

This is a self-archived version of an original article. This version may differ from the original in pagination and typographic details.

Author(s): Isoaho, K.; Burgas, D.; Janasik, N.; Mönkkönen, M.; Peura, M.; Hukkinen, J. I.

Title: Changing forest stakeholders' perception of ecosystem services with linguistic nudging

Year: 2019

Version: Accepted version (Final draft)

Copyright: © 2019 Published by Elsevier B.V.

Rights: CC BY-NC-ND 4.0

Rights url: <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>

Please cite the original version:

Isoaho, K., Burgas, D., Janasik, N., Mönkkönen, M., Peura, M., & Hukkinen, J. I. (2019). Changing forest stakeholders' perception of ecosystem services with linguistic nudging. *Ecosystem Services*, 40, Article 101028. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ecoser.2019.101028>

Changing forest stakeholders' perception of ecosystem services with linguistic nudging

Isoaho, K.^{1*}, Burgas, D.², Janasik-Honkela, N.³, Mönkkönen, M.⁴, Peura, M.⁵ & Hukkinen, J.I.⁶

1* Corresponding author

Environmental Policy Research Group

Department of Social Research

PO Box 54

00014 University of Helsinki, Finland

Email: Karoliina.isoaho@helsinki.fi

Tel: +358408456530

² Centre for Ecological and Evolutionary Synthesis (CEES), Department of Biosciences, University of Oslo, NO-0316 Oslo, Norway; Global Change and Conservation Department of Biosciences, University of Helsinki, P.O. Box 65, FI-00014 Helsinki, Finland

Email: daniel.burgasriera@helsinki.fi

³ Environmental Policy Research Group, Department of Social Research, PO Box 54, 00014 University of Helsinki, Finland

Email: nina.honkela@helsinki.fi

⁴⁻⁵ University of Jyväskylä, Department of Biological and Environmental Science, P.O. Box 35, 40014 Jyväskylä, Finland. Emails: mikko.monkkonen@jyu.fi; maiju.h.peura@jyu.fi

⁶ Environmental Policy Research Group, Department of Social Research, PO Box 54, 00014 University of Helsinki, Finland

Email: janne.i.hukkinen@helsinki.fi

1 Changing forest stakeholders' perception of ecosystem services with linguistic nudging

2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59

Abstract. This paper explores whether the perceptions of forest owners and professionals could be nudged towards more sustainable management practices by adjusting a policy text's metaphorical content. Recent research has demonstrated a link between information interventions and preference change, but there is a need to further explore individuals' reactions to information on forest-based ecosystem services and to link these to the design of policy instruments. We contribute to narrowing this gap by nudging the content of a policy text comparing rotation forest management (RFM) and continuous cover forestry (CCF), and exposing it to forest stakeholders. The research is carried out in Finland, the so-called 'forest nation' of Europe, whose economy and culture is closely tied to forests. The results highlight a deep-rooted opinion divide between Finnish forest owners and professionals: the professionals reacted significantly more negatively towards policy text emphasising continuous cover practice than forest owners. Our results support the use of linguistic nudging as a complement to other policy instruments, but they also highlight the challenges of using one-fits-all approaches to make policies more palatable. In our study, the stakeholders' different reaction to nudge was also explained by their age, and type and degree of prior knowledge on forest management.

Keywords: Forest management, sustainability, nudge, cognitive dissonance, choice architecture, informational intervention.

1. Introduction

The concept of ecosystem services (ES) is central for environmental management and policy (MEA, 2005). First used as a metaphor to introduce environmental issues into the 'dominant paradigms and language of economics, services and values' (Kronenberg, 2014, p. 1), the concept has transformed into a widely-used model that attempts to make conservation and sustainable ecosystem management practices more operational for decision-making (Norgaard, 2010). While economic and biophysical valuation and assessment have dominated the ES scene (Burkhard et al., 2014; Carnol et al., 2014), recent literature has emphasised the concept's suitability for examining the effects that stakeholder values and perceptions have on sustainability (Asah et al., 2014; Matthies et al., 2018; Menzel and Teng, 2010; Urgeson et al., 2013).

ES are defined as 'the benefits people obtain from ecosystems' (MEA, 2005, p. 49). Forests provide a variety of these benefits, ranging from goods (food, fuel), supporting services (biodiversity), provisioning services (biomass, water supply) and regulating services (carbon sequestration) to social and cultural services (recreation, spiritual and cognitive development) (Peters et al., 2015). The perceptions, preferences and values that forest stakeholders hold towards these services have important ramifications for sustainability. This is because forest owners and professionals often control numerous forest-based ES, and are thus able to influence the processes that determine future forest management and use (Häyrinen et al., 2016). Studies have, however, shown that stakeholder perceptions are affected by multiple factors and ownership objectives (Abdoellah et al., 2015; Raymond et al., 2013). These include, for example, emotional attachments to forest lands, heritage

60
61
62 42 values and economic security, practical benefits from forests, the importance of forests and emotional
63 43 bonds formed through working within silvicultural systems (Häyrynen et al., 2016; Kearney, 2001).
64 44 In this paper, we explore whether the values and perceptions of stakeholders in the field of forest
65 45 management could be shifted towards sustainability by adjusting the metaphorical content of a policy
66 46 text.

69 47 Our study is motivated by two intertwined phenomena. First, a concise but specific literature has
70 48 already examined the effects that different types of information have on stakeholder perceptions in
71 49 forest management (Ford et al., 2009; Kearney, 2001; Matthies et al., 2016; Ribe, 2006; Smith et al.,
72 50 2012). Several studies demonstrate a link between information interventions and preference change,
73 51 but only to some degree (Kearney, 2001). While the picture of the effects remains mixed, the
74 52 commonly reported message is intriguing. Reactions to informational interventions depend very
75 53 much on the ways in which information is adapted to existing internal representations at the individual
76 54 level (Ford et al., 2009; Matthies et al., 2016). For example, prior research has shown that stakeholders
77 55 who hold strong opinions or attitudes towards management practices tend to ignore new information,
78 56 especially if it contradicts their beliefs (Kearney, 2001). We therefore see a need to further explore
79 57 individuals' reactions to information on forest-based ES and to link these reactions to the design of
80 58 effective policy instruments. This has sparked our interest in drawing on the concept of cognitive
81 59 dissonance when applying the behavioural policy instrument of *nudging* (Thaler and Sunstein, 2008).
82
83
84
85

86 61 Second, our motivation has been inspired by an ongoing global trend in forest management. In many
87 62 places, there has been a gradual transition from rotation forest management (RFM) (*i.e.* clear-felling)
88 63 to continuous cover forestry (CCF) (Kröger and Raitio, 2017). While the effectiveness and the relative
89 64 performance of these two management practices is still under scholarly debate, the CCF practice is
90 65 increasingly discussed in terms of sustainability (Pukkala, 2016)¹. In addition, there is evidence that,
91 66 in some cases, CCF offers more ES and yields significantly less negative impacts on biodiversity and
92 67 on forests' recreational value than its RFM counterpart (Peura et al., 2018). The question then arises:
93 68 is it possible to nudge stakeholder perceptions towards pro-CCF stances by using informational
94 69 interventions? We examine this possibility by conducting a nationwide survey focusing on two
95 70 different forestry stakeholder groups in Finland, forest owners and forest professionals.
96
97
98
99

100 72 We will first critically reflect on the nudge literature and metaphorical framing, and discuss these
101 73 with respect to the concept of cognitive dissonance. We then present the data, methods and results of
102 74 our empirical study. We conclude with implications for future work.
103
104
105

106 77 **2. Informational interventions targeting stakeholder perceptions**

107 78 **2.1 Linguistic nudging**

109 79 In recent years, a specific literature has examined the effects that different types of information may
110 80 have on stakeholder perceptions in forest management (Ford et al., 2009; Kearney, 2001; Matthies et
111

113 ¹ It is important to note that we do not argue CCF being automatically better than RFM from the sustainability perspective
114 in all cases.
115
116
117
118

119
120
121
122
123
124
125
126
127
128
129
130
131
132
133
134
135
136
137
138
139
140
141
142
143
144
145
146
147
148
149
150
151
152
153
154
155
156
157
158
159
160
161
162
163
164
165
166
167
168
169
170
171
172
173
174
175
176
177

81 al., 2018; Ribe, 2006; Smith et al., 2012). Several studies have been able to demonstrate a link
82 between information interventions and preference change, but this link is found to greatly depend on
83 the ways in which information aligns with the internal representations of the target (Ford et al., 2009;
84 Matthies et al., 2016).

85 Nudging, subtle interventions designed to guide individuals' decision-making (Thaler and Sunstein,
86 2008), is a useful concept for linking information interventions with individuals' perceptions to
87 forest-based ES. In essence, a nudge is defined as 'any aspect of the choice architecture that alters
88 people's behaviour in a predictable way without forbidding any options or significantly changing their
89 economic incentives' (Thaler and Sunstein, 2008, p. 6). Nudge theory asserts that designing the
90 context of choice matters because the chooser is often unaware of the context and thus ends up making
91 irrational decisions that are, in many situations, harmful and not necessarily in the chooser's best
92 interest (Thaler and Sunstein, 2008). As a policy instrument that affects the unconscious processes of
93 the human mind, nudging can therefore be seen to offer a means to encourage optimal behaviour and
94 attitudes (Stoknes, 2014, p. 7).

95 In their original work on nudge theory, Thaler and Sunstein (2008) investigate framing-based nudges,
96 and argue that different ways of presenting information can adjust the way people perceive the
97 implications of their choice. In light of this, our interest is in linguistic nudging devices that seek to
98 induce attitude and perception change through metaphorical framing. Several studies within cognitive
99 linguistics and social psychology assert that even subtle metaphorical modifications in a text can have
100 a powerful influence over how people perceive the information they are exposed to (Lakoff, 2004;
101 Thibodeau and Boroditsky, 2011). However, even if informational nudges could be framed in
102 cognitively attractive ways that reflect an audience's mental models with the help of metaphors,
103 metaphorical framing in a nudge requires an understanding of a given audience's cognitive reactions
104 when exposed to such a frame. We argue that cognitive dissonance is an important element in the
105 unconscious processes of nudging, and thus integral to how a message is perceived and received in
106 informational nudges.

107 Just like nudging, cognitive dissonance operates within the intuitive processes of decision-making,
108 behaviour and attitude change. A key tenet of dissonance theory is that people have an innate desire
109 to hold their mental representations – their beliefs, attitudes, behaviours, decisions and commitments
110 – in harmony. Cognitive dissonance is a state of tension that emerges when an individual
111 simultaneously holds two or more psychologically inconsistent yet related cognitions (ideas,
112 attitudes, beliefs, opinions, knowledge) (Festinger, 1957, p. 3). The theory holds that the feeling of
113 cognitive dissonance is a motivational state, which will drive the individual to act to restore
114 consonance. In other words, if their beliefs are not in line with their behaviour, people will start to
115 adjust their beliefs or behaviour to reduce dissonance. Given that external interventions have been
116 found to nearly always produce some form of cognitive conflict (Festinger, 1957, p. 262; Festinger
117 and Carlsmith, 1959), it can be suggested that the way audiences accept a message would depend on
118 a nudge's ability to reduce cognitive dissonance in the targets. Put differently, we argue that cognitive
119 dissonance theory helps explain the different ways in which audiences accept a message containing
120 new information.

178
179
180
181
182
183
184
185
186
187
188
189
190
191
192
193
194
195
196
197
198
199
200
201
202
203
204
205
206
207
208
209
210
211
212
213
214
215
216
217
218
219
220
221
222
223
224
225
226
227
228
229
230
231
232
233
234
235
236

Empirical work on the dissonance theory has found that individuals most often reduce dissonance in a way that helps maintain business-as-usual (Aronson, 2012; Festinger, 1957). Accordingly, in the nudge literature, reducing cognitive dissonance has been identified as a tool to enhance pro-environmental communication (Carrico et al., 2011; Dröge, 2008; Lehner et al., 2015; Stoknes, 2014; Wolf and Moser, 2011). Cognitive dissonance has also been found to partially explain environmental science denial among publics (McDonald et al., 2015; Stoknes, 2014). Interestingly, it could be argued that scholars in ecosystem management were also operating with the theory of cognitive dissonance in creating the ES concept. When the concept was first introduced, there was a need to create a ‘mind changer’ for policy – starting from the premise that ‘destroying the environment runs counter to humans’ interests’ (Kronenberg, 2014, p. 1). Hence, the ES concept was used as a metaphor to help introduce environmental issues into the prevailing economic paradigms (Kronenberg, 2014, p. 1), and to help communicate the benefits and harms related to environmental management with less cognitive dissonance.

2.2 Targeting forest stakeholders’ perception of CCF with linguistic nudging

As we have explained above, current literature on the effects that different types of information may have on stakeholder perceptions in forest management have found that the reactions to informational interventions depend on the ways in which information is adapted to existing internal representations at individual level (Ford et al., 2009; Kearney, 2001; Matthies et al., 2016; Ribe, 2006; Smith et al., 2012). The perceptions assigned to ecosystems are often found to closely ‘relate to different personal objectives, concerns and priorities for ecosystem management’ as well as emotional attachment to these services (Asah et al., 2012; Kearney, 2001; Lamarque et al., 2011, p. 1).

The dissonance theory would predict that these personal objectives, concerns and affect will motivate stakeholders to choose different dissonance reduction strategies when exposed to an informational nudge. In informational interventions targeting attitude change, it is mainly possible to operate with strategies to reduce belief-based cognitive elements. The methods for eliminating dissonant beliefs are well defined (Aronson, 2012; Festinger, 1957; Steele, 1988). People often choose between (1) reducing or denying the importance of the dissonant beliefs (e.g. new information is weighted as less important than existing information or knowledge about the topic); (2) adding more consonant beliefs that outweigh the dissonant beliefs; or (3) changing the dissonant beliefs so that they are no longer inconsistent (Festinger, 1957, p. 264).

The remaining paper therefore investigates how two different stakeholder groups react to a linguistically nudged policy text communicating pro-CCF management practices. We explore the nudge effect between and among Finnish forest owners and professionals. Finland offers a fruitful context in which to explore linguistic nudging in forest management communication. Finnish official silvicultural instructions currently recommend RFM practice, which has been predominant for decades and fiercely promoted at the expense of uneven-aged management. Today, however, owners and professionals in the country have more alternatives and flexibility to manage their forest land sustainably (Pukkala et al., 2011). Moreover, and importantly, current research points to a clear opinion divide regarding forest management practices in Finland. Forest professionals have been found to hold more antagonistic attitudes towards CCF than forest owners (Haltia et al., 2017).

237

238

239

240 163

241 164

242 165

243 166

244 167

245 168

246 169

247 170

248 171

249

250 171

251 172

252 173

253

254 174

255 175

256 176

257 177

258 178

259 179

260 180

261 181

262 181

263 182

264 183

265

266 184

267 185

268 186

269

270 187

271 188

272 189

273 190

274 191

275 191

276

277 192

278 193

279 194

280 195

281 196

282 197

283 198

284 199

285 200

286

287

288 201

289 202

290 203

291 204

292 204

293

294

295

Professionals' attitudes favour business as usual with RFM management practices. Conversely, forest owners have been found to embrace more objectives than before, such as gaining recreational value and maintaining the biodiversity of forests. It is reported that a gradual approval of high thinning and uneven-aged management practices has given owners more freedom to manage their forests and, as a consequence, has led to CCF gaining popularity and societal acceptance among owners (Hallikainen et al., 2010; Häyrynen et al., 2016; Matthies et al., 2018). Given these contrary attitudes, examining the two groups' reactions to a linguistically nudged policy text on CCF is likely to inform us on the dissonance effect and reduction strategies in informational nudging.

Based on our earlier pilot experiments on linguistic nudging of laymen and professionals (Lonkila, 2017) as well as the theoretical perspectives and empirical findings presented above, we hypothesise that

- 1) *Finnish forest professionals reject the CCF frame* due to their business-as-usual and RFM-favouring prior attitudes (i.e., reduce cognitive dissonance by downplaying the importance of the CCF frame).
- 2) *Finnish forest owners adopt a consonant element that would render the CCF frame preferable* due to the group embracing broader objectives for forest management, including preference for social and cultural ES and emotional attachment to forest land (i.e., reduce cognitive dissonance by adding more consonant beliefs that outweigh the dissonant beliefs).

We tested these hypotheses in a nationwide study.

3. Background: Finnish forest ownership and management

In Finland, forest ownership is fragmented. Non-industrial private forest owners constitute the largest segment of the forest sector, owning over 60 per cent of the productive forests and supplying over 80 per cent of round-wood for industrial use. The government owns 25, forest industries 10, and municipalities and parishes five per cent of the forest cover (Finnish Statistical Yearbook of Forestry, 2014).

The non-industrial private forest owner group can be further divided into active and passive owners, the latter referring to owners who have not engaged in forest management practices in the past ten years (Haltia et al., 2017). The private forest owners consist largely of an older generation (representing 10 per cent of forest land in industrial use), but a generational shift is expected to take place in the coming decades as forests are passed on to younger generations in families (Hujala et al., 2007). The sex ratio among forest owners in the 2010s has been estimated to be 38 per cent female 62 per cent male, and 44 per cent female and 56 per cent male when co-operatives are also taken into account. In general, women have been found to own smaller areas of forest land than men (Karppinen and Hänninen, 2017).

In 2017, the forest sector provided employment for 59 000 people (Luonnonvarakeskus, 2018). Forestry professionals are defined here as individuals holding positions within silviculture practices but also within administration, marketing and communication in the field of forest management. In the Finnish forest management system, the interaction between professionals and private forest

296
297
298
299
300
301
302
303
304
305
306
307
308
309
310
311
312
313
314
315
316
317
318
319
320
321
322
323
324
325
326
327
328
329
330
331
332
333
334
335
336
337
338
339
340
341
342
343
344
345
346
347
348
349
350
351
352
353
354

owners is key. The professionals are responsible for passing information and advice about management practices on to owners. All new private forest owners are also invited to develop forest management plans together with professionals and with the help of a state-funded field inventory. It has been found that in cases where professionals' and owners' interest conflict, often no management plan is agreed upon (Hujala and Tikkanen, 2008).

Between the mid- to late-1900s, even-aged rotation forest management (RFM) combined with low thinning was the dominant silviculture practice in Finland, and alternative forms of management were discouraged. One major reason for the intensive promotion of RFM was its capacity to produce cheap raw material for the Finnish pulp and paper industry (Kröger and Raitio, 2017). However, reflecting the global paradigm shift on forestry practices and concerns over the ecological and climatic consequences of intensive management, the regulations on Finnish forest management have gradually been changing. In 2014, the government passed the new Forest Act, which increased forest owners' freedom to manage their own land, and thus offered an avenue to diversify forest management practices. The Forest Act was expected to increase the popularity of CCF, yet, to date, the shift to new management practices has been slow. Only 3.7 percent of forest land was under CCF in 2018 (measured between January-May) (Metsäkeskus, 2018).

4. Data and Methods

To test our hypotheses, we invited Finnish private forest owners and forestry professionals to participate in a nationwide survey. We sent the survey to 6466 private forest owners and to 7236 forest professionals. We received a total of 2807 complete responses (private forest owners $n=1552$; forest professionals $n=1255$).

The survey comprised of two parts: a questionnaire collecting background information on the participants and *the nudge*. The first part asked for basic information on the respondents (age, gender, level of education) but also included specific questions on their level of knowledge in forest management, forest economy and environmental issues.

In the latter part, the participants were asked to read a short policy text written by an expert on various issues related to RFM and CCF silviculture practices. The text discussed growth and regeneration, economic and environmental impacts as well as risks and vulnerability to damage. The participants were then asked to estimate the preference (1. worth striving for), plausibility (2. convincing, 3. feels real, 4. realistic) and understandability of the text (5. clear, 6. coherent, 7. well written) on a scale of one to five. Our measure of the respondent's *stance* on CCF was the sum of all these seven variables. This variable was then converted to a range from -1 to 1 for more clarity, with 1 representing a person totally agreeing on the text content.

To see if stakeholder perception or valuation can be influenced with linguistic nudging, we designed four versions of the text presented in the questionnaire. Each text had a different emphasis, either neutral (NEUTRAL), emphasis towards RFM (RFM), minor favouring towards CCF (MINOR) or major emphasis towards CCF (MAJOR. See Appendix A). The MINOR text was nudged to favour

355
356
357 243 CCF by emphasising economic factors, whereas the MAJOR one was modified to emphasise both
358 244 economics and ecology.
359
360 245

361 246 The original text (RFM) was extracted and shortened from the guidelines published by the Forestry
362 247 Development Centre Tapio, which is a stated-owned company under the auspices of the Finnish
363 248 Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry. The Tapio guidelines were chosen because of their key role in
364 249 providing up-to-date scientific information and advice for both forest owners and professionals. We
365 250 will next explain the process of developing the nudges in detail.
366
367 251

368 252 **4.1. The Nudge**

369 253 We use metaphorical framing, a linguistic nudging device that seeks to induce attitude and perception
370 254 change. Metaphors activate emotional states and patterns of thought that can nudge people's reactions
371 255 toward certain directions (Hukkinen, 2012; Thibodeau and Boroditsky, 2011). This is because
372 256 adjusting a text's metaphorical content deals both with the wording of the message as well as the
373 257 dispositional perceptions of the recipients (Bao and Ho, 2015; Ferraro and Price, 2013; Thaler and
374 258 Sunstein, 2008). In other words, given that emotion-based evaluations have been shown to be
375 259 activated prior to reflective judgements (Slovic et al., 2007), intuitive inputs as responses to
376 260 interventions can influence the reflective accounts of the human mind directly (Kahneman, 2011;
377 261 Michalek et al., 2016).
378
379 262

380 263 We used the metaphor identification procedure (MIP) to design the nudged policy texts. MIP is a
381 264 systematic method for linguistic metaphor identification, developed by the Pragglejazz Group and
382 265 tested for its reliability (Steen et al., 2010). In modifying the original Tapio text, we first identified
383 266 lexical items as metaphorical in accordance with the procedure described by Steen et al. (2010), and
384 267 then changed the wording to make the metaphors explicit to the desired version of the nudge. For
385 268 example, for the MINOR nudge, we characterized the costs of forest management in terms of "flows"
386 269 of money, and in the MAJOR nudge, we added to this the characterization of CCF in terms of "denser
387 270 networks of habitats" and the "richness" of forests in terms of biodiversity as well as health benefits
388 271 for humans. In changing the wordings, we based our shifts of terms on the work on primary and
389 272 secondary metaphors by Lakoff and Johnson (1999). Thus, the first nudge is premised on the
390 273 metaphorical assumption that MONEY IS A LIQUID (and therefore able to "flow"), while the other
391 274 nudge is based on the metaphorical assumption of WELL-BEING IS WEALTH (the attribute of
392 275 "density" as synecdoche for "richness" and "richness" itself therefore applying to both environmental
393 276 and human well-being)² (see Appendices B and C).
394
395 277

396 278 It is important to note that during the identification phase for finding metaphorical content in lexical
397 279 items, the original Tapio text was found to favour business-as-usual. Therefore, the original text
398 280 became the RFM nudge, and we balanced all biased facts between RFM and CCF to design the neutral
399 281 nudge. In practical terms, we first abbreviated the original Tapio text comparing even-aged and
400 282 uneven-aged forestry, keeping both the content and the wordings (this is the RFM). Then, in close
401 283 collaboration with experts on uneven-aged forestry, we changed the informational content of this
402
403
404
405
406
407

408
409 ² see also the Master Metaphor List produced by the Cognitive Linguistics Research Group, University of California, in
410 1991.
411
412
413

414
415
416 284 original text to place the two forestry management practices on a par (this became the NEUTRAL;
417 the RFM was informationally biased towards even-aged management). Next, we proceed with the
418 285 nudge to also change the contents of the text. In the third nudge – that is, the MINOR – we changed
419 286 the wordings pertaining to economic aspects of the two forestry management practices so that they
420 287 emphasize “flows”, as explicated above. Finally, to produce the fourth nudge, – the MAJOR –we
421 288 added emphasis on both economics and ecology. In sum, thus, RFM and NEUTRAL are on a par
422 289 (with informational changes only) and MINOR and MAJOR are on a par (with linguistic nudge
423 changes as well). With this strategy, we achieved a way of testing for both the change in informational
424 290 contents only as well as, additionally, for the effects of linguistic nudging (for a more detailed
425 291 explanation and illustrative examples, see Appendices B and C).
426 292
427 293
428
429 294

430 295 **4.2. Data analysis**

431 To investigate the effect of respondent characteristics and nudging intensity on reported stance on
432 296 CCF, we fitted the following linear regression:
433 297

$$434 \text{Stance to CCF} \sim \text{Nudge} * \text{Stakeholder} * \text{Age} + \\ 435 298 \text{Nudge} * \text{Stakeholder} * \text{Gender} + \\ 436 \text{Nudge} * \text{Stakeholder} * \text{Knowledge} * \text{Knowledge bias}$$

440 301 The variable *Nudge* represents an intensity of intervention, and hence we expected that its effect
441 302 would change gradually from the RFM nudge to the Major CCF nudge. It was therefore modelled as
442 a numerical variable and included in the model as a second-degree polynomial to allow for the effect
443 303 of the nudge to change in a non-linear manner. We used the function *poly* from package *stats* in R-
444 304 software 3.5.0 (R Core Team, 2018) to include the uncorrelated orthogonal polynomial in the model.
445 305 Age was standardized before being included in the model.
446 306
447

448 307 The reported knowledge on forest management, forestry economics and forest environment were
449 308 highly correlated among each other, with respondents with high reported knowledge of, e.g.,
450 309 economics, also reporting high knowledge of forest management and environmental issues. Highly
451 310 correlated explanatory variables placed in the model can affect the performance of the model. To
452 311 overcome this, we created independent variables by running a principal component analysis on the
453 312 three measures of knowledge. This yielded three uncorrelated principal components: General
454 313 *Knowledge level* (explaining 91.4% of variance in the three original knowledge variables), as a
455 314 measure of general knowledge level; *Knowledge bias* (6.4% of variance explained), with low values
456 315 representing respondents with more knowledge of forest management and economics than
457 316 environmental aspects, and vice versa for high values; and the remaining third component (2.2% of
458 317 variance explained) depicting bias between management knowledge and forest economics. Only the
459 318 first two components were included in the model and bundled as an interaction with the rationale that
460 319 if the bias is important, that effect should depend on how much knowledge is reported.
461
462
463
464

465 320 **5. Results**

466 321
467
468 322 On average, forest professionals rated the description of CCF (i.e. stance on CCF) in the nudged text
469 323 with 10% lower values than the forest owners (Fig. 1, $t = -10.427, p < 0.001$). Women tended to prefer
470
471
472

CCF more than men by 4% (Table 1, $t = -3.226$, $p = 0.001$), regardless of being an owner or a professional (Table 1).

The nudge had opposite effects among the two types of stakeholders: While the professionals provided more negative feedback as the nudging in favour of CCF increased, the forest owners' opinion became more positive (Fig. 1, Table 1). Our results also indicate that age had an effect on the nudge process. The stance on CCF shifted with age, although in a different manner than between stakeholder type. Older forest professionals were more critical towards CCF than younger professionals, whereas old forest owners tended to be more positive about CCF than young owners (Fig. 1, Table 1).

Table 1. *F*-tests on whether the added variables or interactions significantly reduced the residual sum of squares in the model. In bold: the variables or interactions that contributed significantly to explaining the variance in the data.

<i>Model term</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>Sum of Squares</i>	<i>Mean Square</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>p-value</i>
<i>Nudge</i>	2	0,180	0,090	0,639	0,277
<i>Stakeholder</i>	1	55,722	55,722	395,883	< 0,001
<i>Gender</i>	1	0,767	0,767	47,917	< 0,001
<i>Age</i>	1	0,021	0,021	0,101	0,488
<i>Knowledge</i>	1	0,764	0,764	54,562	< 0,001
<i>Knowledge bias</i>	1	0,628	0,628	33,139	< 0,001
<i>Stakeholder : Gender</i>	1	0,075	0,075	0,372	0,323
<i>Stakeholder : Age</i>	1	0,533	0,533	0,524	0,020
<i>Stakeholder : Knowledge</i>	1	0,020	0,020	0,100	0,489
<i>Stakeholder : Knowledge bias</i>	1	0,124	0,124	0,233	0,180
<i>Knowledge : Knowledge bias</i>	1	0,257	0,257	0,520	0,073
<i>Nudge : Stakeholder</i>	2	0,354	0,503	1,035	< 0,001
<i>Nudge : Gender</i>	2	0,042	0,021	0,103	0,599
<i>Nudge : Age</i>	2	0,156	0,078	0,556	0,312
<i>Nudge : Knowledge</i>	2	0,349	0,174	0,588	0,117
<i>Nudge : Knowledge bias</i>	2	0,397	0,199	2,033	0,091
<i>Stakeholder : Knowledge : Knowledge bias</i>	1	0,043	0,043	0,212	0,403
<i>Nudge : Stakeholder : Gender</i>	2	0,421	0,210	0,190	0,081
<i>Nudge : Stakeholder : Age</i>	2	0,641	0,320	0,317	0,038
<i>Nudge : Stakeholder : Knowledge</i>	2	0,106	0,076	0,374	0,406
<i>Nudge : Stakeholder : Knowledge bias</i>	2	0,182	0,091	0,645	0,274
<i>Nudge : Knowledge : Knowledge bias</i>	2	0,287	0,469	0,726	0,008
<i>Nudge : Stakeholder : Knowledge : Knowledge bias</i>	2	0,144	0,072	0,510	0,333
<i>Residuals</i>	2771	390.027	0,097		

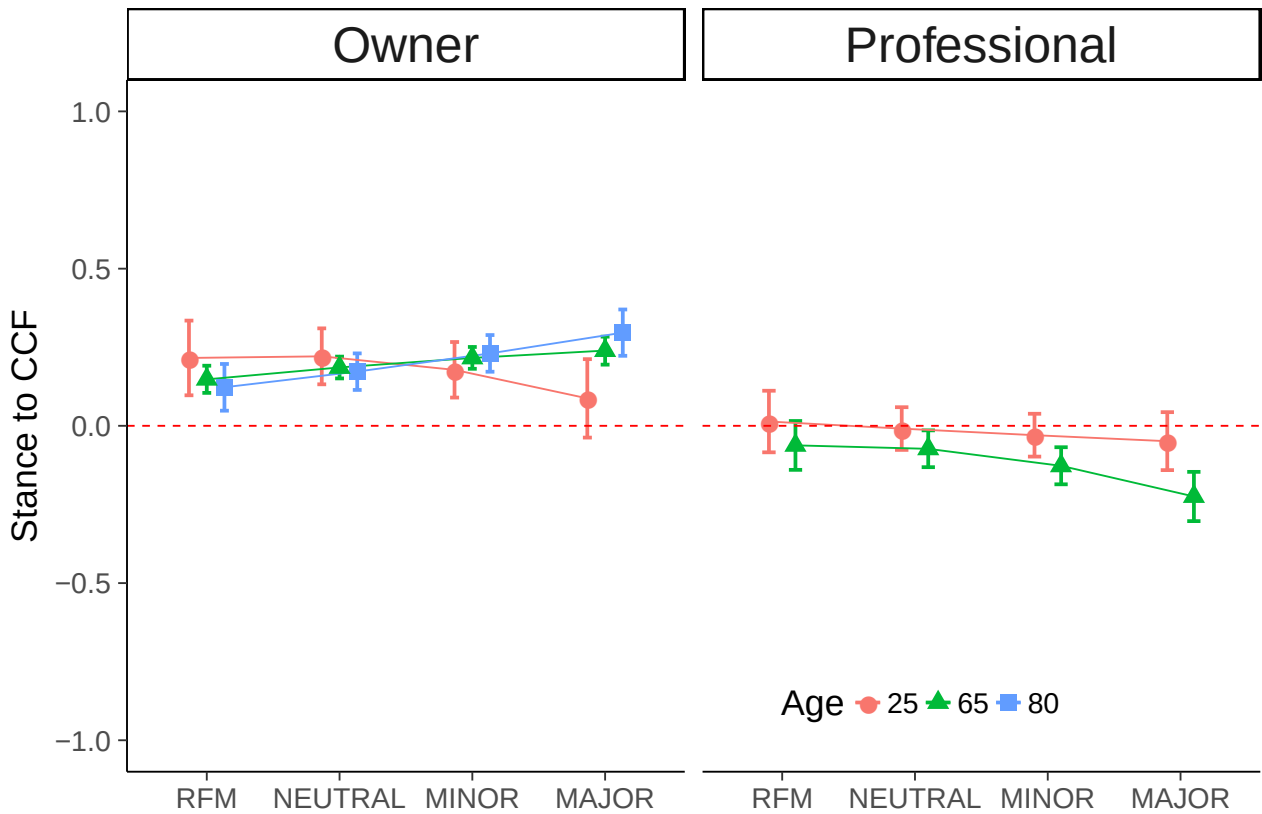


Figure 1. Estimated stance on CCF (95% confidence intervals) by forest owners (left) and professionals (right) after reading one of the four nudged texts, and according to their age and the nudged text that they read. Note that there were no 80-year old respondents among professionals.

Respondents with high self-reported knowledge on forest issues were more critical about CCF than people reporting low general knowledge (Fig. 2, Table 1). Respondents with knowledge biased toward forest economics (or forest management) were more negative about CCF as compared to those respondents whose knowledge was biased towards forest ecology (Fig. 2, Table 1). The reaction to the nudge with the two knowledge variables was significant, good knowledge respondents being more negative towards CCF as the nudge increased towards CCF, and vice-versa for knowledgeable respondents biased towards ecological issues (Fig. 2, Table 1). Respondents that reported to know little typically had opposite reaction to the nudge than respondents in the same bias category (Fig. 2, Table 1). The interaction of knowledge variables and the nudge with stakeholder was not significant (Table 1)

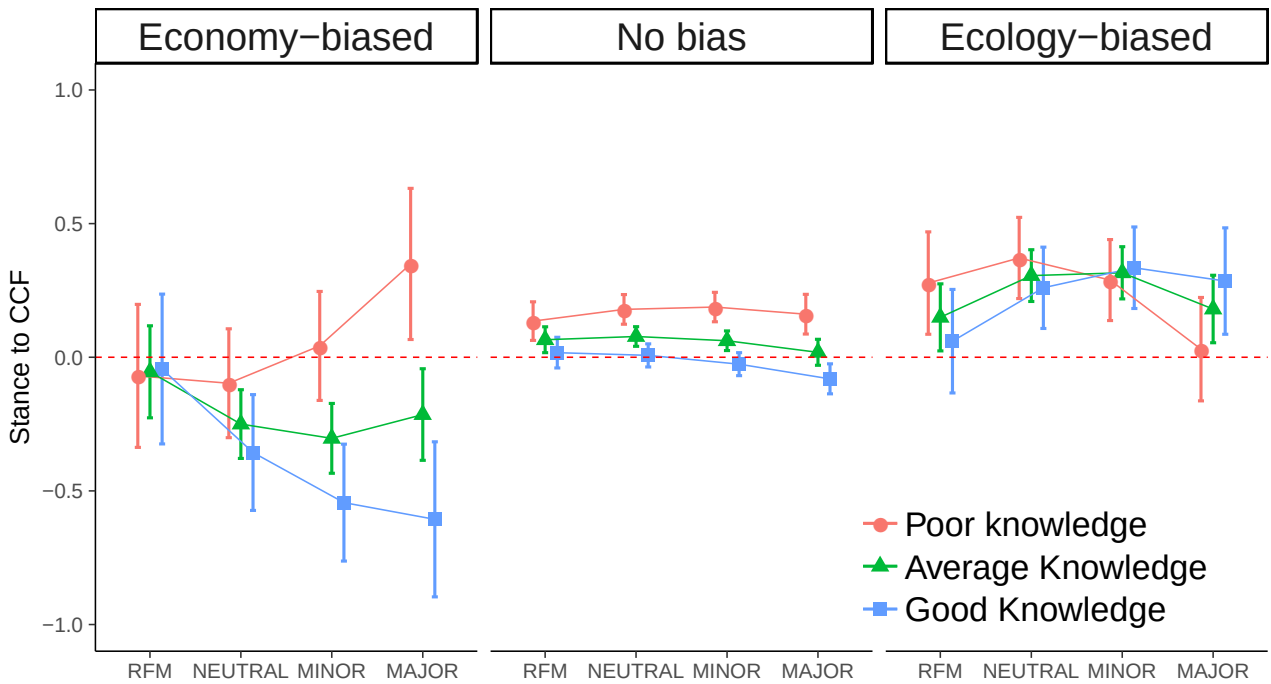


Figure 2. Estimated stance on CCF (95% confidence intervals) in relation to general level of knowledge reported and to the bias of knowledge towards forest economy knowledge (left) or towards forest ecology knowledge (right) and by the nudged text that they read. For the sake of illustration, we sliced the bi-dimensional space of knowledge: “average knowledge” and “no bias” are the central values of the first and second components in the PCA, respectively. “Poor knowledge” and “economy-biased” correspond to the lowest 10th percentile of the corresponding PCA component, “while good knowledge” and “ecology-based” correspond to the upper 10th percentile.

6. Discussion

Our results show that forest professionals and owners reacted to CCF-nudged text in opposite ways. Forest professionals generally reacted negatively to the text whereas forest owners accepted the CCF frame. Whilst this demonstrates that metaphorical nudging can have an influence on stakeholder perceptions, there is no straightforward path: simply changing the emphasis on a policy text towards CCF is not the same thing as making the text more palatable.

From our results, we contend that exploring the elements that induce cognitive dissonance in linguistic nudging is important in understanding how the acceptance of an informational intervention can be increased. To a large extent, our findings support the hypotheses set down in section 2.2. First, a significant segment of the professionals seems to reject the CCF frame by downplaying the information that CCF may be sometimes better than RFM in terms of environmental and cultural values. Hence, it could be argued that forest professionals reduce the importance of the belief that is causing dissonance (in this case the CCF frame). Second, forest owners generally adhere to their social and cultural perceptions of forest-based ES and emotional attachments to forest land to make the CCF frame more appealing. They can be seen as adding more cognitive elements to support the ecological argument put forward in the CCF nudge.

Nevertheless, and importantly, our findings also provide more specificity than what our hypotheses presumed. Age is a determining factor that affects the acceptance of the message, although in opposite

650
651
652
653
654
655
656
657
658
659
660
661
662
663
664
665
666
667
668
669
670
671
672
673
674
675
676
677
678
679
680
681
682
683
684
685
686
687
688
689
690
691
692
693
694
695
696
697
698
699
700
701
702
703
704
705
706
707
708

ways for the two groups. Older professionals and young owners were more critical towards the nudged CCF text than young professionals and older owners. While the average young professional was not affected by the nudge, the older professionals clearly reacted negatively to the pro-CCF nudge. In this context, it might be counterproductive to expose forest professionals to pro-CCF texts if one aims to increase the implementation of CCF in the short term. With regards to owners, it could be that young owners are under more pressure than older owners to obtaining economic profit from forests and therefore are more critical about CCF (as most information they get likely discourages CCF). In addition, younger owners are more likely to have been more recently exposed to the RFM view than older owners, for example, as part of training they may have received. Old professionals might be more imprinted with the idea of CCF having a negative effect on the benefits they get from forests than young professionals, and therefore react more (negatively) to the nudge.

Furthermore, our results highlight that it is important to consider how previous knowledge and the core values of the audience are linked to the substance of what is presented. For example, when one targets a forest stakeholder with high self-reported knowledge, the pro-CCF nudged text appears to be accepted only when the metaphorical emphasis is aligned with the core values of the nudged. Stakeholders' prior knowledge of different forest management practices also seems to contribute to the cognitive dissonance reduction strategies adopted by the individuals. Both owners and professionals with high self-reported knowledge reacted more critically to CCF than those reporting low general knowledge. However, we find that the way in which this knowledge is tied to priorities towards forest management steers the nudging effect. When high knowledge of forest aspects was combined with a reported knowledge bias towards forest management and economics, the acceptance of the CCF frame decreased. The pro-CCF frame therefore appears to have created a state of dissonance in the targets with economic values, and holding on to their espoused beliefs has led them to downplay the importance of the information on ecological arguments for CCF. In comparison, those respondents who had high knowledge about forest aspects but reportedly mastering forest ecology better than economics, were less negative about the CCF frame. For these respondents, the dissonance created by the nudge intervention seems to be reduced by adhering to their existing preferences towards ecological and cultural ES.

These findings have interesting repercussions for the Finnish context. As our results highlight that professionals remained significantly more antagonistic towards CCF than owners, a pro-CCF framing in informational nudging is likely to have an effect among the owner group. The design of such informational instruments should however take into account that currently over half of the private owners represent the older generation. In the coming decades the owner distributions are expected to go through a generational change (Hujala et al., 2007). This shift is likely to directly influence the prevailing attitudes and perceptions among owners in the country. The new owners are not only younger, with potentially different priorities regarding forest-based ES, but they are also likely to have less experience or personal history with forests. They are likely to closely consult forest professionals about different alternatives for management plans and practices (Hänninen et al., 2011; Rämö et al., 2009). If, as our study suggests, the younger owners are also more critical towards a pro-CCF policy text, the professionals' influence on them may become crucial for the promotion of sustainability.

709

710

711 431

712 432

713 433

714 434

715 435

716 436

717 437

718 438

719 439

720 440

721 441

722 442

723 443

724 444

725 445

726 446

727 447

728 448

729 449

730 450

731 451

732 452

733 453

734 454

735 455

736 456

737 457

738 458

739 459

740 460

741 461

742 462

743 463

744 464

745 465

746 466

747 467

748 468

749 469

750 470

751 471

752 472

753 473

754 474

755 475

756 476

757 477

758 478

759 479

760 480

761 481

762 482

763 483

764 484

765 485

766 486

767 487

We acknowledge that our focus has been on attitudinal and not behavioural change. The advantage of this approach is that attitudinal reactions to different policy texts enhance our understanding of the effectiveness of informational nudging, and subsequently of its use as a communicational policy instrument. However, empirical applications of dissonance theory have generally found that people are more likely to alter their cognitions than their behaviour – *i.e.* that behaviour determines attitudes (Festinger, 1957; Tavriss and Aronson, 2007). Another limitation of this approach is that it may also be difficult to estimate the length of a favourable nudging effect: if a forest stakeholder is nudged towards sustainability, will the attitude remain changed over time? Despite these limitations, we argue that targeting attitude change with informational nudging remains relevant for environmental policy and communication. If we consider that instead of a linear value-action model, attitude and behaviour change operate within a self-reinforcing circle, in which attitude modifies action and vice versa (Kaaronen, 2017), we can see informational nudging as one way of contributing to the multiple processes that eventually lead to pro-environmental behaviour. Moreover, cognitively-grounded research on environmental policy has highlighted that effective communication of pro-ecological knowledge requires the reinforcement and repetition of statements and the values underlying them ‘across a wide range of issue areas’ (Antal and Hukkinen, 2010). In other words, for new information to have effect, it must be repeated multiple times and in different arenas. Thus, even if the actual duration of a metaphorical nudging effect is likely to vary, it can contribute to a more consistent communication of sustainable practices.

7. Conclusions

The perceptions of forest owners and forestry professionals of forest-based ES have important ramifications for sustainability (Asah et al., 2014). This has mainly to do with the reciprocal links between perception of ES and forest management objectives: forest owners’ management decisions are often aligned with their attitudes, values and motivations related to forest-based services. However, appropriate policy mechanisms for incorporating stakeholder perceptions of ES in decision-making are still lacking (Poppenborg and Koellner, 2013). This paper contributes to narrowing this gap by providing insight into the possibilities of utilising linguistic nudging in forest management policy.

Our findings about nudging forest stakeholders’ perceptions towards sustainability support the use of metaphorical modification in informational interventions. We have shown that modifying a policy text targeted to stakeholders in forest management can concretely incorporate considerations of ES into decision-making on future forest management practices. When they possess sufficient knowledge of forest owners’ age, expertise and personal motivations, policy makers can use linguistic nudging as a complementary tool in their policy instrument mix – and potentially alter forest owners’ perceptions and eventually their attitudes.

At the same time, such policy interventions need to be conducted with prudence over the message. To achieve concrete changes in forest management practices with linguistic nudging, it is important to consider how the targets ‘tick’ metaphorically. In the Finnish case, the results show that age and type and degree of knowledge were determining variables in the nudge. In general, the contrary

768
769
770 473 reactions of the stakeholder groups to the nudge highlights the challenges of using one-fits-all policy
771 instruments to make policies more palatable.
772 474
773 475

774 476 Finally, this study complements earlier social-psychological and cognitive scientific work on nudging
775 477 and other unconscious dimensions of human behaviour. A more fundamental understanding of
776 478 linguistic nudging effects is needed for at least two reasons. First, since nudging is an inevitable fact
777 of all environmental governance, better analytical capabilities are needed to open up conscious and
778 479 unconscious influences to public scrutiny (Hukkinen, 2016). Second, nudging devices are often
779 480 introduced as if they were more or less universally applicable – or at least the boundaries of their
780 481 applicability are often not articulated. It is important to consider the extent to which nudges can be
781 482 incorporated into a policy-mix without constraining the set of choice options (Thaler and Sunstein,
782 483 2008). As our work has shown, theoretically grounded research has the potential to identify the
783 484 specific situations in which linguistic nudging might work.
784 485
785 485
786
787 486
788

789 487 **8. Acknowledgements**

790
791 488 We are grateful to the Finnish Forest Centre for providing contact information from stakeholders
792 489 and to the survey respondents that took the time to participate in this study. Merja Elo, Kyle
793 490 Eyvindson, Tähti Pohjanmies and Anna Repo gave feedback when designing the different versions
794 491 of the policy text. Thank you also to Roope Kaaronen for giving insightful comments during the
795 492 writing process. We would also like to thank participants of the 2018 ECCB conference in
796 493 Jyväskylä, Finland, for their valuable comments. We gratefully acknowledge funding from the
797 494 Academy of Finland Grants 140830, 284972 and 312623 to JH, and 275329 to MM, as well as
798 495 Helsinki University Centre for Environment (HENVI) Grants ‘Optimizing Forest Management and
799 496 Conservation’ to JH and ‘Potential of Continuous Cover Forestry’ to JH and MM.
800
801
802 497
803

804 498 **9. References**

- 805
806 499 Abdoellah, O.S., Parikesit, Okubo, S., Withaningsih, S., Takeuchi, K., Mizuno, K., 2015.
807 500 Perceptions of owners on the roles and future of bamboo-tree gardens in the agricultural
808 501 landscape of the Upper Citarum Basin, West Java-Indonesia. *Agric. Sci.* 06, 1333–1351.
809 502 doi:10.4236/as.2015.611128
810 503 Antal, M., Hukkinen, J.I., 2010. The art of the cognitive war to save the planet. *Ecol. Econ.* 69,
811 504 937–943. doi:10.1016/j.ecolecon.2010.01.002
812 505 Aronson, E., 2012. *The social animal*, 11th ed. Worth Publishers, New York, NY.
813 506 Asah, S.T., Blahna, D.J., Ryan, C.M., 2012. Involving forest communities in identifying and
814 507 constructing ecosystem services: Millennium assessment and place specificity. *J. For.* 110,
815 508 149–156. doi:10.5849/jof.11-054
816 509 Asah, S.T., Guerry, A.D., Blahna, D.J., Lawler, J.J., 2014. Perception, acquisition and use of
817 510 ecosystem services: Human behavior, and ecosystem management and policy implications.
818 511 *Ecosyst. Serv.* 10, 180–186. doi:10.1016/j.ecoser.2014.08.003
819 512 Bao, J., Ho, B., 2015. Heterogeneous effects of informational nudges on pro-social behavior. *B.E. J.*
820 513 *Econ. Anal. Policy* 15, 1619–1655. doi:10.1515/bejeap-2014-0125
821 514 Burkhard, B., Kandziora, M., Hou, Y., Müller, F., 2014. Ecosystem service potentials, flows and
822 515 demands-concepts for spatial localisation, indication and quantification. *Landsc. Online* 34, 1–
823 515
824
825
826

- 827
828
829 516 32. doi:10.3097/LO.201434
830 517 Carnol, M., Baeten, L., Branquart, E., Gregoire, J.C., Heughebaert, A., Muys, B., Ponette, Q.,
831 518 Verheyen, K., 2014. Ecosystem services of mixed species forest stands and monocultures:
832 519 Comparing practitioners and scientists perceptions with formal scientific knowledge. *Forestry*
833 520 87, 639–653. doi:10.1093/forestry/cpu024
834 521 Carrico, A.R., Vandenbergh, M.P., Stern, P.C., Gardner, G.T., Dietz, T., Gilligan, J.M., 2011.
835 522 Energy and climate change: Key lessons for implementing the behavioral wedge. *Georg.*
836 523 *Washingt. J. Energy Environ. Law* 2, 10–24.
838 524 Dawnay, E., Shah, H., 2007. Behavioural economics: seven principles for policy-makers. *Theor.*
839 525 *new Econ.* 1–20. doi:10.1007/s10048-007-0034-0
840 526 Dröge, P., 2008. *Urban energy transition: From fossil fuels to renewable power.* Elsevier,
841 527 Amsterdam.
842 528 Ferraro, P.J., Price, M.K., 2013. Using nonpecuniary strategies to influence behavior: Evidence
843 529 from a large-scale field experiment. *Rev. Econ. Stat.* 95, 64–73. doi:10.1162/REST_a_00344
844 530 Festinger, L., 1957. A theory of cognitive dissonance. *Sci. Am.* doi:10.1037/10318-001
845 531 Festinger, L., Carlsmith, J.M., 1959. Cognitive consequences of forced compliance. *J. Abnorm.*
846 532 *Psychol.* 58, 203–210. doi:10.1037/h0041593
847 533 Finnish Statistical Yearbook of Forestry, 2014. Official statistics of Finland. Vantaa.
848 534 Ford, R.M., Williams, K.J.H., Bishop, I.D., Hickey, J.E., 2009. Effects of information on the social
849 535 acceptability of alternatives to clearfelling in Australian wet eucalypt forests. *Environ. Manage.*
850 536 44, 1149–1162. doi:10.1007/s00267-009-9392-7
851 537 Fried, C.B., Aronson, E., 1995. Hypocrisy, misattribution, and dissonance reduction. *Personal. Soc.*
852 538 *Psychol. Bull.* 21, 925–933. doi:10.1177/0146167295219007
853 539 Hallikainen, V., Hyppönen, M., Pernu, L., Puoskari, J., 2010. Family forest owners' opinions about
854 540 forest management in northern Finland. *Silva Fenn.*
855 541 Haltia, E., Rämö, A.-K., Pynnönen, S., Valonen, M., Horne, P., 2017. Miksi metsien taloudellisia
856 542 mahdollisuuksia jätetään käyttämättä? – Metsänomistajien aktiivisuus ja siihen vaikuttaminen.
857 543 PTT raportteja 255.
858 544 Hänninen, H., Karppinen, H., Leppänen, J., 2011. *Suomalainen metsänomistaja 2010*, Working
859 545 Papers of the Finnish Forest Research Institute.
860 546 Häyrinen, L., Mattila, O., Berghäll, S., Närhi, M., Toppinen, A., 2016. Exploring the future use of
861 547 forests: perceptions from non-industrial private forest owners in Finland. *Scand. J. For. Res.*
862 548 25.
863 549 Hujala, T., Pykäläinen, J., Tikkanen, J., 2007. Decision making among Finnish non-industrial
864 550 private forest owners: The role of professional opinion and desire to learn. *Scand. J. For. Res.*
865 551 22, 454–463. doi:10.1080/02827580701395434
866 552 Hujala, T., Tikkanen, J., 2008. Boosters of and barriers to smooth communication in family forest
867 553 owners' decision making. *Scand. J. For. Res.* 23, 466–477. doi:10.1080/02827580802334209
868 554 Hukkinen, J.I., 2016. Addressing the practical and ethical issues of nudging in environmental
869 555 policy. *Environ. Values* 25, 329–351. doi:10.3197/096327116X14598445991501
870 556 Hukkinen, J.I., 2012. Fit in the body: Matching embodied cognition with social-ecological systems.
871 557 *Ecol. Soc.* Vol 17, Iss 4, p 30.
872 558 Kaaronen, R.O., 2017. Affording sustainability: Adopting a theory of affordances as a guiding
873 559 heuristic for environmental policy. *Front. Psychol.* doi:10.3389/fpsyg.2017.01974
874 560 Kahneman, D., 2011. *Thinking, fast and slow*, Book. Farrar, Strauss, Giroux, New York.
875 561 doi:10.1007/s13398-014-0173-7.2
876 562 Kantola, S.J., Syme, G.J., Campbell, N.A., 1984. Cognitive dissonance and energy conservation. *J.*
877 563 *Appl. Psychol.* 69, 416–421. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0021-9010.69.3.416
878 564 Karppinen, H., Hänninen, H., 2017. Metsien omistaminen ja käyttö – onko sukupuolella väliä?
879 565 *Metsätieteen aikakauskirja 2017-7708.* Tieteen tori 1–4.
880
881
882
883
884
885

886
887
888
889
890
891
892
893
894
895
896
897
898
899
900
901
902
903
904
905
906
907
908
909
910
911
912
913
914
915
916
917
918
919
920
921
922
923
924
925
926
927
928
929
930
931
932
933
934
935
936
937
938
939
940
941
942
943
944

- Kearney, A.R., 2001. Effects of an informational intervention on public reactions to clear-cutting. *Soc. Nat. Resour.* 14, 777–790. doi:10.1080/089419201753210594
- Kröger, M., Raitio, K., 2017. Finnish forest policy in the era of bioeconomy: A pathway to sustainability? *For. Policy Econ.* 77, 6–15. doi:10.1016/j.forpol.2016.12.003
- Kronenberg, J., 2014. Environmental impacts of the use of ecosystem services: Case study of birdwatching. *Environ. Manage.* 54, 617–630. doi:10.1007/s00267-014-0317-8
- Lakoff, G., 2004. Don't think of an elephant!: Know your values and frame the debate, *Science*. doi:10.1111/j.1753-6405.2007.00098.x
- Lakoff, G., Johnson, M., 1999. *Philosophy in the flesh: The embodied mind and its challenge to western thought*. Basic Books, New York.
- Lamarque, P., Tappeiner, U., Turner, C., Steinbacher, M., Bardgett, R.D., Szukics, U., Schermer, M., Lavorel, S., 2011. Stakeholder perceptions of grassland ecosystem services in relation to knowledge on soil fertility and biodiversity. *Reg. Environ. Chang.* 11, 791–804. doi:10.1007/s10113-011-0214-0
- Lehner, M., Mont, O., Heiskanen, E., 2015. Nudging - A promising tool for sustainable consumption behaviour? *J. Clean. Prod.* doi:10.1016/j.jclepro.2015.11.086
- Luonnonvarakeskus, 2018. *Metsäsektorin avaintilastoja*.
- Matthies, B., Kalliokoski, T., Eyvindson, K., Honkela, N., Hukkinen, J.I., Kuusinen, N.J., Räisänen, P., Valsta, L.T., 2016. Nudging service providers and assessing service trade-offs to reduce the social inefficiencies of payments for ecosystem services schemes. *Environ. Sci. Policy* 55, 228–237.
- Matthies, B.D., Vainio, A., D'Amato, D., 2018. Not so biocentric – Environmental benefits and harm associated with the acceptance of forest management objectives by future environmental professionals. *Ecosyst. Serv.* 29, 128–136. doi:10.1016/j.ecoser.2017.12.003
- McDonald, S., Oates, C.J., Thyne, M., Timmis, A.J., Carlile, C., 2015. Flying in the face of environmental concern: why green consumers continue to fly. *J. Mark. Manag.* 31, 1503–1528. doi:10.1080/0267257X.2015.1059352
- Mckenzie-Mohr, D., 2000. Promoting sustainable behavior: An introduction to community-based social marketing. *J. Soc. Issues* 56, 543–554. doi:10.1111/0022-4537.00183
- MEA, (Millenium Ecosystem Assessment), 2005. *Ecosystems and human well-being synthesis*, Island Press, Washinton DC. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-12-409548-9.09206-X
- Menzel, S., Teng, J., 2010. Ecosystem services as a stakeholder-driven concept for conservation science. *Conserv. Biol.* 24, 907–909. doi:10.1111/j.1523-1739.2009.01347.x
- Metsäkeskus, 2018. *Metsien jatkuva kasvatus yleistyy tulevaisuudessa [WWW Document]*. URL <https://www.metsakeskus.fi/tiedotteet/metsien-jatkuva-kasvatus-yleistyy-tulevaisuudessa> (accessed 9.14.18).
- Michalek, G., Meran, G., Schwarze, R., Yildiz, Ö., 2016. Nudging as a new “soft” policy tool – An assessment of the definitional scope of nudges, practical implementation possibilities and their effectiveness. *Econ. Discuss. Pap. Kiel Inst. World Econ.* 18.
- Norgaard, R.B., 2010. Ecosystem services: From eye-opening metaphor to complexity blinder. *Ecol. Econ.* 69, 1219–1227. doi:10.1016/j.ecolecon.2009.11.009
- Peters, D.M., Wirth, K., Böhr, B., Ferranti, F., Górriz-Mifsud, E., Kärkkäinen, L., Krč, J., Kurttila, M., Leban, V., Lindstad, B.H., Pezdevšek Malovrh, Š., Pistorius, T., Rhodius, R., Solberg, B., Zadnik Stirn, L., 2015. Energy wood from forests—stakeholder perceptions in five European countries. *Energy. Sustain. Soc.* 5, 17. doi:10.1186/s13705-015-0045-9
- Peura, M., Burgas, D., Eyvindson, K., Repo, A., Mönkkönen, M., 2018. Continuous cover forestry is a cost-efficient tool to increase multifunctionality of boreal production forests in Fennoscandia. *Biol. Conserv.* 217, 104–112. doi:10.1016/j.biocon.2017.10.018
- Poppenborg, P., Koellner, T., 2013. Do attitudes toward ecosystem services determine agricultural land use practices? An analysis of farmers' decision-making in a South Korean watershed.

945
946
947 Land use policy 31, 422–429.
948 Pukkala, T., 2016. Which type of forest management provides most ecosystem services? For.
949 Ecosyst. 3, 9. doi:10.1186/s40663-016-0068-5
950 R Core Team, 2018. R: A language and environment for statistical computing. Vienna, Austria.
951 Rämö, A.-K., Mäkijärvi, L., Toivonen, R., Horne, P., 2009. Finnish forest owners' profile in 2030.
952 Pellervo Economic Research Institute Reports.
953 Raymond, C.M., Singh, G.G., Benessaiah, K., Bernhardt, J.R., Levine, J., 2013. Ecosystem services
954 and beyond. Bioscience 63, 536–546. doi:10.1525/bio.2013.63.7.7
955 Ribe, R.G., 2006. Perceptions of forestry alternatives in the US Pacific Northwest: Information
956 effects and acceptability distribution analysis. J. Environ. Psychol. 26, 100–115.
957 doi:10.1016/j.jenvp.2006.05.004
958 Slovic, P., Finucane, M.L., Peters, E., MacGregor, D.G., 2007. The affect heuristic. Eur. J. Oper.
959 Res. 177, 1333–1352. doi:10.1016/j.ejor.2005.04.006
960 Smith, E.L., Bishop, I.D., Williams, K.J.H., Ford, R.M., 2012. Scenario Chooser: An interactive
961 approach to eliciting public landscape preferences. Landsc. Urban Plan. 106, 230–243.
962 doi:10.1016/j.landurbplan.2012.03.013
963 Steele, C.M., 1988. The psychology of self-affirmation: Sustaining the integrity of the self. Adv.
964 Exp. Soc. Psychol. 21, 261–302. doi:10.1016/S0065-2601(08)60229-4
965 Steen, G.J., Dorst, A.G., Herrmann, J.B., Kaal, A.A., Krennmayr, T., Pasma, T., 2010. A Method
966 for linguistic metaphor identification. John Benjamins Publishing Company,
967 Amsterdam/Philadelphia.
968 Stoknes, P.E., 2014. Rethinking climate communications and the “psychological climate paradox.”
969 Energy Res. Soc. Sci. 1, 161–170. doi:10.1016/j.erss.2014.03.007
970 Tavis, C., Aronson, E., 2007. Mistakes were made (but not by me): Why we justify foolish beliefs,
971 bad decisions, and hurtful acts. Public Integr. doi:10.1111/j.1530-2415.2008.00153.x
972 Thaler, R.H., Sunstein, C.R., 2008. Nudge: Improving decisions about health, wealth and happiness.
973 Yale University Press, New Haven & New York.
974 Thibodeau, P.H., Boroditsky, L., 2011. Metaphors we think with: The role of metaphor in
975 reasoning. PLoS One 6. doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0016782
976 Urgeson, L.S., Prozesky, H.E., Esler, K.J., 2013. Stakeholder perceptions of an ecosystem services
977 approach to clearing invasive alien plants on private land. Ecol. Soc. 18, 26.
978 Wolf, J., Moser, S.C., 2011. Individual understandings, perceptions, and engagement with climate
979 change: Insights from in-depth studies across the world. Wiley Interdiscip. Rev. Clim. Chang.
980 doi:10.1002/wcc.120
981
982
983
984
985
986
987
988
989
990
991
992
993
994
995
996
997
998
999
1000
1001
1002
1003

Appendix A: The four nudges

1 RFM

Even- or unevenaged forestry. The starting points for choosing forestry management are the aims of the foresters and the preconditions given by the site type and the existing trees. Changing from even-aged stands to unevenaged stands usually requires a long transition phase. In contrast, an uneven-aged stand can be turned into an even-aged one quickly with regeneration felling and subsequent regeneration duties. With even-aged forestry, you can distinguish between the regeneration and growth phases. With continuous-cover forestry, the forest remains mainly covered. Forest regeneration is usually based singularly on naturally grown undergrowth and the further development of this. For even-aged forestry, there are established and well-researched silvicultural and felling methods, of which there is also practical experience. Knowledge of methods pertaining to uneven-aged forestry still rest on a narrow research base and there is relatively little long-term experience.

Economic effects. Even-aged forestry presupposes investments into the regeneration of forests, especially if the area is regenerated artificially. Income focuses on regeneration felling. With uneven-aged forest management, the aim is mainly to harvest logs. In even-aged forestry, regeneration and tending of seedling stands are a significant cost. With uneven-aged forestry, the regeneration of forests when successful does not imply costs and the need for tending of seedling stands is smaller. With even-aged forestry, you can collect logging residues and stumps for energy wood from regeneration felling.

Environmental and multifunctionality effects. In even-aged forestry, the cultivated forest area forms a mosaic of forest stands. Different forest stands in different developmental stages provide different habitats, the diversity of which are promoted by nature management. The variability of uneven-aged forests is beneficial for biodiversity, but does not in itself guarantee the preservation or formation of structural features.

Damage risks. With the selection cutting of uneven-aged tree stands the risk for harvesting damage is especially high, when large trees are picked out among smaller trees which are left to grow. The risks for damage from moose, voles and wind depend on forest management practices and local conditions for both even- and uneven-aged tree stands. There are possibly differences between the two differing forest management practices when it comes to these kinds of risk, but there is little proven knowledge on the topic. In even-aged forests the risk for root-rot is smaller.

2 NEUTRAL

Even- or unevenaged forestry. The starting points for choosing forestry management are the aims of the foresters and the preconditions given by the place of growth and the existing tree stands. Changing from even-aged stands to unevenaged stands usually requires a long transition phase. In contrast, an uneven-aged stand can be turned into an even-aged one quickly with regeneration felling and subsequent regeneration measures. Current growth models show that both can be economically profitable. With even-aged forestry, you can distinguish between the regeneration and growth phases. With continuous-cover forestry, the forest remains mainly covered. Forest regeneration is usually based singularly on naturally grown undergrowth and the further development of this. For even-aged forestry, there are established and well-researched silvicultural and felling methods, of which there is also practical experience. Internationally there is much knowledge on uneven-aged forestry, and also in Finland there are experts on continuous-cover forestry.

Economic effects. Even-aged forestry presupposes investments into the regeneration of forests. Income focuses on regeneration felling. With even-aged forestry, you can collect logging residue and stumps for energy for forest energy wood from regeneration felling. With uneven-aged forest management, the aim is mainly to harvest timber, which is far more valuable than forest energy wood. In even-aged forestry, regeneration and tending of seedling stands are a significant cost. In uneven-aged forestry forest regeneration usually does not imply costs.

Environmental and multifunctionality effects. In even-aged forestry, the cultivated forest area forms a mosaic of forest compartments. Different forest compartments in different developmental stages provide different habitats, the diversity of which are promoted by nature care. It is probable that a combination of uneven- and even-aged forestry management produces the greatest benefits for biodiversity.

Damage risks. In both even- and uneven-aged forestry, there are risks of harvesting damage from fellings. The risks for damage from moose, voles and wind depend on forest management practices and local conditions for both even- and uneven-aged tree stands. There are possibly differences between the two differing forest management practices when it comes to these kinds of risk, but there is little tested knowledge on the topic. With uneven-aged forestry the risk for root-rot can be lessened with winter fellings, because snow and ice protect the trees left standing.

3 MINOR

Even- or unevenaged forestry. The starting points for choosing forestry management are the aims of the foresters and the preconditions given by the place of growth and the existing tree stands. Changing from even-aged stands to unevenaged stands usually requires a long transition phase. In contrast, an uneven-aged stand can be turned into an even-aged one quickly with regeneration felling and subsequent regeneration measures. Current growth models show that both can be economically profitable. With even-aged forestry, you can distinguish between the regeneration and growth phases. With continuous-cover forestry, the forest remains mainly covered. Forest regeneration is usually based singularly on naturally grown undergrowth and the further development of this. For even-aged forestry, there are established and well-researched silvicultural and felling methods, of which there is also practical experience. Internationally there is much knowledge on uneven-aged forestry, and also in Finland there are experts on continuous-cover forestry.

Economic effects. Even-aged forestry presupposes investments into the regeneration of forests. Income focuses on regeneration felling. With even-aged forestry, you can collect logging residue and stumps for energy for forest energy wood from regeneration felling. With uneven-aged forest management, the aim is mainly to harvest timber, wherefore income flows are significantly higher than in the case of e.g. harvesting of energy wood. In even-aged forestry, regeneration and tending to seedling stands cause significant cost flows. In uneven-aged forestry forest regeneration usually does not imply costs. The saved cost is freed for other use. In even-aged forestry regeneration fellings give rise to small income flows by harvesting logging residue and stumps into energy wood.

Environmental and multifunctionality effects. In even-aged forestry, the cultivated forest area forms a mosaic of forest compartments. Different forest compartments in different developmental stages provide different habitats, the diversity of which are promoted by nature care. It is probable that a combination of uneven- and even-aged forestry management produces the greatest benefits for biodiversity.

Damage risks. In light of recent Finnish research, forest management practices impacts the risk of wind damage. Uneven-aged forests have been observed to lessen the risk for wind damage. With uneven-aged forestry the risk for root-rot can be lessened with winter fellings, because snow and ice protect the trees left standing. Root-rot also does not spread under temperatures below zero.

4 MAJOR

Even- or unevenaged forestry. The starting points for choosing forestry management are the aims of the foresters and the preconditions given by the place of growth and the existing tree stands. Changing from even-aged stands to unevenaged stands usually requires a long transition phase. In contrast, an uneven-aged stand can be turned into an even-aged one quickly with regeneration felling and subsequent regeneration measures. Current growth models show that both can be economically profitable. With even-aged forestry, you can distinguish between the regeneration and growth phases. With continuous-cover forestry, the forest remains mainly covered. Forest regeneration is usually based singularly on naturally grown undergrowth and the further development of this. For even-aged forestry, there are established and well-researched silvicultural and felling methods, of which there is also practical experience. Internationally there is much knowledge on uneven-aged forestry, and also in Finland there are experts on continuous-cover forestry.

Economic effects. Even-aged forestry presupposes investments into the regeneration of forests. Income focuses on regeneration felling. With even-aged forestry, you can collect logging residue and stumps for energy for forest energy wood from regeneration felling. With uneven-aged forest management, the aim is mainly to harvest timber, wherefore income flows are significantly higher than in the case of e.g. harvesting of energy wood. In even-aged forestry, regeneration and tending to seedling stands cause significant cost flows. In uneven-aged forestry forest regeneration usually does not imply costs. The saved cost is freed for other use. In even-aged forestry regeneration fellings give rise to small income flows by harvesting logging residue and stumps into energy wood.

Environmental and multifunctionality effects. In even-aged forestry, the cultivated forest area forms a mosaic of forest compartments. Different forest compartments in different developmental stages provide different habitats, the diversity of which are promoted by nature care. An area with uneven-aged forest compartments enables a more unified and dense network of forest habitats, which according to modern research is beneficial for biodiversity. Uneven-aged forestry brings with it environmental and multifunctionality benefits also when combined with traditional even-aged forestry. The more rich forest in terms of biodiversity, the more numerous are also the health benefits provided to humans.

Damage risks. In light of recent Finnish research, forest management practices impact the risk of wind damage. With uneven-aged forestry the risk for root-rot can be lessened with winter fellings, because snow and ice protect the trees left standing. Root-rot also does not spread under temperatures below zero.

Appendix B: Comparison between the four nudges

Below, we present the translations of the four nudges and their original Finnish versions (in brackets).

Reading instructions

GREY HIGHLIGHT: indicates that an information change has been made.

STRIKE THROUGH: indicates that a removal has been made.

GREY HIGHLIGHT IN BOLD: indicates that a linguistic nudge has been made.

1 RFM

EN-RFM1. Even- or unevenaged forestry. The starting points for choosing forestry management are the aims of the foresters and the preconditions given by the site type and the existing trees. Changing from even-aged stands to unevenaged stands usually requires a long transition phase. In contrast, an uneven-aged stand can be turned into an even-aged one quickly with regeneration felling and subsequent regeneration duties. With even-aged forestry, you can distinguish between the regeneration and growth phases. With continuous-cover forestry, the forest remains mainly covered. Forest regeneration is usually based singularly on naturally grown undergrowth and the further development of this. For even-aged forestry, there are established and well-researched silvicultural and felling methods, of which there is also practical experience. Knowledge of methods pertaining to uneven-aged forestry still rest on a narrow research base and there is relatively little long-term experience.

(RFM1. Kasvatus tasa- tai eri-ikäisrakenteisena. Kasvatustavan valinnan lähtökohtana ovat metsänomistajan tavoitteet sekä kasvupaikan ja olemassa olevan puuston luomat edellytykset. Tasaikäisrakenteisen metsän kehittäminen eri-ikäisrakenteiseksi vaatii useimmiten pitkän siirtymävaiheen. Eri-ikäisrakenteinen metsä voidaan sen sijaan muuttaa nopeasti tasaikäisrakenteiseksi uudistushakkuulla ja sen jälkeisillä uudistamistöillä. Tasaikäisrakenteisen metsän kasvatuksessa on erotettavissa metsiköiden uudistamis- ja kasvatusvaihe. Eri-ikäisrakenteisena kasvatettaessa metsä säilyy pääosin peitteisenä. Metsän uudistuminen perustuu yleensä yksinomaan luontaisesti syntyneeseen alikasvokseen ja sen jatkokehittämiseen. Tasaikäisrakenteisen metsän kasvatuksessa käytettävissä ovat vakiintuneet ja hyvin tutkitut hoito- ja hakkuumenetelmät, joista on myös käytännön kokemusta. Tiedot eri-ikäisrakenteisen metsän kasvatuksessa käytettävistä menetelmistä ovat vielä kapean tutkimustiedon varassa ja pitkäaikaiset kokemukset ovat suhteellisen vähäiset.)

EN-RFM2. Economic effects. Even-aged forestry presupposes investments into the regeneration of forests, especially if the area is regenerated artificially. Income focuses on regeneration felling. With uneven-aged forest management, the aim is mainly to harvest logs. In even-aged forestry, regeneration and tending of seedling stands are a significant cost. With uneven-aged forestry, the regeneration of forests when successful does not imply costs and the need for tending of seedling stands is smaller. With even-aged forestry, you can collect logging residues and stumps for energy wood from regeneration felling.

(RFM2. Talousvaikutuksia. Tasaikäiskasvatus edellyttää investointeja metsän uudistamiseen erityisesti, jos alue uudistetaan viljellen. Tulot painottuvat uudistushakkuuseen. Eri-ikäiskasvatuksessa tavoitteena on korjata hakkuissa pääasiassa tukkipuuta. Tasaikäiskasvatuksessa uudistaminen ja taimikonhoito ovat merkittävä kustannuserä. Eri-ikäisrakenteisen metsän kasvatuksessa metsän uudistaminen ei onnistuessaan aiheuta kustannuksia ja tarve taimikonhoidolle on vähäisempi. Tasaikäisrakenteisen metsän uudistushakkuualoilta voidaan korjata hakkuutähdettä ja kantoja energiapuuksi.)

EN-RFM3. Environmental and multifunctionality effects. In even-aged forestry, the cultivated forest area forms a mosaic of forest stands. Different forest stands in different developmental stages provide different habitats, the diversity of which are promoted by nature management. The variability of uneven-aged forests is beneficial for biodiversity, but does not in itself guarantee the preservation or formation of structural features.

(RFM3. Ympäristö- ja monikäyttövaikutuksia. Tasaikäisrakenteisena kasvatettava metsäalue muodostaa metsikkökuvioiden mosaiikin. Eri kehitysvaiheissa olevat metsikkökuviot tarjoavat toisistaan poikkeavia elinympäristöjä, joiden monipuolisuutta edistetään luonnonhoidolla. Eri-ikäisrakenteiseen metsään liittyvä vaihtelevuus on eduksi luonnon monimuotoisuudelle, mutta se ei sinällään vielä takaa rakennepiirteiden säilymistä tai muodostumista.)

EN-RFM4. Damage risks. With the selection cutting of uneven-aged tree stands the risk for harvesting damage is especially high, when large trees are picked out among smaller trees which are left to grow. The risks for damage from moose, voles and wind depend on forest management practices and local conditions for both even- and uneven-aged tree stands. There are possibly differences between the two differing forest management practices when it comes to these kinds of risk, but there is little proven knowledge on the topic. In even-aged forests the risk for root-rot is smaller.

(RFM4. Tuhoriskit. Eri-ikäisrakenteisen puuston poimintahakkuussa korjuuvaurioiden riski on erityisen suuri, kun suuria puita poimitaan kasvamaan jätettävien pienempien puiden seasta. Tasa- ja eri-ikäisrakenteisen puuston hirvi-, myyrä- ja tuulituhoriskit vaihtelevat puuston käsittelystä ja paikallisista oloista riippuen. Kasvatusmenetelmien välillä on mahdollisesti eroja näiden tuhojen riskissä, mutta todennettua tietoa tästä on niukasti. Tasaikäismetsässä juurikäävän riski on pienempi.)

2 NEUTRAL

EN-NEU1. Even- or unevenaged forestry. The starting points for choosing forestry management are the aims of the foresters and the preconditions given by the place of growth and the existing tree stands. Changing from even-aged stands to unevenaged stands usually requires a long transition phase. In contrast, an uneven-aged stand can be turned into an even-aged one quickly with regeneration felling and subsequent regeneration measures. **ADDED:** Current growth models show that both can be economically profitable. With even-aged forestry, you can distinguish between the regeneration and growth phases. With continuous-cover forestry, the forest remains mainly covered. Forest regeneration is usually based singularly on naturally grown undergrowth and the further development of this. For even-aged forestry, there are established and well-researched silvicultural and felling methods, of which there is also practical experience. **ADDED:** Internationally there is much knowledge on uneven-aged forestry, and also in Finland there are experts on continuous-cover forestry. **REMOVED:** Knowledge of methods pertaining to uneven-aged forestry still rest on a narrow research base and there is relatively little long-term experience.

(NEU1. Kasvatus tasa- tai eri-ikäisrakenteisena. Kasvatustavan valinnan lähtökohtana ovat metsänomistajan tavoitteet sekä kasvupaikan ja olemassa olevan puuston luomat edellytykset. Tasaikäisrakenteisen metsän kehittäminen eri-ikäisrakenteiseksi vaatii useimmiten pitkän siirtymävaiheen. Eri-ikäisrakenteinen metsä voidaan sen sijaan muuttaa nopeasti tasaikäisrakenteiseksi uudistushakkuulla ja sen jälkeisillä uudistamistöillä. Nykyiset kasvumallit osoittavat, että molemmat voivat olla taloudellisesti kannattavia. Tasaikäisrakenteisen metsän kasvatuksessa on erotettavissa metsiköiden uudistamis- ja kasvatusvaihe. Eri-ikäisrakenteisena kasvatettaessa metsä säilyy pääosin peitteisenä. Metsän uudistuminen perustuu yleensä yksinomaan luontaisesti syntyneeseen alikasvokseen ja sen jatkokehittämiseen. Tasaikäisrakenteisen metsän kasvatuksessa käytettävissä ovat vakiintuneet ja hyvin tutkitut hoito- ja hakkuumenetelmät, joista on myös käytännön kokemusta. Eri-ikäisrakenteisen metsän kasvatuksesta on kansainvälisesti paljon tietoa ja Suomessakin löytyy jo jatkuvan kasvatuksen osaavia toimijoita.)

EN-NEU2. Economic effects. Even-aged forestry presupposes investments into the regeneration of forests **REMOVED:**, especially if the area is grown artificially. Income focuses on regeneration felling. **REMOVED:** With uneven-aged forest management, the aim is mainly to harvest logs. In even-aged forestry, regeneration and tending of seedling stands are a significant cost. With uneven-aged forestry, the regeneration of forests when successful does not imply costs and the need for tending of seedling stands is smaller. With even-aged forestry, you can collect logging residue and stumps for energy for forest energy wood from regeneration felling. **ADDED:** With uneven-aged forest management, the aim is mainly to harvest logs, which is far more valuable than forest energy wood. In even-aged forestry, regeneration and tending of seedling stands are a significant cost. **ADDED:** In uneven-aged forestry forest regeneration usually does not imply costs.

(NEU2. Talousvaikutuksia. Tasaikäiskasvatus edellyttää investointeja metsän uudistamiseen. Tulot painottuvat uudistushakkuuseen. Tasaikäisrakenteisen metsän uudistushakkuualoilta voidaan korjata hakkuutähdettä ja kantoja energiapuuksi. Eri-ikäiskasvatuksessa tavoitteena on korjata hakkuissa pääasiassa tukkipuuta, joka on paljon arvokkaampaa kuin energiapuu. Tasaikäiskasvatuksessa uudistaminen ja taimikonhoito ovat merkittävä kustannuserä. Eri-ikäisrakenteisen metsän kasvatuksessa metsän uudistaminen ei yleensä aiheuta kustannuksia.)

EN-NEU3. Environmental and multifunctionality effects. In even-aged forestry, the cultivated forest area forms a mosaic of forest compartments. Different forest compartments in different developmental stages provide different habitats, the diversity of which are promoted by nature care. **REMOVED:** The variability of uneven-aged forests is beneficial for biodiversity, but does not in itself guarantee the preservation or formation of structural traits. **ADDED:** It is probable that a combination of uneven- and even-aged forestry management produces the greatest benefits for biodiversity.

(NEU3. Ympäristö- ja monikäyttövaikutuksia. Tasaikäisrakenteisena kasvatettava metsäalue muodostaa metsikkökuvioiden mosaiikin. Eri kehitysvaiheissa olevat metsikkökuviot tarjoavat toisistaan poikkeavia elinympäristöjä, joiden monipuolisuutta edistetään luonnonhoidolla. Eri-ikäisrakenteiseen metsään liittyvä

vaihtelevuus on nykytutkimuksen mukaan eduksi luonnon monimuotoisuudelle. Yhdistelmä eri-ikäis- ja tasaikäisrakenteista kasvatusta tuottaa todennäköisimmin suurimmat hyödyt luonnon monimuotoisuudelle.)

EN-NEU4. Damage risks. ~~REMOVED: With the selection cutting of uneven-aged tree stands the risk for harvesting damage is especially high, when large trees are picked out among smaller trees which are left to grow.~~ **ADDED:** In both even- and uneven-aged forestry, there are risks of harvesting damage from fellings. The risks for damage from moose, voles and wind depend on forest management practices and local conditions for both even- and uneven-aged tree stands. There are possibly differences between the two differing forest management practices when it comes to these kinds of risk, but there is little tested knowledge on the topic. ~~REMOVED: In even-aged forests the risk for root-rot is smaller.~~ **ADDED:** With uneven-aged forestry the risk for root-rot can be lessened with winter fellings, because snow and ice protect the trees left standing.

(NEU4. Tuhoriskit. Sekä tasa- että eri-ikäisrakenteisen puuston poimintahakkuussa syntyy korjuuvaurioiden riski. Tasa- ja eri-ikäisrakenteisen puuston hirvi-, myyrä- ja tuulituhoriskit vaihtelevat puuston käsittelystä ja paikallisista oloista riippuen. Kasvatusmenetelmien välillä on mahdollisesti eroja näiden tuhojen riskissä, mutta todennettua tietoa tästä on niukasti. Eri-ikäisrakenteisen kasvatusmenetelmän osalta juurikäävän riskiä voidaan pienentää talvihakkuilla, sillä lumi ja jää suojaavat jäljellejääneitä puita.)

3 MINOR

EN-MIN1. Even- or unevenaged forestry. The starting points for choosing forestry management are the aims of the foresters and the preconditions given by the place of growth and the existing tree stands. Changing from even-aged stands to unevenaged stands usually requires a long transition phase. In contrast, an uneven-aged stand can be turned into an even-aged one quickly with regeneration felling and subsequent regeneration measures. **ADDED: Current growth models show that both can be economically profitable.** With even-aged forestry, you can distinguish between the regeneration and growth phases. With continuous-cover forestry, the forest remains mainly covered. Forest regeneration is usually based singularly on naturally grown undergrowth and the further development of this. For even-aged forestry, there are established and well-researched silvicultural and felling methods, of which there is also practical experience. **ADDED: Internationally there is much knowledge on uneven-aged forestry, and also in Finland there are experts on continuous-cover forestry.** **REMOVED: Knowledge of methods pertaining to uneven-aged forestry still rest on a narrow research base and there is relatively little long-term experience.**

(MIN1. Kasvatus tasa- tai eri-ikäisrakenteisena. Kasvatustavan valinnan lähtökohtana ovat metsänomistajan tavoitteet sekä kasvupaikan ja olemassa olevan puuston luomat edellytykset. Tasaikäisrakenteisen metsän kehittäminen eri-ikäisrakenteiseksi vaatii useimmiten pitkän siirtymävaiheen. Eri-ikäisrakenteinen metsä voidaan sen sijaan muuttaa nopeasti tasaikäisrakenteiseksi uudistushakkuulla ja sen jälkeisillä uudistamistöillä. Nykyiset kasvumallit osoittavat, että molemmat voivat olla taloudellisesti kannattavia. Tasaikäisrakenteisen metsän kasvatuksessa on erotettavissa metsiköiden uudistamis- ja kasvatusvaihe. Eri-ikäisrakenteisena kasvatettaessa metsä säilyy pääosin peitteisenä. Metsän uudistuminen perustuu yleensä yksinomaan luontaisesti syntyneeseen alikasvokseen ja sen jatkokehittämiseen. Tasaikäisrakenteisen metsän kasvatuksessa käytettävissä ovat vakiintuneet ja hyvin tutkitut hoito- ja hakkuumenetelmät, joista on myös käytännön kokemusta. Eri-ikäisrakenteisen metsän kasvatuksesta on kansainvälisesti paljon tietoa ja Suomessakin löytyy jo jatkuvan kasvatuksen osaavia toimijoita.)

EN-MIN2. Economic effects. Even-aged forestry presupposes investments into the regeneration of forests **REMOVED: especially if the area is grown artificially.** Income focuses on regeneration felling. **REMOVED: With uneven-aged forest management, the aim is mainly to harvest logs. In even-aged forestry, regeneration and tending of seedling stands are a significant cost. With uneven-aged forestry, the regeneration of forests when successful does not imply costs and the need for tending of seedling stands is smaller.** With even-aged forestry, you can collect logging residue and stumps for energy for forest energy wood from regeneration felling. **ADDED: With uneven-aged forest management, the aim is mainly to harvest logs, REMOVED: which is far more valuable than forest energy wood ADDED: wherefore income flows are significantly higher than in the case of e.g. harvesting of energy wood. REMOVED: In even-aged forestry, regeneration and tending of seedling stands are a significant cost. ADDED: In even-aged forestry, regeneration and tending to seedling stands cause significant cost flows. ADDED: In uneven-aged forestry forest regeneration usually does not imply costs. ADDED: The saved cost is freed for other use. ADDED: In even-aged forestry regeneration fellings give rise to small income flows by harvesting logging residue and stumps into energy wood.**

(MIN2. Talousvaikutuksia. Tasaikäiskasvatus edellyttää investointeja metsän uudistamiseen. Tulot painottuvat uudistushakkuuseen. Eri-ikäiskasvatuksessa tavoitteena on korjata hakkuissa pääasiassa tukkipuuta, mistä syystä tulovirrat ovat huomattavasti runsaammat kuin esim. energiapuun korjuussa. Tasaikäiskasvatuksessa uudistaminen ja taimikonhoito aiheuttavat merkittäviä menovirtoja. Eri-ikäisrakenteisen metsän kasvatuksessa metsän uudistaminen ei yleensä aiheuta menovirtoja. Säästetty kustannus vapautuu muuhun käyttöön. Tasaikäisrakenteisen metsän uudistushakkuualoilta saadaan pieniä tulovirtoja korjaamalla hakkuutähdettä ja kantoja energiapuuksi.)

EN-MIN3. Environmental and multifunctionality effects. In even-aged forestry, the cultivated forest area forms a mosaic of forest compartments. Different forest compartments in different developmental stages provide different habitats, the diversity of which are promoted by nature care. **REMOVED: The variability of uneven-aged forests is beneficial for biodiversity, but does not in itself guarantee the preservation or formation of structural traits.** **ADDED: It is probable that a combination of uneven- and even-aged forestry management produces the greatest benefits for biodiversity.**

(MIN3. Ympäristö- ja monikäyttövaikutuksia. Tasaikäisrakenteisena kasvatettava metsäalue muodostaa metsikkökuvioiden mosaiikin. Eri kehitysvaiheissa olevat metsikkökuviot tarjoavat toisistaan poikkeavia elinympäristöjä, joiden monipuolisuutta edistetään luonnonhoidolla. Eri-ikäisrakenteiseen metsään liittyvä vaihtelevuus on nykytutkimuksen mukaan eduksi luonnon monimuotoisuudelle. Yhdistelmä eri-ikäis- ja tasaikäisrakenteista kasvatusta tuottaa todennäköisimmin suurimmat hyödyt luonnon monimuotoisuudelle.)

EN-MIN4. Damage risks. ~~REMOVED: With the selection cutting of uneven-aged tree stands the risk for harvesting damage is especially high, when large trees are picked out among smaller trees which are left to grow.~~ **ADDED:** In light of recent Finnish research, forest management practices impacts the risk of wind damage. ~~REMOVED: In both even- and uneven-aged forestry, there are risks of harvesting damage from fellings.~~ ~~REMOVED: The risks for damage from moose, voles and wind depend on forest management practices and local conditions for both even- and uneven-aged tree stands. There are possibly differences between the two differing forest management practices when it comes to these kinds of risk, but there is little tested knowledge on the topic.~~ **ADDED:** Uneven-aged forests have been observed to lessen the risk for wind damage. ~~REMOVED: In even-aged forests the risk for root-rot is smaller.~~ **ADDED:** With uneven-aged forestry the risk for root-rot can be lessened with winter fellings, because snow and ice protect the trees left standing. **ADDED:** Root-rot also does not spread under temperatures below zero.

(MIN4. Tuhoriskit. Sekä tasa- että eri-ikäisrakenteisen puuston poimintahakkuussa syntyy korjuuvaurioiden riski. Tuoreen suomalaisen tutkimustiedon valossa metsän käsittely vaikuttaa tuulituhoriskiin. Eri-ikäisrakenteisen metsän on havaittu vähentävän tuulituhoriskiä. Eri-ikäisrakenteisen kasvatustavan osalta juurikäävän riskiä voidaan pienentää talvihakkuilla, sillä lumi ja jää suojaavat jäljellejääneitä puita. Juurikäpä ei myöskään leviä nollan asteen alapuolella.)

4 MAJOR

EN-MAJ1. Even- or unevenaged forestry. The starting points for choosing forestry management are the aims of the foresters and the preconditions given by the place of growth and the existing tree stands. Changing from even-aged stands to unevenaged stands usually requires a long transition phase. In contrast, an uneven-aged stand can be turned into an even-aged one quickly with regeneration felling and subsequent regeneration measures. **ADDED:** Current growth models show that both can be economically profitable. With even-aged forestry, you can distinguish between the regeneration and growth phases. With continuous-cover forestry, the forest remains mainly covered. Forest regeneration is usually based singularly on naturally grown undergrowth and the further development of this. For even-aged forestry, there are established and well-researched silvicultural and felling methods, of which there is also practical experience. **ADDED:** Internationally there is much knowledge on uneven-aged forestry, and also in Finland there are experts on continuous-cover forestry. **REMOVED:** Knowledge of methods pertaining to uneven-aged forestry still rest on a narrow research base and there is relatively little long-term experience.

(MAJ1. Kasvatus tasa- tai eri-ikäisrakenteisena. Kasvatustavan valinnan lähtökohtana ovat metsänomistajan tavoitteet sekä kasvupaikan ja olemassa olevan puuston rakenteen luomat edellytykset. Tasaikäisrakenteisen metsän kehittäminen eri-ikäisrakenteiseksi vaatii useimmiten pitkän siirtymävaiheen. Eri-ikäisrakenteinen metsä voidaan sen sijaan muuttaa nopeasti tasaikäisrakenteiseksi uudistushakkuulla ja sen jälkeillä uudistamistöillä. Nykyiset kasvumallit osoittavat, että molemmat voivat olla taloudellisesti kannattavia mutta useimmiten eri-ikäisrakenteinen kasvatus tuottaa metsänomistajalle suuremmat tulot. Tasaikäisrakenteisen metsän kasvatuksessa on erotettavissa metsiköiden uudistamis- ja kasvatusvaihe. Eri-ikäisrakenteisena kasvatettaessa metsä säilyy pääosin peitteisenä. Metsän uudistuminen perustuu luontaisesti syntyneeseen alikasvokseen ja sen jatkokehittämiseen. Tasaikäisrakenteisen metsän kasvatuksessa käytettävissä ovat vakiintuneet ja hyvin tutkitut hoito- ja hakkuumenetelmät, joista on myös käytännön kokemusta. Eri-ikäisrakenteisen metsän kasvatuksesta on kansainvälisesti paljon tietoa ja Suomessakin löytyy jo jatkuvan kasvatuksen osaavia toimijoita.)

EN-MAJ2. Economic effects. Even-aged forestry presupposes investments into the regeneration of forests **REMOVED:**, especially if the area is grown artificially. Income focuses on regeneration felling. **REMOVED:** With uneven-aged forest management, the aim is mainly to harvest logs. In even-aged forestry, regeneration and tending of seedling stands are a significant cost. With uneven-aged forestry, the regeneration of forests when successful does not imply costs and the need for tending of seedling stands is smaller. With even-aged forestry, you can collect logging residue and stumps for energy for forest energy wood from regeneration felling. **ADDED:** With uneven-aged forest management, the aim is mainly to harvest logs, **REMOVED:** which is far more valuable than forest energy wood **ADDED:** **wherefore income flows are significantly higher than in the case of e.g. harvesting of energy wood.** **REMOVED:** In even-aged forestry, regeneration and tending of seedling stands are a significant cost. **ADDED:** In even-aged forestry, regeneration and tending to seedling stands cause significant cost flows. **ADDED:** In uneven-aged forestry forest regeneration usually does not imply costs. **ADDED:** **The saved cost is freed for other use. ADDED: In even-aged forestry regeneration fellings give rise to small income flows by harvesting logging residue and stumps into energy wood.**

(MAJ2. Talousvaikutuksia. Tasaikäiskasvatus edellyttää investointeja metsän uudistamiseen. Tulot painottuvat uudistushakkuuseen. Eri-ikäiskasvatuksessa tavoitteena on korjata hakkuissa pääasiassa tukkipuuta, mistä syystä tulovirrat ovat huomattavasti runsaammat kuin esim. energiapuun korjuussa. Tasaikäiskasvatuksessa uudistaminen ja taimikonhoito aiheuttavat merkittäviä menovirtoja. Eri-ikäisrakenteisen metsän kasvatuksessa metsän uudistaminen ei aiheuta menovirtoja. Säästetty kustannus vapautuu muuhun käyttöön. Tasaikäisrakenteisen metsän uudistushakkuualoilta voidaan saada pieniä tulovirtoja korjaamalla hakkuutähdettä ja kantoja energiapuuksi.)

EN-MAJ3. Environmental and multifunctionality effects. In even-aged forestry, the cultivated forest area forms a mosaic of forest compartments. Different forest compartments in different developmental stages provide different habitats, the diversity of which are promoted by nature care. **REMOVED:** The variability of uneven-aged forests is beneficial for biodiversity, but does not in itself guarantee the preservation or formation of structural traits. **REMOVED:** It is probable that a combination of uneven- and even-aged forestry management produces the greatest benefits for biodiversity. **ADDED:** **An area with uneven-aged forest**

compartments enables a more unified and dense network of forest habitats, which according to modern research is beneficial for biodiversity. Uneven-aged forestry brings with it environmental and multifunctionality benefits also when combined with traditional even-aged forestry. The more rich forest in terms of biodiversity, the more numerous are also the health benefits provided to humans.

(MAJ3. Ympäristö- ja monikäyttövaikutuksia. Tasaikäsrakenteisena kasvatettava metsäalue muodostaa metsikkökuvioiden mosaiikin. Eri kehitysvaiheissa olevat metsikkökuviot tarjoavat toisistaan poikkeavia elinympäristöjä, joiden monipuolisuutta edistetään luonnonhoidolla. Eri-ikäsrakenteisten metsikkökuvioiden alue mahdollistaa yhtenäisemmän ja tiheämmän metsäisten elinympäristöjen verkoston, joka on nykytutkimuksen mukaan eduksi luonnon monimuotoisuudelle. Eri-ikäsrakenteisen metsän kasvatusta tuo ympäristö- ja monikäyttöhyötyjä myös yhdistettynä perinteiseen tasaikäsrakenteiseen kasvatustapaan. Mitä monimuotoisuudeltaan rikkaampi metsä, sitä runsaammat ovat myös sen ihmiselle tarjoamat terveyshyödyt.)

EN-MAJ4. Damage risks. REMOVED: With the selection cutting of uneven-aged tree stands the risk for harvesting damage is especially high, when large trees are picked out among smaller trees which are left to grow. ADDED: In light of recent Finnish research, forest management practices impacts the risk of wind damage. REMOVED: In both even- and uneven-aged forestry, there are risks of harvesting damage from fellings. REMOVED: The risks for damage from moose, voles and wind depend on forest management practices and local conditions for both even- and uneven-aged tree stands. There are possibly differences between the two differing forest management practices when it comes to these kinds of risk, but there is little tested knowledge on the topic. ADDED: Uneven-aged forests have been observed to lessen the risk for wind damage. REMOVED: In even-aged forests the risk for root-rot is smaller. ADDED: With uneven-aged forestry the risk for root-rot can be lessened with winter fellings, because snow and ice protect the trees left standing. ADDED: Root-rot also does not spread under temperatures below zero.

(MAJ4. Tuhoriskit. Sekä tasa- että eri-ikäsrakenteisen puuston poimintahakkuussa syntyy korjuuvaurioiden riski. Tuoreen suomalaisen tutkimustiedon valossa metsän käsittely vaikuttaa tuulituhoriskiin. Eri-ikäsrakenteisen metsän on havaittu vähentävän tuulituhoriskiä. Eri-ikäsrakenteisen kasvatustavan osalta juurikäävän riskiä voidaan pienentää talvihakkuilla, sillä lumi ja jää suojaavat jäljellejääneitä puita. Juurikääpä ei myöskään leviä nollan asteen alapuolella.)

Appendix C: Design of nudges

In the design of our four different versions of the same extract from the Tapio guidelines, we changed both the informational content and the wording of the texts. We did this in a logical and consecutive order and in a way that does not confuse the two. Here is a detailed explanation of the process:

First, we abbreviated the existing text comparing even-aged and uneven-aged forestry, keeping both the content and the wordings (this is the RFM). Then, in close collaboration with experts on uneven-aged forestry, we changed the informational content of this original text to place the two forestry management practices on a par (this became the NEUTRAL; the RFM was informationally biased towards even-aged management).

However, only after having made these informational changes did we proceed with the nudge in the second sense mentioned, that is, only changing the wording but not the contents of the text. In the third and next version of the NEUTRAL – that is, the MINOR – we changed the wordings pertaining to economic aspects of the two forestry management practices so that they emphasize "flows". The relevant extracts for NEUTRAL and MINOR are as follows (with the modified sentences highlighted in **bold**):

EN-NEU2: ADDED: With uneven-aged forest management, the aim is mainly to harvest logs, which is far more valuable than forest energy wood. In even-aged forestry, regeneration and tending of seedling stands are a significant cost. ADDED: In uneven-aged forestry forest regeneration usually does not imply costs.

EN-MIN2: ADDED: With uneven-aged forest management, the aim is mainly to harvest logs, ~~REMOVED: which is far more valuable than forest energy wood~~ ADDED: **wherefore income flows are significantly higher than in the case of e.g. harvesting of energy wood.** ~~REMOVED: In even-aged forestry, regeneration and tending of seedling stands are a significant cost.~~ ADDED: **In even-aged forestry, regeneration and tending to seedling stands cause significant cost flows.** ADDED: In uneven-aged forestry forest regeneration usually does not imply costs. ADDED: **The saved cost is freed for other use.** ADDED: **In even-aged forestry regeneration fellings give rise to small income flows by harvesting logging residue and stumps into energy wood.**

Finally, to this MINOR text we added – in the fourth and final MAJOR text – the following modification (**bolded**):

EN-MIN3: *Environmental and multifunctionality effects.* In even-aged forestry, the cultivated forest area forms a mosaic of forest compartments. Different forest compartments in different developmental stages provide different habitats, the diversity of which are promoted by nature care. ~~REMOVED: The variability of uneven-aged forests is beneficial for biodiversity, but does not in itself guarantee the preservation or formation of structural traits.~~ ADDED: **It is probable that a combination of uneven- and even-aged forestry management produces the greatest benefits for biodiversity.**

EN-MAJ3. *Environmental and multifunctionality effects.* In even-aged forestry, the cultivated forest area forms a mosaic of forest compartments. Different forest compartments in different developmental stages provide different habitats, the diversity of which are promoted by nature care. ~~REMOVED: The variability of uneven-aged forests is beneficial for biodiversity, but does not in itself guarantee the preservation or formation of structural traits.~~ ~~REMOVED: It is probable that a combination of uneven- and even-aged forestry management produces the greatest benefits for biodiversity.~~ ADDED: **An area with uneven-aged forest compartments enables a more unified end dense network of forest habitats, which according to modern research is beneficial for biodiversity. Uneven-aged forestry brings with it environmental and multifunctionality benefits also when combined with traditional even-aged forestry.**

The more rich forest in terms of biodiversity, the more numerous are also the health benefits provided to humans.

In sum, thus, RFM and NEUTRAL are on a par (with informational changes) and MINOR and MAJOR are on a par (with linguistic nudge changes). With this strategy, we achieved a way of testing for both the change in informational contents only as well as, additionally, for effects of linguistic nudging.