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# How to analyze identification in storytelling?

A discussion on the second persona in storytelling  
from a Burkean perspective

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# Abstract

This thesis examines the use of storytelling in advertising from a rhetorical perspective. Specifically, stories told in IKEA's recent advertising campaign *Där livet händer* (Where life happens) will be analyzed. The purpose is to propose a way in which to analyze identification in storytelling. Departing from a Burkean perspective, building on Black's concept of *the second persona* and Burke's *dramatism*, this thesis puts forth the argument that IKEA successfully tells stories about an implied audience – “the Swede” – to which an actual audience – Swedish consumers – can rhetorically identify. Through close textual analysis of IKEA's storytelling, this thesis concludes that the use of rhetorical devices – specifically metonymies understood as idiomatic tokens orientated toward a Swedish *Weltanschauung* – may have a successful rhetorical effect upon Swedish consumers by process of identification.

Keywords: audience, dramatism, *Där livet händer*, identification, IKEA, metaphor, metonymy, persona, persuasion, rhetoric, storytelling, *Weltanschauung*

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# 1 Introduction

You persuade a man only insofar as you can talk his language by speech, gesture, tonality, order, image, attitude, idea, identifying your way with his (Burke, 1969b, p. 55).

[And,]

... the ideal of a purely “neutral” vocabulary, free of emotional weightings, attempts to make a totality out of a fragment, “till that which suits a part infects the whole” (Burke, 1941b, p. 138).

The telling of stories<sup>1</sup> is something important to humans. A research group recently found that a rock art panel inside a limestone cave in Indonesia dates to around 44,000 years ago. The cave painting tells the story of a hunting scene (Aubert, et al. 2019, p. 442). Storytelling has since continued in different ways, for different purposes, and on different topics. It is a central part of human social and cultural activity (Alexander 2011, p. 7).

Today we tell stories for a variety of reasons. To elicit change the politician may share to her constituents a fictional story of a possible future that may unfold unless certain action is taken. To defend or accuse, an account of a past event is told by the attorney during a trial. As natural human behavior, we share regularly with friends and family small and big events that unfold in our lives. Around the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, Aristotle termed these three branches of rhetoric *deliberative*, *forensic*, and *epideictic* (Aristotle, 350 BC b). Stories are told everywhere and all the time, in many different forms, and they come to us through an act of sharing by means of communication<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> *Story*, *storytelling*, and *narrative* are difficult terms to define. A careful and just treatment is, however, not within the scope of this thesis. They will henceforth be used interchangeably, defined as the “telling of some true or fictitious event or connected sequence of events, recounted by a narrator to a narratee (although there may be more than one of each)” (Baldick 2015, “narrative”).

<sup>2</sup> The words *communication*, *discourse*, *text*, and *utterance*, refers to the act of developing meaning among two individuals or groups of individuals using signs, symbols, and semiotic conventions. *Act* in this context does not necessitate an active process, but also includes artifacts of such acts. These terms will henceforth be used interchangeably.

This is a thesis on the subject of rhetoric<sup>3</sup>. Aristotle defined rhetoric as the ability in any particular case to find the available means of persuasion (Aristotle, 350 BC a). He described the use of *example* as one of two common modes of persuasion (Aristotle, 350 BC d).<sup>4</sup> *Progymnasmata* is a series of preliminary rhetorical exercises that began in ancient Greece and continued well into the 19<sup>th</sup> century in Western education. *Fable* and *narrative* – exercises in storytelling – were the first tasks undertaken by students. Twentieth and 21<sup>st</sup> century scholars continue to develop perspectives through which we may understand how storytelling works to influence audiences. In *A Rhetoric of Motives*, Kenneth Burke broadened the scope of rhetoric (p. 41). By replacing *persuasion* with *identification* as the key factor he reconceptualized the rhetorical process for certain types of discourse (p. 13). Rhetoric, then, seeking to understand how communication works to influence people has several analytical tools, old and new, that may help us understand how storytelling works today.

The empirical material examined has to do with storytelling in advertising. Commercial advertising ultimately aims to increase consumption of products or services. Using stories in advertising is a means to an end. By telling stories through advertising the communicator<sup>5</sup> wishes to influence an audience toward increased consumption. In 2016 IKEA launched a Swedish advertising campaign titled *Där livet händer* (Where life happens) consisting of over twenty commercials. The commercials tell stories about events in the lives of Swedish people. The vision was to create an advertising campaign that showed Swedes that IKEA can relate to their consumers:

Almost all people in Sweden have some part of IKEA in their lives, and that is something unique. We have an incredible amount of knowledge about people's lives at home through

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<sup>3</sup> Rhetoric has traditionally been understood in two ways: the practice of influencing through communication (*rhetorica utens*), and theories describing such communication (*rhetorica docens*). A third meaning, the academic discipline of rhetoric, stems from *rhetorica docens*. “Rhetoric” along with its conjugations, refers to the latter meaning.

<sup>4</sup> The other one is *enthymeme*.

<sup>5</sup> The words *author*, *communicator*, *speaker* and *rhetor* refers to an individual or institution that is the sender of a communicative message. These terms will henceforth be used interchangeably.

visits and studies. We want to utilize this knowledge to build our new advertising concept.... Our new concept gives us an opportunity to tell stories consistently over time, both in and outside our department stores.... The idea is that we show in a credible, emotional, and inspiring way how people live their lives at home together with their IKEA products (Resumé 2016, Swedish original<sup>6</sup>).

IKEA seemingly wanted to create an advertising campaign that reflects an understanding of personal events that people in Sweden live through. Many thought it a success. Since its launch it received numerous awards by Swedish advertising organizations (Guldägget 2017; Resumé 2017a, 2017b). Patrik Nygren-Bonnier was named marketing director of the year in 2017 (Marknadsföreningen Stockholm, 2017). Based on the positive reception IKEA's advertising campaign, at least to some degree, was a success. But how and why? It is important to understand how and why the telling of stories are used successfully to influence how humans perceive the world. Can rhetoric help us answer these questions? Advertising is no longer only about presenting competitive products at a favorable price. Many commercials today contain stories that are seemingly unrelated to the products being marketed. Swedish retailer ICA has been running an advertising campaign that builds on a single, continuous storyline for the past twenty years; its success evidenced by over six hundred commercials, a Guinness world record, and several awards (ICA Historien).

## 1.1 Purpose & research questions

This thesis presents storytelling as an important way of communicating between people. It then asks how to analyze storytelling from a rhetorical perspective. It contrasts between two paradigms, an “old” rhetoric (with persuasion as key term sprung from Aristotle) and “new” rhetoric (with identification as key term sprung from Burke). Burke introduced identification because, he argued, certain discourse – including storytelling – cannot be satisfactorily understood with persuasion as key term (1951, p. 203). But how can identification in storytelling be analyzed? The specific aim is to propose an answer to this question. A

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<sup>6</sup> All translations of quotes are done by the author.



theoretical framework is developed, drawn from Burke's "new" rhetoric, aimed at *proposing a perspective from which to understand how rhetorical identification is made possible through storytelling*. The thesis aims not to prove that identification occurs through storytelling, but to explore concepts that helps us analyze identification in storytelling. Three research questions have been formulated:

- Using the pentadic analysis, what dramatistic ratios orientate *Där livet händer* and toward what motive(s)?
- How is the implied audience constituted in the storytelling?
- How can we analyze identification between an implied and actual audience using specific concepts?

## 1.2 Defining rhetoric

The key term for the old rhetoric was "persuasion" and its stress was upon deliberate design. The key term for the "new" rhetoric would be "identification," which can include a partially "unconscious" factor in appeal ..., as when people earnestly yearn to identify themselves with some group or other. Here they are not necessarily being acted upon by a conscious external agent, but may be acting upon themselves to this end (Burke, 1951, p. 203).

Anders Sigrell, professor of rhetoric at Lund University, defines rhetoric as the art of choosing language constructively (Sigrell 2009, p. 13, Swedish original). An important consequence of this position is that words influence how humans perceive the world. "IKEA represents Swedish culture and values" or "IKEA exploits Swedish culture and values" provide two very different realities. Each expression can be understood as an orientation – a moral positioning – toward IKEA's corporate identity. To define rhetoric as a constructive process is important because it emphasizes human malleability by way of language use. A person who says IKEA *exploits* Swedish culture and values does not necessarily have to elaborate. The word *exploit* suggests what argument is implicit in the utterance. From this perspective, rhetoric enables a critic to analyze words, figures, topics, arguments, and other linguistic features in texts to understand its potential to influence. Rhetoric becomes a metalanguage about language choices and their impact upon humans.

Burke defined rhetoric as the use of words by human agents to form attitudes or induce actions in other human agents (1969a, p. 41). In the introduction to *A Rhetoric of Motives*, Burke writes that in some “texts that are usually treated as pure poetry, we try to show why rhetorical and dialectical considerations are also called for” and that “we emerge from the analysis with the key term, ‘identification’” (p. 19). Already in the book’s opening paragraphs he hints at 1) a broader inclusion of what should be classified as rhetoric and 2) that for such rhetoric, identification is key. More concretely he writes: “with this term [identification] as instrument, we seek to mark off the area of rhetoric, by showing how a rhetorical motive is often present where it is not usually recognized or thought to belong” (p. 19). Burke’s ambition was not to replace persuasion with identification, but rather propose identification as a substitute. Specifically, identification as perhaps a better fit for discourse in which “the members of a group promote social cohesion by acting rhetorically upon themselves and another” (p. 13). Such discourse “ranges from the politician who, addressing an audience of farmers, says, ‘I was a farm boy myself,’” (Ibid.) to other types of storytelling where social cohesion is achieved.

In *Language as Symbolic Action* Burke writes that language is always “a *selection* of reality; and to this extent it must function as a *deflection* of reality” (p. 45); a concept he called *terministic screens*. This view rejects the possibility to ever describe the totality of an object or idea through language use. Storytelling, then, is always a small and overly simplified account of experience. This means a story inevitably focuses attention on certain aspects (of the experience described) over others. When IKEA tells stories about the lives of Swedish people it is always a *selection* of “Swedish people” and cannot include all. Some are selected, and others deflected.

As Wayne Booth writes in *The Rhetoric of Fiction*, “a given work will be ‘about’ a character or a set of characters” and “cannot possibly give emphasis to all, regardless of what the author believes about the desirability of fairness” and as such, “all authors inevitably take sides” (p. 78). The very choosing of certain characters over others in the telling of a story means excluding a multitude of other potential stories and the characters relevant to them. From this perspective authors are, willingly or not, necessarily partial and biased in storytelling practices. The audience is granted little choice when receiving an authors’ *terministic screen* through the telling of a story which is inevitably bound and limited by linguistic features. When an author is “centering our interests, sympathy, or affection on one character, [he/she] inevitably excludes

from our interest, sympathy or affection some other character” (p. 79). IKEA’s *Där livet händer* is an instance of *a selection of reality* at the expense of *other deflected realities*. And in accepting that all authors inevitably take sides, linguistic features in storytelling can be analyzed to deeper understand how “a selection of reality” is being summoned. Furthermore, the *selected* story may be more rhetorically effective to some audiences over others.

The subject of study is an IKEA advertising campaign consisting of over twenty commercials.<sup>7</sup> They have been aired since 2016. One of them, *Da Capo*, may help illustrate a definition of rhetoric. *Da Capo* is a one-minute commercial that tells the story of a middle-aged man visiting his elderly mother at a retirement home on her birthday. When he arrives, his mother looks distant and disconnected. She does not seem to remember her son. He hands her a birthday gift, an old photograph of them together when they were younger. He then plays a vinyl record on a nearby gramophone. At this the mother’s previously distant facial expression comes to life and she gazes at her son with a smile. The commercial ends with them dancing serenely together.

*Da Capo* is an emotional story. Bittersweet in its duality between nostalgia and warm memories on the one hand, and the passing of time with its inevitable and sometimes difficult consequences on the other. It is a strong and compassionate message from IKEA. An empathic intrusion into people’s personal experiences. Audiences may relate because they recognize the story. Furthermore, they may empathize with the story because caring for the elderly is morally good and culturally desirable. *Där livet händer* is fictional storytelling. An audience’s perception of *Da Capo* might change if certain details were altered. Perhaps, instead of traveling to the retirement home by communal bus (as he were), the son arrives in an expensive car. Instead of an old photograph from when they were younger, the son gifted his mother something luxurious and watched as she unwrapped the expensive gift with a self-satisfied

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<sup>7</sup> Synopses of eighteen stories from *Där livet händer* is available to the reader in *Appendix*. The selection is based on any commercial available on IKEA’s official YouTube channel, uploaded between Sept 4<sup>th</sup>, 2016, and February 17<sup>th</sup>, 2019, and explicitly described as part of *Där livet händer* by IKEA (retrieved April 11<sup>th</sup>, 2019). It is worth noting it has not been confirmed whether these commercials make up the advertising campaign in its entirety. They serve to help the reader better understand the author’s perception of IKEA’s storytelling.

smile. A wholly different *Da Capo*-story would emerge. Furthermore (and this is the point), would the same audience still morally emphasize with the story? At the very least, the title *Da Capo*, an Italian music term that means “from the beginning”, would lose some of its metaphorical meaning. Audiences would receive a very different story. Perhaps morally relatable to a new category of people. This highlights an important aspect. Depending on how a story is told some audiences will relate and others will not. A successful or failed identification depends on how the audience’s moral and/or cultural fabric is represented throughout the story. When an audience’s worldview is successfully represented, they become an *implied* audience (I will return to this concept below). Aristotle wrote, “[w]e ought ... to consider in whose presence we praise, for, as Socrates said, it is not difficult to praise Athenians among Athenians” (Aristotle, 350 BC c). In a similar light, the aim here is to explore concepts to understand why and how IKEA’s praising of Swedes among Swedes may be rhetorically effective.

## 1.3 Disposition

Chapter two, *Literature review*, examines literature relevant to this thesis. Chapter three, *Theoretical perspectives*, develops the theoretical perspective. Chapter four, *Method & material*, discusses method and material. It also discusses theory, method, and material together as a preparation for the analysis. Chapter five, *Analysis*, aims to answer the research questions. Chapter six, *Discussion*, examines results from the analysis and discusses the research project in general.

## 2 Literature review

Three areas of previous research will be addressed in this chapter. First, literature on *storytelling in advertising* is discussed. What has been written and is it relevant to this project? Second, some previous research on IKEA and *Där livet händer* to understand what aspects have been considered previously. Last, literature that have employed related theories, methods, and project designs. The focus is Swedish scholarship, but international contributions will be included. Each area is examined thematically.

### 2.1 Storytelling in advertising

In general terms the study of storytelling in advertising is not a new topic. However, most contributions seem to come from outside the field of rhetoric. Searches<sup>8</sup> for key words such as *storytelling*, *narrative*, *advertising*, or *commercial* present several Swedish student papers on the topic from a variety of academic fields such as economy, marketing, journalism, and communication.<sup>9</sup> Furthermore, very few of these ever mention the word *rhetoric*. This seems to be the case, despite some belonging to fields related to rhetoric such as linguistics, strategic communication, and business communication. How come? At the very least this situation points to a vacuum within rhetoric scholarship that should be considered. If our field claims (and it does) to offer theoretical and methodical tools for analyzing language use and its influential function, we ought not allow the major topic of *storytelling in advertising* pass us by.

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<sup>8</sup> Main search engines for Swedish and international literature include [Google](#), [JSTOR](#), and [Lund University Libraries](#).

<sup>9</sup> See for example, Baron & Erkas 2007; Sellberg & Sjögren 2012; Gustafsson & Prissberg 2013; Björklund 2013; Skog & Torgersson 2014; Bloom & Liljenberg 2018; Larsson & Parwén 2018; Malteson & Försund 2018; Olsson & Rafstedt 2018; Lehmann 2020; Ekblad 2021.

Rhetoric scholarship exist on the topics of *storytelling*<sup>10</sup> and *advertising*<sup>11</sup> respectively, but again without a specific focus on *storytelling in advertising*. Two exceptions are Larsson's (2012) analysis of two state owned companies, *Systembolaget* and *Svenska spel*, and how they fail or succeed to employ storytelling in advertising to "strengthen arguments for their companies" (p. 1, Swedish original). And Öhman (2012), who examines *Systembolaget*'s constituting of a corporate self-image through narratives in advertising. Both theses' focus differs from this thesis in an important respect. Larsson essays to explore how storytelling may affect the companies' image (ethos) in relation to their "reasoning about themselves" (p. 1, Swedish original). Öhman similarly seeks to understand narrative effects in relation to a "self constructed self image" (p. i). As such, the companies' "intent" or "motive" is central to these theses' whereas mine conversely (deliberately) disregards any speculation about such factors (which I will return to).

At any rate, this situation indicates rhetoric scholarship ought to emphasize the study of storytelling in advertising. On the one hand because advertising is an ever-growing, heavily financed channel of communication aiming to influence large audiences. On the other for research purposes, due to a lack of such scholarship in Sweden. This thesis aims to contribute to these efforts.

## 2.2 IKEA & *Där livet händer*

Since this thesis examines a narrow aspect of IKEA – the use of storytelling in *Där livet händer* –, the literature review will be restricted accordingly. Several Swedish student papers have analyzed *Där livet händer* specifically, but none from a rhetorical perspective. Bekshayeva & Prokopovych (2017) analyses the visual communication from a technical perspective, trying to understand how technical aspects (camera equipment, editing software, light and sound setting) might affect the audience's perception of the advertising. Björklund (2017), departing from Baudrillard's concept of hyperreality, examines how the Swedish populace are being communicated as a heterogeneous group and how such generalizations may be favorable to

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<sup>10</sup> See for example Bourghardt 2006; Nitschke 2012; Pusztai 2013.

<sup>11</sup> See for example Mral 2004; Mral, et al. 2011.

IKEA but an outdated way of viewing contemporary Swedish society.<sup>12</sup> Jaako & Eklund (2017) asks whether the expression of authenticity in commercial advertising can be successfully communicated to certain audiences. Svedenman & Maqedonci (2017) examines the gender norms that are being communicated in the advertising campaign and whether they break or amplify contemporary dominating norms. Wännström (2017) conducts a semiotic analysis on how emotional appeals elicit interaction from consumers through the social media platform Facebook. Biro & Orheim (2018) analyses what they call “digital and emotional storytelling” in five commercials from *Där livet händer*. From a strategic communication perspective, they aim to provide an understanding of how companies may be able to build relationships with an audience.<sup>13</sup> Malteson & Försund (2019) analyses how credibility, or lack thereof, is

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<sup>12</sup> Björnlund’s paper builds on a (epistemologically) related paradigm, but with a purpose too far removed and so will not be further included here.

<sup>13</sup> At face value, Biro & Orheim and this thesis are similar in purpose because each seeks to understand how the stories in *Där livet händer* function to influence audiences. But the research designs differ in two important respects. First, in this thesis any understanding of *Där livet händer* relies solely on the author as empirical source. Biro and Orheim takes a different approach by employing interviews as material for understanding *Där livet händer*. This difference illuminates an important distinction in purpose. On a general level, both studies aim to broaden understanding on the topic, but does so by taking fundamentally different paths. This is a good thing since the studies may complement each other and, eventually, lead to an overall deeper understanding. Secondly, each departs from different paradigms; this thesis from a strictly rhetorical perspective and theirs from the field of strategic communication. As such the specific theoretical and methodical points of departure are not the same. Again, this is good for the overarching aim of both studies. Each study reaches somewhat similar results, but from different angles. On the one hand both studies argue an audience's attitude toward a story depends on how “the audience's narrative is” part of a story, “which may influence their attitude toward the commercial”. Furthermore, they conclude “the commercial’s product focus and economic benefits” are main factors for successful consumer acquisition (Biro & Orheim, p. 49, Swedish original), which is an argument and area of research outside the scope of this thesis.

communicated in *Där livet händer* and how companies attempt to strengthen their reputation through messages about responsibility. Nelson (2018) analyses the visual rhetoric of, among other IKEA advertising campaigns, *Där livet händer* that has in them people with disabilities.

Regarding research on IKEA in general, Kristoffersson's dissertation *Design by IKEA: A Cultural History* can be mentioned. She examines the internal storytelling of IKEA and aims to show how IKEA uses corporate storytelling as an important marketing tool. Kristoffersson takes a broad look at the corporate storytelling of IKEA. Her ambition is to contribute to understanding IKEA's self-image and the internal guidelines which ensures that the image is upheld. Kristoffersson observes the corporate storytelling and examines in what ways it can be said to play an important role for the company's success. Again, here IKEA's "intent" or "motive" plays an important role in the research design. Kristoffersson's study provides insight into the internal storytelling of IKEA and the company in general.

A lot has been said about *Där livet händer* and IKEA's use of storytelling. This thesis should be viewed as a contribution to the general effort of understanding these topics. Specifically, it is a strictly rhetorical contribution, which seems to be a previously unexplored area.

## 2.3 Black's *second persona* & Burke's *dramatism*

This thesis is grounded in two theories: Burke's *dramatism* and Black's *the second persona*. It aims to analyze identification by employing the second persona, examined through a Burkean lens. It is not difficult to find Swedish and international rhetoric scholarship (published works as well as student papers) that discusses, develops, and/or employs either of these theories. Perhaps not so surprisingly. In his 2001 article, *Burkean Theory Reborn: How Burkean Studies Assimilated Its Postmodern Critics*, Andrew King discusses Burke's popularity in contemporary rhetoric scholarship. In the 1960s Black published *Rhetorical Criticism: A Study in Method* in which he heavily criticized the "old" rhetoric. With it, as King puts it, "the young Ed [sic] Black dealt Neo-Aristotelian criticism a blow from which it never recovered," and it "goaded rhetoricians to seek new methods, new theories, and new models" for which, "for the most part, Burkean criticism filled the void" (p. 33). Granted, Burke was by no means uncharted territory before Black's book but became the refuge for many critics at a kairotic moment when "Neo-Aristotelianism suddenly ceased to be the unifying method" (p. 32). Since



“the late 1960s, through the 1970s and deep into the 1980s,” several well-known works was published with Burke and Black as central theorists (p. 33).

One of the more well-known examples is Maurice Charland’s 1978 article *Constitutive Rhetoric and the Peuple Québécois*.<sup>14</sup> As theory and method, *constitutive rhetoric* has been used extensively since its publication. In essence it relies on Burkean identification and Black’s *second persona* (I will return to this concept below) but fundamentally rooted in Louis Althusser’s concept of *interpellation*.<sup>15</sup> Charland examines the sovereignty movement in Quebec during the 1960-70s and argues that certain discourse can have a rhetorical effect by constituting subject positions in text which interpellates an actual audience toward action by process of identification.<sup>16</sup> It is noteworthy that Charland and the structural determinism that follows Althusserian philosophy has been challenged for not sufficiently addressing its consequences.<sup>17</sup>

An interesting example of constitutive rhetoric applied is Stein’s 2002 article *The “1984” Macintosh Ad* wherein she examines a Macintosh commercial that ran during the 1984 Superbowl. Building upon constitutive rhetoric, Stein argues that the storytelling interpellates the audience to purchase the Macintosh computer being advertised. Specifically, she argues the subject is placed in a story which symbolically communicates a battle between the protagonist (representing American freedom and democracy) and the antagonist (a dystopian dictator). Purchasing the Macintosh computer becomes an ideological hailing for American freedom and democracy in accordance with the narrative. As such, the Macintosh commercial is an instance

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<sup>14</sup> It is for example published in *Contemporary Rhetorical Theory* (ch. 6.3) and *The Routledge Reader in Rhetorical Criticism* (ch. 3.6).

<sup>15</sup> Interpellation is a concept aimed to, from a Marxist perspective, explain how ideologies and what Althusser called *Ideological State Apparatuses* (ISAs), work together in reproducing capitalism. In a broader sense, Althusser’s project was to reconsider the concept of ideology in Marxism, which he thought of as incomplete and problematic in the original interpretations.

<sup>16</sup> A theory furthered by several scholars, see for example Drzewiecka (2002); Stein (2002); Tate (2005); Zagacki (2008); Mills (2014); Myres (2018). In Swedish student papers, see for example Midfjäll (2014); Lindgren (2016); Andersson (2021).

<sup>17</sup> See for example Sundby (2018) (p. 22, 22n).

of constitutive rhetoric because audiences are being constituted as subjects in a fictitious narrative wherein they are called to ideological action. Rhetorically, thus, real audiences are moved to act (by process of identification) in accordance with the narrative and how it unfolds. Constitutive rhetoric is noteworthy due to its popularity and theoretical relatedness, but will not be further included. This is partly due to the unresolved issue of Althusserian structural determinism, but mainly because dramatism plays a central role in this thesis and so belongs to a different family of Burkean scholarship.

Gunter, in his thesis *The Rhetoric of Violence*, displays an interesting application of Burkean thought. Specifically, his understanding of Burke's "motive" (I will return to this below) and consequently how dramatism is applied analytically will be of relevance here. Similarly in Sweden, Ekeman's thesis *Den Kriminelle* discusses the use of a Burkean "motive" in a way which deserves recognition here. Importantly, both examples employ Burkean "motive" as suggested by Benoit in his article *A note on Burke on "motive"*. Motive is an important term in Burkean rhetoric and may prove useful when analyzing identification in storytelling.

Burke and Black, then, are not new or emerging theorists within Swedish scholarship. They have been around and are still often considered and/or employed in published literature as well as student papers. This thesis is another contribution to this effort and might bring to light certain aspects insufficiently explored.

There is a lack of rhetoric scholarship on the topic of *storytelling in advertising*. Although a lot has been said about *Där livet händer*, none has examined its storytelling from a strictly rhetorical perspective. Furthermore, Burke and Black's concepts show analytical potential as well as aspects of their thinking (particularly Burkean *motive*) that can and should be problematized further through application. In terms of contributing to ongoing rhetoric scholarship – considering what have been examined above –, this thesis is an attempt at understanding identification in storytelling through Black's second persona analyzed from a Burkean perspective. The following chapter aims to explain why these theorists were chosen and how they will be employed analytically.

### 3 Theoretical perspectives

*Där livet händer* consists of several short stories (see *Appendix*). They have been shown in Sweden on television, on billboards and as online ads since 2016. IKEA wanted to communicate credible stories about the lives of Swedish people (see ch. 1). *How* and *why* can the Swede be rhetorically influenced by the stories? This thesis argues Burkean identification may be a more fruitful key term than Aristotelian persuasion for understanding how storytelling could “form attitudes or induce action in ... human agents (1969a, p. 41). But this purpose leads to an immediate research problem. When IKEA communicates stories in an advertising campaign, *who* is identifying with what? On the one hand we have the Swede, that is, the actual individual and potential consumer to which IKEA directs its advertising. This group is referred to as the *actual* audience. Is it possible, and if so how, to understand this audience category? Different ages, attitudes, and interests undoubtedly makes them a complicated, fragmented, and multifaceted collection of individuals. On the other we have “the Swede”, a textual construction by IKEA available to us in the stories, referred to henceforth as the *implied* audience. As argued before (see ch. 1.2), when moral and/or cultural values are called upon in a story, some individuals (actual audiences) may be implied in the storytelling; in a Burkean sense the story *represents* some and *deflects* others (Ibid.). As Bruhn writes in *Delade meningar* (Shared meanings), it is possible to “*approach audiences ... empirically, either as a collection of actual individuals ..., or as a perception of the audience inscribed in the expression itself*” (p. 87, italics added, Swedish original). This separation is an important dichotomy, and the focus in this thesis is the implied audience.

### 3.1 Actual & implied audience

Rhetoric scholarship leaves me at a crossroads about how to interpret the audience categories (see ch. 1.1). One road leads to the “old”<sup>18</sup> rhetoric and the other to “new”<sup>19</sup> rhetoric. The former often approaches text as an instrument for persuasion and the audience as given in an immediate context (Iversen & Villadsen 2020, p. 35). As Hill writes in *Rhetorical Criticism: Perspectives in Action*, the “old” rhetoric posits that “rhetoric describes reality and does not create it,” and “whenever there are direct attempts at persuasion, the traditional perspective may prove useful” (p. 39, italics added). But *Där livet händer* is not a case of “direct attempts” to persuade. Although it can be assumed IKEA’s main goal is increased consumption and revenue, *Där livet händer* is seemingly centered around telling stories about the lives of Swedish people rather than presenting attractive products at a favorable price.

In *The Second Persona*, Edwin Black argues that traditional approaches “no doubt ... leads into sometimes useful observations” but tend to “regard discourses as objects” and “do not appraise the discourse except in a technical or prudential way” (pp. 110-112).<sup>20</sup> What the “old” rhetoric fails to account for is a moral dimension. Black continues, “even after one has noted of a discourse that it implies an auditor who is old, uncommitted, and sitting in judgment of the past, one has left to say – well, everything” (p. 112). Black suggests that we can better understand what actual audience the rhetor intends to address by shifting focus toward the text and *the audience it implies* (p. 113). Linguistic features in a text, such as arguments, topics, and rhetorical figures may function as *idiomatic tokens*. Idiomatc tokens, Black says, has the

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<sup>18</sup> “Old rhetoric”, “Neo-Aristotelian”, “classic”, and “traditional”, refers to contemporary theories and methods within rhetoric scholarship primarily based on Aristotle’s canons with persuasion as key term. These terms are henceforth used interchangeably. See for example Hill in *Rhetorical Criticism: Perspectives in Action* (2009) (p. 39-61) and his list of “traditional criticism top picks”.

<sup>19</sup> New rhetoric refers to contemporary theories and methods within rhetoric scholarship which 1) emerged as critique toward traditional positions on rhetoric, and 2) often employs Burkean identification as key term. See for example: Black (1970), Jarratt (1991), Rosengren (2008).

<sup>20</sup> For an exemplary case of Neo-Aristotelian analysis, see for example Hellspång (2000).

potential to uncover *second personae* in the text which points toward a “network of interconnected convictions that functions in a man epistemologically and that shapes his identity by determining how he views the world” (p. 112).

From Black’s perspective, idiomatic tokens such as morally and/or culturally charged topics, figures, and arguments and the audience they imply are not a set of clearly formulated arguments available to the actual audience. As Black writes, “if the thesis of a discourse is that the communists have infiltrated the Supreme Court and the universities, its ideological bent would be obvious. However even if a discourse made neutral and innocuous claims, but contained the term ‘bleeding hearts’ to refer to proponents of welfare legislation, one would be justified in suspecting that a general attitude—more, a whole set of general attitudes were being summoned, for the term is only used tendentiously” (p. 113). Since the aim of *Där livet händer* is to tell credible, emotional, and inspiring stories about the lives of Swedish people, the ideology put forth in the stories should mirror that of a Swedish populace. The point here is that even seemingly “neutral” and “innocuous” discourses can be ideological. And since such communication is often considered extra-rhetorical by traditional approaches, identification is chosen as key term.

Black’s concept can be illustrated with an example: In 2017 Budweiser ran *Born the Hard Way* (Budweiser, 2017), a two-minute Super Bowl commercial that told the story of an early pilgrim’s (supposed to personify co-founder Adolphus Busch, as is eventually learnt) ambitious journey to North America in pursuit of his dream: to brew the “King of Beers”. Employing Black’s perspective then, there is an undercurrent – a moral – dimension of “interconnected convictions” being communicated through idiomatic tokens. The pilgrimage from Europe to North America by ship (topos) can be understood as an idiomatic token and as a cultural and historical reference about American freedom and patriotism. Understood as such, it alludes to the founding father’s tough journey to North America. By the same token, after many hardships the commercial ends with a handshake; the pilgrim, or “Mr. Busch” as he is now known, has gone into business and thus began Budweiser’s journey. The protagonist’s struggle toward success interpreted as an idiomatic token may function on two levels: on the one hand it references the American dream, metonymically, by way of example. On the other by strengthening the ethos of Budweiser as an old and reliable company. From this perspective, an idea about Budweiser’s implied audience – the second persona – is revealed. It

communicates moral values and cultural references such as *independence*, *patriotism*, and *the American dream* and which Budweiser may believe the actual audience occupy.<sup>21</sup>

Similarly, in *Där livet händer*, there too runs moral and cultural undercurrents. Quite opposite to Budweiser's *Born the Hard Way* which shares a grandiose journey toward success and commercial wealth by way of awesome hardships, IKEA invites actual audiences into fragments of storytelling pieces mirroring the lives of Swedish individuals. They are reminded of small victories and losses, those that occur privately every day. It is a message about everyday struggles of people in Swedish society. It communicates Swedish solidarity and compassion through "a network of interconnected convictions" (Black 1970, p. 112). The stories are metonymical illustrations, puzzle pieces of a Swedish morality that exemplifies a larger picture, a Swedish ideology.

Exactly how idiomatic tokens manifest themselves in the stories remains to be seen. *Där livet händer* consists of over twenty commercials and in that sense the material differs from the Budweiser-example above. Some idiomatic tokens may be obvious and others more subtle. As Black writes: "The best evidence in discourse for this implication will be the substantive claims that are made, but the most likely evidence available will be in the form of stylistic tokens" (p. 112). To be able to analyze and understand Black's idiomatic and stylistic tokens, it may prove helpful to introduce beforehand a set of additional terms. More specifically, Burke's four master tropes metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche, and irony.

### 3.2 Burke's Four Master Tropes

In a 1941 issue of *The Kenyon Review* Burke published *Four Master Tropes* wherein he essayed to explore *metaphor*, *metonymy*, *synecdoche*, and *irony* and "their rôle in the discovery and description of 'the truth'" (p. 421). Albeit essentially epistemological in its effort, *Four Master*

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<sup>21</sup> This brief analysis serves to exemplify how Black's theoretical concept can be used analytically. At an early stage of this thesis, it was difficult to approach IKEA's storytelling because it is made up of over twenty short stories. By contrast, Budweiser's commercial – a single story – was easier to approach and therefore became a useful test subject.

*Tropes* also explains these devices in a way potentially fruitful for this thesis' purposes.<sup>22</sup> Furthermore, if such features are culturally or morally conditioned, they may play an important role in the constituting of a second persona throughout the storytelling. With these devices at disposal, it may be possible to employ them "constructively as perspectives from which to look at a communicative act" (2012, p. 544). More specifically, "[w]hat would we see if we look at an expression as a metonymy, a metaphor or an irony" (Ibid.)?

### 3.2.1 Metaphor

In *Four Master Tropes*, Burke defines metaphor as "a device for seeing something in terms of something else. It brings out the thisness of a that, or the thatness of a this" (p. 421). For example, *the world is a stage* communicates how human experience is like a drama in a theatre. *The big bang* describes a theory of how the universe came to in terms of an explosion. More specifically, "[i]f we employ the word 'character' as a general term for whatever can be thought of as distinct (any thing, pattern, situation, structure, nature, person, object, act, rôle, process, event, etc.,) then that metaphor tells us something about one character as considered from the point of view of another character. And to consider A from the point of view of B is, of course, to use B as a perspective upon A" (p. 422). *Love is blind* because it makes people overlook negative qualities in each other. *Life is a rollercoaster* because, like the amusement ride, it has highs and lows.<sup>23</sup> Metaphors allows us to communicate something without stating it literally, thus inciting our audience to reach the intended meaning by themselves. And in gaining the intended meaning the audience is identifying with the text because similarities in perspective is got.

To Burke, "[l]anguage develops by *metaphorical extension*, in borrowing words from the corporeal, visible, tangible and applying them by analogy to the realm of the incorporeal,

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<sup>22</sup> For a rounded review of the master tropes, see for example Sigrell (2012). Rather than Burke's epistemological focus, Sigrell employs a pragmatic perspective by asking of the tropes how they, as perspectives, may help us become better speakers and listeners. Moreover, it may serve as a fine source for previous research on the master tropes.

<sup>23</sup> "High" and "low" are also metaphors.

invisible, intangible” (p. 425, italics added). IKEA’s *Da Capo*, from this perspective, can be thought of as something corporeal, visible, and tangible. A network of cultural and moral references is employed – e.g., *the caring for, and celebration of an elderly mother in Swedish contemporary society*. Importantly, it enables the audience to see their own lives *in terms of* the fictional story in *Da Capo*. *Da Capo* can be thought of as metaphorical because it says *Swede’s live through Da Capo*. Swedish individuals are, in other words, told metaphorically that their lives are exemplified in the story.

Burke’s definition of metaphor is useful because it highlights how language use can be thought of as perspectival not only on a higher level (terministic screens, see ch. 1.2), but down to words and phrases. When a “character” lacks terminology, it is described in terms of something else. IKEA can never communicate stories that describe the totality of a Swedish individual’s experience, less so a group’s experiences. As such, the storytelling is necessarily a case of explaining “A from the point of view of B”. If they are successful in doing so, the actual audience’s perspective is successfully *implied*, but never complete and always *selected*. Burke’s metonymy may be helpful in addressing this inability to describe the totality of someone’s experience through language and, more importantly, why identification through storytelling may still occur.

### **3.2.2 Metonymy**

Burke defines metonymy as the conveying of “some incorporeal or intangible state in terms of the corporeal or tangible. E.g., to speak of ‘the heart’ rather than ‘the emotions’” (p. 424). Tell adds to this: “Metonymy, for Burke, illustrates the limits of language – since language functions via ‘metaphorical extension’ it must always reduce, always treat the ineffable in terms of the effable” (p. 43). *We won’t have a white Christmas this year* metonymically reduces “snow” to “white”. It functions by metaphorical extension through the explaining of something (snow) in terms of something else (white); a metonymy, then, due to the things’ implicit proximity (snow



is colored white).<sup>24</sup> All titles in *Där livet händer* can be understood as metonymies. *Da Capo*, for example, can be thought of as a metonymical reduction of *nostalgia* (a topos central to the story) to the Italian music term meaning “from the beginning”. *Idolen* (The Idol) similarly reduces the theme *son who idolizes his father* into a definite noun. The titles are metonymical because they *reduce* intangible topoi into tangible words or phrases.

Burke’s metonymy explains the *reductive* quality of language use in general, and IKEA’s storytelling specifically. This helps explain, in an epistemological sense how linguistic features (that which may generate a second persona through moral and/or cultural references) become meaningful to an actual audience. The same thinking may be applied to individual stories and the storytelling at large. *Där livet händer* is metonymical in the sense that it is a reduced and tangible version of something intangible that cannot be represented in its totality through language. Again, the metonymical function of the storytelling suggests also that “total” representations is not necessary for identification to occur between the implied and actual audience; if a Swedish individual is asked to explain the meaning of IKEA’s logo, they are able to do so because blue and yellow (tangible) is a metonymy representing something intangible (IKEA’s connection to Sweden).

### 3.2.3 Synecdoche

Burke’s synecdoche is defined along “the usual range of dictionary sense” as “part for the whole, whole for the part, container for the contained, sign for the signified, material for the thing made, ..., etc.” (p. 427). Whereas metonymy is often (here as well) defined as a class of metaphor, so is synecdoche a subset of metonymy. Burke himself makes clear that “the four tropes shade into one another. Give a man but one of them, tell him to exploit its possibilities,

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<sup>24</sup> The example highlights an important aspect. Whether this metonymy succeeds or fails in bringing about the intended understanding may rely on an already agreed upon metaphorical extension (again, what Burke calls *consubstantiality*) between message and audience. Put otherwise, the success of employing “white” as a metonymy for “snow” implies a process of identification. A failed metonymy (a failed process of identification) thus would quickly necessitate further explanation of the intended original noun (in this case “snow”).

and if he is thorough in doing so, he will come upon the other three” (p. 421). As Tell writes, “[a]lthough Burke's conventional definition of synecdoche (a part for the whole) sounds strikingly similar to metonymy, it functions for him as a corrective to metonymical excess. If metonymy is the reduction from the immaterial experience of shame to the material experience of colored cheeks, synecdoche is the ‘conversion upwards’ by which the poet understands that colored cheeks represent shame” (p. 43-44).<sup>25</sup> The critic engages texts “synechdocally” by “conversing upwards” metonymical reductions present in text by explaining the process by which such devices may produce meaning. There is, as mentioned above (see ch. 3.2.2), a metonymical relationship between IKEA’s logotype and the Swedish flag. Metaphorical extension allows for the conveying of something intangible (IKEA’s connection to Sweden) in terms of something tangible (the colors of the Swedish flag).<sup>26</sup> The success or failure of metaphorical extension depends on a *consubstantiality* (I will return to this below) between the second persona and actual audiences. A person who knows nothing about either Sweden or IKEA is probably not influenced by the metaphorical extension inhabiting the yellow and blue logotype. The symbol is not meaningful to that person and thus, consubstantiality between implied and actual audience is unsuccessful.

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<sup>25</sup> To illustrate, while snow can be metonymically reduced to categories that can be measured (the color white, for instance), conversely, these categories may be employed again to represent snow. They are both instances of metaphorical extension. What differentiates metonymy and synecdoche seems obscure. At least, its relevance when employing the devices analytically does not seem obvious. Henceforth, metonymy and synecdoche will be understood as a single device. For further reading on how the master tropes differ and interact from an epistemological perspective, see for example Burke (1941); Tell (2004).

<sup>26</sup> Of course, IKEA’s connection to Sweden is not intangible per se, and can be explained in detail given the proper circumstances. But the context of communicating that connection through a logotype makes it intangible.

### 3.2.4 Irony

To understand Burke's position on the final master trope it needs to be considered alongside its "realistic" counterpart, *dialectic*. Irony in Burke is defined along these lines: "Irony arises when one tries, by the interaction of terms upon one another, to produce a *development* which uses all the terms. Hence, from the standpoint of this total form (this 'perspective of perspectives'), none of the participating 'sub-perspectives' can be treated as either precisely right or precisely wrong. They are all voices, or personalities, or positions, integrally affecting one another. When the dialectic is properly formed, they are the number of characters needed to produce the total development" (p. 432). For example, *Bad Ad ad* could be an illustrative case of Burkean irony because IKEA makes possible the viewing of a dialectic pair – an irony – through the storytelling. The story shares a brief – to Swedes well-known – experience of annoyingly being interrupted by commercials in the middle of an exciting movie. Irony arises when IKEA through *Bad Ad ad* communicates an understanding to the audience, that commercials can be annoying *while simultaneously being a commercial*. Self-consciousness and self-criticism are thus present. It is a dialectic because it includes a contrasting perspective, a humility. And in the inclusion of several perspectives (as is the case here), IKEA employs irony rhetorically. The device can be employed rhetorically precisely because *it implies humility*. This device is interesting if irony requires humility and that humility may stem from an already present consubstantiality between the second persona and Swedish consumers. Again then, it may be argued these devices should require morally and/or culturally conditioned relationships between the second persona and Swedish consumers. Due to limitations in scope, Burkean irony as perspective will not be included in the analysis. It does, however, offer interesting implications for future research and is therefore worthy of mention.

## 3.3 Consubstantiality

Consubstantiality is a central term in Burkean rhetoric. It proceeds from the assumption that humans have an inevitable tendency to identify. Biologically, humans are born and exist as separate and because of that they seek to identify, through discourse, to overcome separateness.

Social class makes them “both joined and separate, at once a distinct substance and consubstantial with another” (p. 21). Burke exemplifies consubstantiality as such:

A is not identical with his colleague, B. But insofar as their interests are joined, A is identified with B. Or he may identify himself with B even when their interests are not joined, if he assumes that they are, or is persuaded to believe so.... In being identified with B, A is ‘substantially one’ with a person other than himself. Yet at the same time he remains unique, an individual locus of motives. Thus, he is both joined and separate, at once a distinct substance and consubstantial with another” (Burke, 1969b, p. 20-21).

From this perspective, people seek similarities with others due to a feeling of separateness. They constantly look for ways in which interests, attitudes, values, experiences, perceptions, and material properties are shared with others, or could appear to be shared. To Burke, the need to identify stems from a fundamental feeling of guilt because of being separate. Consubstantiality and identification need to be understood within the context of *language as symbolic action* (I will return to this concept). Humans are actors. Using language is a way to act in the world and acting through language is our most striking characteristic. We are by nature creatures that respond to symbols:

Identification is affirmed with earnestness precisely because there is division. Identification is compensatory to division. If men were not apart from one another, there would be no need for the rhetorician to proclaim their unity. If men were wholly and truly of one substance, absolute communication would be of man’s very essence (Burke, 1969b, p. 22).

An example could be one of the stories in *Där livet händer. Komma hem* (Arriving home) is about a Swedish middle-aged woman traveling to Vietnam to adopt an orphan child. The one-minute commercial is an emotional and positive account about the meeting between an adopter and adoptee and ends with them sitting together in a Swedish living room. The subject of adoption can be understood as an idiomatic token – a *topoi* – due to its intrinsic moral value. An ideological positioning reveals itself most clearly because the story communicates that adoption is good. Like the brief analysis of *Da Capo* above, *Komma hem* can be understood as a moral positioning. In this light IKEA’s ideological positioning in *Komma hem* becomes clear insofar as it can be assumed there are individuals in this world who would not appreciate

IKEA's adoption story and how it unfolds.<sup>27</sup> Again, in storytelling some are selected, and others deflected. When the politician addresses a group of farmers with "I was a farm boy myself", identification occurs because similarities between the rhetor and audience is implied by the utterance. Similarly, in *Komma hem*, actual audiences who hold a moral stance toward adoption that corresponds to the positioning established in the story may be more susceptible to rhetorical identification than audiences who does not. Consubstantiality, then, is a term which describes the preconditions for identification. But how can storytelling be analyzed to understand if consubstantiality is possible? To address this question, Burke's dramatism is examined next.

### 3.4 On viewing language as motive

Motive is an important term in Burke's scholarship. He used "motive" in the titles of his two major works – *A Grammar of Motives* and *A Rhetoric of Motives* – wherein the term is of central concern. In *Permanence and Change*, he devotes an entire chapter to "motives". It is however, amongst contemporary scholars, unclear exactly what the term *motive* means for Burke.

This thesis sides with William Benoit's treatment in *A Note on Burke on "Motive"*. Benoit describes two dominating ways of understanding *motive* in Burke. "One reading ... takes 'motive' to be an internal, private, mental state that impels an actor to perform an act (that guides and shapes the performance of an action)" (p. 67). From this perspective, motive is cognitive. Something which moves a person to act in a certain way. This view focuses on

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<sup>27</sup> The third persona, an excluded "other" to the first (implied rhetor) and second (implied audience) personae has been furthered by Philip Wander in *The Third Persona: An Ideological Turn in Rhetorical Theory*. It refers to "the 'it' that is not present, that is objectified in a way that 'you' and 'I' are not" (p. 209). For example, in the context of *Komma hem*, any political party or Swedish individual who are against extra-Scandinavian adoption would be included in the third persona category.

“forces or factors that *motivate action in human beings*” (p. 68, italics added). We could in this case, for example, ask of IKEA: What was the motivation behind *Där livet händer*?<sup>28</sup>

The other reading of Burke’s “motive”, which I subscribe to here, moves away from motive as “cognitive, private, or situational factors that prompt, impel, create, or cause action” and instead views motive as “*accounts, linguistic devices that function to explain, justify, interpret, or rationalize actions*” (p. 70, italics added). As Benoit notes, this view is not meant to disregard “that people experience internal drives or motivations that guide their actions” (Ibid.). Thus, he suggests a distinction “between motive(I), an internal, cognitive, motivating force, and motive(D), *the “motive” that exists in discourse, which typically occurs after the action (and, of course, after whatever may have “actually” motivated that action) and functions to explain that action*” (Ibid., italics added).<sup>29</sup> In the opening lines of *A Grammar of Motives*, Burke writes:

What is involved, *when we say* what people are doing and why they are doing it? An answer to that question is the subject of this book. The book is concerned with the basic forms of thought which, in accordance with the nature of the world as all men necessarily experience it, are exemplified in the *attributing* of motives (p. xv, italics added).

Here Burke “explicitly declares that his purpose is explaining what “we *say*” about what we are doing, not explaining the actions themselves (not what people *are* doing)” and that motives “are words, statements, or language” (Benoit, p. 71). In *Permanence and Change*, Burke writes that “explaining ... conduct by the favored terms” is “a rationalization, *a set of motives belonging to a specific orientation*” (p. 23, italics added) and that “motives are distinctly *linguistic products*” (p. 35, italics added). Benoit, then, helps make sense of a Burkean motive as *language use with an orientation*.

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<sup>28</sup> There lurks a “Truth”-element to this question and in searching for a “real” motive behind an action. Benoit informs his “concern over whether it is possible to get at the Truth of someone’s motivation.... [A]rguments can be made about a rhetor’s intent, but such arguments yield probable, not certain, results” (p. 77).

<sup>29</sup> For clarity, the “(I)” in motive(I) refers to an “internal” motive and the “(D)” refers to a “dramatistic” motive. Henceforth, “motive” will refer to motive(D) unless otherwise stated.

Charles W. Kneupper lays out a somewhat similar interpretation of Burke's motive in *Dramatistic Invention: The Pentad as a Heuristic Procedure*.<sup>30</sup> Kneupper notes that Burke views "*language as motive* and not language evoking or reflecting motive" and that "since we characterize a situation with reference to our general scheme of things, it is clear how motives, as shorthand terms for situations, are assigned with reference to our orientation in general" (p. 131, italics added).

### 3.5 Motives & *Weltanschauung*

Where Benoit's main contribution to this thesis lies in clarifying a Burkean *motive*, Kneupper's has partly to do with introducing Burke's use of *Weltanschauung*.<sup>31</sup> If motive is language use with an orientation, that orientation is part of, and indeed reveals, our *Weltanschauung*. As Burke writes in *Permanence and Change*:

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<sup>30</sup> Kneupper does not use "(I)" and "(D)" to distinguish between the two motive categories as do Benoit. In my reading of Kneupper's motive, it lies close to Benoit's motive(D). Where Benoit aims to dissect and interrogate Burke's "motive" specifically, Kneupper instead examines Burke's pentadic analysis as method to understand motive in action (Kneupper, 130).

<sup>31</sup> *Weltanschauung* is a German term first used by Kant (1790) and later popularized by Hegel (1807). Its meaning has been subject to much debate (Naugle, p. 58). Not unproblematically it can be said to refer to the worldview of a populace, group, or person (Gadamer, p. 9). In this thesis I adhere to Burke's definition although his use of the term is also complicated. In *Permanence and Change* he writes: "Orientation is thus a bundle of judgements as to how things were, how they are, and how they may be. The act of response, as implicated in the character an event has for us, shows clearly the integral relationship between our metaphysics and our conduct. For in a statement as to how the world is, we have implicit judgments not only as to how the world may become but also as to what means we should employ to make it so" (Burke 1954, p. 14). Thus, I side with Kneupper in correlating *orientation* and *Weltanschauung* in Burke and will refer henceforth to the definition given above (Kneupper, p. 131).

*A motive is not some fixed thing, like a table, which one can go and look at. It is a term of interpretation, and being such it will naturally take its place within the framework of our Weltanschauung as a whole (p. 25, italics added).*

Our *Weltanschauung* determines how we interpret the world. Language use is motive in action, in the sense that, based on our interpretation of the world we symbolically communicate with others and inevitably impose our *Weltanschauung* on to others.<sup>32</sup>

From this perspective, Budweiser's "struggle toward success" in *Born the Hard Way* and IKEA's "adoption is a good thing" in *Komma hem* are both examples of idiomatic tokens. Each story implies an audience with a specific *Weltanschauung* to which an actual audience may identify. Both the "struggle toward success"- and "adoption is a good thing"-topoi are instances of language as motive because the stories are *interpreted perspectives* of a fictitious event. As such, each story constitutes a motive belonging to a specific orientation. Or put otherwise, as reasoned about *Da Capo* previously (see ch. 1.2), *Born the Hard Way* and *Komma hem* could be told differently and thus communicate a wholly different *Weltanschauung*. The orientation will determine what audience is being selected, and who is being deflected.

As Kneupper observes, our *Weltanschauung* "determines how we characterize events and therefore our motives toward events" (p. 131). In other words, if an actual audience identifies with an implied audience because both audience categories occupy the same moral value

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<sup>32</sup> *Weltanschauung* can, not unproblematically, be compared to *doxa* (alt. *doxology*). Pierre Bourdieu introduced its current definition in *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, to denote a society's "taken-for-granted" (p. 16). A term which has seen some popularity in Scandinavian rhetoric scholarship, see for example Rosengren (2008). Within rhetoric scholarship, it evolved as a reconsideration of Plato's *episteme* (describing "true" knowledge retrieved through philosophizing) and *doxa* (describing probable knowledge). Rosengren puts forth the Neo-Sophistic position that all knowledge – including that which Plato termed epistemic – is inevitably produced by language. Doxa, then, is a broad term which describes collective thought patterns produced by language. Rhetoric becomes a "doxology", and can be used to analyze and understand doxa. As such, doxa and *Weltanschauung* has similar meanings. Since, however, Burke uses *Weltanschauung* in his scholarship, this thesis follows him in using that term for the sake of consistency.



toward, for example, adoption or freedom, then “significant [similarities] of orientation and motive is implied” (Ibid.). IKEA’s textual construction “the Swede” and Budweiser’s “the North American” are second personae to which the actual audience (Swedish and North American individuals) may rhetorically identify.

### 3.6 Dramatism & pentadic analysis

Motive, then, is orientation through language. That is, the “explaining [of] ... conduct by the favored terms,” a rationalization of an act through discourse. Accepting these notions, Burke’s pentadic analysis is meant to aid the critic in analyzing motive. And if motive is central to successfully constituting a second persona, it might be a useful tool for analyzing identification in storytelling. As Benoit writes, “motives are inextricably linked to the pentad” (p. 72) and “the pentad, and the motives it concerns, applies to talk-about, to utterances” (p. 71). The pentadic analysis may prove a useful methodic approach to examine IKEA’s stories. It consists of a set of relational categories that serves to help the critic understand human drama. In *A Grammar of Motives*, Burke introduces the pentad, and its close relation to motive:

In a rounded statement about motives, you must have some word that names the *act* (names what took place, in thought or deed), and another that names the *scene* (the background of the act, the situation in which it occurred); also you must indicate what person or kind of person (*agent*) performed the act, what means or instruments he used (*agency*), and the *purpose* ... any complete statement about motives will offer some kind of answers to these five questions: what was done (act), when or where it was done (scene), who did it (agent), how he did it (agency), and why (purpose) (Burke 1969a, p. xv).<sup>33</sup>

To borrow yet another insight from Benoit in introducing the pentad, Burke “provides an example to illustrate the terms of the pentad. In this passage he suggests that *after* an agent has escaped captivity, a rhetor could *describe the act of escape* in different ways depending upon

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<sup>33</sup> It is noteworthy that Burke in 1969 introduced *attitude* as a sixth dramatistic term. However, due to limitations of scope, it will not be considered further in this project. For further reading on this topic, see for example Bruhn (2013); Petermann (2013).

the meaning the agent intended to convey about the act” (p. 72) and that “a rhetor can *portray different motives* for a given act *in order to convey different interpretations* of this act” (Ibid.):

Imagine that one were to manipulate the terms, for the imputing of motives, in such a case as this: The Hero (agent) with the help of a friend (co-agent) outwits the villain (counter-agent) by using a file (agency) that enables him to break his bonds (act) in order to escape (purpose) from the room where he has been confined (scene). In selecting a casuistry here, *we might locate the motive in the agent*, as were we to credit his escape to some trait integral to his personality, such as “love of freedom.” Or *we might stress the motivational force of the scene*, since nothing is surer to awaken thoughts of escape than a condition of imprisonment. Or *we might note the essential part played by the co-agent, in assisting our hero to escape* – and, with such thoughts as our point of departure, we might conclude that the motivations of this act should be reduced to social origins (Burke 1969a, p. xx, italics added).

We learn here from Burke, as Benoit explains, that “the motive(D) is an utterance that explains or interprets the act for an audience. It emphasizes some aspect (the nature of the agent, perhaps, or of the scene) that the rhetor wishes to highlight or feature for the audience” (p. 73). Put differently, it might help the critic understand who is being selected (second persona), and who is being deflected. As such, “we have several choices of where our utterances could ‘locate the motive’” and, as seen in Burke’s example, “he is sketching several alternate possibilities for *portraying the act’s motivation through discourse*” (Ibid.). In *A Rhetoric of Motives* Burke suggests that:

where there is such “conjunct action of motives,” *the speaker may represent the lot by selecting one motive as significant and neglecting the others*. Such a procedure is inevitable, since any decision usually sums up a complexity of motives. Rhetorically, this fact invites to censorial appellatives since, if the speaker is identifying an act of his own, or of an ally, he can gain an easy advantage by picking out the most favorable motive and presenting it as either predominant or exclusive (or as the one that sets the tone for the lot). And conversely, he can select the least favorable to name the essence of an enemy’s motives (p. 99, italics added).

What is important here is that rhetors (e.g.: IKEA or Budweiser) can make choices about how to communicate real or fictitious stories about the past, present, or future. Put differently,

rhetoers can strategically impose a *terministic screen* on to audiences which resonates with a specific *Weltanschauung*. They can, as Benoit notes, make “motive(I) to feature in their motive(D)” by “strategically naming motive(D)s in discourse” (p. 73). Again, dramatism may be a useful tool for analyzing identification in storytelling because it offers a vocabulary for understanding human action, real or fictitious, through the metaphor of drama.

Kneupper notes that the usefulness of pentadic analysis “is inextricably linked to the concept of ‘ratio’” and “critical to the power of pentadic analysis of motive, because motive is not assigned except in the presence of ratio” (pp. 132-133). Ratio refers to how the pentadic terms operate in relation to one another. Which terms are prominent in a given text and which are less important? There are at least twenty possible ratio combinations in the pentad. Kneupper exemplifies the five act ratios as such (p. 133):

RATIO	EXAMPLE
SCENE-ACT	Given the circumstances ( <i>scene</i> ), what else could we do ( <i>act</i> )?
AGENT-ACT	From such a person ( <i>agent</i> ), you would expect such acts ( <i>act</i> )
AGENCY-ACT	Give a child a hammer ( <i>agency</i> ), and everything will be treated like a nail ( <i>act</i> )
PURPOSE-ACT	In order to get x ( <i>purpose</i> ), we must do y ( <i>act</i> )
ACT-ACT	I hit him ( <i>act</i> ) because he hit me ( <i>act</i> )

In other words, because critics can analyze motive as language with help of the pentad they might, according to Benoit, be able to understand “not ... the ‘true’ motive(I), but ... how rhetors have choices in how they *portray* motive(D) in their talk” (p. 74). Burke suggests that ratios can be employed persuasively to justify an act:

the scene-act ratio can be applied in two ways. It can be applied deterministically in statements that a certain policy *had* to be adopted in a certain situation, or it may be applied in hortatory statements to the effect that a certain policy *should be* adopted in conformity with the situation (Burke 1969a, p. 13).

As Burke writes in *Questions and Answers about the Pentad*, his “particular relation to the dramatistic pentad ... was ... to help a critic perceive what was going on in a text that was

already written ... [and] *to ask of the work the explicit questions to which its structure had already implicitly supplied the answers*” (p. 332, italics added). Methodologically, then, pentadic analysis is grounded in the assumption that the critic can understand motive – and by extension the *Weltanschauung* it implies – by analyzing text that was already written. Analyzing IKEA’s storytelling with help of the pentadic analysis might then reveal the *ratio* of each story and by extension the motive(s) implied. Kneupper summarizes the analytical power of the pentad as such:

Burke notes that conservatives tend to argue from agent, liberals tend to argue from scene, realists from act, pragmatists from agency, and mystics and idealists from purpose.... In a sense, *to argue from the central interpretative terms of a group is to argue in terms which they can identify with. It is in this way that a linguistic consubstantiality is formed between speaker and audience*. Thus, a speaker or writer who can characterize an audience as conservative, liberal, pragmatic, realist, or idealist can adapt his rhetorical appeals to the terminology most motivating<sup>34</sup> to the audience (p. 134, italics added).

The aim of this section has been to present the pentadic analysis and let experts on the subject as well as Burke himself exemplify why and how it may be a fruitful tool in analyzing IKEA’s storytelling. By examining dramatic ratios in the storytelling, the answer might provide a more thorough understanding of the stories’ motive. An initial analysis like this might enable a better understanding of idiomatic tokens that point toward an ideology, a *Weltanschauung*, and the audience implied.

### 3.7 Summary

Since 2016 IKEA has published a series of short stories as an advertising campaign, *Där livet händer*, which aims to “show in a credible, emotional, and inspiring way how people live their lives at home together with their IKEA product” (Resumé, 2016, Swedish original). In this

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<sup>34</sup> As a note, here Kneupper seems to briefly conflate motive(I) and motive(D). In the quote he seems to use “motivating” as motive(I), while otherwise throughout the article arguing for a Burkean motive(D).

chapter a theoretical perspective has been developed that might help achieve this purpose. Four concepts have been examined:

- (a) The introduction of two distinct audience categories, the *actual* and *implied* audience. Actual audiences refer to individuals living in Sweden expected to watch the advertising. The implied audience exist as a textual construction in the storytelling and may be uncovered by examining the text's linguistic features. Linguistic features refer specifically to rhetorical figures, topoi, and arguments that holds moral and cultural values and which points toward a certain *Weltanschauung*. Such linguistic features are called *idiomatic tokens*.
- (b) Idiomatic tokens may be understood as meaningful to Swedish consumers due to their *metaphorical* and *metonymical* function. Burke's metaphor explains how language is necessarily metaphorical. Metonymy explains the *reductive* property of language. From this perspective, stories become meaningful because they are metonymical, proximate and selected descriptions of complex and intangible life experiences of Swedish individuals.
- (c) Consubstantiality explains humans' tendency to identify with one another and with texts (second personae) that imply their moral and cultural convictions.
- (d) Burke's motive is explored to illuminate further how stories, and indeed language use in general, are always and necessarily orientated by a certain *Weltanschauung*. More precisely, that aspect of language is referred to as *motive* and should be understood as a shaping force that orientates IKEA's stories, highlighting certain features of the fictitious narrative while shadowing others. The dramatistic pentad serves as a methodical way of analyzing storytelling. A tool compatible with and indeed developed alongside Burke's *language as motive*.

## 4 Method & material

This chapter aims to examine method and material. First, this thesis' theoretical perspective in relation to rhetorical methodology will be discussed. Second, a brief background of IKEA will be provided, to relate the material to be analyzed with the rhetor. Finally, a review of *Där livet händer* as an object of study.

### 4.1 Close textual analysis

The theoretical perspective employed in this thesis approaches the material (*Där livet händer*) in and of itself. This choice is by design. More concretely, through close textual analysis IKEA's storytelling will be examined based on the concepts presented in the previous chapter. In *Retorik og Metode* Stefan Iversen and Lisa Storm Villadsen explains that, in conducting *close textual analysis* (CTA) the critic "studies a rhetorical utterance – typically a text – carefully to understand its expression as a complex whole in a particular context" (p. 29, Danish original). CTA focuses on the text itself, as opposed to, for example Ceccarelli's method of text-intertextual analysis where the critic "composes a corpus of relevant reactions to the text or speech one examines the effect of" (pp. 49-50, Danish original).<sup>35</sup>

Stephen Howard Browne, in *Rhetorical Criticism: Perspectives in Action* (pp. 63-76), writes that CTA "refers to an interpretive practice, the aim of which is to explain how texts operate to produce meaning, effect persuasion, and activate convictions in public contexts" and that it is "less ... a method per se than ... a disciplined search for the linguistic particulars that eventually comprise the whole of a given rhetorical performance" (p. 63); you examine the

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<sup>35</sup> A complementary study to this thesis, which departs from a text-intertextual model, might be useful in validifying or refuting the conclusions drawn here. One might, for example, focus on reactions from actual audiences, IKEA employees, or advertising experts and from that build a corpus to be analyzed. To include such an effort here, however, would be outside the aim and scope of this thesis. An example of such a study could be Biro & Orheim (2018) (see ch. 2.2).

details to make conclusions about the text as a rhetorical act. Furthermore, Browne mentions among others, Burke's *The Rhetoric of Hitler's Battle* as "representative of some of the notable works of close textual analysis" (p. 63n). Burke, whose theory plays a central role in this thesis is used as an exemplar of CTA in action. Of course, the mentioning of Burke's *The Rhetoric of Hitler's Battle* does not in and of itself mean CTA is a suitable method for this thesis. But perhaps it suggests a relationship. As Browne continues, one of four important principles upon which the practice of CTA rests is that "rhetorical texts are sites of *symbolic action*" (p. 64, italics added).<sup>36</sup> This perspective comes directly from Burke. For example, in *Language as Symbolic Action*, Burke explains that "a 'dramatistic' approach stresses 'language as an aspect of 'action,' that is, symbolic action'" (p. 44). Moreover, Browne ends his review with a list of "top picks" which includes Black's *Gettysburg and Silence*.

## 4.2 A three-step method

The analysis is divided into three parts. Part one employs pentadic analysis with the aim to examine motives which orientate the storytelling. Are there ratios of dramatistic terms that can help us explain motives in *Där livet händer*? The analysis aims not to analyze peculiarities unique to a certain story, but instead the major features common to *Där livet händer* as a whole text. Part two aims to understand how a second persona is constituted through the storytelling by way of idiomatic tokens, and how Burke's metaphor and metonymy could help us understand how such discourse becomes meaningful to an actual audience. Part three discusses how we can analyze identification between an implied and actual audience using specific concepts.

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<sup>36</sup> Browne lists three other principles that are not directly relevant to that sort of CTA which is employed in this thesis. For further reading on CTA, see for example Iversen & Storm (2020) and Browne (2009).

## 4.3 IKEA

IKEA and Sweden have a long and important relationship. For most Swedes it is a rite of passage once you move away from your parents and into your first apartment to furnish your new home with products from IKEA. This was not always the case. During its 79 years, IKEA has grown from a small mail-order business based in a Swedish village, into the largest furniture retailer worldwide. Despite IKEA's global reach, it still nurtures an image of small-scale vision and egalitarianism. In *IKEA: A Culture History*, Kristoffersson examines IKEA's close relationship to Swedish culture and values, cemented through effective corporate storytelling. The connection to a Swedish identity is apparent, not only because of its signature colors, but because IKEA have made Swedish values an intrinsic part of their image (p. 16). Which is perhaps why the title of the advertising campaign makes perfect sense; *Där livet händer* (Where life happens) says something quite accurate about IKEA and Sweden. The story about IKEA has not always been connected to Swedish culture and values. During the 50s, the company name was spelled with an accent (IKÉA), perhaps alluding to some French tone. It was during IKEA's international expansion which started in the 70s, that the company strengthened its Swedish identity to create a more coherent and clear profile.

In the beginning of the 20th century, many believed that the solution to housing shortages and miserable living conditions was rationalized mass production. Industrial production was related to democratization and development. IKEA made this dream a reality. During the past decade, IKEA have also marked a social engagement by emphasizing the company's ethical framework, for example by cooperating with institutions such as WWF, Red Cross, and Unicef. Values such as diversity and ethnicity have been promoted. IKEA comes off as uniquely politically correct, sympathetic, and solidary. Such social engagement and conscious image rhymes well with the Swedish profile in their marketing. Sweden is generally viewed as a country focusing on progressive values and social democratic welfare politics. IKEA, by extension, comes off as a modern company, sprung from a Swedish social engagement. The company claims to have grown out of this Swedish welfare vision and share its values, ideals, and principles. Solidarity, justice, and equality, stands in focus. From a very simplistic perspective, IKEA and Sweden are viewed as one entity.

According to Kristoffersson, the story about IKEA can be understood as the modern Sweden's myth about itself. During the 90s, Sweden went from being a role model to a welfare



state in crisis. In hindsight, she argues, the more the welfare state eroded - which occurred parallel to IKEA's multinational expansion - the more IKEA's Swedish identity was promoted. The fact that IKEA more or less explicitly presents itself as a Swedish company has mostly to do with differentiating itself from competitors (p. 152).

In 2009, the movie *Sweden - Open Skies, Open Minds* was published by the Swedish Institute, an institution responsible for strengthening and improving the image of Sweden abroad. This movie is an example of *national branding*, because it depicts a happy country in northern Europe which has a perfect mix of grand nature, modern industry and vibrant culture. In observing this attempt at constructing a Swedish image, Kristofferson discusses how the national branding of Sweden utilizes IKEA. She concludes that since the 70s, IKEA have nurtured a company image of Swedishness. But since the 2000s, it seems like the roles have changed, and IKEA is now an important aspect of the national image of Sweden. The Swedish Institute explicitly agrees with this, saying that IKEA does more to spread the Swedish image than all national institutes combined (p. 101).

#### 4.4 *Där livet händer*

*Där livet händer*, as an object of study, brings with it an aspect necessary to address. Is it possible to analyze the storytelling of an artifact that consists of over twenty stories? Since the aim is to analyze identification in *Där livet händer* at large, the features that characterize the storytelling as a whole will be in focus. Put differently, what makes a specific story unique is not of interest here. Methodologically, this has the consequence that *Där livet händer* will be treated as a fragmented text but with properties that link the pieces together and make them a unified object of analysis.

# 5 Analysis

This chapter is divided into three sections. Each part aims to address the research questions formulated above (see ch. 1.1) according to the order in which they were presented.

Part one, *Motives & ratios in Där livet händer*, examines the storytelling using Burke's pentadic analysis. Part two, *Relationships between the implied audience and Swedish consumers*, discusses how and why certain linguistic features can be understood as idiomatic tokens, and explores the role metaphor and metonymy may play in producing meaningful stories for Swedish consumers. Part three, *Identification between the implied audience & Swedish consumers*, examines how we can analyze identification between an implied and actual audience using specific concepts.

The overarching aim of this chapter is to suggest how identification in storytelling can be analyzed.

## 5.1 Motives & ratios in *Där livet händer*

This section examines motives which orientate the storytelling. Are there ratios of dramatic terms that can explain motives in *Där livet händer*? First, the storytelling is examined using the pentadic terms individually. This serves two reasons. First, to understand similarities in motive across all stories. Second, to gain a better understanding of what stories are being told. Finally, by way of pentadic analysis, this part aims to examine what dramatic ratios orientate *Där livet händer* and toward what motive(s).

### 5.1.1 Act

Act “names what took place, in thought or deed” (Burke, 1969a, xv). *Da Capo* shares the story of a middle-aged son celebrating his elderly mother’s birthday at her retirement home. In *Komma hem* we follow a middle-aged woman travelling to an orphanage in Vietnam to adopt a young boy, and how they arrive to their home in Sweden. *Värkar* (Labor pains) shares a

woman's intense experience during labor pains. *Bad AD Ad* ironically shows the annoyance of being interrupted in the middle of an exciting movie, which leads to the family leaving the room. In *Close call* a naïve teenager hosts a home party that nearly spirals out of control, saved by a phone call to his parents who avert the oncoming crisis.

Every act in *Där livet händer* can be described as an agent's response to a situation in which she finds herself. In considering the five act ratios exemplified by Kneupper (see ch. 3.7), to which other term is act most closely connected? For example, when an act is necessitated by the scene, scene-act orientate the drama. This could be the case in *Bad AD Ad* when the family leaves the living room (act) in response to a sudden commercial break (scene). Yes, the scene brought on the act. But to claim it *necessitated* the act may be too generous; it should mean the family *always* leaves the room during commercial breaks. And more importantly, this could be turned around by suggesting that the act of leaving the room says more about the psychology of the agents than it does *scene necessitating action*, in which case agent-act better describes the ratio and orientation. Agency-act describes stories where agents act opportunistically, as in *Smita ut* (Sneak out) when the teenager sneaks out (act) through her bedroom window (agency) in the middle of the night (agency). And while many Swedish individuals will remember similar experiences from their teenage years, agency-act should describe an almost irresistible urge to act in the face of some agency. But the window is only an agency when the scene (nighttime here is both scene and agency) enables the act (sneaking out). Again, act is perhaps better understood by the qualities inherent in the agent (Swedish teenagers sneaks out during nighttime), rather than the agency or scene. Purpose-act is got when an act is motivated by duty, law, or some other purpose externally motivated. And no story is orientated as such. Act-act describes (re)action by A in response to action by B. Since the dramatistic terms are relative, it may be argued certain acts motivated other acts to some extent.<sup>37</sup> But the aim is to reveal an orientation common to the storytelling at large and in that sense act-act, like purpose-act, plays minor roles if any.

What can be observed here is that "act" is often depended on several ratios, but seems mainly motivated by the agents themselves (agent-act). As Kuypers writes, "from such a person, you would expect such acts" (p. 133). From Black's perspective, it can be argued what

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<sup>37</sup> Indeed, the same story can be explained from different ratios simultaneously.

motivates action by the agents are moral and cultural norms. The son in *Da Capo* celebrates his mother out of love, care, and respect (psychological qualities of the agent); necessity (agency), duty (purpose), context (scene), or reciprocity (act) are, at most, peripherally affecting the drama. While it can be argued the moral and cultural fabric constituting the agent's psychologies are rooted in a Swedish *Weltanschauung* (implying purpose-act), the stories are not orientated as such because the acts are still motivated mainly by qualities inherent in the agents.

### 5.1.2 Scene

Scene refers to “the background of the act, the situation in which it occurred” (Burke, 1969a, xv). What aspects of the situational contexts are common to all stories? The scene in *Skridskor* (Ice skates) situates a young girl in the living room of a Swedish villa on Christmas eve. *Möte i natten* (Meeting in the night) shares the story of a group of teenagers in a Swedish town during a summer evening. In *Lilla magikern* (Tiny magician) a young girl performs a magic trick during an evening dinner party in a Swedish villa. *Förälskelsen* (Infatuation) shares a brief and intense glimpse of a kissing couple in a Swedish apartment. *Smita ut* takes place in a teenage girl's room in a Swedish villa.

In taking a general look at *Där livet händer*, “scene” may be broadly described as *situations which occur in the homes of Swedes in contemporary Swedish society*.

### 5.1.3 Agent

Agent refers to “what kind of person performed the act” (Burke 1969a, p. xv). Thought of as such, who is the implied audience? What qualities unify all agents? *Gömstället* (The hiding place) is a story about a father and his young daughter playing hide-and-seek in their Swedish villa. *The Idol* is about a father realizing he has been preoccupied with work and has forgotten to spend time with his son who idolizes him. *Social Paus* describes a woman's exhausting experience during pregnancy while hosting a dinner party. *Vardag* (Workday) focuses on the everyday struggle of being a mother to messy teenagers.

“Agent” refers to all characters existing within the fictional universe of *Där livet händer*. They can be understood as IKEA’s version of *the typical average Swede and potential consumer*. Put differently, in a Burkean sense, the agents in *Där livet händer* are symbolic orientated representations of past, present and future potential Swedish consumers.

#### 5.1.4 Agency

Agency refers to “the means or instruments ... used” by the agents in acting within the scene (Burke, 1969a, xv). In *Varannan vecka* (Every other week) about a child’s experience in the wake of his parent’s separation, his room in both residences have been furnished similarly. Thus, the parents are counter-agents for separating, but simultaneously co-agents as they try to improve the child’s situation through the agency of furnishing his rooms. In *Överraskning* (Surprise), a woman is celebrated on her birthday by her partner with gifts and breakfast in bed. The gifts and breakfast in bed are agencies instrumental to the act of celebrating the agent’s birthday. Or, in *En god lyssnare* (A good listener) where a father tries to comfort his emotionally distressed teenage daughter, his patience and listening skills can be understood as agencies because the daughter eventually feels better because of him.

“Agency” in *Där livet händer* has to do with either inherent personality traits, or material objects used by co-agents. Agencies necessary to complete the dramas – be it personal qualities or material objects – are always motivated by the *Weltanschauung* of the agents.

#### 5.1.5 Purpose

Purpose often refers to why the act was done. As Benoit suggests, “motive(D) is an utterance that explains or interprets the act for an audience. It emphasizes some aspect (the nature of the agent, perhaps, or of the scene) that the rhetor wishes to highlight or feature for the audience” (p. 73). Understood as such, it can be asked whether purpose led the agents to act. For example, in *Bad AD Ad*, when the family leaves the living room because of the sudden commercial break, why did the agents leave the room? Here a simple answer could be sufficient: They left the room because commercial breaks are annoying. Indeed, in one sense, the family acted due to a feeling of annoyance in the face of constant TV-commercials. But perhaps more importantly,

it can be argued, here motive is not placed in purpose, but rather in an agent-act ratio. Because if motive were placed in purpose, agents would act not out of self-will, but necessity and duty. Similarly, in *Komma hem*, if motive were placed in purpose, the middle-aged woman's decision to adopt would not be her own, but sprung from some sense of duty or obligation. By employing the pentad thusly, it may be argued motive is not placed in purpose, because the agent's acts are not explained in such a way. Rather, as Burke explains, the agents' acts are orientated as being motivated by "some trait integral to [..., their] personality" (Burke, 1969a, xv).

### 5.1.6 Dramatistic ratios in *Där livet händer*

What dramatistic ratios orientate *Där livet händer* and toward what motive(s)? The analysis imply that agent-act orientates the storytelling toward a motive of featuring credible, emotional, and inspiring typologies of Swedes (agents) placed in situations (which imposes action) common to contemporary Swedish society (scenes). All stories are orientated toward the agents and their actions because scene, agency, and purpose are, at most, supporting dramatistic terms.

An example could illustrate this argument: In *Gömstället* focus is on the father (agent) and daughter's (agent) experience of playing hide-and-seek (act) in a Swedish villa (scene). But *Gömstället* could have been told differently by highlighting, for example, the important role played by the IKEA wardrobe in which the daughter hides. If *Gömstället* were constituted as such, motive would instead be placed in the agency of IKEA wardrobes, arguably creating an agency-scene, agency-agent, or agency-act ratio. Furthermore, if *Gömstället* was orientated as such, motive would be placed in promoting IKEA wardrobes, not the relationship between a father and a daughter. Motive in every story may be understood similarly, because focus lies always on the agent's and their actions. That is not to say, of course, that other dramatistic terms are absent. Scene plays a vital role in constituting a physical and contextual environment in which the agent can act. Agency too is often involved as external (physical objects, etc.) things or internal (psychological traits, etc.) attributes that assist the agents in their actions. Purpose plays a very limited role in *Där livet händer* since the agents act out of personal convictions and justifications. The agents' private purposes for their acts are not cases of motive placed in purpose, since such personality-based acts belong to a motive placed in agent. To understand motive, in which dramatistic term(s) emphasis is placed is examined. Again, if

motive were placed in purpose, the agents' actions would be guided by a sense of duty. But clearly this is not the case. Rather, the storytelling is orientated toward the agents and their actions.

## 5.2 Relationships between the implied audience and Swedish consumers

*Där livet händer* is orientated toward the agents and their actions. In this section, the implied audience will be examined. More specifically, the implied audience refers to a textually constituted second persona that reveals itself through culturally and/or morally conditioned linguistic features in the storytelling. The aim is not to describe in detail who the second persona is. The focus is to understand what image of an implied audience is constituted through Swedish cultural and moral references in the storytelling. The specific purpose of this section is to examine how the implied audience is constituted in the storytelling.

### 5.2.1 On viewing the implied audience as metonymical

This part is initiated by first assuming an important relationship between the implied and actual audience. In the context of *Där livet händer*, the implied audience is always only a tangible and proximate version of an intangible and complex collection of Swedish consumers. This can be explained otherwise by arguing the stories can never communicate narratives identical to any real Swedish individual's experience. As Burke argues, language is always "a *selection* of reality; and to this extent it must function as a *deflection* of reality" (*Language as Symbolic Action* p. 45). The implied audience is a *reduction* of the actual audience and so, *metonymical*.

Metonymy can be defined as the conveying of "some incorporeal or intangible state in terms of the corporeal or tangible" (p. 424). The second persona constituted throughout the storytelling is a *metonymical* attempt at creating a textual version of Swedish consumers. The implied audience is, at best, a credible depiction. When an actual audience watches *Da Capo*, they are met with a collection of cultural and moral references. The scene, the agents and their actions are attempts by IKEA to tell a story about celebrating one's mother at her retirement home. Such features may have a metonymical effect when a Swedish individual watches the

commercial and successfully identifies their own experience with the textual experience of the agent. Because each experience can never be identical with the other, *Da Capo* becomes a case of *explaining the intangible in terms of the tangible*. And each story may be explained from this perspective. From a metonymical perspective, then, the second persona is IKEA's attempt at constituting Swedish consumers (intangible) in terms of the implied audience (tangible).

### 5.2.2 Consubstantiality through metaphorical extension

Furthermore, for the stories to rhetorically influence Swedish consumers, *identification* needs to occur between them and the implied audience. In other words, the metonymical reduction needs to constitute a set of already established metaphorical extensions. Metaphorical extension refers to a previous epistemological process of language development, where the intangible has been made tangible by the viewing of something in terms of something else. For example, *Bad AD ad* is a tangible metonymical expression to Swedish consumers because they, as actual audiences, have been through similar experiences and agree on proximate, *metonymically reduced* ways of recounting such events through storytelling. Such an agreement of meanings implies a consubstantiality between the two audience categories; the network of interconnected cultural and moral references throughout the stories are accepted reductions. When the implied audience and Swedish consumers are consubstantial with one another, rhetorical identification may occur.

Burke's definition of metaphor centers around its epistemological function. A metonymical relationship between an implied and actual audience may be fundamental to successful rhetorical identification. More specifically, successful metonymies presuppose an already established consubstantiality between the implied audience and Swedish consumers. If consubstantiality were not present, identification would not be possible. Burke argues that language develops through metaphorical extension by the viewing of something in terms of something else. The successful use of metonymies, then, is a case of established metaphorical extensions. When IKEA communicates stories about life events common to Swedish consumers, the references are clear and meaningful to actual audiences because they have experienced something similar.



### 5.3 Identification between the implied audience and Swedish consumers

In trying to understand identification in *Där livet händer*, two arguments have been proposed thus far. The first has to do with motive. Specifically, part one argues the stories communicate a terministic screen where the implied audience and how she acts is emphasized throughout the storytelling. Part two argues that for rhetorical identification to be successful, already established metaphorical extensions are necessary to enable consubstantiality between the implied and actual audience. Furthermore, the stories are, at best, reduced and proximate implications of Swedish consumers, and so, metonymical. At this point, an idea toward what motive(s) the stories are orientated and how the implied audience is being constituted has been proposed.

IKEA's stories do not present a set of clear arguments available to the actual audience by which they may or may not be persuaded. Rather, *Där livet händer* is more akin to discourse where "the members of a group promote social cohesion by acting rhetorically upon themselves and another" (Burke, 1969b, p. 13). From a Burkean perspective, then, *Där livet händer* may influence Swedish consumers because the stories communicate a credible textual "Swede" to which they may rhetorically identify. When consubstantiality is achieved, Swedish consumers *see their own lives in terms of the implied audience*. And in incorporating Black's second persona, identification occurs not only between person (or group) A and B, but also and perhaps more accurately in the case of *Där livet händer*, between a credibly constituted textual "Swede" and Swedish consumers.

As Burke writes in *A Rhetoric of Motives*, when we examine "texts that are usually treated" as extra-rhetorical, traditional approaches with persuasion as key term seems incompatible, and so "we emerge from the analysis with ... [another] key term, 'Identification'" (p. 19). Indeed, "with this term [identification] as instrument, we seek to mark off the area of rhetoric, by showing how a rhetorical motive is often present where it is not usually recognized or thought to belong" (p. 19). The motive in *Där livet händer*, as is argued, is orientated toward the agent and their acts. And through metonymical effects, the stories communicate a set of cultural and moral references which constitute a second persona that credibly implies Swedish consumers through storytelling. Furthermore, for rhetorical identification to occur the implied and actual

audience need to be consubstantial with one another. At face value, consubstantiality requires not “A ... [to be] identical with ... B. But insofar as their interests are joined, A is identified with B” (Burke 1950, p. 20). In other words, for consubstantiality to occur, the use of already established metaphorical extensions (metonymies) are required. By understanding the scenes, agents, their actions, and agencies in *Där livet händer* as a collection of metonymical cultural and moral references, a textual “Swede” is constituted through the storytelling potentially consubstantial with Swedish consumers.

Burke’s *Weltanschauung* may help put into words and summarize the central argument here. To Burke, language use is motive in action. That is, the act of sharing an orientated perspective through symbolic (discursive) means. In *Där livet händer*, that motive is orientated toward an agent-act ratio because IKEA places the implied audience and how she responds to life events at the center of each story. But it is successful rhetorically only if the *Weltanschauung* of the target audience is credibly implied in the textual second persona. Of course, it cannot be argued with any certainty the extent to which *Där livet händer* successfully influences Swedish consumers. Rather, the aim is to make as good a case as possible for how and why their stories may be rhetorically effective. More concretely, the aim has been to propose a way how to analyze identification in storytelling. In understanding *Weltanschauung* as a worldview implied by orientated language use, the term may serve to summarize the central argument. IKEA’s storytelling may successfully influence Swedish consumers through identification only if meaningful aspects of their *Weltanschauung* is credibly communicated. Here, a credibly communicated *Weltanschauung* reveals itself through “the Swede”; a proximate (metonymical) textual implication of moral and cultural references meaningful (consubstantial) to Swedish consumers.

## 6 Discussion

This final chapter aims first to summarize the project and its conclusions. Next, a brief critique aims to ask of the thesis whether the research questions have been answered, and the explicit purpose fulfilled. Then, what future research could aid or be aided by this project? And finally, some closing thoughts to conclude the thesis.

This is a thesis about the use of storytelling in advertising. The aim is to analyze such discourse from a rhetorical perspective, to broaden our understanding about how it may function to influence people. In the introduction, three assertions outline the research area. First, that *the telling of stories is important to humans*. Second, that *storytelling is used in advertising to influence large groups of people today*. And third, that *rhetoric has tools that can help us understand such use of storytelling*. From these assertions, a need was found for further research in the field. Furthermore, the literature review strengthened the hypothesis because it showed a lack of Scandinavian rhetoric scholarship on the subject.

IKEA's advertising campaign is interesting because it tells stories with a focus seemingly unrelated to increasing revenue by promoting product or prices. Put differently, IKEA's storytelling seems not to be a case of *persuading* an audience by presenting a set of arguments. Instead, to understand potential rhetorical effects in *Där livet händer*, Burke's concept of *identification* may be a better approach. Therefore, a fourth assertion is that *discourse without obvious attempts at persuasion may still influence through identification and for such discourse, specific tools and methods may be required*. This line of reasoning stems from Burke who questioned the potential for rhetorical effects in discourse not commonly thought of as rhetorical. Rhetoric scholarship today would probably not consider advertising and storytelling categories of discourse where rhetorical influence "is not usually recognized or thought to belong" (Burke, 1969b, p. 19). During the twentieth century, rhetoric scholarship has evolved and broadened its scope, partly thanks to scholars like Burke. But again, as is examined above (see ch. 2.1-2), there still seem to be a lack of research in Scandinavian rhetoric scholarship on this specific subject. From this, an argument emerged about how Swedish people could be rhetorically influenced by IKEA's storytelling. A Swedish audience may appreciate the

advertising campaign because IKEA manages to communicate credible and empathic stories that describe parts of their lives.

## 6.1 A critical review

The thesis will be evaluated in two respects. First, whether the research questions have been answered and how. Second, and perhaps more importantly, if those answers and the thesis at large can be said to fulfil the purpose. Since sub-questions are meant to account for aspects that eventually lead to answering the main research question, the critique will begin there.

First, *Using the pentadic analysis, what dramatistic ratios orientate Där livet händer and toward what motive(s)?* This question was partly addressed in chapter three (see ch. 3.5-3.7), and explicitly answered in chapter five (see ch. 5.1). Dramatism and pentadic analysis served to understand what “was highlight[ed] or feature[ed] for the audience” (Benoit, p. 73). It was found that every story emphasized the agents and their actions; in Burkean terms an agent-act ratio. Perhaps not unexpected in an advertising campaign where the rhetor’s explicit aim was to “show in a credible, emotional, and inspiring way how people live their lives at home together with their IKEA products” (Resumé, 2016, Swedish original).

The second sub-question – *How is the implied audience constituted in the storytelling?* – seems broad but is narrowed down when considered within the context and confines of the research design. It is partly addressed in chapter three (see ch. 3.1-3.3), and specifically answered in chapter five (see ch. 5.2). Black’s second persona offered concepts and a terminology for understanding linguistic features in the stories as cultural and moral references which constitute a textual implication (second persona) of Swedish consumers. Burke’s master tropes provided a perspective from which to understand how the stories become meaningful to Swedish consumers.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> This last aspect – *how the implied audience become meaningful to Swedish consumers* – is not explicitly asked. But through the course of the thesis, it became an important aspect to consider for two reasons. First, to address how consubstantiality is made possible from an epistemological perspective. Second, to account for potential metonymical effects which

The third sub-question asked: *How can we analyze identification between an implied and actual audience using specific concepts?* It is partly addressed in chapter three (see ch. 3.4), and specifically answered in chapter five (see ch. 5.3). Burke's concept of identification provided a term for explaining how rhetorical influence may occur in discourse "where it is not usually recognized or thought to belong" (Burke, 1969b, p. 19). As is argued throughout the thesis (see for example ch. 3.1 and 3.4), IKEA's storytelling may influence an actual audience in ways not sufficiently covered by traditional rhetorical approaches. Rather, IKEA's use of storytelling in advertising may be rhetorically effective because it tells credible stories to which Swedish consumers identify. The results from these sub-questions should lead toward a comprehensive answer to the main research question: *How can we analyze identification in storytelling?* And in evaluating the results, I hope the sub-questions are answered, and a comprehensive suggestion to the main research question is provided.

Essentially, this thesis puts forth the argument that *identification* is central to potential rhetorical effects in storytelling. Indeed, it is a core assumption on which the argumentation rests. The aim was to propose a way to analyze identification. But for identification to be possible, several discursive qualities need to be fulfilled. This thesis may contribute to deeper understand potentially necessary preconditions. The actual audience must be credibly constituted in the storytelling. This textual implication of the actual audience – a second persona – is made up of a network of meaningful moral and cultural references. The actual audience (Swedish consumers) are thus consubstantial with the second persona (the implied audience). When Swedish consumers watch the stories, they see metonymical versions of their own experiences and potential references to practical/theoretical/moral role models. The father in *En god lyssnare* who shows patience by waiting outside his distressed daughter's room and finally manages to comfort her is a story many fathers might identify with. Identification may occur if they wish they were more like the implied father in the story, or perhaps they recognize themselves in the agent.

The general purpose is to, from a rhetorical perspective, contribute to our understanding of how storytelling in advertising may influence people. And in considering the above, I hope to

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characterizes the storytelling. And it is, I hope, suitably addressed under the second sub-question.

have shown that an attempt was made. The thesis does not consider what rhetorical identification may lead to. In a thesis about rhetoric, this can be viewed as a weakness. Once a suggestion about how to understand potential rhetorical effects in storytelling is provided, what are the consequences of such influence? Does it increase consumption of IKEA products by Swedish consumers? Or perhaps it affects IKEA's reputation (ethos)? In any case, such questions (although interesting and important) are set aside, and this exclusion is justified based on project design, previous research, and theory choices (see for example ch. 2).

## 6.2 Future research

When it comes to future research on storytelling, building on this thesis, an interesting point of departure could be an examination of deflected audience categories (third persona). It was briefly touched upon above (p. 24n); the third persona refers to audience categories excluded from the storytelling. On the one hand it can refer to obvious groups, such as people outside the country wherein a story is being told, or otherwise geographically removed from a *Weltanschauung*. But perhaps more relevant are groups within a country that are being excluded from the stories. Stories are always “a *selection* of reality; and to this extent it must function as a *deflection* of reality” (Burke, 1966, p. 45). Who is being deflected and why? What does it say about the second persona? Can such deflections be viewed as rhetorically strategic choices by a communicator? Probably yes. What ethical questions arise? These issues may possibly lay the groundwork for an interesting future study. Perhaps with Bruhn's (2019) dissertation as point of departure. Furthermore, I also believe a continuation of Burkean rhetoric could fit such a study.

As was briefly mentioned in the previous section, in considering this thesis' aim any speculation about actions taken by actual audiences in response to a story is difficult to discuss. Most actions are simply unavailable to this thesis and, more importantly, uninteresting in relation to the purpose. To clarify, in our example, the aim was never to analyze reactions in response to IKEA's advertising. Rather, the aim was to develop and explore a theoretical and methodical framework to approach and understand identification in storytelling. Furthermore, as was realized during the course of this thesis, the theory and method may also be applied elsewhere on, for example, other advertising or political speeches.

Dunn, in his dramatistic analysis of President Barack Obama's farewell address (Dunn 2018) does a good job showcasing how pentadic analysis allows the critic to discuss long- and short-term (re)actions by different audience categories. In this light, another potential avenue for future research could be to, like Dunn, employ Burkean rhetoric on stories about real events. *Där livet händer* is a case of fictional storytelling. Even though the stories are full of references based on actual audiences, they are nonetheless make-belief. Any of the stories could have been told differently. A different story might affect its success as commercial advertising, but could not risk give a false account of a real event. This as opposed to, for example, an account of a past event told by an attorney during a trial. The attorney is bound legally (and ethically) to uphold the truth in her statement about an event. Still, language use is always selective and deflective and so, the attorney may still orientate the story strategically. She is still able to imply an audience through linguistic features. The potential for rhetorical identification is still the same. But the consequence of storytelling based on real events might be subjected to a higher degree of scrutiny. And the consequences of a bad story about a real event will in many cases be higher depending on context. In this sense, this thesis could potentially be a source of theoretical and methodical frameworks, references, and illustrative examples of how to employ Burkean rhetoric.

Another important aspect not covered in this project is how ethos may affect the potential for rhetorical identification. Because although an actual audience may be credibly implied by storytelling, it's potential to influence should be, at least in part, determined by the rhetor's ethos. Or perhaps, it may turn out, rhetorical identification through storytelling is an effective tool to repair a damaged ethos. This could be an interesting research topic for future studies.

Finally, any visual rhetoric was omitted from this project due to limitations of scope. For example, in considering visual aspects, scene as dramatistic term could be a fruitful avenue for understanding how cultural references constitute a meaningful context (scene). Visual rhetoric has several concepts and tools potentially useful as contribution to this project or on its own.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> For Swedish scholarship on visual rhetoric, see for example Källström (2020).

### 6.3 Closing words: rhetorical vs mechanistic criticism

What does it mean to write a thesis about rhetoric? A question far too broad to answer. As is perhaps now clear to the reader, the field of rhetoric is a contested space. Rhetoricians have made it so by design. Some woo the contingency of discourse and others try to control it. If I were to place this thesis in a certain bracket, it would be the tradition of *rhetorical criticism* as defined by James A. Kuypers in *Rhetorical Criticism*. But it is more a wish than a statement. Rhetorical criticism should never be sterile. Sterile criticism lacks creativity and employs analytical tools mechanistically. Kuypers argues, citing Black, that...

...[b]ecause only the critic is the instrument of criticism, the critic's relationship to other instruments will profoundly affect the value of critical inquiry. And in criticism, every instrument has to be assimilated to the critic, to have become an integral part of the critic's mode of perception. A critic who is influenced by, for example, [Burkean Dramatism] and who, in consequence of that influence, comes to see some things in a characteristically dramatistic way—that critic is still able to function in his own person as the critical instrument, and so the possibility of significant disclosure remains open to him. But the would-be critic who has not internalized the pentad, who undertakes to “use” it as a mathematician would use a formula—such a critic is certain (yes, certain!) to produce work that is sterile. An act of criticism conducted on mechanistic assumptions will, not surprisingly, yield mechanistic criticism (Kuypers, 2016, p. xii)

Proper critique does not shy away from an author's subjectivity and personality. Rather, it actively involves her *informed opinion*. In short, as Kuypers explains in *Rhetorical Criticism*, “criticism is an art, not a science. It is not a scientific method; it uses subjective methods of argument; it exists on its own, not in conjunction with other methods of generating knowledge (i.e., social scientific or scientific)” (p. 14). The thesis can be described as a qualitative analysis based on subjective observations and conclusions. With that said, it is an intersubjective effort aimed to be understandable and, hopefully, accepted.

On these grounds, what can be said about this thesis? I arrive here with a feeling of discomfort as to its potential value for rhetoric scholarship. Not because it necessarily lacks value, but it remains unclear where it lies. There seem to be a need for Swedish rhetoric scholarship on the subject, and to this end my thesis may deserve merit. But merely producing



work on an ill-explored topic goes only so far. In evaluating the research project, as it stands now the important question is this: Does this thesis, and if so why, provide a useful answer to the research question at hand? There is, I hope, some potential value to be got. First and foremost, as a comprehensive attempt at explaining, discussing, and employing Burkean rhetoric. In this regard, its theory-probing effort may deepen and widen our understanding of how to analyze and understand identification in storytelling. Specifically, Burke's definition of motive is an unresolved issue to which this thesis tries to contribute. As Benoit shows, how the critic defines motive in Burke should decisively alter her perspective. Furthermore, as Burke and many before, this thesis tried to illustrate the established division within rhetoric scholarship that prevails. Even though this thesis is described as part of "new" rhetoric, Burke is often seen as a divisive scholar whose allegiance is not clear cut; he is simultaneously ambiguous and intriguing. Kirk's 1962 dissertation helps paint the picture. In the opening lines he writes: "The reaction to Burke's critical theories has been varied ... Burke himself seems content to theorize, leaving the application of his ideas to others" (p. 4-5). Regardless of purpose, then, this thesis examines the nature of Burkean rhetoric, attempts to translate his ideas into an instrument for the critical analysis of storytelling in advertising, and tests that instrument on *Där livet händer*.

For Scandinavian rhetoric scholarship, research on a relatively ill-explored category of discourse such as storytelling in advertising may hold some value in and of itself as a bad or good example to motivate future studies. And, if there is interest, as an initial step in a larger examination of IKEA's storytelling in advertising. Because from a Burkean perspective, as Kneupper rightly notes, "rhetoric is action, dramatism is an agency enabling critique of rhetorical action which can become the object of further analysis and critique" (Kneupper 1985, p. 305). Is this thesis a work of rhetorical criticism or mechanistic criticism? I cannot say. But for better or worse, this is a genuine attempt to "have [the Burkean instruments] become an integral part of ... [my] mode of perception," to say something new about potential rhetorical effects in Swedish IKEA advertising.

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# Appendix

Eighteen synopses of stories from *Där livet händer* are presented below. Some of these commercials have been heavily summarized, while others are more detailed. They serve to help the reader better understand the author's perception of IKEA's storytelling. A few dialogues have been transcribed, but without any paralinguistic signals.

## **Bad AD Ad**

One minute commercial about the annoyance of bad commercial breaks during a movie night.

A family is having a movie night in a typically Swedish living room. A commercial interrupt the movie at a thrilling moment. Evidently disappointed, everyone except for the dog leaves the room while the commercials are going.

## **Close call**

One minute commercial about what can go wrong when hosting a party, and the importance of having forgiving parents.

A teenager is waiting nervously in his home. Snacks are prepared at the living room tables. Suddenly the door rings and his friends arrive. As the evening progresses, more and more people arrive. The party is in full swing. Soon, friends of friends start to arrive, and the party is starting to spiral out of control. Eventually, the teenager calls his dad to avoid a disaster. The parents arrive home and cancels the party. In the final scene, the teenager, his parents, and a few friends are grilling together in the garden.

## **Da Capo**

Forty-five second commercial about a middle-aged man celebrating his mother on her birthday.

The man travels by communal bus from his apartment flat to his mother's retirement home. When he arrives, his mother looks distant and disconnected. He gives her a present and puts

on a vinyl record. When the melody starts, the mother starts to remember her son. The gift is a photograph of when they were younger. They start to dance to the melody and smile.

### **En god lyssnare (“A good listener”)**

One minute commercial about a patient father and distressed teenage daughter.

The teenage daughter walks up to her room, clearly distressed, and closes the door to her room with a slam. Her father waits outside her door while she screams that she does not want to speak with him. Another day, she still does not want to speak with him. Every time she slams the door the father sits outside and waits, and listens. One day she comes out and they smile at each other.

### **Förälskelsen (“Infatuation”)**

Twenty second commercial about passionate love.

Everything about the story is driven by a couple’s passionate kissing. They knock over cookware and the pasta is boiling over, but they keep kissing.

### **Gömsället (“The hiding place”)**

Twenty second commercial about a father and his young daughter playing hide and seek.

In the opening scene, the daughter is hiding in a wardrobe, sliding doors slightly opened. She has a cautious and serious face, her eyes are focused and constantly watching the door leading to the bedroom in which she is hiding. Her father enters the bedroom, he lifts the bedspread and looks under the bed. He opens one of the sliding doors to the wardrobe, he then opens the other sliding door. He finds his daughter and lifts her up with a smile. They are both laughing and smiling. The daughter kisses her father on the cheek.



### **Idolen (“The idol”)**

One minute commercial about a father who realizes that he has been so preoccupied with work that he has forgotten to spend time with his son.

A young boy is sitting on the floor, drawing something on a paper. Suddenly he hears a car pull up outside the house. It is his father arriving home from work. The son runs down and greets his father with a hug. His father smiles and says hi, but is simultaneously busy on the phone. The father quickly leaves the hallway and walks into another room, still talking on the phone. The son watches as his father leaves.

In the next scene the son is sitting at a table outside, drawing, while the father is standing in the garden, again talking on the phone, apparently work related. Another day, the son and the father is walking in the nature with fishing equipment. Once again, the father busy on the phone. In the next scene the son and the father are sitting at his father’s office table in the evening. The father receives yet another call and leaves the room. While on the phone call, the father enters his son’s room. On his son’s table he finds some of his drawings. He realizes that his son has been drawing images of them together, but the father is always holding a phone to his ear.

In the next scene the son is playing a video game by himself in the living room. The father enters the room and puts his phone down on a table. He then asks his son if he can join. The son gives a broad smile. In the next scene the son and the father are playing video games together.

### **Komma hem (“Arriving home”)**

One minute commercial about adoption.

This is a story about an emotional meeting between a mother and her son. In the opening scene the first character is introduced, a Swedish middle-aged woman traveling by taxi in an Asian country. She is clearly nervous, and her gaze wanders from chaotic traffic and foreign billboards down to her lap where she is holding a teddy bear which she is stroking thoughtfully.

Once she arrives at her destination, a villa somewhere in the foreign city, she is greeted by a lady at the entrance and she is led through the villa complex, passing over a backyard and

into another building. All the while she is looking around, but she doesn't seem to acknowledge the surroundings, she is preoccupied with anticipation for something.

When they arrive in the building, she is introduced to a man sitting in front of an office desk. She is asked to sit down and is handed a document. She signs some pages after having looked through them, and hands the document back to the man in front of her. At this she offers him a smile. It is immediately followed by a quick breath of air and a serious face. She is realising that what she has been waiting for is about to happen very soon, and it is very real.

The lady who first greeted her leads her into another room where she is asked to wait. She sits down at a chair along the wall, waiting and again holding and stroking the teddy bear. She can hear someone outside the room and turns her gaze and she can see movements through the closed glass door. When the door opens she stands up and faces it.

A young boy curiously peeks into the room where a woman that he recognizes very well is standing with a warm smile. He walks up to her and hands her the photo album with all the pictures from where he knows her, and she gives him the teddy bear. They sit together and look through the pictures that she had sent to him. He points at the picture of her, and laughs happily. Under the picture she had written "Can't wait to meet you". Now she finally has him in her lap and wipes away a tear while he shows her another picture that she took of the street with the yellow two-story house, the cars and everything covered in a layer of snow, "Welcome Charlie! This is your new home. Look, it's snow on the ground!"

They arrive together in a taxi at the yellow two-story house. They enter the house, and in the hallway, he curiously looks around while she helps him take off his jacket. They are together in the living room. She is sitting on the floor beside him while he is playing with some toys. On the carpet just besides, there lies the teddy bear. Above him upon the wall are three lamps in the shape of balloons.

### **Möte i natten ("Meeting in the night")**

Forty second commercial about the joy of spending time with friends during summer holiday.

A summer evening, five teenagers are walking in the city, laughing, and joking. Behind some bushes another group of teenagers are hiding, two more are hiding behind a car. With serious and focused faces, they are observing the first group. When the first group of teenagers

are close enough, the other group jumps out from their hiding places and screams. At first scared and surprised, the first group soon realized that it is their friends. They all laugh and greet each other. In the next scene they all walk home to someone's house. In the garden they greet some more friends. They all sit together in the garden, having a grill party. Laughing and joking.

### **Lilla magikern ("Tiny magician")**

Forty-five second commercial about the small, often sudden, joys and troubles of life.

In the opening scene a family is having dinner. A couple, probably in their thirties, have invited their parents and they are all sitting at the dining table talking. The mood is calm and homely with a lot of smiles and laughs. They have finished eating, and they are now having some coffee. A few are still sipping on their wine. Throughout these opening scenes a melody is playing in the background.

In the next scene, the couple's youngest daughter walks in from the kitchen dressed as a magician with a hat and cape, carrying in one hand a suitcase and in the other a large cassette player. When the adults notice her, they cheer and smile. Her mother asks, surprised but jokingly, "Where have you been?" and "Are you still awake?". The couple's older daughter, lying in the sofa and tapping on her smartphone, throws a quick and casual glance at what is happening and then returns to her own business. The little magician walks with a smile and with determined steps to the long side of the dining table and positions herself. She places the cassette player on a chair beside her and turns up the volume wheel. As she does this the melody is turned up and becomes the prominent sound.

The young daughter then performs a magic trick where she places a spoon under a blanket, and seemingly makes it disappear by sliding it off the table. The adults are clapping and cheering. For her next trick, she aims a magic wand toward the lamp hanging over the dining table and with a few movements and a spell "Sim sala bim", she switches the lamp off and on. Behind her back she holds a light switch remote control. Her audience cheers on and is clearly entertained. Now, for her final trick, she grabs hold of the tablecloth, and with a jerk drags it up and toward her. It doesn't unfold exactly as she planned. The reaction is shown in slow

motion. Everything on the table - wine glasses, plates, lit candles, coffee cups - starts flying in every direction.

### **Överraskning (“Surprise”)**

Twenty second commercial about the little things that people do for the ones they care about.

It is the birthday morning of a woman who is lying in bed, knowing that any minute her partner will surprise her with breakfast in bed. It is a sunny morning, birds are singing outside the window, and the woman is lying in bed doing something on her smartphone. She is calm and smiling. Outside the bedroom she hears her partner approaching and quickly puts the smartphone away, takes off her glasses and pretends to be asleep. Holding a bed tray filled with breakfast and gifts, he glances at her cautiously as if to confirm that she is still sleeping. He walks over to her side of the bed and says, “Happy birthday”.

She pretends to wake up when he arrives, smiles and says “How nice. Wow.” In the next scene they sit together in bed and the man gives the woman a kiss on the cheek. In the final scene, filmed from the entrance of the bedroom, the man is pouring up coffee, the woman is opening a birthday gift to which she acts surprised and looks at the man. He nods and smiles, and she laughs.

### **Skridskor (“Ice skates”)**

Twenty second commercial about unforeseen consequences of seemingly innocent mischief.

A young girl, on Christmas eve, walks up to one of her presents and opens it. She finds a pair of ice-skates. She puts them on and starts spinning around with them on a wooden floor, making clear marks all over the floor. She then tries to hide the obvious scratches by putting a carpet over them.

### **Smita ut (“Sneak out”)**

Twenty second commercial about sneaking out without parents’ knowledge. A young woman is in her room and getting dressed and putting on makeup. When she is done, she sneaks out through her window.

### **Social Paus**

Twenty second commercial about the struggles of pregnancy for a woman.

We are invited to a dinner amongst friends. While a male voice is talking, “Marcus, hmm, he started walking when he was nine months old” At the same time, the camera focuses on one of the women, she looks distracted but listens with a polite smile. She stands up and leaves the table with food plates in each hand as if to clear the table. All the while the man continues, “Well, I also started walking at an early age”. Walking out of the room, back turned against the party, she takes a deep breath and loses her polite smile. She passes a bedroom and stops and observes a large bed in the middle of the bedroom. Carefully and quietly, she places the plates that she was holding in her hands on a dresser next to her, just outside the bedroom. The man talking about his kid.

In the next scene the woman, filmed from above, lies down on the bed in exhaustion and with closed eyes. In the final scene the bedroom is shown from the hallway, the woman lying in bed with her arms above her head, legs hanging down on the edge. She brings her hands to her forehead and moves them toward her hair.

### **Tupplur (“Nap”)**

Twenty second commercial about a sleeping grandfather and his grandson.

A young boy walks up to his grandfather who is sleeping on a couch. He is snoring loudly. The young boy looks at his grandfather carefully and feels his large belly which is extending and retracting profoundly. Suddenly an old pendant watch starts clinking, and he quickly runs out of the room. The grandfather keeps sleeping.

### **Varannan vecka (“Every other week”)**

One minute commercial about a child’s experience during his parent’s separation.

A young boy is waiting in his room. In the next scene the father of the son arrives, and the son’s mother opens the door. They say hi, but there are clearly some tensions in the air. The mother calls for her son to come down because his father has arrived. He takes his bag and packs his pens. In the next scene the boy is sitting in the backseat of the car, holding his pens in his hand. The father and the son arrive at the father’s apartment. The boy walks into his room at his father’s place which looks very similar to the room at his mother’s place.

### **Vardag (“Workday”)**

One minute commercial about the struggles of being a mother to teenagers who does not seem to care, and how they sometimes surprise.

A mother comes home from work with two large bags of groceries. She arrives home and can barely open the door because the hallway is messy. When she walks in her kids doesn’t notice her, the kitchen is dirty. She drops the two bags filled with groceries and throws her handbag to the floor and walks out of the apartment. While she is standing at the balcony in exhaustion, the kids in the apartment, who had heard the mother dropping the groceries, start cleaning around. One of the kids go out to the mother and asks her to come in. When she comes back in, the hallway has been cleaned, and all the kids are cleaning the kitchen.

### **Värkar (“Labor pains”)**

Twenty second commercial about the struggles of pregnancy for a woman.

A woman is on her knees at her home and is clearly in labor pain. Breathing heavy and trying to control the pain. The man is calling a taxi, but there is a queue. In the final scene they are leaving the apartment.