives have been solved at Kymtac which has specialised in **water based acrylic dispersion adhesive**. (Text 30: 1984)

Both examples reflected that the message was directed to professional readers. However, example 116 was formulated to sell, while example 117 resembled the traditional business-to-business marketing whose function mainly is to provide information (see also Mauranen 2005: 141).

7.2.4 Figures and dates

Similarly to technical terminology, figures give an impression of transparency and reliability to the arguments. Hard facts such as figures are very difficult to question. Louhija (1963: 57) called figures and numbers magic words in his pioneering study on advertising language in Finland. The exactness can also function as evidence of the company being better than others in the issue at hand (see also Juhila 2000: 168–169; Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca 1989: 85–88). Exact figures make what is said concrete and connect the text to the outer context, in this case to the industrial and technical realities. The figures and dates built a

bridge from the reader to the mills and their production processes. The readers were part of this context, being professionals further processing the products of the forest industry. These types of readers were involved readers who are supposed to have a keen interest in details and to be interested in figures and facts (e.g. Lehtonen 1999: 43). Similarly to technical terms, the figures constructed the texts that were expected to contain precise figures and data to satisfy the needs of the readers.

Figures and dates could be found in 13 per cent of all arguments (see also Table 19). The arguments contained exact numerical information, quantitative expressions such as *several hundreds* and dates. They were most frequent in Finnish Paper and Timber in the 1960s and 1970s and Finnpap World in the 1990s. In the other magazines the frequency ranged between 9 and 15 per cent.

There was notable variation in the frequency of figures and dates between the topic families. There were two topic families where figures and dates did not appear at all, namely *Customer in focus* and *More than a product* (Table 23). In both of these topic families the topics were not about concrete issues related to the production or products. Further, in the *More than a product* arguments the absence of figures was logical as the argument topics were abstract and immeasurable.

Table 23. Percentage of arguments containing figures and dates per topic family.

CIF	DVP	ENV	TWT	MTP	NOT	PP	PIF	WHR
0	13.5	13.4	25.7	0	20	12.5	11	20.5

Legend: CIF = Customer in focus
DVP = Developing continuously
ENV = Environment
TWT = In technology we trust
MTP = More than a product
NOT = Nine out of ten
PP = Preferred partner
PIF = Product in focus
WHR = We have resources

Figures and dates were most frequent in *In technology we trust*, *Nine out of ten* and *We have resources* arguments. Their high frequency in *In technology we trust* arguments was logical as these arguments contained a lot of technical data. This data was often specified in exact numbers. Dates in turn were given for the completion of machinery modernisations, for example. The frequency in *Nine out of ten* arguments was linked to the frequent references to dates of deliveries or sales volumes. In *We have resources* figures were mostly employed as evidence for the companies' or industry's long experience and tradition in the field.

In the arguments of this study figures and dates were used to give weight to claims regarding a present state of things or future prospects. They were used in four functions. Firstly, figures were used as evidence of efficiency and expertise. Secondly, they communicated commitment and thirdly the popularity of the products or company. Fourthly, dates were used as evidence of future developments, the uniqueness of products or the expertise of the company or industry. These functions are examined in Sections 7.2.4.1–7.2.4.4.

7.2.4.1 Figures as evidence of efficiency and expertise

In *In technology we trust* arguments figures and numbers were evidence of the efficiency and level of modernisation (example 118). This type of argument was found in all time periods although it was scarce in the 1990s. In *Preferred partner* arguments figures were used as proof of the size of the companies or their operations (example 119). Figures in this function could be found in the arguments at all times except in the 2000s. They were also fairly uncommon in the Kymi Kymmene magazines in the 1980s and 1990s.

(118) These foresee two-shift work which, with the same saw machines would yield **a total sawn goods production of about 15,000 standards**. (Text 16: 1968)

(119) It has steadily increased its output, reaching **230 000 tonnes** last year. (Text 87: 1994)

In *Product in focus* arguments exact figures were very commonly used to describe the properties of the products. The frequency of exact figures was partly explained by the fact that a paper qualities are defined according to how many grams per square metre it weighs, for example *80 g/m^2 UPM Prime*. However, usual were also exact measurements of the products or other technical qualities such as *5,000 tonne LWC-type super jumbo reels whose widths have ranged between 400–432 cm*. Sometimes exact savings were mentioned, for example *15% less expensive than LWC*. This type of use of exact figures aimed at strengthening the image of expertise and professionalism of the companies. Exact figures were a signal of professionalism and an analytical approach, and that the claims were based on solid facts (see also Saukkonen 1984: 78; Hellspong & Ledin 2001: 32, 110).

7.2.4.2 Figures as evidence of commitment

In the arguments of this research commitment was commonly expressed as the effort invested in something. In *Developing continuously* and *In technology we*

trust arguments in the 1980s and 1990s it was fairly common to stress the efforts through the investments made. Exact sums were mentioned, for example *FIM 2 billion (USD 370 million) investment at Rauma*. Exact figures were also used to describe the hard work by providing the time spent on research and development, for example *after spending a total of 28 months developing the three new products*. This was particularly common in the 2000s. The exact references to investments and time spent on development, particularly in the 1980s and 1990s reflected the development in the forest industry of those years. During these years the forest industry focused very much on modernising its technology and developing its products to be able to compete in the increased competition in the market.

In *Environment* arguments evidence of the companies' commitment to environmental issues was given by providing exact figures on technical details, for example the amount of chlorine as in example 120. Commitment was frequently also expressed as future prospects and targets (example 121).

(120) The entire chlorine-bleached product range is made today out of pulp that does not cause any discharge in excess of **1.1 kg of chlorine per tonne of pulp** during manufacture. (Text 78: 1990)

(121) If everything goes as planned, that would mean **a 10% market share** in Europe, which is Veitsiluoto's main market area. (Text 68: 1993)

The future targets became more real and credible when presented and defined with figures, even when they were only speculations. Such use of figures could be found particularly in *Nine out of ten* arguments, in which there was a lot of speculation on future sales prospects.

7.2.4.3 Figures as evidence of popularity

Exact figures were used particularly in *Nine out of ten* arguments to prove the popularity of the companies and their products. The sales volumes or market shares were given in detail, for example *the sales of Astralux amounted to 22 700 tonnes and the share is well over 40 per cent*. The exact figures reinforced the impressions of a general truth. Frequently these were reinforced by references to the market areas, for example *globally*, *the European countries* or mentions of individual countries or clients.

7.2.4.4 Dates as evidence

Dates were used in the arguments to provide proof that something has or will happen, to underline the uniqueness of a product, or as the evidence for the know-how and expertise of the company or industry. Validating past and future transactions by specifying the time for these was very common (example 122).

(122) Under the new order covering the period **2006–2008**, UPM will supply DSME with a total of more than 120,000 m3 of plywood for its latest LNG carriers. (Text 133: 2006)

Dates were also used to underline the up-to-date technology by giving dates for mills or machines coming on stream, the finalisation of rebuilding, for example *the start-up was in March 1986*. From the early 1980s onwards, the launch dates of products started appearing. Similarly, dates for the availability of a new product were mentioned from the 1990s onwards (example 123).

(123) The next generation UPM Star **was launched onto the market in October 2004**. (Text 127: 2004)

Mentioning the launch or appearance of a new product with the exact date sought to make the event something special and unique. This was a marketing technique widely used earlier for example in luxury products. Today, it has become a common marketing trick for all kinds of goods, good examples being the launching of Beaujolais Nouveau and Harry Potter books.

Dates were also used as evidence and to foreground the granting of a quality certificate. These were found particularly in *Preferred partner* arguments in which the awarding was further underlined by mentioning the quality labels and certificates by their exact names (example 124).

(124) Savon Sellu is committed to quality, and this commitment is underlined by **the ISO 9002 quality certificate** it received **in 1991** for its entire process from production to dispatch. (Text 87: 1994)

In *We have resources* arguments the expertise arising from the company's or industry's history was underlined and verified by explicit dates or number of years, for example *log houses have been manufactured since the 1940s*.

7.2.5 Lists

Lists give the reader evidence of exactness and abundance. They also serve to make the text more compact. A list can be considered a kind of ellipse, where each listed item corresponds to a clause. Similarly to an ellipse, the list requires that the reader supplements in his mind the common parts, for example the subject and predicate. This sharing contributes to the cohesive effect of lists (see also Jackson 1990: 254; Dyer 1996: 165; Hiidenmaa 2000: 52).

In this study lists could be found in 10 per cent of all arguments on an average (see also Table 19). They were clearly most common in the arguments of Finnish paper and Timber in the 1950s when they could be found in 30 per cent of the arguments. In the later magazines their frequency varied between 4 and 12 per cent. The frequencies also varied considerably between the topic families. Lists were more common in product arguments than company arguments and consequently highest in topic families where the focus was on the products. Such topic families were *Product in focus* and *More than a product* (Table 24). An exception was topic family *Nine out of ten*, where 86 per cent of the lists were found in company arguments. The reason was that in *Nine out of ten* arguments the customers of the companies were often listed.

Table 24. Percentage of arguments containing lists per topic family.

CIF	DVP	ENV	TWT	MTP	NOT	PP	PIF	WHR
1	6	0	2	12	9	4	16	2

Legend:
CIF = Customer in focus
DVP = Developing continuously
ENV = Environment
TWT = In technology we trust
MTP = More than a product
NOT = Nine out of ten
PP = Preferred partner
PIF = Product in focus
WHR = We have resources

In the arguments of this study lists primarily served as evidence of the abundant supply of products. In addition lists were used to prove that there was a demand for the products. In the following two sections a closer look will be taken at lists in these two functions.

7.2.5.1 Lists as evidence of supply

Listing the properties of the products and end-uses were common particularly in *Product in focus* arguments. The aim of listing was both to inform the clients of the availability of products, to impress the reader with the abundance on offer as

well as to provide evidence and of a wide selection and the versatility of the products (example 125).

(125) In addition to **one-family and row houses, summer cottages, saunas, schools and club houses, glued and nailed wooden beams and so on**, the selection of elements suitable for transportable buildings **for billeting, storages, offices and barracks** provides practical and quick solutions for the most diversified construction projects. (Text 20: 1972)

In *Product in focus* arguments lists were particularly common in the 1950s when they could be found in 48 per cent of the arguments of the topic family. Listing was a commonly used device in advertising also in the 1960s, being a efficient way of presenting facts in a compact manner (Louhija 1963: 98). The image of abundance conveyed in the lists must have been a positive message in the post-war decades. In times of severe shortage, it was important to inform the customers of the availability of products. According to Heinonen and Konttinen (2001: 201) lists and the emphasis on abundance in advertising in the post-war years had an additional political motive. It was seen as a way to deter communism.

In the 1960s the benefits and end-uses of products were listed. The aim was to inform the clients of new products. The 1960s was a decade when for example the paper board industry began to produce more and more special products instead of bulk products (Laiho 1998: 73–75). The technical advances had also made it possible to increase production considerable and thus it must have been important to whet the appetite of the buyers.

Lists had a similar informative function in the arguments of the 2000s. The lists gave examples of possibilities that the products provided (example 126). This could reflect the fact that the product selections were wide and the products quite technical. In the 2000s also the rate of new products or applications appearing on the market was high.

(126) Inspired by the great range of colours and the quality of transparency, designers have combined ZANDERS Spectral with innovative printing techniques: **metallics, tints, varnishes and die cutting** can all be used. (Text 104: 2006)

List could also comprise clauses. These were used most in the articles of the 1950s and 1960s. In these the characteristics as lists was emphasised by

typographical means, for example by numbering and using symbols such as arrows. In one argument points of ellipsis were used at the end of the list to underline the endlessness of the range of end-uses.

7.2.5.2 Lists as evidence of demand

Another typical use of lists was to underline the demand and popularity of the products. This was particularly the case in *Nine out of ten* arguments in which the majority of the lists were lists of customers. From the late 1990s to 2006 the clients listed were mentioned by name. The listed clients were without exception well-known (example 127). This type of name-dropping is discussed in more detail in section 7.2.7.

(127) UPM's mills supply special plywood for LNG carriers built in Korea's **Daewoo**, **Hyundai** and **Samsung shipyards**. (Text 133:2006)

A type of listing found until the early 1990s was one that listed countries of export or areas of industry where the products of the forest industry were used. This type of listing gave the impression of sufficient evidence. Listing a number of countries or clients was meant to make the reader come to the conclusions that the demand was not only by those listed but a general truth (see also Karlberg & Mral 1998: 40; Jokinen 1999: 152; Aristoteles *Retoriikka* 1356b, 1357b).

7.2.6 Finnishness

As a rhetorical device Finnishness means the use of *Finnish* or *Finland* to support the argumentation. The support comes from the connotations attached to the country. A product or company being Finnish would in a forest products context have had connotations of quality, know-how and expertise that were the result of a long tradition in the field. This was also one of the recurrent messages in the argument topics, particularly in *We have resources*. Thus Finnishness resembles name-dropping (see also 7.2.7) as a rhetorical device.

Finnishness could be found in 5 per cent of all arguments on the average (see also Table 19). The variation between topic families was, however, considerable. As seen in Table 25, the use of Finnishness was most common in *We have resources* arguments, but scarce in *Customer in focus*, *In technology we trust* and *Product in focus* arguments. There was no obvious explanation for this variation, as in the topic families with both frequent and infrequent references to Finnishness the arguments focused on products, companies and customers.

Table 25. Percentage of arguments containing Finnishness per topic family.

CIF	DVP	ENV	TWT	MTP	NOT	PP	PIF	WHR
2	6	7	2	8	7	6	3	15

Legend:
CIF = Customer in focus
DVP = Developing continuously
ENV = Environment
TWT = In technology we trust
MTP = More than a product
NOT = Nine out of ten
PP = Preferred partner
PIF = Product in focus
WHR = We have resources

The variation in the frequency of Finnishness was even more pronounced when the different magazines and time periods were compared. Finnishness could be found in Finnish Paper and Timber in the 1950s in 31 per cent of the arguments. After that its frequency decreased to half in Finnish Paper and Timber in the 1960s and 1970s. In the magazines after that the frequency varied from 1 to 5 per cent. In the Magazine in 2005–2006 Finnishness was not used in any of the arguments. The absence of references to Finnishness in the later magazines had to with the general down-toning of the national identity and the developments within the industry. Although an old export industry, the perspective of the forest products industry was still domestic in the early 1980s. Through mergers and acquisitions of foreign mills in the 1990s the forest products companies evolved into huge multinational corporations (Kantola 2004: 36; Lammi 2000: 33). According to Kantola (ibid: 50–51) the connotation of *Finnish* became negative with these developments.

Finnishness was used in the topic families in a relatively similar way. In most families it was used to indicate scale of comparison, for example *only mill in Finland*, *number of impregnation plants in Finland* or *most used in Finland*. Another common function was to underline the collectivity of the industry and its standing as the most important industry in Finland (example 128).

(128) **Finland has exported** various types of prefabricated wooden houses to some 30 countries, the Soviet Union, Great Britain, Australia, the United States, Germany, Denmark, Holland, France, Poland, Israel, Norway etc. (Text 6: 1954)

In the *Environment*, *Nine out of ten* and *We have resources* arguments in particular Finnishness was used as a synonym for quality and high standards, for example *fresh, pure Finnish spruce pulpwood*, *popularity of Finnish pine logs* and *Finland's proud traditions*.

7.2.7 Name-dropping

Name-dropping is the seemingly casual mentioning of the name of a usually well-known person as an associate done to impress others (Merriam-Webster 2008). In the arguments of this study, the most common form of name-dropping was mentioning a prominent company. Also the listing of countries of export could be considered a kind of name-dropping.

Name-dropping was used in the arguments as evidence of the popularity of the company and its products. When mentioning customers specifically, the writer aimed at providing evidence of the demand and desirability of the companies and their products. The countries or individual clients mentioned functioned as authorities. Thus the demand was not based on individual preferences, instead on demand by whole nations or real, named clients. The arguments became truth-like, confirmed by respected groups of users. According to Perelman (2007: 150) the strength of this type of argument is based on its reality and truthfulness. Aristotle (*Retoriikka* 1363a) advised speakers on the use of this technique, stating that the force of the arguments comes from the belief that something chosen by a good man or woman must be a good choice. The use of well-known names suggests prestige. Consequently in the arguments of this research the well-known names conveyed a message of quality, as the presumption would be that big and famous publishers would only use the best products available.

Name-dropping could be found in circa five per cent of the arguments (see also Table 19). Table 26 shows that it was by far the most frequent in *Nine out of ten* and *More than a product* arguments. These topic families were similar in the sense that the persuasiveness in their topics was based on emotive factors such as the aesthetics and popularity of the products. The type of rhetorical device as name-dropping, appealing to rational facts, could have been used to balance the emotive content. In the other topic families, name-dropping was sporadic or non-existent. Names of clients appeared in the arguments of all magazines but were most frequent in the 1950s and 1970s.

Table 26. Percentage of arguments containing name-dropping per topic family.

CIF	DVP	ENV	TWT	MTP	NOT	PP	PIF	WHR
1	4	0	0	16	34	2	0	2

Legend:
CIF = Customer in focus
DVP = Developing continuously
ENV = Environment
TWT = In technology we trust
MTP = More than a product
NOT = Nine out of ten
PP = Preferred partner
PIF = Product in focus
WHR = We have resources

In *Nine out of ten* arguments it was most common to mention the name of a country of export or a client company or field of business. Only seldom were the users described in more general terms, such as *trading houses* and *public authorities*. When customers were mentioned as groups, they were usually branches of industry. These were used as references only in the 1960s. Occasionally groups of professionals such as *designers* and *architects* were used as references.

Names of individual customers appeared for the first time in the 1960s but remained infrequent until the 2000s. They became frequent in the Griffin after 1999 and the Magazine after 2005. All the customers mentioned by name were well-known, such as *Newsweek*, *Time* and *BMW*. In *Nine out of ten* arguments also lists of clients were commonly used to reinforce the message of popularity (example 129).

(129) Most of the new output will be exported to highly industrialized countries where demand for differented paper is greatest: **European countries, Japan and USA**. (Text 57: 1989).

In *More than a product* arguments the names of designers or architects were the most frequently used as examples of clients or business partners. Particularly in the arguments on design, the image was no longer of being a product from nature, but one that had added value and should be taken seriously when design was at stake (example 130).

(130) The cooperation with **top designer Jukka Rintala**, well known, among other things, **for his brilliant evening gowns**, began in 2002, when he designed a series of paper-surfaced furnishings for VM-Carpet. (Text 135: 2006)

In example 130 the authority of the person mentioned was ensured by characterising him as *top designer* and elaborating on his area of expertise, evening gowns.

7.2.8 Before-and-after

The before-after technique is commonly used in advertising. The past and present are juxtaposed, there are problems in the past, which the new product solves (Carter & Nash 1990: 69, 73).

Before-and-after was the least frequent of the logos devices in the studied material. It could be found in three per cent of the arguments on the average (see also Table 19). As can be seen in Table 27, the device was most frequent in topic families that focused on products, that is, *More than a product* and *Product in focus*.

Table 27. Percentage of arguments containing of the before-and-after technique per topic family.

CIF	DVP	ENV	TWT	MTP	NOT	PP	PIF	WHR
2	3	0	3	8	1	1	4	1

Legend:
CIF = Customer in focus
DVP = Developing continuously
ENV = Environment
TWT = In technology we trust
MTP = More than a product
NOT = Nine out of ten
PP = Preferred partner
PIF = Product in focus
WHR = We have resources

The frequency of the device was at its highest in the articles of the 1950s when it could be found in nine per cent of all arguments. After that its frequency was low, varying between 0 to 3 per cent until the 2000s. In the contemporary magazines, the Griffin, Embrace and Magazine, the frequency of the before-and-after technique went up to five per cent.

The most common type of before-and-after situation depicted in *Product in focus* and *More than a product* arguments was one where the old or traditional products or solutions were mentioned or juxtaposed with the new ones to underline the superiority of the new product. The properties were in most cases concrete and specified in detail (example 131).

(131) **The new soft-nip calenders** make possible the **elimination of the typical gloss-mottling in MF products** and improve the bulk and stiffness of machine finished pigmented paper (MFP). (Text 51: 1988)

In *In technology we trust* and *Developing continuously* arguments the before-after technique was employed to either underline the improvements and developments in the companies' technology or in the products, compared to their earlier versions. The results from employing the old and the new product or solution could be contrasted as in example 132. Another type was one where the positive characteristics of the products themselves were not mentioned but the previous version was referred to in unflattering terms and sometimes strengthened by using adverbs such as *once*, *conventionally* and *only* (example 133). Thus the reader was expected to draw the conclusion that the characteristics of the present products were quite the opposite.

(132) Thanks to the new barking drums there are fewer interruptions in output and a better result since bark residuals do not any more impair the wood pulp quality. (Text 31: 1985)

(133) Something interesting has been happening to the **once-dull corrugated cardboard box**. (Text 105: 2006)

Occasionally the before-after was presented as a narrative, with several arguments thoroughly outlining the unsatisfactory earlier situation (example 134).

(134) The accommodation of forest workers in the several sparsely populated regions in Finland **has caused the woodworking companies some difficulties** in modern concentrated loggings.

The winter day in our latitudes is very short, and **time is wasted in the long walks or skiing trips the workers have to make to reach their forest plots**.

The companies have, of course, their ordinary log cabins scattered about their logging areas, but **it does not pay to build a permanent cabin for periodic short time loggings**, and these are rather common in our forests, for the most part privately owned.

In addition, **the farmhouses, lying many miles from each other, cannot quarter as many workers as periodic felling needs demand**.
(Text 3: 1951)

The type of plot found in example 134, where the new product solves a problem, was typical in the film advertisements in the 1950s in Finland (Hovi-Wasastjerna 1996: 37). Stories and narratives are considered effective devices. Narratives make things more visible and concrete than single arguments. They seemingly demonstrate a state of things rather than claim and thus do not evoke opposition as easily either as regular arguments (Hellspong 1999: 102–103; Jokinen 1999: 144).

7.3 Pathos devices: rhetorical devices used for creating proximity to the reader

In classical rhetoric pathos was about putting the reader into a certain frame of mind. Using pathos devices the writer can appeal to the feelings of the readers to enforce his message. Aristotle (*Retoriikka* 1356a, 1378b) thought that the frame of mind of the listeners influenced how the message was interpreted. Thus, for example, when people have positive or friendly thoughts about a person they are judging, their judgement of the actions are more lenient than those of a person they have an unfriendly attitude to. Also the absence of pathos can affect the readers' feelings. They can get the impression that the writer is arrogant or that he has no interest or is not engaged with what he is writing about (Karlberg & Mral 1998: 34–35).

Kjeldsen (2008: 334–335) has made a distinction between feelings in general and those necessary for persuasion. He calls those emotions that can have a persuasive effect "rhetorical feelings". Rhetorical feelings can not be vague or undefined as feelings aroused for example by aesthetic experiences. Rhetorical feeling must be defined and have a clear persuasive aim, otherwise they do not work as intended. Thus for example arguments in this research material all have the ultimate persuasive aim of making the reader want to buy the products. The means used to inspire rhetorical feelings to reach this aim can be for example humour, which makes the reader happy and more positively disposed to the product or company in question. Questions and flattery are used to make the reader feel important and so on.

The pathos devices found in the studied arguments were a diverse group of devices. Table 28 shows that there were a high number of different types of devices. However, few of them were comparable in frequency to the logos devices.

Table 28. Number of arguments containing pathos devices.

Device	Number arguments where found
We/our	375
Personification	323
Colloquial & conversational language	70
Metaphor	49
Exclamations & questions	44
Addressing the reader	20
Dash-pause	20
Humour	10
Flattery	10
Catch phrase	9
Narrator	3
Digression	1
Total	**934***

*The total number of arguments in the study was 2867. The total number of occurrences of rhetorical devices was 5205.

Most of the pathos devices were interpersonal, they functioned to set up a relationship with the reader. Of these devices colloquialisms, exclamations and questions, addressing the reader and flattery talked directly to the reader, thus catching his attention. Most people like to be addressed directly as it gives them a feeling that someone is talking to them from the printed page (Myers 1994: 47). The persuasiveness of these devices lies in their ability to set up and maintain a dialogue and interaction between the reader and the writer (see also Lundberg 1998: 19; Hedlund & Johanneson 1993: 21). The dialogue and interaction bring the writer and the reader closer together. Closeness and intimacy in turn creates trust and helps people agree on things (Hellspong & Ledin 2001: 168, 173).

Devices such as colloquialisms, humour, pauses, catch phrases and digressions found in the arguments aimed at making the text conversational and to appear as spoken by a real person. In addition to those devices that struck up a dialogue with the reader, a number of devices aimed to make the arguments and their message more approachable by underlining the human element in the companies or their products, for example *we/our*, metaphors and personification.

In the sections below, I will examine the devices that appeared in more than one per cent of the arguments on the average (see also Table 28). Thus the devices discussed in more detail are *we/our*, personification, colloquial conversational language, metaphors and exclamations and questions.

7.3.1 We and our

The use of *we* or *our* was in all the arguments exclusive, that is, they included the speaker or writer and other people in the companies but not the reader as in an inclusive use. An inclusive *we* also addresses the reader, setting up a relationship (see also Biber et al. 1999: 329; Myers 1998: 217). Fairclough (1998a: 155) calls the former type of use of *we* institutional. This institutional *we* serves to personalise the institution. Also in advertising the exclusive *we* is used to personalise huge and impersonal corporations (Myers 1994: 82). All arguments in this research with *we* or *our* were quotations in which *we* seemed a natural way of referring to the speakers' own companies. The collectiveness and the feeling of organisations as human organisms were enhanced. By contrast quotations in which the companies were referred to by their name, made the company seem more distant and formal. According to Kantola (2004: 55) the aim of using *we* to refer to a company in annual reports is to emphasise that the employees and the management are on the same side, as one group with a shared interest.

We or *our* in reference to the company was the most common pathos device found in the product articles. They could be found in 13 per cent of the arguments on the average (see also Table 28). The device was a late-comer, there were no arguments with *we/our* in the 1950s and could be found only twice before the end of the 1970s. In the 1980s and 1990s *we/our* could be found in 15–16 per cent of the arguments in the different magazines on the average. In the contemporary magazines 22 per cent of the arguments in the Magazine 2005–2006 and 16 per cent in the Griffin 2004–2006 contained *we/our*. As can be seen in Table 29, there was some variance in the frequency in the different topic families.

Table 29. Percentage of arguments containing *We/our* per topic family.

CIF	DVP	ENV	TWT	MTP	NOT	PP	PIF	WHR
39	20	12	10	10	10	20	7	15

Legend: CIF = Customer in focus
DVP = Developing continuously
ENV = Environment
TWT = In technology we trust
MTP = More than a product
NOT = Nine out of ten
PP = Preferred partner
PIF = Product in focus
WHR = We have resources

It is obvious that *we/our* as a device would most commonly be found in those topic families which focused on the companies, such as *Preferred partner* and *Developing continuously*, and least commonly in topic families focusing on products, such as *Product in focus* and *More than a product*. *We/our* was neither common in *Nine out of ten* arguments, in which the focus was on the clients, even if it was frequent in *Customer in focus* arguments.

In the arguments of this study, the institutional *we/our* was used in two functions: to foreground the companies' unity and commitment as well as proximity to the customers. In addition it could have been used to provide "backup", meaning that the speaker was supported by a group of people in whatever he said (see also Hugoson 2004: 53). The use of *we* and *our* are discussed in the next two sections in relation to their functions of underlining the companies' unity or commitment and their proximity to the customers.

7.3.1.1 We and our communicating unity and commitment

The use for *we/our* to stress the fact that the employees and the management were on the same side and had a shared interest can be found in the arguments. The arguments emphasised the collectivity and of being a team as in example 135. This type of use could be found for the first time in 1985. Such use of *we/our*, however, never became very common.

(135) **"We're continuing to invest in our people and in our product** – and Kemiart is a very special product." (Text 105: 2006)

In *Customer in focus* arguments in the 1980s and 1990s in circa half and in the 2000s in one third of the arguments of the rhetorical *we/our* were found in conjunction with the nouns customer or client. This signalled a strong commitment to the customers (example 136).

(136) “Improvements are being made all the time and in the future **we** shall be concentrating on product development, in cooperation with **our customers**." (Text 79: 1990)

The reader was probably also expected to be flattered by this attention. Flattery is an old and powerful technique of persuasion (Cassirer 1997: 28). It was commonly used in advertising in the 1950s (Louhija 1963: 59).

7.3.1.2 We and our communicating proximity

In *Customer in focus*, *Preferred partner* and *Developing continuously* arguments *we/our* were also used to emphasise the proximity to the customers and to the make the company more human and approachable (examples 137 and 138).

(137) “**We've** also run a campaign to inform buyers about **our new SC gravure paper**, SC Original, and the benefits it brings", says Mr Norrgård. (Text 55: 1988)

(138) The other trend **we** felt we had to accommodate has to do with the fact that **our customers** really don't want to have to think too hard about what paper they should be using with an inkjet printer, laser printer or copier - understandably, they want office paper that's simple to use, even though technology is becoming more complex. Text 107: 2006)

In both examples above the use of *we/our* was combined with the informality brought by the abbreviated forms of *‘ve, don’t* and *that’s* and colloquial expressions such as *really don’t have to think too hard*. This conversational tone further enhanced the feeling of proximity and personal approach. According to Fairclough (1998a: 145) the conversational tone simulates an informal and equal relationship between the institution and potential client. The use of colloquial and conversational language is discussed in more detail in Section 7.3.3.

Proximity strengthens the emotive force of the argument. Kjeldsen (2008: 302–303) stresses the close relationship between proximity and importance. The closer something is, the more important it seems. Thus in this material the use of *we* and *our,* in cases like example 138, would underline the importance of the clients to the company in question.

7.3.2 Personification

Personification means that abstractions or inanimate objects are referred to as if they had human qualities or abilities (Kjeldsen 2008: 218). Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 33–34) consider personifications ontological metaphors, metaphors that conceptualise abstract and not clearly defined phenomena with the help of physical beings or substances. Personifications provide a specific way of thinking of the personified object. Hellspong (1992: 125) argues that personification can give the readers a stronger and livelier impression of what is being discussed.

In the 1960s advertisers were advised to make persons out inanimate things, because people were generally thought to be more interesting than things (Puukari 1968: 60). Personification of a company can also be used to underline its sense of responsibility (Sääskilahti 2006: 112).

Personification was the second most common pathos device after *we/our*. They could be found in circa 11 per cent of all arguments (see also Table 28). Personification appeared in the arguments of the 1950s, but disappeared after that to reappear in the late 1970s. It was at its most frequent in the 1980s and 1990s. As seen in Table 30, personifications could be found most frequently in topic families that focused on the companies, that is, *Developing continuously*, *We have resources* and *In technology we trust*.

Table 30. Percentage of arguments containing personifications per topic family.

CIF	DVP	ENV	TWT	MTP	NOT	PP	PIF	WHR
8	21	10	15	10	13	12	8	16

Legend:
CIF = Customer in focus
DVP = Developing continuously
ENV = Environment
TWT = In technology we trust
MTP = More than a product
NOT = Nine out of ten
PP = Preferred partner
PIF = Product in focus
WHR = We have resources

The personifications and metaphors found in the studied arguments were closely related in that the majority of metaphors came from the sphere of human life (see also below 7.3.4). The difference I have made between the personifications and the metaphors is that the personifications not only have connotations related to human beings as the metaphors, but are active subjects, able to do things. The personified objects in the arguments of this study were companies and machines as well as products. These two types of personifications will be examined in Sections 7.3.2.1 and 7.3.2.2.

7.3.2.1 Personification of companies and machines

The earliest personifications were of Finland and the forest industry in the 1950s. In the majority of cases *Finland* was used as a synonym for the forest industry. The arguments reflected the idea that Finland was like a big forest products company which *produced, exported, developed* and so on. This personification of a state or industry gains strength from the notion that such a big unit or group is more reliable and stabile than the parts, that is, in this case the producers that it consisted of (see also Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca 1971: 331). The personification of Finland and the forest industry also communicated the idea of the forest industry being the most important industry, the "mother industry". The same thought was mirrored in the use of *Finnish* as a rhetorical device (see also 7.2.6). The forest industry itself used the slogan "Finland lives from the forest" until the 1980s to signal its special position (Väliverronen 1996: 28).

After the late 1970s most personifications found were of the mills and companies. These appeared in the arguments of all topic families except *More than a product*. In the arguments the mills or companies were subjects and the predicate verb typically denoted action. The mill had for example *installed a paper machine* or *was determined to increase the share of improved newsprint in its production*. In addition to conveying an image of a dynamic company, the personifications underlined the commitment of the companies. A company that was depicted as human or as a person could give promises or express its commitment with credibility (example 139).

(139) **Myllykoski is always ready** to meet the changes of the market. (Text 55: 1988)

An impression of intimacy was further created by the use of shortened company names. These were informal "nick-names" and not their official names, such as *UPM* instead of *UPM-Kymmene* and *Rantasalmi* instead of *Rantasalmi Log Houses*. This could also create an air of confidentiality as the company spoke to the reader in an informal way, as an insider to another insider.

In addition to the personifications of mills, there were also some arguments where the paper machine was personified. The machine *had undergone surgery*, *it was given brand new shoe press*, it *introduces three innovations* or had *a sister machine*. Examples of machines as live beings could also be found in the text context surrounding the argumentation. For example in Kemi there is a machine called *Polar Queen* (Text 94). Related to this was the election of a paper machine as the *machine of the year* (Text 81). In addition to making the machines more

approachable and important, these personifications might have reflected a pride and emotional attitude of those working in the industry, in the same way as the family metaphors used for products (see also 7.3.4).

7.3.2.2 Personification of products

Also products were personified. Examples of this could be found in all other topic families except *Environment* and *Developing continuously*. Personifications of products were particularly common in the late 1990s and 2000s. The personified products seemed to have more qualities than those of ordinary products. They could even become intelligent and help the printer as in example 140.

(140) NopaCoat Master Matt has good runnability thanks to its stiffness and even more assets for direct mail products – **the ability to successfully cope with laser-printing, perforations, gluing, lamination, windows and folding**. (Text 111: 1999)

In *More than a product* arguments the personifications were frequent in arguments about brand in the 2000s. The brand provided the products with a personality. The products were described as having human properties, they could be *fun and friendly* or being able to *talk* and *communicate*.

7.3.3 Colloquial and conversational language

Colloquialisms and everyday language aim at establishing a contact to the audience by striking up a conversation with the reader. Formal language in advertising is considered to alienate people whereas language that is common and plain tends to involve the audience (Myers 1994: 47).

Colloquialisms were not frequent in the arguments of the material. Nevertheless, they were important as they signalled a shift away from formal and impersonal expression. Altogether colloquial expressions could be found in slightly over two per cent of all arguments (see also Table 28). Colloquialisms could not be found at all before 1982. This was not surprising, as also in advertising, everyday language appeared quite late in Finland (Heinonen & Konttinen 2001: 269). Colloquialisms could be found in 3–5 per cent of the arguments in all other magazines after 1982 except Finnpap World in the 1990s, where they appeared only sporadically. Table 31 shows that the differences in the occurrence of the device in the topic families were not very big, except the total absence of colloquialisms in *Environment* arguments. The *Environment* arguments generally

contained technical terminology making them appear factual. Colloquialisms would have seemed out of place in these arguments.

Table 31. Percentage of arguments containing colloquialisms per topic family.

CIF	DVP	ENV	TWT	MTP	NOT	PP	PIF	WHR
2	3	0	1	4	2	2	3	3

Legend:
CIF = Customer in focus
DVP = Developing continuously
ENV = Environment
TWT = In technology we trust
MTP = More than a product
NOT = Nine out of ten
PP = Preferred partner
PIF = Product in focus
WHR = We have resources

The majority of the colloquial expressions in the arguments of the product articles were found in quotations. Quotations give a natural opportunity for using everyday language (see also Louhija 1963: 148). In the examples found in the material, the colloquialisms aimed at making the quotations feel as if being spoken by real persons (example 141). Also typographical means could be used for the same purpose as in example 142 where the points of ellipsis imitate a pause in the speech.

(141) Maddens Paul Clifford gives credit to his customer: "Family Circle **is really helping** in the development work because as soon as we achieve certain goals, they come back and say **that's okay for now, but couldn't you do it better yet!**" (Text 44: 1983)

(142) We believe there is still potential for new developments in the light LWC segment **...** the raw materials represent an important factor, but this is not the only element that we're interested in. (Text 91: 1996)

The colloquial impression could further be created by inserting loose, digressive remarks (example 143).

(143) UPM WEX LD GRIP, **to give the new product its full name**, is currently undergoing final tests in realistic production conditions. (Text 120: 2002)

Sometimes the arguments were sprinkled with everyday words to give the impression of spoken language, such as *stunning*, *nast*y or *under their belts*.

7.3.4 Metaphors

The metaphors analysed in this study were so called obvious or active metaphors that were used for an effect, not metaphors that were dormant or naturalised (see also Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca 1971: 405). Cicero (*Puhujasta* 156) considered metaphors to be loans that can be used for expressing something we do not have the expression for. They can, in addition, when they are striking, bring extra "brilliance" to the speech. Aristotle (*Retoriikka* 1405a–b) saw them similarly, but also paid attention to the transfer of meaning from the loan. Metaphors can further be euphemistic, aiming at making something unacceptable more acceptable by directing the attention of the reader to certain sides of things (see also Karvonen 1995: 148; Hellsten 1998: 75). Communication using metaphors is generally considered strong and memorable. Metaphors can be used to emphasise some particular side of things that the writer or speaker considers important (Åberg 1997: 11–12). Burke (1945: 503) wrote that a metaphor "brings out the thisness of a that, or the thatness of a this". Metaphors can be emotional playing on generalisations, preconceptions and attitudes (Kauhanen 1997: 99). The latter function was the prevailing one in the arguments of this study.

In the arguments of the product articles metaphors could be found in less than two per cent of all arguments (see also Table 28). Metaphors appeared late in the arguments, in the 1980s. After that their frequency varied between one and four per cent in the different magazines. As can be seen in Table 32, there were no metaphors to be found in *Environment* and *More than a product* arguments and nearly none in *Nine out of ten* arguments. In the remaining topic families metaphors could be found in 1–3 per cent of the arguments.

Table 32. Percentage of arguments containing metaphors per topic family.

CIF	DVP	ENV	TWT	MTP	NOT	PP	PIF	WHR
2	3	0	2	0	0.3	1	2	3

Legend:
CIF = Customer in focus
DVP = Developing continuously
ENV = Environment
TWT = In technology we trust
MTP = More than a product
NOT = Nine out of ten
PP = Preferred partner
PIF = Product in focus
WHR = We have resources

Although metaphors were not very frequent, they were important, like colloquialisms, in that they marked a shift from a rhetoric based on providing information towards a consciously constructed and advertisement-like persuasiveness.

In the arguments nearly all the metaphors were related to the personification of the products (on personification see also 7.3.2). The most common metaphor was the use of *family* for a product range. *Product family* could be considered a naturalised metaphor, as dictionaries generally recognise their metaphorical meaning of 'one of the units into which a whole is divided on the basis of a common characteristic' (Merriam-Webster 2008). In the product article arguments most of the metaphors found further expanded the family metaphor. Thus the product families had *new members* or *newcomers*. A product could also be *in its infancy*, *a fledgling product* or *a team player*. Further, a product within the same product range could be a *sister product*. A very common metaphoric expression for a novel product was *new generation product*.

These metaphors aimed at giving the products a life, depicting them as individuals. The use of metaphors linked to families made them particularly endearing, as the family-related words have emotional connotations. Similarly to the personification of the paper machines, the family metaphors might have reflected a pride and emotional relationship to the products of those working in the industry. However, family-related metaphors are not exclusive to the forest industry. Family-related metaphors are common in for example texts on finance and the economy where they are used to concretise abstract economic issues and concepts (see e.g. Nurminen 1999: 181–182).

7.3.5 Exclamations and questions

Exclamations and questions both have the same function. They address the reader directly, aiming at striking up a dialogue. According to Myers (1994: 51), exclamations are an attempt to recreate the intonation and facial expression that go with face to face interaction, making sense in letters for that interaction. They are further used to foreground, to draw the audience's attention to something specific that the writer wants to emphasise and direct the reader's attention to. Johanneson (1998: 176) sees questions as an effective means to activate the reader. Seeing or hearing a rhetorical question makes us unconsciously search for an answer and thus become engaged to the issue at hand. Similarly, Kjeldsen (2008: 220–221) argues that questions bring the reader closer to the writer, as he is formulating the answer in his mind. Exclamations in turn engage the reader by communicating enthusiasm (Turja 1993: 172). This engagement can also stem from the emotional state of mind that exclamations are considered symptoms of (Kjeldsen 2008: 243). In the material of this study exclamations and questions are frequently found as devices repeating one of the key messages of the text at the beginning or end of a text or paragraph.

Exclamations and questions could be found in slightly under two per cent of all arguments (see also Table 28). Questions were more common than exclamations. Questions and exclamations were late in appearing in the argumentation, there were neither questions nor exclamations in the arguments before the mid 1980s. Questions were first to appear in 1984 and exclamations in 1987. The frequency of the devices in the magazines ranged from one to two per cent. The exception was Magazine, where there were questions or exclamations in nearly 8 percent of the arguments. The high percentage was due to the fact that 11 out of 13 questions appeared in the same article.

Looking at the use of questions and exclamations in the different topic families, these were used most commonly in *More than a product* arguments, while none were found in *Environment* and *We have resources* arguments. In the last two topic families as well as those with few exclamations and questions, such as *Product in focus* and *In technology we trust*, the persuasion was based on providing facts about the products and production.

Table 33. Percentage of arguments containing exclamations and questions per topic family.

CIF	DVP	ENV	TWT	MTP	NOT	PP	PIF	WHR
2	1	0	1	4	3	3	1	0

Legend:
CIF = Customer in focus
DVP = Developing continuously
ENV = Environment
TWT = In technology we trust
MTP = More than a product
NOT = Nine out of ten
PP = Preferred partner
PIF = Product in focus
WHR = We have resources

Most of the questions in the arguments were rhetorical questions. Rhetorical questions are not asked to obtain information but are statements or arguments. Rhetorical questions assume only one possible answer (Myers 1994: 49). The questions of this study were embedded into the text without being asked by an identifiable person. These questions quite often underlined the enormity of the achievements of the company (example 144). Sometimes interview questions functioned as arguments (example 145).

(144) Where did a small mill with some thirty employees find the resources **to do it all**? (Text 30: 1984)

(145) How can you explain the **price advantage**? (Text 41: 1982)

Two thirds of the questions were used to begin an article or to begin a new paragraph. According to Myers (1998: 30) opening with a question is one of the "oldest tricks in the copywriters' handbook". In the 2000s questions also appeared in quotations, giving an impression of the interviewee musing or reflecting (example 146).

(146) What, on a more general level, is the effect of good paper and good quality? (Text 99: 2003)

When used at the beginning of a text or a paragraph, the questions could be thought to serve as introductions by setting the scene or describing a state of affairs (Mäntynen 2003: 83). In advertising beginning with a question can also signal an interest in the reader. Further, it can be used if the claim of the argument is not automatically acceptable to all readers as a starting point for further argumentation (Turja 1993: 138–139).

If questions were often used at the beginning of text, exclamations were, in the majority of cases, used as an ending technique. They were either the last sentences in an article or the last at the end of a paragraph before a new subheading. These exclamations were short and contained one of the key messages of the article, as in example 147. They seemed to be used for grabbing the final attention of the reader. In the 2000s exclamations were used in quotations to strengthen the impression of a person talking (example 148).

(147) Thus it pays to have Finnpap as your book paper partner! (Text 53: 1988)

(148) "Don't touch my paper!" (Text 118: 2001)

The latter argument is also an example of the classical use exclamation, whose function primarily is emotional, to give an impression of feelings that overwhelm the speaker (Johannesson 1998: 177).

7.4 Ethos devices: rhetorical devices used for foregrounding

Ethos argumentation is based on the credibility and authority of the writer in front of his audience. The text is the element that builds the reliability of the character of the speaker or writer. Aristotle (*Retoriikka* 1356a) considered the character of

the speaker one of the most important means of persuasion. The ethos of the writer can be based on his own authority, that of another person quoted or earlier actions and events (Karlberg & Mral 1998: 31–33; Myerson & Rydin 1996: 23).

Ethos devices were used for foregrounding and bringing prominence to certain items. Foregrounding takes place when an expression or construction is unusual, appears at notable frequency, thus bringing additional significance to what these denote or associate to. Such foregrounding has an effect on the interpretation and on what the reader can later recall about the text (see also Brown & Yule 134; Fowler 1996: 95–97). Perelman (2007: 44–46) considers foregrounding by for example repetition something that creates a presence. As seen in Table 34, the number of different devices was low in the studied material. Further, apart from evaluative attributes, the occurrence of the individual devices was either infrequent or sporadic.

Table 34. Number of arguments containing ethos devices.

Device	Number of arguments where found
Evaluative attributes	987
Repetition	149
Promise	83
Threat	17
Litotes (understatement)	5
Total	**1241***

*The total number of arguments in the study was 2867. The total number of occurrences of rhetorical devices was 5205.

In the following sections the most common of the ethos devices are discussed in detail, that is, evaluative adjectives, repetition and promise. The remaining two ethos devices appeared only sporadically, having little influence on the rhetorical whole. Threat, which was used to underline the solution or improvement brought about by a new product, was used in 17 arguments while litotes, the deliberate understatement, could be found in five arguments. The infrequency of litotes is logical as understatement is rarely used in promotional texts (see also Dyer 1996: 175).

7.4.1 Evaluative attributes

The evaluative attributes discussed in this section referred in the arguments to either the products, the companies or to their clients. With evaluative attributes I mean adjectives, adverbs, clauses or noun phrases that carry an evaluative meaning and that direct the reader's interpretation towards a certain direction (see also Biber et al. 1999: 508–509). Evaluative can be defined as something that contains an evaluation and conveys opinions and values. The evaluative attributes are positively or negatively charged and aim more clearly at persuasiveness than informative expressions (Itkonen 2000; Leiwo, Luukka & Nikula 1992: 93; Walton 1970: 22–23). The context, for example the aim and audience of the text, often contributes to making an expression either evaluative or informative (Biber et al. 1999: 509; Hellspong & Söderberg 1994: 95). For example the adjective *white* is generally a descriptive and informative adjective, but in sales arguments on paper an evaluative adjective. Whiteness in paper is a sought-after quality, as can be seen in example 149 where the adjective was further strengthened by an evaluative adverb.

(149) It is a **strikingly white**, top-grade paper intended for important documents and for all copying and printing requiring a superior finish. (Text 70: 1993)

The evaluative attributes are of interest from the point of view of persuasiveness and can thus be regarded as rhetorical devices. They can be thought to express the values and attitudes of both the writers and those that the writers expect the customers or readers to have. Evaluative attributes require that some properties or characteristics have been subjectively defined in relation to other characteristics or to distinguish the products or companies from a group of others (see also Halliday 2004: 316–317; Heikkinen 1999: 127–128, 276; ISK 2004: 616–618). In advertising evaluative attributes such as adjectives are considered the main elements in construing the message of the advertisement. Adjectives are the words that evoke desires in the readers without distorting the truth about the products (Dyer 1996: 149; Louhija 1963: 44). They can also be used to strengthen the arguments by creating a positive or negative impression without further justifications (Kakkuri-Knuuttila1998c: 258).

In the following analysis the frequency of evaluative attributes was determined in the same way as the technical terminology in Section 7.2.3. The frequency was calculated by the number of arguments that contained evaluative attributes. Thus

the quantitative analysis enabled the comparison of the use of evaluative attributes both between the different magazines, time periods and topic families.

An average of 35 per cent of all arguments contained evaluative attributes (see Table 34). Comparing the different magazines did not show any big differences, evaluative attributes could be found in 28–41 per cent of the arguments of the magazines. The differences in the proportions in the topic families were slightly bigger (Table 35). The lowest frequencies could be found in the *Environment* and *In technology we trust* arguments in which the persuasive strategy was based on providing facts. The highest frequencies could be found in the arguments of topic family *More than a product* where the persuasion built on the abstract qualities of the products.

Table 35. Percentage of arguments containing evaluative attributes per topic family.

CIF	DVP	ENV	TWT	MTP	NOT	PP	PIF	WHR
44	43	21	25	62	33	39	30	48

Legend:
CIF = Customer in focus
DVP = Developing continuously
ENV = Environment
TWT = In technology we trust
MTP = More than a product
NOT = Nine out of ten
PP = Preferred partner
PIF = Product in focus
WHR = We have resources

In the following I have discussed the evaluative attributes found in those topic families which had the highest frequencies, that is, *More than a product*, *We have resources*, *Customer in focus* and *Developing continuously*.

The evaluative attributes found in *More than a product* arguments referred to the aesthetic properties of the products, thus strengthening the arguments topics, the majority of which had to do with the beauty and design of the products. In arguments on wood or wooden products the naturalness of the products was emphasised nearly as often as the aesthetic values. For example log buildings were typically described as *healthy* and *natural*. In the 2000s in the Magazine there were emotive attributes that strengthened the brand image by describing the products with "personified" attributes, such as *stunning*, *scene-stealer*, *fun* and *friendly*.

In *We have resources* arguments the majority of evaluative attributes found referred to the expertise and know-how of the companies and their staff. The staff were described as experienced and having expert knowledge, particularly in the

1980s. In the 1990s a more production-oriented perspective could be seen in the choice of words, the personnel were described as *highly motivated and enthusiastic*, *open-minded* and *co-operative*, all qualities that would be beneficial for the productivity and development. The know-how of the companies was very often described in quantitative terms. Thus the know-how was for example *extensive*, *strong* or based on a *long* or *old tradition in the field*.

Quantitative were also the attributes used to refer to the raw material resources. Already in the 1960s and 1970s the resources were referred to with evaluative adjectives such as *rich*, *abundant* and *large*. Typically the arguments did not specify the amount or extent of the forest resources in exact terms. One of the reasons behind the obscurity could have been the fact that exact figures might not have supported the claims or that the matter was considered self-evident and in no need for further justification. The former would have been realistic, as the limitations of the forest resources was a concern voiced by many already in the late 1960s and early 1970s (see also 6.8.2).

In *Developing continuously* arguments in the 1950s to 1970s the argumentation was mostly factual. The arguments did not underline the positive characteristics of the products or companies to the reader. Evaluative attributes were few, and those that could be found were quite low-key such as *new* and *modern*. This low-key and factual argumentation gave way to argumentation in the 1980s in which the innovativeness, progressiveness and continuity of development was expressed much more persuasively. The companies' development operations were, for example, described as *active* and *continuous*. The continuity was strengthened by stressing the hard work that went with research and development. This was very visible in the vocabulary of the 1980s to 2000s. Hard work was stressed in the arguments of the 1960s already, but in a factual manner. The choice of words was, from the 1980s onwards, more evaluative than earlier. The hardness was frequently stressed by evaluative attributes such as *thoroughly tested*, *extensive*, *intensive* and *consistent* (example 150).

(150) In order to further enhance production, the company has embarked on an **extensive investment programme**, which will introduce new products on the market, expand capacity and raise internal efficiency. (Text 48: 1987)

In the 1990s and 2000s there was a clear change in the arguments towards greater boastfulness than in the 1980s, visible also in the choice of attributes. The results of the research and development could be emphasised by describing a new

product as *an answer to many a publisher's prayers* or, very commonly, as in example 151 by underlining an image of being a global forerunner.

(151) "A lightweight, coated liner able to give a really good print result was **not something the market there had seen before** – so we had something new to offer." (Text 105: 2006)

The need for the companies to distinguish themselves from the crowd was also seen in the 1990s and 2000s in the emphasis on the uniqueness of the products. The products were characterised as *revolutionary*, *unique* or *very different*.

In *Customer in focus* arguments nearly half of the evaluative attributes referred to the companies. The rest of these referred to products and customer relationships. The customer relationship attributes typically contained references to the length and closeness of the relationship, which were described as *long-term*, *long-standing*, *stable* and *close*. Closeness was also underlined by the frequent use of *we* and *our* (see also 7.3.1). The customer perspective was further visible in the attributes referring to the products and companies. Most of the evaluative attributes referred to the flexibility or easy use of the products and the tailor-made approach of the company and their willingness to serve (example 152).

(152) **We're willing** to supply almost **any size requested**," she confirms. (Text 46: 1987)

All in all, the vast majority of the evaluative attributes found in the above-analysed topic families appealed to the rational side of things rather than the emotional. The companies were depicted as hard-working, continuously developing with abundant human and material resources and the products as easy and convenient. Only in *More than a product* arguments, occasionally in the 1950s and then again in the 2000s, the attributes employed were emotive. These aesthetic and "personified" attributes seemed very strong and striking in a context where the prevailing emphasis is on efficiency, development and technology.

7.4.2 Repetition

Repetition is a device typically found in advertising. It works inside the text, creating cohesion and giving rhythm. It is simple but effective (Dyer 1996: 92). Its effect is based on the impression that what is repeated is important and what is repeated must be true (Kakkuri-Knuuttila 1999: 238). Repetition increases presence and can be used to hammer in the names of products into the minds of

the audience (Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca 1971: 174–175; Cook 1992: 154; Kankaanpää 2001: 121). Repeating the name of a product or its properties as a list and with short sentences can be very suggestive. The suggestivity of repetition arises from its capacity to deepen and make the text intensive (Hellspong & Ledin 2001: 94–95; Louhija 1963: 131; Kalliokoski 1996b: 83).

Counting the occurrence of repetition and comparing it to other devices quantitatively was somewhat problematic in this material. In the case of repetition being in consecutive arguments, every argument where the repeated words occur could be counted. However, repetition is about reoccurrence and thus I counted one sequence of arguments with the same word or structure repeated as one occurrence. Thus, the number of these occurrences is not completely representative as the device is very much visible in those texts where it is used in consecutive clauses, but only counted once.

Repetition could be found in three per cent of all arguments (see also Table 34). The occurrence of repetition did not show any time patterns. It could not be found in the arguments of the 1950s at all, but in the later magazines its frequency varied between two to four per cent. As can be seen in Table 37, repetition did not show any pattern of appearance of being more common in product-focused topic families or late or early topic families. It was most frequent in *More than a product* arguments and least frequent in *In technology we trust*, *Nine out of ten* and *We have resources* arguments.

Table 36. Percentage of arguments containing repetition per topic family.

CIF	DVP	ENV	TWT	MTP	NOT	PP	PIF	WHR
3	2	4	1	8	1	5	4	1

Legend:
CIF = Customer in focus
DVP = Developing continuously
ENV = Environment
TWT = In technology we trust
MTP = More than a product
NOT = Nine out of ten
PP = Preferred partner
PIF = Product in focus
WHR = We have resources

The most common form of repetition found in the arguments was the repetition of a product or company name. These accounted for more than half of the cases. Other types of repetitions found in the argumentation were parallelism, repetition where similar structures were paired or came in series of related words or clauses (example 153); alliteration, the repetition of the same letter in nearby words (example 154); anaphora, the repetition of the same word at the beginning of

successive clauses (example 155); and the repetition of a single word (example 156). (See also Karlberg & Mral 1998: 51, Silva Rhetoricae 2008.)

(153) Before, publishers and printers faced an either-or situation, and they had to seek a compromise: **if they wanted brightness, then opacity suffered; if they wanted opacity, then the grammage had to be higher**. (Text 95: 1998)

(154) The goal was to make the brand more **fresh, fun, and friendly**. Text 107: 2006)

(155) **Wood** is easy to paint, easier than any other building material. **Wood** is easy to shape into the desired form by sawing, planing and milling. Its surface can be made smoother by sanding or rougher by e.g. sand-blasting, as occasion requires. **Wood** is easy to scarf and joint by nailing and gluing. (Text 23: 1974)

(156) "We make a point of choosing our **customers**, and these **customers** are visited regularly. (Text 64: 1990)

Of these repetitions alliteration was very sporadic. The repetition of single words and anaphora were more common in the magazines of the 1980s and 1990s than in the earlier or later ones.

7.4.3 Promise

Promise is a future speculation that conveys a solemn declaration that the company will do or accomplish something positive in future. Using references to the future has become an important resource for companies to justify their actions. The stories or promises concerning the future create expectations of new successes, new services and innovations. Väliverronen (2002: 119–120) has found this type of device particularly in the rhetoric of companies in the fields of information technology and biotechnology. The promise as a device was already recognised by Cicero who considered it useful to give hope of some future benefit (Cicero *Puhujasta* 206).

Promise appeared as a rhetorical device in three per cent of all arguments (see also Table 34). Promise was most frequent in the magazines of the 1980s and 1990s, its frequency varying between four and eight per cent. It was least frequent in the 1960s and showed a decreasing trend from the late 1990s onwards, when it appeared in 1–2 per cent of all arguments. As can be seen in Table 36, the device was most frequently found in the arguments of *Customer in focus*, the topic

family that focused on customers. Also those topic families where the focus was on the companies, the frequency was higher than in those, which clearly focused on products.

Table 37. Percentage of arguments containing promises per topic family.

CIF	DVP	ENV	TWT	MTP	NOT	PP	PIF	WHR
9	3	5	5	0	2	4	1	5

Legend:
CIF = Customer in focus
DVP = Developing continuously
ENV = Environment
TWT = In technology we trust
MTP = More than a product
NOT = Nine out of ten
PP = Preferred partner
PIF = Product in focus
WHR = We have resources

In *Customer in focus* arguments promises were mostly expressed humbly in the 1980s (example 157). However, in the 1990s the tone became very determined (example 158). In example 158 the weight of the message was enforced by the use of repetition, which in turn was further strengthened by a preceding pause indicted by the dash. Sometimes arguments with a promise could resemble wows (example 159).

(157) Serla has to find solutions **that please everybody**. (Text 46: 1987)

(158) **We are determined** to gain the necessary insights into our customers' business to allow us to make suggestions for improvements throughout the value chain – **in the paper mill**, **in the publisher's business and among advertisers and advertising agencies**," Henrik Damen explains. (Text 96: 1999)

(159) **"We at Kaukas-Voikkaa Division whole-heartedly support** the intention of the Finnpap organization to develop the sales offices in order to strengthen the focus on customer-oriented marketing." (Text 48: 1987)

In *Developing continuously* arguments promise was used to strengthen the idea of continuous development work and effort. This might indicate a toughening of the competition where companies had to keep on introducing new products again and again and find ways to stand out from a market full of similar products (example 160).

(160) **"We hope we'll also be able** to produce our foremost tissue qualities in peroxide-bleached pulp **in the future**," Kenneth Holm says. (Text 78: 1990)

The argument also represented the more than 40 per cent of cases in which a promise was also a quotation. The quotations served to give more weight to the promise, especially as the persons quoted were executives of the companies (see also 7.2.1).

7.5 Summary of rhetorical devices

In this chapter rhetorical figures and tropes as well as lexical groups used to strengthen the arguments were analysed. The rhetorical devices together with the argument topics are conscious and systematic choices that construct the persuasiveness of the arguments.

The devices found in the argumentation were classified according the classical division into ethos, logos and pathos. Thus in the arguments of this study logos devices served as evidence for the arguments, pathos devices had an interpersonal and the ethos devices a foregrounding function. The biggest group consisted of logos devices, while foregrounding devices were the least frequent.

There was not much variation in the frequency of rhetorical devices in general in the topic families, except that they were infrequent in *Environment* arguments and very frequent in *More than a product* arguments. However, there were differences when the different time periods were studied. Rhetorical devices could, on the whole, be found least in Finnish Paper and Timber in the 1950s to 1970s. From the late 1970s up to 2006, however, they showed an even increase. Rhetorical devices are important elements in consciously persuasive communication and thus their increase pointed to an increasing persuasiveness in the product articles and a move away from the earlier factual argumentation mainly aimed at providing information. The use of rhetorical devices in different magazines published in the same time period showed very few differences.

The use of rhetorical devices was one-sided. Even if altogether 25 different types of devices could be found in the arguments, the most common eight devices together accounted for more than 84 per cent of the occurrences.

Most of the individual rhetorical devices could be found in the arguments throughout the period 1950–2006. Of these, the majority were logos devices functioning as evidence, that is, figures, before-and-after, lists, technical

vocabulary and comparison. The only pathos device found before the late 1970s was personification and the only ethos device were evaluative attributes. The evaluative attributes further appealed more often to rational facts rather than emotions.

The nature of many of these devices did, however, change notably during the studied time period. For example personifications were in the articles of the 1950s of the forest industry and Finland, whereas later they were mostly of the companies and products. Evaluative attributes in turn tended to be relatively low-key until the 1990s after which they became more boastful than earlier. Lists were used as evidence of the product selection and abundance of products in the 1950s and 1960s whereas in the 2000s they were used to demonstrate the versatility of the products.

One of the early devices, Finnishness, disappeared from the arguments almost completely in the late 1990s. It was very common in the 1950s but after that gradually diminished. Promise appeared most frequently in the 1980s and 1990s, being scarce before that and after that.

Late-comers, rhetorical devices that appeared from the late 1970s onwards, were predominantly pathos devices. Their appearance signified a new approach where the persuasion became more purposefully built and calculated, resembling the persuasion found in advertisements. These were metaphors, *we/our*, questions, exclamations and colloquialisms. Also quotations appeared in the late 1970s. Although quotations were classified as logos devices used to provide evidence, they did have a distinctly interpersonal character as well, as the quoted persons talked directly to the reader. The appearance of *we/our* and colloquialisms were closely related to new approach in the argumentation. *We/our* was very commonly found in customer-centred arguments which became common in 1980s. Most colloquialisms were found in quotations, thus making them more alive.

8 CONCLUSIONS: DO FACTS SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES?

Facts still speak for themselves in the Finnish forest industry sales rhetoric. At least if you scratch the surface. The analysis moved on the axes change-permanence and differences-similarities to help make visible the "life" of the argumentation. This analysis revealed that the changes in the forest industry rhetoric mainly took place on the surface, while the core of the argumentation remained unchanged.

On the surface, in the visual appearance of the customer magazines and product articles, the changes regarding the promotional characteristics have been significant. The same changes have taken place to an extent also in the rhetorical strategies. These changes reflect on one hand the wider "marketisation" of the media, the increasing commercial pressures and competition and demands to entertain (Fairclough 1995: 10-11). On the other hand they reflect the professionalisation of the marketing communications of the Finnish forest industry companies.

The core messages, however, found in the contents of the magazines and argument topics, have remained almost unchanged during the studied time period 1950–2006. During the whole time period the most common argument topics were the technical properties of the products, the size of the production and companies and the state-of-the-art technology. Further, the subject matter of the articles in the magazines very much revolved around the internal affairs of the forest industry.

The objective of this research was to investigate the persuasive strategies found in the sales argumentation of the Finnish forest industry 1950–2006. The research material comprised the majority of the Finnish forest industry customer magazines 1950–2006. The analysed magazines contained altogether 4,699 articles. The in-depth analysis of the argumentation encompassed the 135 product articles found in the magazines and the 2,867 arguments found in these product articles.

In Finland the Finnish forest industry has been a forerunner in publishing customer magazines in English. The first customer magazines of the forest industry were published already in the early 1900s and the first English versions in 1950. The pioneer status of the forest industry customer magazines make them interesting objects of research. Interesting have also been the dramatic changes in the position and context of the industry. Thus the results of this study provide an

insight and understanding of the development process from the very start of international marketing communications up to this day. In addition, the research shows the different ways that developments in the context can affect the persuasive strategies adopted. Further, the diachronic approach chosen for this research also reveals the inheritance of past rhetoric and textual conventions that the argumentation, texts and customer magazines of today carry with them.

In order to discover what persuasive strategies were used in the Finnish forest industry sales rhetoric, the arguments in the product articles of the customer magazines were analysed. In addition, the aim was to see how the forest industry rhetoric has changed in the studied 56 years, how it has been influenced by external pressure and consequently whether the criticism of the forest industry being untouched by the world around it has been justified. The analysis also sought to find out whether the "collectivisation" of the Finnish forest industry, treating the industry as having one voice, has been justified.

Persuasive strategies are used to construct the persuasiveness and credibility of the text. The choice of strategies also reflects what the forest industry has thought to be the readers' valuations and what the image has been that the companies have sought to give to their clients of themselves and their products. Moreover, the argumentation reflects the values and attitudes of the writers and their communities through this image, as the image that a community wishes to convey can not be in total conflict with its own valuations.

The analysis of this research combined a wider context-based interpretation common in the social sciences and media research with the detailed analysis of the text typical for linguistic research. Thus the argumentation was approached from three perspectives. First, a background for the analysis of the argumentation was provided by an overview of the contents and characteristics of the customer magazines and their product articles. In the second stage the argumentation strategies were analysed by examining the argument topics, the propositional content, of the arguments. Thirdly, the rhetorical strategies, the linguistic means used to strengthen the arguments, were analysed. The results of these analyses were then discussed with relation to the multiple contexts of the customer magazines and product articles. These contexts were the situational, intertextual and historical contexts. The research was predominantly qualitative, but complemented with quantitative analysis. The quantitative approach provided the data necessary for the linguistic description and comparison of the means used for persuasion and the changes in these.

Hermeneutics, social constuctionism, semiotics, discourse analysis and rhetoric were the theories or schools of thought that influenced my approach to the

research questions and construction of the method. Hermeneutics and social constructionism provided the theoretical framework while semiotics, discourse analysis and rhetoric contributed to the construction of the method. Most importantly, all these theories strengthened my conviction that linguistic analysis can be a tool for researching also societal questions.

Understanding is a linguistic phenomenon. Common to all above-mentioned theories is the interest in how reality is constructed in the use of language. Hermeneutics particularly emphasises intuition and that a researcher should "listen" to what a text has to say. These theories gave me the confidence to begin a dialogue with the texts, to look at the textual and visual whole and then seek for patterns and reassurance for the observations through the detailed linguistic analysis.

Discourse analysis, critical discourse analysis and semiotics influenced the method and enriched the rhetorical approach. Rhetoric most commonly looks at the linguistic phenomena visible on the text surface. In this research, however, the analysis of the argument topics owes to the other background theories. The ideas of linguistic choice, the consciousness of communication, hidden messages in utterances, the notion that discourse is both influenced and itself influences the world around it inspired me to look deeper into what I have called the second semantic layer of the arguments, the topics of the arguments. The other background theories enriched the rhetorical analysis by "legitimating" a more interpretative and even subjective approach to the second layer. If and when only the surface level is studied in linguistics, the notion is strengthened that linguists occupy themselves with only micro-level questions.

Researchers too often avoid analysing phenomena which cannot be identified with mathematical preciseness and preferably without interpretation. Identifying the arguments in the text in this research, involved a degree of interpretation and thus subjective "reading". Had I not chosen to approach the texts by looking at both layers of the arguments, the topics and the linguistic surface layer, the outcome of the research could have been different. As can be seen in Figure 10, the two layers have evolved differently in the 56 years that were studied. Without the two-layered analysis the results would have been partial or even misleading. The results also show that linguistic analysis as understood broadly is an approach to be taken seriously in investigating social phenomena.

In the following sections the results of the analyses will be discussed. Section 8.1 reports on the developments in the customer magazines, products articles and persuasive strategies discovered in the analysis. In Section 8.2 the possible reasons for the developments will be discussed. Section 8.3 reflects on the

influence of the external developments on the customer magazines and persuasive strategies. In Section 8.4 the question whether it is justified to talk about a collective forest industry rhetoric is discussed. In Section 8.5 I will propose how the results of this research can be utilised and suggest directions for further research.

8.1 Changes in forest industry customer magazines and product articles 1950–2006 mainly on the surface

In the studied forest industry customer magazines the developments in the appearance and contents of the magazines and product articles as well as the argumentation and use of rhetorical strategies were quite uniform. Thus there were more differences between the time periods than between the magazines. Consequently, it has been possible to generalise and detect trends of the development in the studied material.

The results of the analysis of the forest industry customer magazines, their product articles and argumentation showed that the changes took place more on the surface than in their core messages. The promotional characteristics, characteristics and elements belonging to the sphere of advertising, increased considerably in the magazines and articles in the studied time period 1950–2006. The changes were visible in the visual appearance of the customer magazines and the lay-out and general characteristics of the articles. These reflected a growing professionalism and calculated persuasiveness in the production of the magazines. Thus there was a move away from the traditional conception that business-to-business marketing should be based merely on facts. In the 1980s and 1990s it was realised in advertising and marketing that even big investment decision are made by people, who are susceptible to persuasion based on feelings and images (see also Turja 1993: 25).

Even if the impression from the surface was of increasing promotionality, the changes in the types of articles found in the magazines were much smaller. Similarly, the changes in the core messages conveyed in the argument topics remained relatively unchanged during the studied 56 years. Figure 10 shows the general trends and changes in the analysed layers of rhetoric. The trends and changes detected in the analysis have been grouped according to whether their function was to provide information or to promote the products or companies.

The promotionalisation of the forest industry customer magazines and product articles in the late 1970s was mainly visible in their visual appearance, for

example so that the proportion of illustrations grew. In the arguments of the product articles the use of rhetorical devices common to advertising increased. The boastfulness that became stronger after 1990 and the increase in the proportion of abstract topics of the arguments further contributed to the promotionalisation (Figure 10).

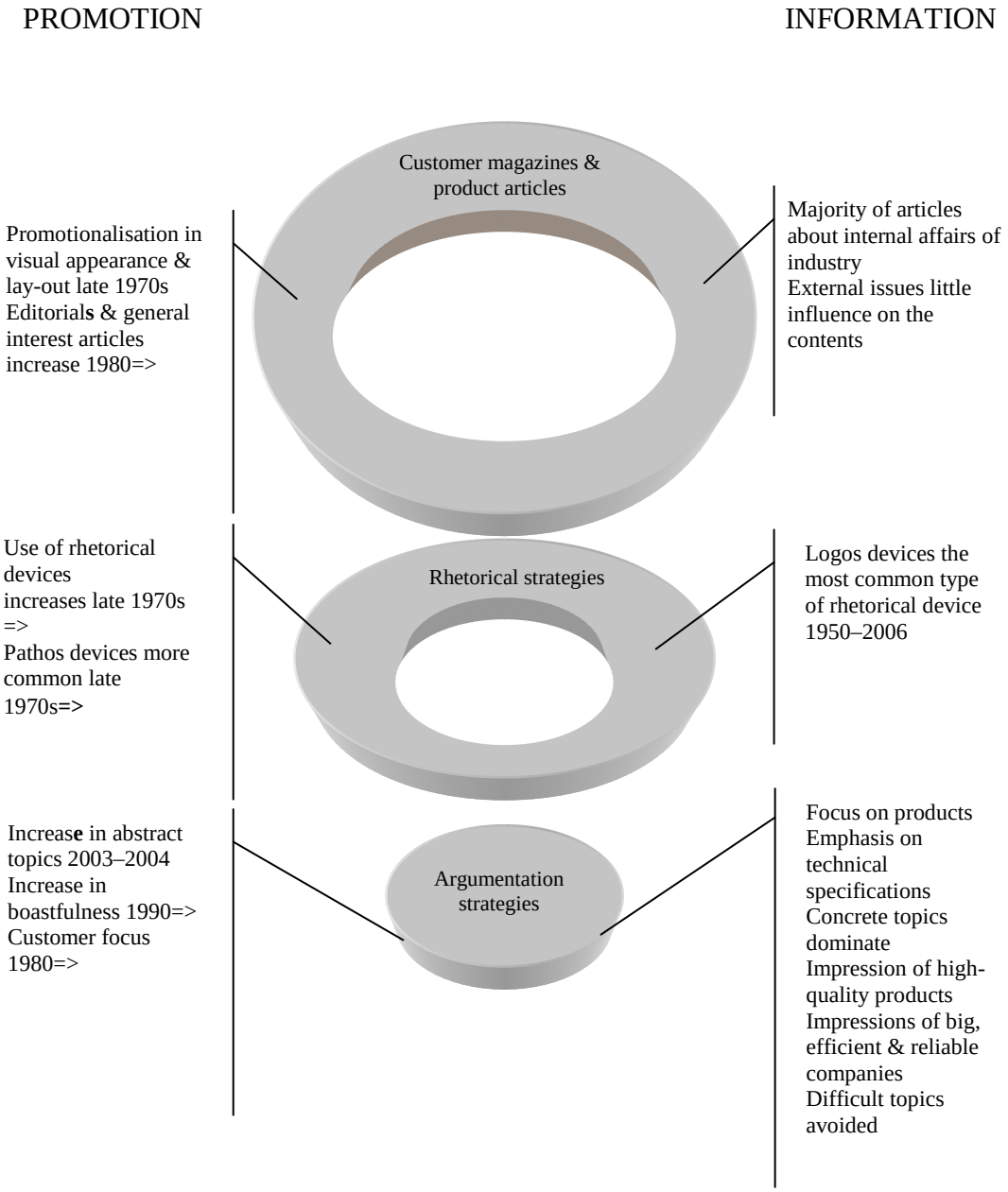

Figure 10. Development trends in forest industry customer magazines, product articles, rhetorical and argumentation strategies 1950–2006.

Even though the promotional elements clearly became more frequent after the late 1970s, the contents of the magazines and product articles were predominantly factual and informative during the whole studied time period 1950–2006. Thus the majority of the articles concerned affairs and developments within the Finnish forest industry and most rhetorical devices were logos devices appealing to the rational side of the reader. In addition, the main focus was on the products and particularly their technical properties. When companies were the topic, their size, efficiency and reliability were central. The findings of the analyses will be discussed in more detail in Sections 8.1.1–8.1.3.

Figure 10 also illustrates the hybrid nature of the customer magazines and product articles. This is the result of aiming both at advertising and providing technical information. These aims arise from the characteristics of the readership of the customer magazines and product articles. The readers of the product articles are involved and professional readers who require information about the products and the companies for making their purchasing decisions. At the same time, they need to be persuaded of the superiority of the product and the company compared to other similar companies and their products. All this makes the customer magazines and product articles a complicated genre. Combining information and promotion is challenging with regard to persuasiveness (see also Cook 1992: 32). The magazines and articles have traits of advertising in that the readers do not expect the text to be objective. At the same time the readers expect the articles to inform them about the technical properties of the products and production. The question is about the delicate balance between information and selling. The articles and argumentation should be persuasive making the products and their properties mean something to the reader. However, the argumentation should be believable without being too advertisement-like, undermining the credibility with too much subjectivity and boast. Thus the product articles need to be informative enough without being exhausting to the time-pressed readers and promotional enough to make the reader take a positive purchasing decision.

8.1.1 Increased attention to visual appearance and lay-out from the late 1970s

The turning point in the understanding of the importance of customer magazines as business cards for the companies and consequent attention to their promotional characteristics took place in the late 1970s. The visual appearance of the magazines changed: from having been predominantly black and white magazines printed on ordinary paper, the customer magazines were now printed on high-quality paper and attention was paid to their illustrations and lay-out. Although

the improvements in the visual appearance were partly the result of advances in printing technology, it was very much also the result of the professionalisation of the production of the customer magazines. This started with the use of outside photographers and graphical designers in the late 1970s. Later, in the 1980s and 1990s also free-lance journalists were used as writers alongside the in-house editors. Today, M-real has almost completely outsourced the production of its customer magazine, while UPM-Kymmene has done the same partially.

The same promotionalisation trend visible in customer magazines was visible in the product articles. An exception to the trend was the 1950s when the product articles showed many of the promotional characteristics that were to become common after the late 1970s. The articles were short and had a high number of promotional headlines. They also contained a high number of illustrations and it was common that there were more illustrations than text in the articles. Also the proportion of promotional text versus informative text was high. In the 1960s and 1970s, however, the product articles changed drastically. The main aim seemed to have been to provide information and technical data rather than to be persuasive. Thus the articles were long and the proportion of informative text exceeded that of argumentative text. These articles further had headlines that were thorough and informative. No subheadings were used to strengthen and support the argumentation. After the late 1960s also the proportion of illustrations decreased so that the text dominated until the end of the 1970s. The different focus of the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s was also visible in the illustrations. The illustrations were predominantly of the promoted products in the 1950s. The focus on technology in the 1960s and 1970s was visible in the frequency of photographs depicting machinery and mills. One of the likely reasons for the complete change in the persuasion strategy from the 1950s to the 1960s and 1970s is the technological advances and growth in the Finnish forest industry in the 1960s and 1970s. What was reflected in the product articles was probably a pride in these steps forward as well as the aim to create an image of a dynamic industry. Further, the articles can also have mirrored the modernist faith in the omnipotence of technology and science (see also Morley 1996: 52). In contrast, the focus in the post-war years of shortage in the 1950s was still on the products and their promotion.

From the late 1970s onwards the promotional characteristics increased also in the product articles. The articles became both shorter and less informative, containing more argumentative than non-argumentative text. The headlines became promotional in all magazines after the late 1980s. In the 1980s and 1990s other paratexts such as subheadings, ingresses and lift-out quotes became regular elements of the articles. In the contemporary magazines in the 2000s, however, the developments in the visual appearance were different in the two studied

magazines. While the promotional elements continued to increase in M-real's Magazine, in UPM-Kymmene's Griffin the trend was reverse. Thus the main titles became argumentative rather than catchy and paratexts such as lift-out-quotes and ingresses nearly disappeared in 2004–2006. Also the informative content increased in the Griffin 2004–2006, visible in the lower argument density of the articles.

The fact that products articles were hybrids, both providing information and functioning as advertisements, could be seen clearly in the use of illustrations. Thus the illustrations and captions in the studied period were a mix of informative and promotional elements, even within the same articles. The general trend, following the general trend in journalism, was that the size and proportion of illustrations increased. Another trend was that the informative illustrations and captions of 1950–1980 evolved into a mixture of conventional and abstract illustrations with argumentative captions from the 1980s onwards. In the contemporary magazines the illustrations were, instead of being used to support the argumentation, predominantly utilised as visual elements and evidence of the print qualities of the paper.

8.1.2 Rhetorical strategies borrowed from advertising after the late 1970s

As summarised in Figure 10 in Section 8.1, the promotionalisation and the influence of advertising were visible also in the use of rhetorical devices. The use of rhetorical devices increased after the late 1970s. At the same time advertisement-like pathos devices increased. These devices included for example exclamations, questions and colloquial language, devices that aimed at creating a dialogue and feeling of proximity to the readers. Later also the character of the evaluative attributes used changed. The evaluative attributes were relatively low-key until the 1990s after which they became more and more boastful. This is related to the situation in the market today, which is full of similar products and where the competition harsh. Thus the companies and their products need to stand out.

The promotionalisation was also visible in the disappearance of some rhetorical devices. Among these were Finnishness, understatement and personification of Finland. For example Finnishness was very common in the 1950s, but disappeared from the arguments almost completely in the late 1990s. This was related to the general down-toning of Finnishness in the 1990s visible also in the argument topics. The same down-toning caused the disappearance of the personification of Finland. The disappearance of the personification of Finland can also be related to the forest industry losing its position as the "mother

industry" of the country and that more and more of its operations and production expanded abroad. The disappearance of understatement in turn is interlinked to the increase in boastfulness.

8.1.3 Core messages unchanged 1950–2006

The core messages conveyed in the contents of the customer magazines and the argument topics did not change very much in the studied time period. The analysis of the contents of the magazines showed few changes. Thus, during the whole time period the focus was on the internal affairs of the forest industry. In Finnish Paper and Timber in 1950–1980 articles reflecting developments within the forest industry clearly dominated, but their relative share was high also in Metsä-Serla News 1987–2000 and the Griffin 1996–2003. After 2004 the proportion of these articles was circa 40 per cent of all articles in both the Griffin and Magazine.

The contents were to an extent influenced by trends in journalism and marketing. For example editorials and entertaining general interest articles became common in all magazines after the late 1970s. Articles reflecting developments in the outside world, however, were uncommon. External developments meaningful for the industry, such as environmental issues, showed an increase only for the periods of time when the issues were under public debate.

The argumentation in the product articles was mostly what it has been criticised of, technical and factual during the whole studied time period. The rhetoric was based on providing evidence of the efficiency, reliability and quality of the products. This rhetoric of evidence was complemented from the 1980s by a rhetoric of promise. The argumentation promised continuous development, innovation and growth as well as continued commitment to the clients.

The proportion of arguments related to products was generally bigger than the proportion of arguments related to the companies in most magazines in 1950–2006. In most magazines also arguments with concrete topics, such as technical properties, were more common than arguments with abstract topics, such as innovativeness. In the contemporary magazines, however, the proportion of abstract arguments increased after 2003 and 2004. The image of the products conveyed by the arguments was predominantly one of high-quality products with advanced technical properties. Only a small number of arguments had topics related to a more value-added image of the products, such as the beauty, brand and design of the products.

The image of the companies conveyed in the arguments was more versatile and multi-dimensional than the image of the products. The companies were pictured as big, efficient and reliable and committed to continuous development and their clients. In the early arguments the focus was on the size and efficiency of the companies whereas the arguments from the 1990s onwards painted a picture of innovative companies leading the development globally. The arguments were frequently speculations and visions for the future. Thus the company arguments aimed at building an impression of trustworthiness and commitment which are central in business-to-business marketing (see also Fill 2006: 248).

The factualness and technical bias found in the arguments were strengthened and partly created by the use of rhetorical devices. Even if these became more promotional after the 1970s, the most common devices were logos devices, functioning as evidence, such as quotations, figures, technical vocabulary and comparisons.

The technical and factual argumentation found throughout the studied time period 1950–2006 suggested that the products and their properties speak for themselves. The technical and factual focus was, however, not in line with the general development of advertising. In advertising international influences could be seen already in the 1960s. Concepts such as product and company image were familiar. Advertising was becoming more and more professional and the starting point was the valuations of the consumers (Heinonen & Konttinen 2001: 199, 201). Malmelin (2003: 94–95) talks about the poetic revolution in advertising that started in the 1960s. This meant that advertisements became creative, witty and funny. In the product articles such a poetic revolution was visible much later, from the 1980s onwards. Even then the creativity and wittiness were mainly found in the headlines and illustrations and to some extent to the use of rhetorical devices (see also 8.2 and 8.3).

The only time period when the argumentation was not dominated by informative content and factualness was the 1980s and 1990s. During these years especially the references to the companies' position and their know-how were vague as well as the commonly used promises for future developments and achievements. Also the arguments on the environmental-friendliness of the production process were generally unspecific. Comparing the magazines, in Metsä-Serla News the argumentation was less factual, containing less technical language and being vaguer than in the other magazines.

8.2 Why do facts still speak for themselves?

The technical emphasis found in the arguments is the result of several factors. Firstly, a part of the writers, particularly in Finnish Paper and Timber were expert in forest products technology or sales. The choice of such writers could reflect the fact that technical expertise was valued and that this was a way of convincing the readers of a technically advanced Finnish forest industry. Secondly, the main target group of the customer magazines and product articles in particular were professionals representing publishing companies, printing houses and merchants. Thus involved readers such as these expect to find technical facts and data in the articles. The technical terms and abbreviations further communicated belonging to the same group and closeness to the readers, as texts from an expert to another.

Thirdly, the technical emphasis could be seen to mirror the general valuations and attitudes in Finland. The faith in technology has always been strong in this country. The forest industry was culturally homogeneous until the 1980s when its global expansion began. Before that time the production and management were based in Finland and this has very likely contributed to the joint valuations and rhetoric, still visible today.

Fourthly, a reason for the technical and factual emphasis was that the technical development since the 1960s and 1970s had been rapid and consequently the products and their uses had become more sophisticated and complex than earlier. Therefore it was necessary to inform the readers of the technical finesses and new possibilities of use.

Finally, the factual and technical argumentation could have been chosen to bring authority and credibility instead of a more promotional or advertisement-style argumentation (see also Juhila 2000: 152–153). The efforts to increase the credibility can reflect the loss of the credibility of the Finnish forest industry resulting from its bad economic performance in recent years and the dents in its reputation regarding social responsibility caused by the many closures of mills. It could also be tied to the wider issue of a world-wide loss of trust in big companies that has resulted from the many scandals and cases of mismanagement and embezzlement. This suspicion has increased the demand for better information and more transparency (see also DiPiazza & Eccles 2002: ix).

8.3 Influence of external developments on customer magazines and argumentation

Debates and publicity in the outside world did not seem to have had very much influence on the customer magazines and the argumentation in the product articles. Examples of developments that have hit the forest industry hard are the environmental questions, shortage of raw material and the restructuring of the industry in Finland including the closure of several production units. The critical issues were to a very small extent visible in the contents of the magazines although occasional articles on corporate social responsibility and corporate governance have emerged in the 2000s.

Also in the argumentation the influence of external development was minimal. Even the difficult and controversial issues directly related to the products and the production, such as environmental issues and diminishing raw material resources, were not frequently visible in the argumentation. For example the topic family *Environment* was the second smallest topic family. Further, *Environment* arguments were mostly found in the early 1990s which was the height of the environmental debate and in the 2000s when some clients had paid attention to these issues. This type of cyclicality is common in the mass media where for example environmental catastrophes or events trigger an increased attention to environmental issues (see e.g. Suhonen 1994, Lyytimäki & Palosaari 2004). However, environmental questions and the companies' attitudes to these can be considered vital for an industry like the forest industry that relies on the utilization of natural resources. Therefore it could have been expected to be present more visibly than what was found in the arguments.

Besides the environmental issues, none of the other critical issues were visible in the argumentation. Thus, even if that there have been several questions in the 1990s and 2000s that have attracted a lot of publicity. Such issues have for example been the exploitation of old forests and the opposition abroad against the new mill projects.

The impression from the analysis of the contents and the argumentation was that the industry and the companies themselves chose the topics written about and the arguments used for persuasion without listening very much to the outside world and to what the customers and their customers, the end-users might have wanted. This is partly explained by product articles being business-to-business marketing, where the end-user has less importance. However, the absence of current and debated issues can also be attributed to an unwillingness to touch on sensitive issues. Thus the existence of these controversial issues was denied. Ignoring and

denying the sensitive topics was also an effort to divert the readers' attention away from these.

In addition, the absence of certain topics was related to a pragmatic approach to these. Thus for example forest certification was recognised widely by the great public and end-users, but did not appear at all as an argument topic and was nearly non-existent as an article topic. The attitude within the industry was largely that the competing certifications were commercial products that would have increased the costs of the producers without any obvious advantage. Further, the choice between the high number of labels and certificates was considered difficult as pleasing one group of potential clients might have displeased another. (Serlachius 2008.)

The indifference to the end-users and the public debate is controversial reflecting back on the lessons in environmentalism of the early 1990s and its effect on the company image. Even if issues such as forest certification might not have been very relevant in the activities between the forest companies and their client businesses, these issues influence a company's image. This image is built through actual performance, but also by communicating the values and beliefs of the company to the stakeholders, taking into account the emotions and motivations of the target buyers. In the case of the forest industry customer magazines and product articles, the target groups were the investors, the "new" readers of the customer magazines as well as the professionals of the client companies. To both of these groups company image is likely to be relevant. Company image is also relevant when long-term and lasting relationships are being built or maintained.

The indifference can have its roots in the privileged position that the forest industry had for decades. The industry was the industry that "saved" the country after the war and whose role has been pivotal when the Finland of today was built. Thus it became untouchable against criticism and its activities were accepted. As the actions were not questioned there was not much need to take into account the stakeholders and public opinion.

What the Finnish forest industry seems to have missed was, however, that the valuations and the legitimacy of issues change with time (see also Mikkilä 2006b). Three remarkable things have happened since the 1950s that should have influenced the marketing communication and sales rhetoric. Firstly, the industry's position diminished in Finland and with this the protection against criticism disappeared. Secondly, the operations became global, meaning that in other parts of the world it never had the privileged position in the first place. Related to this position the credibility of the forest industry has been and still is high in Finland (Virtapohja 2005: 306). However, in a global environment, the suspicion against

foreign enterprises exploiting local resources is high. Consequently, the interaction and communication that had been sufficient in Finland were not enough anymore.

Thirdly, the awareness has grown of the importance of forests for the global ecosystem (Mikkilä 2006b). Until the mid 2000s the Finnish forest industry also underestimated or missed the importance of the changes in attitudes against the maximization of profits and the increase in awareness of social responsibility issues. All these changes should have meant more attention to adapting the rhetoric to the audience and the changes in the context.

The indifference to the outside world could also have had its roots in the reverent attitude of the Finns towards authorities, in this case big and successful industries and companies. Today Nokia has the position that the forest industry used to have. Matti Wiberg (2006) has characterised the company's position in Finland as that of a "holy cow". The untouchable position in Finnish society means that nothing negative can be said or written about the company. Thus he claimed that Nokia does not need to censor its own publicity, the censoring is done by the media and the society.

8.4 Is there a common forest industry rhetoric?

It is clearly justified to talk about a common forest industry rhetoric before 1996. Until then, most of the forest industry companies cooperated in exports through the joint marketing and sales organisations. Also the customer magazines were mostly joint efforts. These were edited in-house and the writers were either sales or technical experts or the specialised journalists of the organisations. When the joint sales organisation had to be discontinued as cartels in 1996, the common customer magazines also disappeared.

After 1996 the three biggest companies had their own customer magazines. In the case of UPM-Kymmene and M-real, whose magazines have been analysed in this research, the editing of the magazines has been partially or completely outsourced. Despite the separation and outsourcing, the customer magazines and their argumentation in 1996–2006 showed little differences to what it had been earlier. The similarities could be found in the contents of the magazines, the argument topics and to some extent also the rhetorical devices employed. In the 2000s differences were visible on the text surface, in the rhetorical devices used, while the bottom layer, the argument topics, remained the same. It would seem that the traditions and conventions of the genre are still strong although the

pressure for standing out and distinguishing oneself as a company has increased in a market with over-capacity and similar products.

One of the linguistic means that maintained the similarities were the use of quotations. Nearly 40 per cent of the arguments were formulated as quotations in 1996–2006. These quotations sustained the joint voice of the industry despite the outsourcing of most of the writing to outside journalists. Outside journalists are briefed and familiarised with the business area and activities of the clients (Saario 2008). These journalists do, however, not exclusively write texts for the forest industry and can thus not be expected to have the same special expertise regarding the forest industry as in-house writers.

In the quotations the same kind of people said the same kind of things. The persons quoted were generally marketing or technical executives. Most executives had been working for the industry for decades and thus kept up the tradition of argumentation that had its roots in the years of common marketing and close cooperation. They also spoke in their institutional roles, which influenced both what they thought about things and what they said. In short, they repeated and replicated the rhetoric of the industry.

In addition to the quotations the common way of argumentation was maintained by the genre. The product articles are part of the same textual practice, they have the same audience and the same function. They also contain elements of discourse that are repeated, such as choice of topics and rhetorical devices (see also Ledin 1995: 19–20). Thus they build on the tradition created in the previous texts. This tradition directs the production, including the choice of topics and the presentation itself.

The customer magazines, product articles and their argumentation were further produced in the same historical and economic context. The same industrial sector was influenced by the same external developments and their marketing was affected by the same trends. Although the wider context did not have a significant effect on the contents and the argumentation, it was still the same for the companies. This outer context influenced at least to some extent what was being written about and how. The same wider context and its debates were also there to be collectively ignored.

The forest industry rhetoric was further the result of the voice of one specific group of professionals. The voice of the forest industry was that of the engineers, a professional group that has dominated the management of the forest industry. Until recent years the management of forest companies has mostly comprised persons with a technical background (Serlachius 2008). The voice of the

engineers was very much present in the predominance of the technical properties of the products and the production technology in the argument topics.

It can be argued that the argumentation in the forest industry customer magazines is what it is, because it reflects the basic values of the industry and the people working in it. Basic values are something that is beyond dispute. In the light of the product articles they would still in the 2000s appear to be values related to profitability and productivity, reflected in the predominance of argument topics related to size, efficiency, state-of the art technology and leading the development. Thus, although trends in marketing and advertising were visible in the choice of argument topics and rhetorical devices to some extent, the basic values still shone through the text surface.

8.5 Utilisation of the results and suggestions for further research

The results of this research could be utilised in a variety of ways: in corporate communications, in education in the field of communication and in promoting critical reading skills. The biggest benefits of this research probably arise from the close analysis of the text that resulted in a systematic inventory of argumentation and rhetorical strategies used. Further the model developed for analysing and classifying argument topics could provide a usable tool for the analysis of texts. This study also demonstrates the usefulness of rhetoric as a tool for analysing persuasive language.

Research on customer magazines and customer communications, particularly from a rhetorical perspective, has not been popular in linguistics and communication studies. Particularly customer communications directed at professional and involved readers has attracted very little interest. This is a pity as this is a challenging area of communication and would therefore deserve more attention than it does at the moment. Although it seems likely that printed customer magazines will gradually be overtaken at least partly by communication through company web pages, the principles of persuasive communication will continue to apply.

In corporate communications the results of this study would support the understanding of the interaction of language, contents and context in producing meaning. As I have concluded above, the customer magazines and communications is a very difficult area of corporate communications when involved readers are the target group. Therefore, the model of analysis could be

used as a strategic tool. A systematic analysis would reveal the image conveyed which could then be compared to the desired one. Thus the results of this study could promote the development of marketing communications, whether on paper or on-line. Similarly in communication studies the method and the approach of this study could provide a basis for an analytical approach applied to practical work within communication.

In education the tools and approaches developed in this study could be used to promote critical literacy. Critical literacy is a basic skill needed for effective and equal citizenship, a basic human right. The commercial and political manipulation and persuasion are increasing. To be able to make decisions and to be in charge of one's own life, everyone should be entitled to this basic skill.

Three logical directions of further research spring to mind. Firstly a comparative research between the customer magazines of the forest industry in Finland and other countries, for example Sweden, would give more insight into how much the societal and cultural context of the country of origin affects the argumentation. Secondly, a comparison between customer magazines in different fields would help understand the influence of the institutional and business area culture. A third direction would be research into persuasive text for non-involved readers, for example the web pages of the Finnish forest companies which seem to be directed at all kinds of readers. Such research together with the results of this study would provide an understanding of the similarities and differences brought about by a different audience and provide opportunities for both genres and media types to learn from each other.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1. Articles of the research material.

Article	Magazine & issue
	Finnish Paper and Timber
1. Boxboards	9/1950
2. Finnish Packing Material in the Near East	6/1951
3. A Loggers' Cabin on Wheels	8/1951
4. Beauty Revealed in Wood	8b/1951
5. Converted Paper and Board at Work and Home	6/1953
6. Finnish Prefabs on Five Continents	2/1954
7. Glued Laminated Timber Structures as Wide-Span Supporting Roof Beams	3/1960
8. The Potential Uses of Finnish Birch Plywood	7/1962
9. Softwood at its best	2/1964
10. New Uses of Plywood for Transport Equipment	10/1966
11. New Type of Wood Particle Board, Smooth on Both Sides	4/1967
12. The New Modular System in the Finnish Wooden House Industry	6-7/1967
13. Finnish Plywood Element Container	10/1967
14. Economic Building with Pressure-Impregnated Timber	6-7/1968
15. The First Supermarket in the World for Holiday Cottages and Equipment	9/1968
16. Tailor-made Softwood	10/1968
17. Gluing of Finn Ply Birch Plywood	9/1969
18. Finnish Plywood Industry Uses Spruce Veneer and Modular Dimensioning	3/1970
19. New Plywood Constructions	12/1970
20. Over Thirty Years of Finnish Prefabricated Wooden House Industry	10a/1972
21. Building with Finnish Plywood Products	10b/1972
22. Wood Particle Board in Building	10c/1972
23. Wood - A Modern Building Material	1/1974
24. Slapshots with Finnish Sticks Already in Canada	3/1974
25. Finnish Wooden Houses out in the World	2/1977
26. Tailor-made Strömsdal Board	1/1977

	Kymi Kymmene International
27. Signed, Sealed and Delivered	2/1978
28. MVC, the Choice for the 1980s	10/1982
	Kymi Kymmene International Magazine
29. Polished to Perfection - Star's Mirror of Versatility	11/1982
30. Self Adhesive Sense	14/1984
31. WSOP - An Offset Revolution	1a/1985
32. Kymmene Multi Carbonless - security for the credit card age	1a/1985
33. The Voikkaa Offset Concept	16/1986
34. COPYING WITH LUXURY	1/1987
35. Executive Vice President Harri Piehl, Kaukas-Voikkaa Division: MWC is a natural addition to our present range of products	1/1988
36. KymexCote First Class Printing Properties/No negative feedback	1/1989
37. NEW BUSINESS LIFE FOR PM 7	2/1989
38. Royal recognition: Kymex Cote is fit for a queen	10/1990
39. New A4 family/ Kymi's A4 family new look, new additions	1/1991
40. KYMCOLOUR COPY does full justice to colour copying	1/1994
41. WSOP- the Alternative for cost conscious publishers and printers	3/1982
	Finnpap Express
42. Developing Kym Press	1/1983
43. What do you get...	2/1983
44. FAMILY CIRCLE- COATED ATTRACTION	1/1987
	Finnpap World
45. Especially for Special Customers	2a/1987
46. Bake it Easy	2b/1987
47. Peel it and you'll see it.	2c/1987
48. OPTI BY KAUKAS-VOIKKAA	2d/1987
49. It's Time for M-Cote	3a/1987
50. NEW GENERATION SC KYMPRINT. Introduction of a new OPTI family member	3b/1987
51. Magazine Paper grades for the World	1/1988
52. ACID-FREE FROM VEITSILUOTO	2a/1988
53. FINNPAP BOOK PAPERS Growth and Innovation	2b/1988
54.LASER, QUALITY AND PAPER	2c/1988
55. A Gravure Paper that Meets Today's Challenges.	3a/1988
56. SIMCASTOR PLUS Second Generation Packaging Paper	3b/1988
57. ANJALA MOVES INTO MAGAZINES	1/1989

58. PEEL IT AND YOU'LL FEEL IT 5a/1989
59. TO CARRY AND PROTECT INFORMATION 5b/1989
60. LUMIMAIL CONQUERS EUROPE 5c/1989
61. IT'S GOT TO BE SERLA! 5d/1989
62. BRIGHTER, SMOOTHER AND GLOSSIER LWC PAPER FROM KIRKNIEMI 1/1990
63. PAPER SACKS A NATURAL AND CLEAN EMBALLAGE SOLUTION 2/1990
64. GALERIE ART - A SWEDISH SUCCESS STORY 3/1990
65. KANGAS PRINT A SUPERB NEW COATED PAPER FOR EXPORT 4/1990
66. Totally chlorine-free (TCF) fine papers available from Kangas. IF ANYONE, THEN KANGAS CAN! 5/1991
67. LOOK OUT FOR THE NEW GENERATION SC 2/1992
68. IF THE FRONT RUNNER STOPS, HE FALLS BEHIND 1/1993
69. FCO - A NEW PAPER GRADE FOR MAGAZINES AND ADVERTISING 3/1993
70. ONE PAPER, MANY FACES 4 /1993
71. LUMINOVA MATT 1/1994
72. ANOTHER GLOBAL PAPER SUCCESS? 1/1995

Metsä-Serla News

73. The wonderful Finnish pine log "People want to live in healthy surroundings" December 1987
74. From books to cards June 1988
75. The Kerto-LVL is the Superbeam of Construction December 1988
76. The Riddle of the Sphinx June 1989
77. Rantasalmi Log Houses January 1990a
78. Eko-LENI-Katrin Front-runners in the business January 1990b
79. Finnish Birch The foundation of fine plywood September 1990
80. Corrugated Cardboard: Europe's most popular packaging May 1991a
81. Galerie Brite is in a class of its own May 1991b
82. Rantasalmi prefabricated log houses: Natural materials, superb comfort, unique style September 1991
83. Galerie Art conquers the European market February 1992
84. The smart paper. Galerie Art Beats the Competition June 1993
85. The Beauty of Simplicity. Combining Finnish style and Japanese design June 1993b
86. The new generation is born March 1994
87. Power Flute. The name behind quality corrugated board Summer 1994 (no 2)
88. Visual pleasure by Galerie Winter 1994-1995 (no 4)

89. Galerie Art. Setting new standards in printing quality	1/1995a
90. Kiri. A product for the future	1/1995b
91. Galerie Lite. Metsä-Serla introduces second-generation FCO	1/1996
92. "Galerie Fine is the answer to our prayers"	2/1996
93. New Aspen trademark fro Galerie Fine	2/1997
94. The colour is the message!	3/1997
95. And then there was Galerie Fine	1/1998
96. Galerie Lite opens up new opportunities for magazine publishers	3/1999
97. A PACKAG E full of dreams	Summer 2003 Embrace
98. A lighter load	Autumn 2003
99. A personal sense for paper	Winter 2003
100. Enhanced images with Data Papers	Summer 2004a
101. It's Logic launching specialty papers	Summer 2004b
102. Smooth running	Summer 2004c
103. LIGHTEN UP!	2/2005 m-real Magazine
104. THE FUTURE IS SEE-THROUGH	4/2005/2006
105. BRAND IN A BOX	5/2006
106. KEEPING IT REAL	5b/2006
107. PICK ME UP	6/2006
108. SPOILED FOR CHOICE	6b/2006
109. New Kymi Grades will simplify the product range and make it more versatile	1/1996 the Griffin
110. The Griffin Book Club	4/1997
111. Nopacoat Master Matt reaches right quality position	1/1999
112. Higher class SC paper grades	2/1999
113. LWC key performance measures	3/1999
114. NEW PAPER GRADES FOR DIGITAL PRINTING	2/2000
115. VALUE ADDED COLDSET - NEW MARKET NICHE	3/2000
116. More paper on reels	2a/ 2001
117. A firm choice	2b/2001
118. WHEN READABILITY IS PARAMOUNT THE CHOICE HAS TO BE UPM SATIN	2c/2001
119. Consistently brilliantly progressed	1/2002
120. Coming soon – the Grip	2/2002
121. WOOD PRODUCTS IMPROVE INDOOR AIR QUALITY	2a/2004
122. FOR AN EVEN HIGHER PRINT QUALITY	2b/2004
123. Many things of paper STRONG AND RECYCLABLE	

Appendix 2. Example of argumentative[10] and non-argumentative[11] text in an article. The arguments are underlined.

KANGAS PRINT A SUPERB NEW COATED PAPER FOR EXPORT

Kangas Print, a new coated paper grade from Metsä-Serla Group's Kangas Paper Mill, has reaped praise from users throughout Europe. Comments from printers have been extremely positive; they were especially pleased with the excellent brightness and high opacity. The high gloss of the ink was another definite plus; ink consumption was also substantially lower than in many other grades of comparable standard. Rigidity also assures faultless runnability in the press.

Brepols is a fully integrated bookprinter. Mr D. Van Gool, head of the paper purchase department, demands that trials be carried out on every new quality. This provides the first indications of how a certain paper performs compared with other qualities. At the same time a complete laboratory analysis is made so that specific paper properties can be classified (ink absorption, gloss, opacity, rub-off resistance, etc.). In fact, every paper used by Brepols is analysed before being printed on and if any property does not come up to scratch, the paper may be refused. The quality standards set by Brepols are very high. In the case of Kangas Print the trials proved positive. Thanks to its good, smooth quality, excellent printing results could be obtained. The print gloss and contrast were excellent and no runnability problems occurred. More trial printings are anticipated.

A trial run with Kangas Print was made at Brandprint Web Offset UK, which is part of Wade Group PLC. Brandprint is a commercial printing house making printed products such as: Direct Mail/Direct Response products, Brochure work, Leaflets, Reports and accounts and Fine art catalogues. The printing job for which the trial reel of Kangas Print was used was the NHBC catalogue. The reason why the trial was used on this particular job was because the paper in question was matt coated stock, of which we had a 7 million run on Silverweb matt. We were therefore able to get a good comparison between the two different matt coated papers. A Heidelberg 8 page 5 unit web offset press was used for the test run. The overall printing result was fairly good compared with the Silverweb matt that was being run for most of the job. The rub resistance of the Kangas print was of fair standard.The opacity of the paper was fairly good. Whiteness was very good. The job was analyzed on press by Robert Inche of Lamco Papers, and by Timo Valkama from Kangas. We did all feel that the Kangas print was very similar to Zodiac matt in feel and in texture.

Text 65: 1990

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[10] Argumentative text explicitly arguments in support of the proposition to buy the products promoted. Argumentative text consists of individual arguments. In this research an argument is defined as a claim and its justification that supports and is relevant for the main argument of the product articles "Buy our product".

[11] Non-argumentative text does not directly and explicitly argument in support of the proposition to buy the products promoted. The non-argumentative parts of the text typically inform the readers for example of technical procedures in the production.

Appendix 3. Proportion of article types[12] found in the forest industry customer magazines 1950–2006.

Table 1. Proportion of articles related to developments within the forest industry as a percentage of all articles per magazine.

	Com-pany news	Mar-kets	R&D	Mark et-ing	Pro-ducts	Forest --ry	Custo -mer servic e	Perso-nal items	Forest indust ry	**Tot ***	N**
Fpt 50	24	41	1	0	1	5	2	0	0	**74**	841
Fpt 60	60	11	5	1	1	5	2	0	3	**88**	907
Fpt 70	63	12	5	0	1	3	1	0	4	**89**	722
KK 77-86	20	2	1	1	7	1	0	3	0	**45**	145
KK 87-94	2	0	9	14	5	0	1	8	0	**39**	122
FW 80	15	4	5	10	7	1	2	3	1	**48**	408
FW 90	10	6	1	4	6	3	3	1	0	**34**	280
MSN	19	4	1	18	5	0	3	7	0	**57**	525
Gr 96-03	11	0	25	2	4	1	7	1	0	**58**	327
Gr 04-06	9	0	14	5	7	0	4	1	1	**41**	217
Em-brace	5	0	5	9	4	0	1	0	0	**24**	133
Maga -zine	14	0	12	3	7	1	0	2	0	**43**	81

Legend: Fpt = Finnish Paper and Timber
KK = Kymi Kymmene Magazine/International & Kymi Review
FW = Finnpap World
MSN = Metsä-Serla News
Gr = the Griffin

*Tot is the proportion of articles related to developments within the forest industry as a percentage of all articles of the magazine.
**N is the number of all articles in a magazine.

[12] The classification of article types covers the majority of the articles. Miscellaneous articles, generally mixtures of several types of articles were excluded from the calculations These miscellaneous articles accounted for 0–5 per cent of all articles.

Table 2. Proportion of articles related to external developments of all articles per magazine.

	Environment	Corporate responsibility	Economy	**Tot***	N**
Fpt 50	0	0	3	**3**	841
Fpt 60	0	0	1	**1**	907
Fpt 70	2	0	1	**3**	722
KK 77-86	2	0	0	**2**	145
KK 87-94	19	0	0	**19**	122
FW 80	3	0	1	**4**	408
FW 90	11	0	0	**11**	280
MSN	8	0	0	**8**	525
Gr 96-03	5	1	0	**6**	327
Gr 04-06	8	2	0	**10**	217
Embrace	2	0	0	**2**	133
Magazine	4	7	0	**12**	81

Legend: Fpt = Finnish Paper and Timber
KK = Kymi Kymmene Magazine/International & Kymi Review
FW = Finnpap World
MSN = Metsä-Serla News
Gr = the Griffin

*Tot is the proportion of articles related to external developments as a percentage of all articles of the magazine.
**N is the number of all articles in a magazine.

Table 3. Proportion of articles related to developments in marketing and journalism as a percentage of all articles per magazine.

	Client	General	Editorial	**Tot***	N**
Fpt 50	0	13	0	**13**	841
Fpt 60	0	10	0	**10**	907
Fpt 70	0	8	0	**8**	722
KK77-86	24	12	5	**42**	145
KK87-94	18	7	7	**32**	122
FW 80	29	14	3	**46**	408
FW 90	22	25	8	**55**	280
MSN	11	8	7	**26**	525
GR 96-03	29	2	3	**34**	327
GR 04-06	29	11	5	**45**	217
Embrace	29	35	7	**71**	133
Magazine	26	11	0	**42**	81

Legend: Fpt = Finnish Paper and Timber
KK = Kymi Kymmene Magazine/International & Kymi Review
FW = Finnpap World
MSN = Metsä-Serla News
Gr = the Griffin

*Tot is the proportion of articles related to external developments as a percentage of all articles of the magazine.
**N is the number of all articles in a magazine.

Appendix 4. Number of articles according to proportion of illustrations of page space in product articles 1950-2006.

	0–30 %	40–60 %	70–80%	N*
Fpt 50	2	0	4	6
Fpt 60	1	8	2	11
Fpt 70	2	6	0	8
KK 77-86	0	5	3	8
KK 87-94	1	4	2	7
Fw 80	9	6	6	21
FW 90	6	3	2	11
MSN	0	7	17	24
Gr 96-03	2	5	5	12
Gr 04-06	4	11	0	15
Embrace	1	2	3	6
Magazine	1	2	3	6
Total	**29**	**59**	**47**	**135**

*N is the number of all product articles in a magazine

Appendix 5. Proportion of product and company arguments with abstract and concrete topics.

	Product arguments		Company arguments		N*
	Abstract %	Concrete %	Abstract	Concrete	
Fpt 50	39	61	34	66	80
Fpt 60	37	63	49	51	268
Fpt 70	35	65	51	49	174
KK 77-86	32	68	35	65	237
KK 87-94	28	72	15	85	164
FW 80	35	65	35	65	424
FW 90	36	64	50	50	231
MSN	47	53	61	39	629
Gr 96-03	26	74	29	71	180
Gr 04-06	43	57	49	51	255
Embrace	27	73	25	75	68
Magazine	36	64	41	59	157
Total	**36**	**64**	**45**	**55**	**2867**

Legend: Fpt = Finnish Paper and Timber
KK = Kymi Kymmene Magazine/International & Kymi Review
FW = Finnpap World
MSN = Metsä-Serla News
Gr = the Griffin

*N is the number of all arguments in a magazine

Appendix 6. Proportion of topic families as a percentage of all arguments per magazine.

	Fpt 50	Fpt 60	Fpt 70	KK 77-86	KK 87-94	FW 80	FW 90	MSN	Gr 96-03	Gr 04-06	Em-brace	Maga-zine
Product in focus	41	52	48	38	52	40	37	32	59	51	76	48
Preferred partner	9	13	6	14	7	12	13	23	3	5	1	10
Nine out of ten	28	15	16	9	8	9	8	12	9	9	9	8
Developing continuously	3	2	10	6	10	14	10	10	12	12	7	12
In tech we trust	1	8	1	19	17	11	9	3	8	6	0	6
Customer in focus	1	0	1	4	6	8	7	7	8	7	4	10
We have resources	9	10	15	11	0	3	3	6	1	3	0	1
Environment	0	0	4	0	0	2	12	6	0	1	1	1
More than a product	9	0*	1	0*	0	1	0	2	2	6	0	4
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**

*The figures have been rounded. Those zero percentages that have been rounded down have been marked with an asterisk. The zero percentages without an asterisk stand for 0.0 per cent.

Legend:
Fpt = Finnish Paper and Timber
KK = Kymi Kymmene Magazine/International & Kymi Review
FW = Finnpap World
MSN = Metsä-Serla News
Gr = the Griffin