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Explaining the Effects of Narrative in an Entertainment Television Program: Overcoming Resistance to Persuasion

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Research has examined the ability of entertainment-education (E-E) programs to influence behavior across a variety of health and social issues. However, less is known about the underlying mechanisms that account for these effects. In keeping with the extended elaboration likelihood model (E-ELM) and the entertainment overcoming resistance model (EORM), we examined how story features, such as narrative transportation and involvement with characters, may reduce three forms of resistance to persuasion—reactance, counterarguing, and perceived invulnerability. In a between-subjects experiment, 367 undergraduates viewed either a dramatic narrative or a nonnarrative program about the difficult consequences of an unplanned teen pregnancy. Participants completed a questionnaire assessing their reactions to the program immediately after viewing and again 2 weeks later. Consistent with predictions derived from the EORM and E-ELM, the dramatic narrative reduced reactance by fostering parasocial interaction with characters and decreasing perceptions of persuasive intent. Also as expected, identification with characters in the narrative reduced counterarguing and increased perceived vulnerability to unplanned pregnancy—although the latter occurred only at the delayed posttest 2 weeks after exposure. Unexpectedly, transportation into the dramatic narrative was associated with greater counterarguing. Taken together, this research demonstrates that investigating narrative influence from the perspective of overcoming resistance is a useful approach. Findings also suggest important differences in how individuals process narrative and nonnarrative messages.

In recent years, much research has examined the ability of entertainment-education (E-E) television programs to create awareness and change behavior across a variety of health and social issues. Although a good deal of evidence for E-E effects has amassed, less is known about the underlying mechanisms accounting for their effects. Of particular import is the need to understand how entertainment messages might overcome resistance to persuasion—one presumed key to their success. Although

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resistance to persuasion has been examined in the context of overt persuasive appeals, related theorizing in the domain of E-E has been largely untested (e.g., Moyer-Gusé, 2008; Slater & Rouner, 2002). Yet, a number of E-E theories converge to identify features, such as identification with characters and transportation into the narrative, as central to persuasive outcomes. In this research, existing theorizing on how narrative E-E programs may overcome resistance is reviewed, synthesized, and empirically tested to shed light on the process through which E-E programs may influence intentions and behavior.

E-E and narrative persuasion

E-E has been defined in different ways across the literature (Greenberg, Salmon, Patel, Beck, & Cole, 2004). Traditionally, E-E refers to entertainment programming designed to exert some known, prosocial effect on viewers (e.g., providing information, reducing stigma, promoting healthy behaviors). From this perspective, a typical E-E program is created with careful attention to theories of message design and behavior change, and undergoes rigorous formative assessment. In contrast to this view, E-E programming has also been defined merely based upon the existence of some prosocial content, regardless of the purpose for which it was created (Greenberg et al., 2004). Thus, an E-E program may be one educational scene, episode, or storyline embedded in an otherwise purely entertainment program (Greenberg et al., 2004; Singhal & Rogers, 1999). This latter definition is typical of E-E programs in the United States and other regions characterized by highly competitive media environments and little government control over media content. Defining E-E in this way, we may expect more modest effects, although substantially less research has focused on this type of E-E content. Of note, not only does the definitional scope of E-E vary but so does its goals. Some aim to inform viewers about a particular issue whereas others seek to change attitudes or behavior. This is a critical distinction as different processes are involved in merely conveying information to viewers versus altering more durable attitudes or behaviors.

Much of the extant research on E-E has focused on interventions outside of the United States. Generally speaking, this literature demonstrates that these full-scale programs can influence topic-relevant knowledge, attitudes, and behavior (for review, see Singhal, Cody, Rogers, & Sabido, 2004; Singhal & Rogers, 2001). In the United States, where E-E programs are typically smaller in scale, fewer have been examined, but existing studies generally support their effectiveness. These programs can lead to increases in awareness and knowledge about the topics they portray, including learning about condom efficacy (Collins, Elliott, Berry, Kanouse, & Hunter, 2003), emergency contraception and human papillomavirus (Brodie et al., 2001), HIV (Kennedy, O'Leary, Beck, Pollard, & Simpson, 2004), and breast cancer (Beck, 2004; Hether, Huang, Beck, Murphy, & Valente, 2008; Wilkin et al., 2007).

However, evidence that E-E programs can influence attitudes and behaviors is less clear in studies conducted in the United States. For example, exposure to characters

using condoms in dramatic television programming led to more positive attitudes toward condoms among females, but not males—and had no effect on intentions to use condoms (Farrar, 2006). Moreover, a recent survey found that exposure to breast cancer storylines in prime-time medical dramas was consistently associated with knowledge gain, although not consistently associated with related attitudes and behaviors (Hether et al., 2008). Similarly, individuals who viewed a breast cancer storyline in a Spanish-language telenovela showed significant knowledge gains after exposure, but intentions to have a mammogram or to encourage someone else to have a mammogram increased only among men (Wilkin et al., 2007). In summary, evidence supports the effectiveness of E-E messages, but mixed findings in existing research highlight the need for a clearer understanding of the mechanisms by which narrative persuasion occurs. To do so, we must first understand the nature of narrative persuasion and its implications for how E-E programs induce attitude and behavior change.

Theory in E-E and narrative persuasion

The most commonly applied theory in the area of E-E is social cognitive theory (SCT; Bandura, 1986; Sood, Menard, & Witte, 2004). According to SCT, a character who is rewarded for his or her behavior serves to positively motivate and reinforce the value of that behavior in the minds of viewers, whereas punished behaviors are negatively reinforced and thus discouraged as possible actions viewers might take (Bandura, 2004). Bandura further argues that both identification with and similarity to a character may enhance this effect. An important component of SCT is that not all observed behaviors are adopted. Rather, an individual must be motivated and able to enact the behavior. By highlighting motivation as a key process governing behavior, the theory recognizes that resistance to certain ''healthy'' behaviors can exist among observers. However, SCT does not specifically posit the processes by which entertainment messages may overcome this resistance to persuasion.

The extended elaboration likelihood model (E-ELM) was put forth precisely for this purpose—to consider how E-E programs may lead to persuasion by reducing resistance (Slater & Rouner, 2002). In particular, the E-ELM focuses on the ability of E-E programs to reduce message scrutiny, one source of resistance to persuasion. At its core, the E-ELM posits that when viewers are absorbed into the dramatic elements of an entertainment program, they are less motivated to counterargue with the embedded persuasive message. Here ''absorption'' refers to becoming swept up into the narrative and identification with characters.

The E-ELM has advanced E-E theorizing by highlighting the role of resistance and narrative engagement. Of course, other forms of resistance to persuasion besides message counterarguing may be equally or perhaps even more critical in explaining why some persuasive messages fail. To this end, a recent theoretical framework—the entertainment overcoming resistance model (EORM)—was put forth to consider how E-E programs can overcome various forms of resistance (Moyer-Gusé, 2008). The EORM integrates the propositions of the E-ELM regarding counterarguing

along with several other forms of resistance to offer a comprehensive examination of how E-E may affect attitudes and behaviors. For example, the EORM posits the processes through which E-E messages may reduce psychological reactance and selective avoidance, change skewed norms, and overcome optimistic bias among viewers. Like other theories, the EORM also points to involvement with characters and absorption in the narrative as keys to overcoming resistance.

Looking across these existing theories of E-E and narrative persuasion, there are differences in terms of scope and the precise process through which E-E effects emerge. But common across these models is a focus on ''involvement'' with the narrative and/or characters as the key to persuasive effects. More specifically, these models posit that narrative programs foster a unique experience inasmuch as viewers get swept up into the story and become emotionally and vicariously involved with the characters depicted therein. Although these constructs emerge repeatedly in theorizing about E-E effects, their ability to overcome resistance as predicted by these models remains largely untested. To this end, we now review each of these forms of involvement and then put forth a hypothesized model derived from the E-ELM and the EORM—offering a first empirical test of a number of these processes.

Unique aspects of narrative processing

A narrative simply refers to a story with ''an identifiable beginning, middle, and end that provides information about scene, characters, and conflict; raises unanswered questions or unresolved conflict; and provides resolution'' (Hinyard & Kreuter, 2007, p. 778). When viewers are watching a dramatic entertainment program they may feel as if they have been transported into the narrative world. *Transportation* into a narrative refers to the process by which an individual becomes immersed into a story, losing track of the real world as he or she experiences the unfolding events in the story (Gerrig, 1993; Green & Brock, 2000). Transportation is measured by asking viewers about the extent to which they forgot about their surroundings while viewing and felt present in the mediated environment they were viewing (Green & Brock, 2000).

Narrative programming is also characterized by the emotional connection viewers develop with characters. Here we consider three related—although conceptually distinct—constructs: identification, perceived similarity, and parasocial interaction (PSI). *Identification* refers to an emotional and cognitive process whereby a viewer imagines himself or herself as a particular character. The viewer loses self-awareness and takes on the feelings, perspectives, and goals of that character (Cohen, 2001). Although this loss of awareness is similar to transportation, there is a key distinction between these concepts. Although they both involve becoming swept up into a narrative world, identification involves doing so through the eyes of one particular character—sharing that character's perspective, emotions, and goals. Transportation does not require this perspective-taking to occur. A viewer may enter into a narrative world as an observer while maintaining his or her perspective and self-awareness. In support of these conceptual differences, recent empirical evidence has revealed that transportation and identification—although moderately correlated—can be

independently manipulated. Specifically, transportation, but not identification, may be influenced by alerting viewers to what will happen in the plot (thus affecting suspense), whereas identification, but not transportation, may be influenced by providing positive versus negative background information about a character before viewing (Cohen & Tal-Or, 2008). Taken together, there is conceptual and empirical reason to consider identification and transportation separately in understanding narrative persuasion.

Perceived similarity refers to a viewer's judgment about the extent to which he or she and a character share common attributes, characteristics, beliefs, and/or values (Eyal & Rubin, 2003; Hoffner & Cantor, 1991). Perceived similarity is often confused or used interchangeably with identification, but they are conceptually and empirically distinct (Eyal & Rubin, 2003). Only identification involves a loss of self-awareness as a viewer takes on the perspective of another.

A third, related construct is *PSI*, which is defined as a "seeming face-to-face relationship between spectator and performer" (Horton & Wohl, 1956, p. 215). PSI refers to the bond that develops between a viewer and a liked character. Individuals readily form these parasocial relationships with fictional characters, newscasters, talk radio hosts, and other celebrities and begin to see these individuals as a part of their social world (for review, see Giles, 2002). Much like real relationships, PSI is driven by social attraction and perceived similarity in terms of attitudes and background (Rubin & McHugh, 1987; Turner, 1993).

The role of narrative involvement in overcoming resistance to persuasion
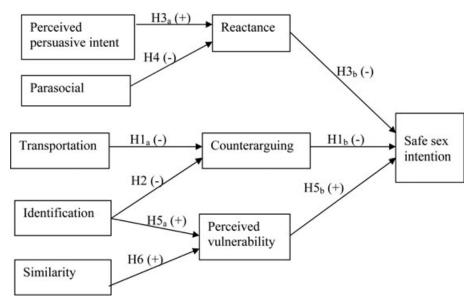
Taken together, the E-ELM and the EORM posit that these reactions that are fostered by narrative—transportation, identification, similarity, and PSI—should each help to overcome various types of resistance to persuasion, and thus enhance persuasive outcomes (Moyer-Gusé, 2008; Slater, 2002; Slater & Rouner, 2002). Rather than test these theories separately given they share overlapping constructs, we instead review relevant theory and research on how each of these types of involvement may overcome three types of resistance to persuasion—counterarguing, reactance, and perceived invulnerability. Given that the focus of the present research is on a dramatic television program about the negative consequences of unplanned teen pregnancy, the hypotheses are expressed in terms of how exposure to a dramatic narrative may lead to changes in sexual intentions and behaviors.

Counterarguing as a form of resistance

Message scrutiny refers to the idea that individuals will engage in careful attention and thoughtful elaboration on a message when they are sufficiently motivated and able to do so. This can result in counterarguing, or the "generation of thoughts that dispute or are inconsistent with the persuasive argument" (Slater & Rouner, 2002, p. 180). But narrative messages may be able to reduce counterarguing compared to other persuasive strategies by fostering transportation into the narrative (Green & Brock, 2000; Slater & Rouner, 2002). The E-ELM and the EORM both posit

transportation into an E-E program as a means to reduce counterarguing with the underlying persuasive content (Moyer-Gusé, 2008; Slater & Rouner, 2002). In particular, transportation should reduce motivation and ability to counterargue because transportation is an enjoyable and immersive process (Green & Brock, 2000; Green, Brock, & Kaufman, 2004). Thus, to the extent that viewers are transported, they are less motivated and less able to interrupt this process to counterargue story points (Green & Brock, 2000; Knowles & Linn, 2004; Moyer-Gusé, 2008; Slater & Rouner, 2002). As a result, the generation of counterarguments should be suppressed by a narrative when viewers are sufficiently transported.

Empirical evidence supports this negative relationship between transportation and counterarguing. For example, across a series of studies, transportation into a written narrative was associated with greater endorsement of story-consistent beliefs (Green & Brock, 2000). Readers who were more transported also pointed out fewer false notes within the story, indicating less counterarguing. A more recent experiment demonstrated the ability of a dramatic television program to change attitudes about gay marriage and the death penalty (Slater, Rouner, & Long, 2006). Taken together, existing research and theorizing suggest that transportation into a narrative should enhance persuasion by reducing viewers' motivation and ability to generate counterarguments. However, most of what we know about this process comes from written narratives. Thus, based on the E-ELM and the EORM, the following hypothesis is advanced (see Figure 1 for hypothesized model).

Note: H1 and H2 are derived from the E-ELM whereas H3–H6 are derived from the EORM.

Figure 1 Hypothesized model of entertainment-education effects.

> H1: Transportation into a dramatic narrative program about the difficulties of teen pregnancy will be associated with less counterarguing ($H1_a$), which in turn will be associated with greater safe sex intentions ($H1_b$).

According to the E-ELM and the EORM, identification with the main characters may also reduce counterarguing. While identifying with a character, a viewer vicariously adopts the perspective, thoughts, and feelings of that character. This is clearly at odds with generating counterarguments—a process that would require the viewer to disengage from the narrative world and the character (Slater & Rouner, 2002). In this way, E-E programs may reduce viewers' motivation to generate counterarguments while viewing by fostering identification with characters. Thus, we advance the following hypothesis.

> H2: Identification with the main characters in a dramatic narrative program about the difficulties of teen pregnancy will be associated with less counterarguing, which in turn will be associated with greater safe sex intentions.

Reactance as a form of resistance

The EORM was put forth based upon the premise that counterarguing is not the only type of resistance that can impede E-E effects. In particular, the EORM posits that psychological reactance deserves attention with respect to narrative persuasion and E-E (Moyer-Gusé, 2008). According to psychological reactance theory, individuals have a basic need for independence (Brehm, 1966; Brehm & Brehm, 1981). When an individual perceives that a third party is trying to constrain his or her behavior, reactance is aroused, triggering a drive to reassert one's independence. A persuasive appeal, particularly one that is explicit in its persuasive intent, can arouse reactance and thus undermine its own effectiveness (McGrane, Toth, & Alley, 1990; Weinstein, Grubb, & Vautier, 1986). Despite its relevance to E-E and narrative persuasion, psychological reactance theory has not been tested in this context. With this in mind, the EORM posits that E-E messages can overcome reactance in two ways. First, the narrative structure of E-E messages should diminish a viewer's perception of the message's persuasive intent (Moyer-Gusé, 2008). To the extent that a narrative television program is perceived as intending to entertain rather than persuade, reactance should be sidestepped. Thus, based on the EORM, we predict the following.

> H3: Lower estimates of the persuasive intent of a dramatic narrative program will be associated with less reactance ($H3_a$), which will be inversely related to safe sex intentions ($H3_b$).

The EORM also posits that E-E programming should minimize reactance through PSI (Moyer-Gusé, 2008). Using a peer as the source of a traditional persuasive message can effectively minimize reactance as a peer may be perceived as less authoritative and controlling (Burgoon, Alvaro, Grandpre, & Voloudakis, 2002). This logic can be applied to PSI as well. When a viewer parasocially interacts with a character, this character is seen as a part of his or her social network, like a peer (Giles, 2002; Rubin, Perse, & Powell, 1985). Therefore, these characters should likewise induce

less reactance when depicted in the context of an E-E program. Thus, based on the EORM we predict:

> H4: PSI with a main character in a dramatic narrative program who experiences the difficulties of an unplanned teen pregnancy will result in less reactance ($H4_a$) and subsequently greater safe sex intentions ($H4_b$).

Perceived invulnerability as a form of resistance

In addition to counterarguing and reactance, the EORM also posits that E-E programs can overcome resistance due to perceived invulnerability. Sometimes called "personal fable" or "optimistic bias," the perception of invulnerability refers to a belief that one is uniquely immune to negative consequences, regardless of risky behavior (Goossens, Beyers, Emmen, & van Aken, 2002). This differs from mere unawareness of the potential consequences of a risky behavior. Perceived invulnerability can lead an individual to resist a persuasive health message on the basis of a flawed assumption that the message does not apply to him or her. Perceptions of invulnerability might, for example, lead to avoidance of condom and other contraceptive use despite awareness of the potential consequences (Burger & Burns, 1988; Siegel & Gibson, 1988). There is reason to believe that narrative E-E programs may reach viewers whose resistance is based on perceived invulnerability due to their ability to foster involvement with characters. According to the EORM, perceived similarity and identification with a vulnerable character should increase viewers' perceived vulnerability (Moyer-Gusé, 2008). The depiction of a similar character that is vulnerable to an unplanned pregnancy may convey to the viewer his or her own vulnerability as well. In contrast to similarity, identification involves vicariously experiencing the actions and emotions of a character (Cohen, 2001). This process may allow a viewer who otherwise feels invulnerable to temporarily face the consequences of a risky behavior—allowing the viewer to experience something he or she ordinarily would not. This emotional experience may be uniquely able to convey vulnerability to a viewer. Thus, we predict:

> H5: Identification with a main character in a dramatic narrative who experiences the difficulties of an unplanned teen pregnancy will result in greater perceived vulnerability ($H5_a$), which will in turn promote greater safe sex intentions ($H5_b$).

> H6: Perceived similarity to a main character in a dramatic narrative who experiences the difficulties of an unplanned teen pregnancy will result in greater perceived vulnerability ($H6_a$), which will in turn promote greater safe sex intentions ($H6_b$).

Method

Participants and procedures

A total of 367 U.S. undergraduates (77% female) between the ages of 18 and 25 years ($M = 19.8$, $SD = 1.28$) completed an online pretest at least 2 days before attending a laboratory session.[1] At the laboratory session, participants were randomly assigned to one of two television viewing conditions (dramatic narrative, nonnarrative).[2]

Participants viewed their program in groups ($n = 1–9$) in a comfortable, living-room-like environment and filled out a posttest questionnaire afterward. Two weeks later, participants completed an online follow-up questionnaire. Of the original group of participants, 353 (96%) completed this final phase of the experiment.

Stimulus materials
Participants viewed one of two programs during their laboratory session—either a dramatic narrative or a nonnarrative program. Each focused on the difficulties associated with unplanned teen pregnancy by depicting teens who decided to keep and raise their baby. The dramatic narrative program conveyed these difficulties in the context of the U.S. teen drama, *The OC*.[3] In this episode, high-school students Ryan and Theresa faced the difficult consequences of an unintended pregnancy. Ryan discovered that his ex-girlfriend Theresa was pregnant and he was likely the father. Both teens expressed regret for letting this happen. The drama depicted the economic, academic, and social consequences for each character. The nonnarrative program was developed by the National Campaign to Prevent Teen Pregnancy to be aired on Channel One—a news program that airs in many U.S. high schools. This program used a feature news format, interviewing and profiling male and female teen parents. The overall message of the program was again that teen pregnancy makes life as a young adult more difficult. This program also highlighted the economic, academic, and social consequences of teen pregnancy. Although the two programs shared this overall message, the nonnarrative program did not use a narrative format, and its persuasive intent was more overt. Both programs were edited to remove commercials and, for the dramatic narrative, some secondary storylines were removed in the editing process. After editing, each program was approximately 30 minutes long.[4] The programs were pretested among a separate sample of undergraduates ($N = 66$) to ensure that they (a) had the same main message and (b) were equally interesting. In addition, the nonnarrative program was expected to be rated as more "educational," whereas the dramatic narrative was expected to be rated as more "dramatic." Results revealed that the two programs met these criteria.

Measures
Safe sex intentions were measured with two Likert-type items asking participants to indicate their intentions to use birth control over the next year, should they choose to have sexual intercourse. For example, one item asked: "How likely is it that you will use some form of birth control every time you have intercourse over the next year?" ($1 = $ *very unlikely*, $7 = $ *very likely*). These measures were averaged at each measurement period (pretest $M = 6.14$, $SD = 1.27$, $r = .55$; posttest $M = 6.10$, $SD = 1.24$, $r = .57$; follow-up test $M = 5.94$, $SD = 1.41$, $r = .49$). *Safe sex behavior* was measured at the pretest and again 2 weeks after exposure to the stimulus program. At the pretest, participants who reported that they have ever had sexual intercourse ($N = 268$, 73%) were asked how frequently they use some form of birth control when they have sexual intercourse: *never* (0), *sometimes* (1), *about half* (2), *most times* (3),

or *every time* (4) ($M = 3.60$, $SD = .79$). At the follow-up test, participants were first asked whether they had engaged in sexual intercourse during the last 2 weeks (since their participation in the experimental laboratory session). Those who reported that they had ($N = 155$, 44%), were asked how frequently they used some form of birth control during this period (*never* (0), *sometimes* (1), *about half* (2), *most times* (3), or *every time* (4); $M = 3.71$, $SD = .92$).

The posttest questionnaire included several measures to assess participants' degree of narrative and character involvement. *Transportation* was assessed with seven items adapted from Green and Brock's transportation scale (2000). Sample items include, ''I was mentally involved in the show while watching it'' and ''I found my mind wandering while watching the show'' (1 = *strongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree*; $M = 3.33$, $SD = .61$, $\alpha = .74$).

Identification with characters was measured according to the operationalization suggested by Cohen (2001). Sample items include, ''While viewing the show, I could feel the emotions __ portrayed'' and ''At key moments in the show, I felt I knew exactly what __ was going through (1 = *strongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree*). Participants responded to the same eight items for the main male and then female characters in their program. Then, all 16 items were averaged to create an overall measure of identification with main male and female characters ($M = 3.00$, $SD = .60$, $\alpha = .88$). Although this concept typically refers to identification with one character in particular, we chose to combine the male and female characters for two reasons. First, because the male and female characters are both portrayed as enduring the negative consequences of the unplanned pregnancy as a unit, it seemed that identification with both of these characters ought to lead to perceived vulnerability in the way posited above. Second, given the large relationship between identification with the male and female characters ($r = .69$, $p < .001$), it seemed reasonable to combine these measures in the interest of parsimony.

Nine items from Rubin and Perse's (1987) *PSI*-scale were used to assess PSI with the main male and female characters in the same way. Sample items include, ''__ makes me feel comfortable, like I'm with a friend'' and ''I see __ as a natural, down-to-earth person'' (1 = *strongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree*). Responses to these 18 items were averaged to form an overall measure of PSI with main characters ($M = 2.60$, $SD = .63$, $\alpha = .91$).

Perceived similarity was measured with the attitude homophily scale (McCroskey, Richmond, & Daly, 1975). Across four items, participants indicated the degree to which the main male and then female characters in the program act, think, and behave like them (1 = *not at all*, 7 = *very much*). These eight items were then averaged to create an overall measure of perceived similarity with the main male and female characters in the program ($M = 2.73$, $SD = 1.23$, $\alpha = .89$). Finally, *perceived persuasive intent* was measured by asking participants the degree to which they believe the show was designed to entertain (1) versus persuade (7) ($M = 4.46$, $SD = 2.24$).

The posttest questionnaire also included a number of items to assess the three relevant types of resistance to persuasion. *Counterarguing* was measured with four

Likert items developed from those used in previous research (Nabi, Moyer-Gusé, & Byrne, 2007). Sample items include, "While watching the program, I sometimes found myself thinking of ways I disagreed with what was being presented" and "I found myself looking for flaws in the way information was presented in the program" (1 = *strongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree*; $M = 2.80$, $SD = .93$, $\alpha = .84$).

Because recent work has demonstrated that *reactance* is made up of cognitive and affective elements (Dillard & Shen, 2005; Quick & Stephenson, 2007; Rains & Turner, 2007), nine items assessed both of these components. For the affective component, respondents rated how angry, irritated, annoyed, and aggravated they felt while watching the show (1 = *not at all*, 7 = *very much*; Dillard & Shen, 2005). Five additional items were used to assess the cognitive component. For example, "the show tried to pressure me to think a certain way" and "the show tried to force its opinions on me" (1 = s*trongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree*). Principal components factor analysis revealed that the affective and cognitive components represented separate factors.[5] Because these two scales could not be combined, the analyses presented below use the cognitive measure of reactance only ($M = 2.37$, $SD = .92$, $\alpha = .92$). The decision to use the cognitive rather than affective scale was based on face validity. In a narrative context, it is difficult to determine what participants may have been responding to using exclusively the affective measures (e.g., anger on behalf of one character, anger directed at the program itself). This highlights the need for further development of measures to assess reactance as research begins to incorporate this concept into narrative and E-E contexts.

To measure *perceived vulnerability*, participants were asked a series of questions about the personal risk to them of engaging in sexual intercourse without any form of birth control. These measures followed the format of those used in previous research (Gibbons, Gerrard, Blanton, & Russell, 2003). For example, participants were asked how likely they would be to get pregnant if they were to have sexual intercourse without any form of birth control once or twice (*no chance* = 1, *definitely would happen* = 7). These items were averaged at the posttest ($M = 5.66$, $SD = .81$, $\alpha = .55$) and follow-up test ($M = 5.50$, $SD = .85$, $\alpha = .63$).

Participants were also asked a series of demographic and media use questions. In particular, participants indicated their age, gender, and number of years in college. In addition, we asked how often they view *The OC (never* = 0, *every week* = 3; $M = .81$, $SD = 1.05$) and if they had ever seen the stimulus episode before (19.5% said yes, they had).
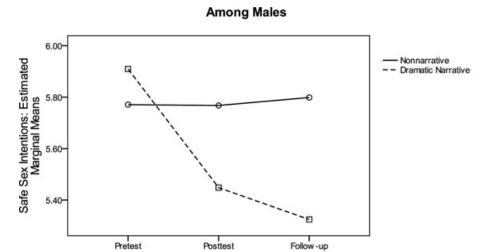
Results

Preliminary analyses

Before testing the model, we first compared the dramatic narrative and nonnarrative conditions across several dimensions. Because the E-ELM and EORM begin with the assumption that involvement—in the form of transportation, identification, and PSI—are important to the narrative persuasion process, we first compared the

narrative and nonnarrative programs on these variables. Exposure to the dramatic narrative led to greater transportation ($M = 3.38, SD = .68$) than did the nonnarrative condition ($M = 3.27, SD = .51$), but this difference did not reach conventional levels of statistical significance $t(364) = -1.71, p = .09$. Also consistent with the underlying assumption of these models, participants in the dramatic narrative condition reported greater identification with the main male and female characters ($M = 3.07, SD = .63$) than did those in the nonnarrative condition ($M = 2.93, SD = .55$), $t(364) = -2.25, p = .03$. In keeping with this trend, participants felt more similar to the characters in the dramatic narrative ($M = 3.06, SD = .1.21$) than to the real teens in the nonnarrative ($M = 2.37, SD = 1.16$), $t(363) = -5.52, p < .001$. Conversely, participants reported greater PSI with the teens in the nonnarrative program ($M = 2.77, SD = .55$) than with the two main characters in the dramatic narrative ($M = 2.45, SD = .67$), $t(364) = 4.96, p < .001$.

Although not the focus of this article, it is useful to have some idea of the total effect of the dramatic narrative program on viewers' safe sex intentions before looking at the processes more closely. Thus, before proceeding with model testing, we also examined the direct effect of exposure on safe sex intentions. To this end, we conducted a $3 \times 2 \times 2$ mixed analysis of covariance (ANCOVA) with time (pretest, posttest, follow-up) as a within-subjects variable, gender and exposure condition as between-subjects variables, and past sexual behavior as a covariate. Results revealed a significant main effect of time, such that safe sex intentions actually decreased over time, regardless of condition $F(2, 526) = 4.65, p = .01$. However, this main effect was qualified by a three-way interaction among time, condition, and gender $F(2, 526) = 4.77, p = .01$. As indicated in Figure 2, the nonnarrative program appeared to have no effect on males, whereas the dramatic narrative decreased male participants' safe sex intentions. Conversely, females showed an increase in safe sex intentions after exposure to the dramatic program, but not the nonnarrative program. Among females who saw the dramatic narrative, safe sex intentions increased significantly from pretest ($M = 6.09, SE = .12$) to posttest ($M = 6.23, SE = .11, p < .01$). Taken together, these results suggest that a dramatic narrative may exert prosocial effects on some viewers, although these effects are limited to particular audience members. This is consistent with prior research (e.g., Farrar, 2006) and with the generally accepted notion that not all mass messages affect all audience members in the same way. Further, although the effects were short-lived, most E-E studies do not look at effects over time. Thus, this outcome is not inconsistent with the past literature.

Because our present focus is on the *process* by which narrative messages exert persuasive effects and given the dramatic narrative was demonstrated to be effective for the majority of viewers—at least in the short run—the remainder of the analyses presented will assess the mechanisms through which these effects were evinced (although see Moyer-Gusé & Nabi, 2008, for more detailed analyses and discussion of the comparative effects).
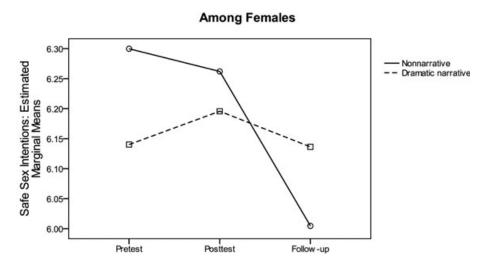
Among Males

Among Females

Figure 2 Three-way interaction among gender, message condition, and measurement time period on safe sex intentions.

Testing the model of E-E effects

The hypotheses were tested using the maximum likelihood estimation procedure (AMOS 17), setting the error term for each endogenous variable at a mean of 0 and a variance of 1. Model fit was assessed using the following criteria: (a) a nonsignificant χ^2 goodness-of-fit statistic, (b) a comparative fit index (CFI) of .90 or greater, and (c) a root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) less than or equal to .06 (Hu & Bentler, 1999). Correlations among all variables in the model are presented in Table 1. We present the models using safe sex intentions (rather than

Table 1 Summary of Zero-Order Bivariate Correlations Among Participants in the Dramatic Narrative Condition

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. Perceived intent	—										
2. Transportation	.14*	—									
3. PSI	.08	.49**	—								
4. Identification	.21**	.59**	.61**	—							
5. Similarity	.01	.22**	.32**	.30**	—						
6. Reactance	.15*	−.11	−.19**	−.06	−.01	—					
7. Counterarguing	−.002	.09	−.13	−.07	−.08	.45**	—				
8. T_2 Vulnerability	.18*	.07	.01	.08	−.13	.004	−.06	—			
9. T_3 Vulnerability	.22**	.14	.12	.23**	−.01	−.04	−.01	.74**	—		
10. T_2 Intentions	−.02	−.02	.01	.04	−.04	−.21**	−.17*	.38**	.36**	—	
11. T_3 Intentions	−.003	.10	.13	.16	−.01	−.20*	−.14	.31**	.29**	.68**	—

Note: PSI = parasocial interaction.

$*p < .05.$ $**p < .01.$

behavior) as the outcome variable. Due to the small number of people in the dramatic narrative condition who reported engaging in sexual intercourse during the 2 weeks after their laboratory session ($n = 84$), the path analysis for this outcome variable would not be stable. However, the patterns of each of the paths were consistent with those in the models presented below (although in most cases not statistically significant given the small sample size). Also note that gender is not included in these models as gender differences were not hypothesized nor are they addressed in the E-ELM or EORM. However, we tested the model including gender as a variable in a number of ways. These analyses changed none of the paths meaningfully and thus we present the more parsimonious hypothesized model. Finally, because the remaining hypotheses focus on the process by which narrative messages influence behavior, we present the model testing for participants in the dramatic narrative condition only. For comparison purposes, the model was also tested with those in the nonnarrative condition. The processes did differ in several notable ways and these differences are briefly highlighted at the end of this section.

As demonstrated in Figures 3(a) and 3(b), the hypothesized model did not offer an acceptable fit to the data for posttest safe sex intentions ($\chi_{(17)} = 62.29, p < .05$, CFI $= .84$, RMSEA $= .12, 90\%$ CI: $0.09-0.15$) or follow-up safe sex intentions ($\chi^2_{(17)} = 64.12, p < .05$, CFI $= .83$, RMSEA $= .12$, 90% CI: $0.09-0.16$). However, in both cases, the lack of fit appeared to be primarily due to the path between counterarguing and safe sex intentions. Thus, this variable was removed from the model and the fit was again assessed (Figure 4). This revised model fit improved dramatically, offering an acceptable fit when predicting safe sex intentions at the posttest ($\chi_{(9)} = 8.13, p = .52$, CFI $= 1.00$, RMSEA $= .00, 90\%$ CI: $0.00-0.08$) and follow-up ($\chi^2_{(9)} = 9.40, p = .40$, CFI $= 1.00$, RMSEA $= .02, 90\%$ CI: $0.00-0.09$).

H1$_a$ predicted that transportation would reduce counterarguing, but unexpectedly, there was a positive association between these variables ($\beta = .20, p = .03$). Counter to H1$_a$, transportation into the narrative led to more counterarguing. H1$_b$ predicted that counterarguing would reduce safe sex intentions; however, this path was not significant at the posttest ($\beta = -.07, p = .35$) or follow-up test ($\beta = -.07, p = .36$). Therefore, the data consistently failed to support H1, finding instead a positive association between transportation and counterarguing and no significant effect of counterarguing on safe sex intentions.
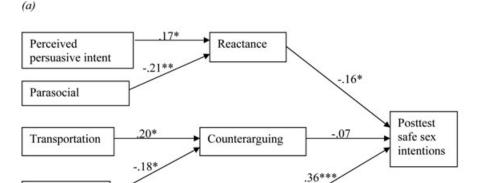
H2 predicted that identification with the main characters in the dramatic narrative would negatively predict counterarguing. The data were consistent with this expectation ($\beta = -.18, p = .03$), demonstrating that identification with characters reduced counterarguing. Therefore, H2 was supported. Taken together the results of H1 and H2 imply that identification with characters disrupted counterarguing, but transportation into the narrative did not.

H3 examined perceived persuasive intent and reactance. As expected, participants who saw the dramatic narrative perceived significantly less persuasive intent ($M = 2.75, SD = 1.54$) than did those who saw the nonnarrative program ($M = 6.29, SD = 1.18$), $t(360) = 24.45, p < .001$. H3$_a$ predicted that perceived persuasive intent would

(a)

Dramatic Narrative: $\chi^2_{(17)} = 62.29, p < .05$, CFI = .84, RMSEA = .12 (90% CI: 0.09-0.15); $n = 189$

(b)

Dramatic Narrative: $\chi^2_{(17)} = 64.12, p < .05$, CFI = .83, RMSEA = .12 (90% CI: 0.09-0.16); $n = 184$
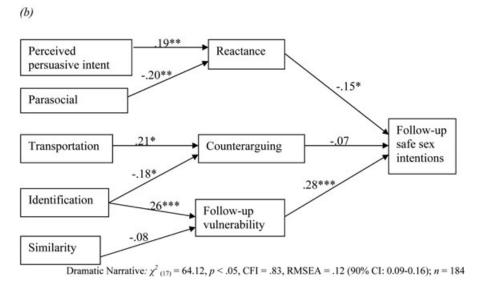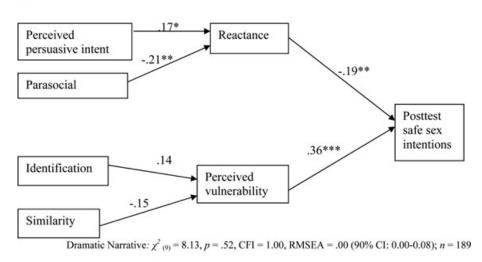
Figure 3 Model testing: (*a*) posttest safe sex intentions; (*b*) follow-up safe sex intentions.

be positively associated with reactance. As predicted, the less individuals considered the dramatic narrative to be persuasive in nature, the less reactance was aroused ($\beta = .17, p = .02$). Also as expected in H3$_b$, reactance significantly inhibited safe sex intentions at the posttest ($\beta = -.16, p = .03$) and follow-up ($\beta = -.15, p = .04$). H4$_a$ predicted that PSI with the main characters in the drama would reduce reactance. The data were consistent with this prediction as well ($\beta = -.21, p = .003$). As noted above, reactance significantly reduced safe sex intentions. Taken together, these data

(a)

Dramatic Narrative: $\chi^2_{(9)} = 8.13$, $p = .52$, CFI = 1.00, RMSEA = .00 (90% CI: 0.00-0.08); $n = 189$

(b)

Dramatic Narrative: $\chi_{(9)} = 9.40$, $p = .40$, CFI = 1.00, RMSEA = .02 (90% CI: 0.00-0.09); $n = 184$
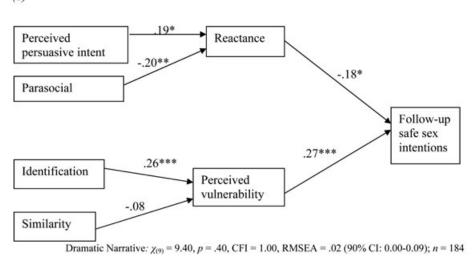
Figure 4 Reduced model: (*a*) posttest safe sex intentions; (*b*) follow-up safe sex intentions.

offer clear support for H3 and H4. Reactance was a significant form of resistance, disrupting safe sex intentions. Reactance was reduced by PSI with the main characters but increased when viewers perceived the message as having persuasive intent.

H5$_a$ and H5$_b$ predicted that identification with the main characters in the dramatic narrative would increase perceived vulnerability and, in turn, increase safe sex intentions. Identification with the characters evidenced a slight relationship

with perceived vulnerability at the posttest but this relationship was not statistically significant ($\beta = .14, p = .08$). However, this relationship intensified over time such that identification with characters during exposure was associated with greater perceived vulnerability 2 weeks later ($\beta = .26, p < .001$). Results were also consistent with $H5_b$ such that perceived vulnerability was associated with greater safe sex intentions at the posttest ($\beta = .36, p < .001$) and follow-up test ($\beta = .28, p < .001$). Taken together, this pattern of findings generally offers support for $H5_a$ and $H5_b$ with the association between identification and perceived vulnerability building over time.

$H6_a$ predicted a positive relationship between perceived similarity with the main characters and vulnerability. The data were inconsistent with this prediction. Instead, similarity was a near significant, negative predictor of vulnerability at the posttest ($\beta = -.15, p = .06$). This relationship was diminished 2 weeks later ($\beta = -.08, p = .29$). Thus, $H6_a$ was not supported. Given the support for $H5_b$, we of course see support for $H6_b$ in that perceived vulnerability led to greater safe sex intentions.
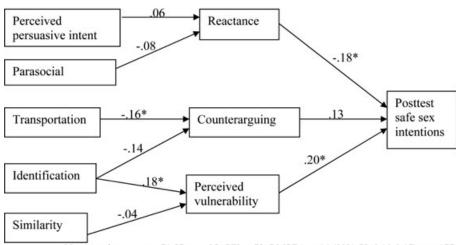
Comparing narrative to nonnarrative paths of influence
Although our primary focus was on the process by which narrative messages influence behavior, we also tested the theoretically derived model among participants in the nonnarrative condition to determine whether the role of identification, PSI, similarity, and transportation are similar across message types. The processing of the nonnarrative program differed in several notable ways (Figure 5). First, among those in the nonnarrative condition, transportation negatively predicted counterarguing—a relationship predicted by the E-ELM, but not found within the dramatic narrative condition. Second, unlike the E-E condition, perceived persuasive intent and PSI were not associated with reactance among participants in the nonnarrative condition. Third, the role of identification also differed across the message types. In the nonnarrative condition, identification with the teens in the program significantly predicted perceived vulnerability at the posttest, but this relationship became weaker over time. This is in contrast to the fictional drama where the relationship between identification and vulnerability increased over time. In summary, the data suggest some marked differences between conditions in terms of the processes laid out by the E-ELM and EORM, indicating that the persuasion process differs for these two styles of persuasive messages.

Discussion

The potential for E-E programs to influence viewers' attitudes and behaviors by avoiding resistance has generated a great deal of speculation and theorizing. However, many of these proposed mechanisms have gone untested. This research was designed to examine the unique processes underlying E-E effects, particularly with respect to overcoming resistance to persuasion. We first established that the dramatic narrative

(a)

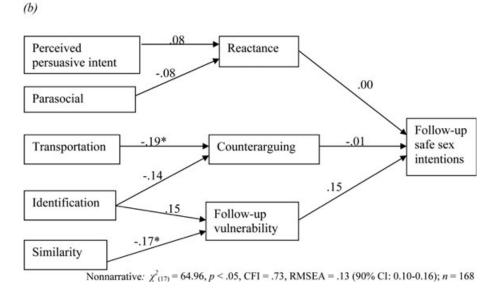Nonnarrative: $\chi_{(17)} = 71.57, p < .05$, CFI = .72, RMSEA = .14 (90% CI: 0.10-0.17); $n = 177$

(b)

Nonnarrative: $\chi^2_{(17)} = 64.96, p < .05$, CFI = .73, RMSEA = .13 (90% CI: 0.10-0.16); $n = 168$

Figure 5 Model testing within the nonnarrative condition: (a) posttest safe sex intentions; (b) follow-up safe sex intentions.

was effective in changing safe sex intentions, although this effect emerged only for females. Because the particular teen drama used was primarily geared toward a female audience, these gender differences are not especially surprising and should not be generalized to other programs and/or genres that may have more appeal to

males. Path analysis results supported the notion that resistance to persuasion is an important concept in understanding E-E effects. The majority of the predictions laid out by the E-ELM and EORM were supported. However, findings were not always in line with expectations—particularly with respect to counterarguing. The remainder of this section will highlight the major findings with a focus on advancing a set of general conclusions about how E-E messages exert persuasive influence and the next step in E-E theory building.

Counterarguing and E-E

As expected, identification with characters in the dramatic narrative curtailed counterarguing, but unexpectedly, transportation did not. Because transportation and counterarguing are incompatible processes, they should be negatively related. This raises questions about the role of transportation and counterarguing in E-E. It is possible that this unexpected relationship was due to the closed-ended measurement of counterarguing as it is unclear with what viewers counterargued. Participants may have counterargued with the underlying persuasive content, the realism of the presentation, or a character's decisions or actions, rather than with the underlying message about teen pregnancy. Moreover, perhaps those viewers who were most transported, responded to characters as if they were real people. These highly transported viewers may have "argued back" with what unfolded in front of them, thinking that the characters should follow another course of action. This explanation would account for the positive association between transportation and counterarguing. On their face, the current measures cannot entirely distinguish between these different targets of counterarguing. This underscores the need for the development of counterarguing measures that function in a narrative media context. Future research may pursue amended thought-listing procedures and/or open-ended questions that may probe for specific content elements that lead to counterarguing. Alternatively, researchers may pursue continuous measures, such as continuous response dials during exposure, to determine viewers' moment-by-moment reactions to the narrative as it unfolds. Both of these methods would shed light on which specific elements of the narrative bring about counterarguing.

Another potential interpretation of this finding is that the E-ELM and the EORM are not accurately specified regarding the relationship between transportation and counterarguing. For example, maybe transportation is not critical to the suppression of counterarguing but rather the loss of one's own perspective—as in identification—is the crucial element. This issue warrants further empirical work to distinguish problems with theory from problems with measurement.

Expanding resistance beyond counterarguing

This research revealed not only that resistance is important to understanding E-E, but also that it is useful to consider a variety of forms of resistance. Particularly notable was the role of reactance in this context. Although reactance has natural application to E-E, it has not been tested in this domain until now. As expected, the dramatic

narrative program was perceived as having less persuasive intent than the nonnarrative program. Consistent with the EORM, those who perceived the dramatic narrative as having persuasive intent reported more reactance, whereas PSI curtailed reactance. One might imagine that perhaps PSI with characters was merely determined by preexisting attitudes and past behavior; however, these data reveal that many pretest measures were unrelated to PSI with the main characters in the program. Indeed, pretest measures of safe sex intentions ($r = -.08, p = .31$), past birth control use ($r = -.02, p = .78$), and perceived vulnerability ($r = -.10, p = .18$) were unrelated to PSI. This lends credibility to the interpretation that PSI with the characters actually *led to* less reactance and more persuasion.

Interestingly, perceived persuasive intent was associated with greater reactance only among those in the dramatic narrative condition. Participants in the nonnarrative condition reported greater perception of persuasive intent and greater reactance overall, but there was not a significant positive association between these variables. These data suggest that noticing a covert attempt to promote healthy behavior disguised as entertainment arouses reactance whereas a more overt persuasive attempt does not. The next step for E-E research and theorizing is to better understand exactly how reactance operates in this narrative context. Is the perception of a veiled persuasive intent—if detected—more likely to arouse reactance than one that is more openly persuasive in nature? If so, the EORM has uncovered a way that E-E may reduce reactance but also revealed that among some viewers—if persuasion is perceived—E-E could induce greater reactance. Pursuing this line of research would also advance our understanding of psychological reactance theory where it has traditionally been understood that the most explicit persuasive appeals would arouse the greatest reactance.

Also supporting the EORM, perceived vulnerability was an important mechanism in the influence process, predicting safe sex intentions immediately after exposure and 2 weeks later. As suggested by the EORM, identification with the two main characters in the drama led to greater perceived vulnerability at the follow-up test. But, perceived similarity to these vulnerable characters did not. These differential effects of identification and similarity are consistent with the past research suggesting that the empathic component of identification is more important for persuasive effects than perceived similarity (Slater & Rouner, 2002; Stephenson, 2003). Moreover, the influence of identification with characters in the dramatic narrative increased over time, signaling a sleeper effect. That is, viewers who identified with the relevant characters during exposure showed little or no persuasive effects in the short term, most likely because they discounted what they saw as merely a fictional drama (e.g., Kumkale & Albarracín, 2004). Perhaps the effects of this discounting cue dissipated over time while the powerful vicarious experience remained. This sleeper effect argument is consistent with recent research demonstrating that the effects of reading a fictional narrative on related beliefs increase over time (Appel & Richter, 2007). Of note, there was no evidence of a sleeper effect in the nonnarrative condition. Identification with the teens in the nonnarrative program led to greater perceptions

of vulnerability immediately after exposure but not 2 weeks later (Figure 5). This highlights an important difference in how these two message formats resonate with viewers, suggesting that the process of identification with a fictional character in a narrative world is different than identification in a nonnarrative context.

Theoretical implications

Taken together, this research offers solid support for the EORM and some support for the E-ELM. Broadly speaking, these findings lead to four general implications for future E-E theorizing. First, investigating E-E from the perspective of overcoming resistance is a useful approach. Thus, the E-ELM and the EORM offer a useful supplement to more frequently used theories, such as SCT. This is particularly important given that E-E has long been thought of as a potential way of getting through to resistant audiences. Examining E-E from this resistance framework can contribute to our understanding of the ways in which E-E messages may lead to prosocial effects when traditional persuasive messages fail.

Second, future research and theorizing should continue to examine a variety of types of resistance. In this way, the EORM offers a valuable theoretical perspective by suggesting which features of E-E programming may overcome different sources of resistance. Still, more research is required to determine whether the present findings generalize to other E-E programs. Although this research examined a dramatic narrative, other genres should also be examined. For example, perhaps a humorous narrative would introduce additional mechanisms for overcoming resistance, such as further distraction from persuasive intent, enhanced memory for the message, or initial discounting (e.g., Nabi et al., 2007). Future research should also consider other topics beyond teen pregnancy, and populations besides emerging adults. It is possible that certain topics are more or less likely to bring about particular types of resistance.

Extant theory has suggested several unique aspects of the entertainment narrative experience, and we have tested these here. Doing so revealed some differences between conditions in terms of the processes laid out by the E-ELM and EORM in terms of counterarguing, perceived vulnerability, and reactance. Although these findings must be replicated across other programs before making generalizations about these genres, these differences suggest a third general conclusion—that transportation, identification, and PSI appear to operate differently in a narrative than in a nonnarrative context. This suggests that future E-E theorizing should continue to draw on and develop theories that specifically address narrative message processing. Further, because these findings indicate that identification and PSI with characters are important determinants of persuasive effects, future research should examine how these processes can be maximized by E-E programs. Although there is some existing theorizing in this area (e.g., Raney, 2004; Zillmann & Cantor, 1976), more empirical work is needed.

Finally, although the E-ELM and EORM served as the conceptual basis for this article, these models were not fully tested. For example, the EORM lays out seven different types of resistance that may be reduced by various features of E-E programs.

However, it is unlikely that any one program would contain characters and storylines relevant to each of these types of resistance. Thus, it would be difficult to test this entire model with one E-E program. Future research should continue to test the additional components of this model to better understand other forms of resistance in the context of E-E.

In conclusion, this study has taken a crucial step toward refining theoretical explanations of E-E effects. Results demonstrate that E-E programming may influence viewers by overcoming various types of resistance. In particular, their ability to mask persuasive intent and foster PSI and identification with characters facilitate these effects. The findings also suggest important differences in how individuals process narrative and nonnarrative messages. More practically, these findings may be of interest to E-E message creators. In particular, message designers should begin with an understanding of the forms of resistance that operate within their targeted audience as different message features are important for overcoming various types of resistance. Among an audience where reactance is likely to be high, messages should be designed to keep perceived persuasive intent low and use characters with whom viewers experience PSI. Alternatively, if the goal is to increase perceived vulnerability, message designers should focus on production features that facilitate empathy and perspective-taking rather than merely developing similar characters. Gaining such insights about how individuals process embedded persuasive messages in narrative programming and the implications of this processing for persuasive outcomes is critical given the widespread potential to use these messages to influence risky behaviors in the population at large.

Notes

1 A total of 411 participants actually came to a laboratory session and filled out posttest measures. However, 44 participants were dropped for three reasons. First, because of the need to comply with human subjects requirements, anonymity codes were used to match up participants' responses across all three measurement periods while maintaining anonymity. In 21 cases, responses could not be matched due to participants' inconsistency in code use. An additional 20 participants were dropped due to personal experience with pregnancy. Finally, three participants over the age of 25 (and thus not emerging adults) were excluded.

2 These data are drawn from a larger study that originally contained three exposure conditions. However, the focus of the current study is only on these two exposure conditions.

3 Although this program is no longer in production, data were collected while new episodes were still being aired.

4 Commercials and some supplementary storylines were removed during this editing process, but all of the pregnancy-related content was retained. In addition, some unrelated subplots were left in the drama to maintain the realism of the program, given its genre.

5   Using a principal component exploratory factor analysis with no rotation, two distinct
    factors emerged. The first factor (eigenvalue = 4.44) was composed of the five cognitive
    items. The second factor (eigenvalue = 2.64) was composed of the four affective items.

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解释娱乐电视节目中叙事性元素的作用：克服对说服的抗拒

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【摘要：】

研究测试了叙事性电视娱乐节目影响安全性行为计划的机制。本文通过吸收现有的研究，和对叙事性说服和克服抗拒的理论建构，探讨了娱乐节目产生说服影响力的过程。367名美国本科大学生观看了生动的叙事性节目或非叙事、新闻风格节目中其中的一种，节目内容为青少年怀孕并发症。参与者分别在观看完和两周之后，填写一份调查问卷来评估他们对节目的反应。结果显示，娱乐教育节目可以通过隐藏说服的意图，鼓励类社会的互动，以及与角色的身份认同，来克服一些观众对说服的各种抵抗。讨论重点集中在这项研究的理论和实践意义上。

Une explication des effets du narratif dans les émissions de divertissement : surmonter la résistance à la persuasion
Emily Moyer-Gusé & Robin L. Nabi

Résumé
Cette recherche a évalué les mécanismes par lesquels une émission télévisée narrative de divertissement influence les intentions d'avoir une sexualité sans risques. À partir de la recherche et la littérature sur la persuasion narrative et la résistance, cette étude a examiné les processus par lesquels les émissions de divertissement génèrent une influence persuasive. 367 étudiants de premier cycle universitaire aux États-Unis ont visionné soit une émission dramatique narrative, soit une émission non narrative de type nouvelles, portant sur les problèmes de la grossesse chez les adolescentes. Les participants ont complété un questionnaire évaluant leurs réactions à l'émission immédiatement après son visionnement et deux semaines plus tard. Les résultats suggèrent que les émissions d'infodivertissement peuvent surmonter divers types de résistance à la persuasion chez certains téléspectateurs, en masquant l'intention persuasive et en encourageant l'interaction parasociale et l'identification aux personnages. La discussion se concentre sur les implications théoriques et pratiques de cette recherche.

Mots clés : infodivertissement, persuasion narrative, communication de masse

Explaining the Effects of Narrative in an Entertainment Television Program: Overcoming Resistance to Persuasion

Abstract
This research tested the mechanisms by which a narrative entertainment television program influences safe sex intentions. Drawing on existing research and theorizing on narrative persuasion and overcoming resistance, this study examined the process through which entertainment programs generate persuasive influence. 367 undergraduates viewed either a dramatic narrative program or a non-narrative, news-style program about the complications of teen pregnancy. Participants filled out a questionnaire assessing their reactions to the program immediately after viewing and again two weeks later. Results suggest that entertainmenteducation programming may overcome various types of resistance to persuasion for some viewers by masking persuasive intent and fostering parasocial interaction and identification with characters. Discussion focuses on the theoretical and practical implications of this research.

Zur Wirksamkeit von Narrationen in unterhaltenden Fernsehprogrammen: Die Überwindung von Widerstand gegen Persuasion

Vorliegende Studie untersucht die Mechanismen, durch die ein narratives unterhaltendes Fernsehprogramm Intentionen zu geschütztem Geschlechtsverkehr beeinflusst. Basierend auf Theorie und Forschungsergebnissen zu narrativer Persuasion und der Überwindung von Widerstand befasst sich die Studie mit dem Prozess, durch den Unterhaltungsprogramme einen persuasiven Einfluss herstellen. 367 Studierende sahen entweder eine dramatische narrative Sendung oder eine nicht-narrative, nachrichtenähnliche Sendung über die Komplikationen von Schwangerschaften bei Teenagern. Mittels Fragebogen wurden die Reaktionen der Teilnehmer gleich nach der Rezeption der Beiträge und zwei Wochen später erfasst. Die Ergebnisse zeigen, dass ein Entertainment-Education Programm bei einigen Zuschauern verschiedene Arten von Widerstand gegen die Persuasion durch die Verschleierung der persuasiven Intention und durch die Unterstützung von parasozialer Interaktion und Identifikation mit den Charakteren überwinden kann. Die Diskussion befasst sich mit den theoretischen und praktischen Implikationen dieser Forschung.

Explaining the Effects of Narrative in an Entertainment Television Program: Overcoming

Resistance to Persuasion

오락 텔레비젼 프로그램에서의 서술적효과의 설명: 설득에 대한 저항의 극복

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요약

본 연구는 대화적 오락 텔레비젼 프로그램이 안전한 섹스 의도에 영향을 미치는 것

을 시험한 것이다. 현존하는 연구로부터 그리고 서술적 설득에 대한 이론을 이용,

본 연구는 오락프로그램들이 설득적 영향을 산출하는과정을 연구하였다. 367명의

대학생들은 극적인 서술적 프로그램을 보거나 비 서술적인, 즉 10대 임신의 복잡성

에 대한 뉴스 형태의 프로그램을 보게되었다. 참석자들은 프로그램을 본 직후에,

그리고 다시 2주후에 그들의 반응을 점검하기 위해 설문지에 답하도록 하였다. 결

과들은 오락적 교육 프로그램은 일부 시청자들에 있어 설득에 대한 여러가지 형태

의 저항을 극복할 수 있을지 모른다는 것을 보여주고 있는데, 이는 설득적 의도를

위장하거나 일방적인 상호작용을 조장하거나 해서 가능할 수 있는 것이다. 본 논문

은 이 연구의 이론적 그리고 실제적 함의들에 관한 논의에 초점을 두었다.

Explicando los Efectos de la Narrativa en un Programa de Entretenimiento Televisivo:
Superando la Resistencia a la Persuasión

Emily Moyer-Gusé

Robin L. Nabi

Resumen

Esta investigación puso a prueba los mecanismos mediante los cuales un programa
narrativo de entretenimiento televisivo influencia las intenciones de sexo seguro. Basado
en investigación y teorización existente sobre la narrativa persuasiva y superando la
resistencia, este estudio examinó el proceso a través del cual los programas de
entretenimiento generan influencia persuasiva. 367 estudiantes universitarios de grado de
Estados Unidos vieron un programa de narrativa dramática o sin narrativa, un programa
de estilo de noticias acerca las complicaciones del embarazo adolescente. Los
participantes llenaron un cuestionario evaluando sus reacciones al programa
inmediatamente después de verlo y otra vez 2 semanas después. Los resultados sugieren
que la programación de entretenimiento educativo puede superar varios tipos de
resistencia a la persuasión para algunos televidentes ocultando la intención persuasiva y
promoviendo la interacción para-social e identificación con los personajes. La discusión
se enfoca sobre las implicaciones teóricas y prácticas de esta investigación.