Linguistic Viewpoints in Narrative Persuasion

Daan Robben

Radboud University, Nijmegen

S4377214

Prof. dr. Ans van Kemenade & dr. Olaf Koeneman

BA English Language & Culture

BA Thesis Linguistics

15th of June, 2018

Abstract

This paper examines the possible relation between linguistic viewpoints and narrative persuasion. A literature review is conducted to investigate how linguistic viewpoints can be researched in relation to narrative persuasion. Theories from several different academic disciplines on persuasion and narrative persuasion are reviewed to gain better insights into the mechanisms that affect narrative persuasion. The first chapter examines the workings of persuasion and the relevant related concepts. Theories of persuasion and behaviour are compared to each other. The second chapter focusses on theories of narrative persuasion. Concepts such as transportation and identification are reviewed in relation to persuasion. The third chapter investigates how linguistic viewpoints relate to these concepts. Linguistic viewpoints are discussed in relation to narrative persuasion and narrative processing. The conclusion is that linguistic viewpoints are expected to affect narrative persuasion by guiding the process of character identification. The implications of these findings are discussed, as well as the possibilities for future research on linguistic viewpoints, identification, transportation, and narrative persuasion.

Key words: Linguistic viewpoints, narrative persuasion, character identification, Linguistic Cues Framework, persuasion, narrative transportation

Table of contents

1. Introduction 1
2. Persuasion 2
    - 2.1 Automaticity 4
    - 2.2 Planned Behaviour 5
    - 2.3 Influencing the Determinants of Behaviour 7
3. Narrative Persuasion 13
    - 3.1 Transportation 14
    - 3.2 Identification 17
    - 3.3 Emotion 20
4. Linguistic Viewpoints 22
5. Discussion 27
6. Conclusion 31

References 33

1. Introduction

Narratives, and especially the persuasive powers of narratives, have as of late been a hot topic of research. The Communication and Mass Media Complete database holds 15 articles published in 1993 which have the term narrative in the title. For the year 2003 there is a 380% increase in the number of articles that have the term narrative in the title, and for 2013 there is a 700% increase (Braddock & Dillard, 2016). This interest in narratives could well be due to the idea that a narrative can be a powerful persuasive tool. Most people will probably be familiar with the sensation of being swept up into a good book and completely losing oneself in the story world. Based on anecdotal evidence, the idea of a narrative that can change people's minds and persuade them into certain behaviour does not seem to be that far-fetched. Empirical evidence confirms that narratives can indeed be more persuasive than nonnarrative texts (Braddock & Dillard, 2016). However, less is known about what specific features of a narrative interfere with the persuasiveness of the text (Green, 2008). The results of previous research suggest that the level of transportation, or immersion, that a reader experiences into a narrative has a positive effect on attitude, belief, and behaviour change (Green & Clark, 2012). How these effects of transportation exactly affect narrative persuasion is still unclear. How transportation effects are evoked by a narrative is also still unclear (Van Krieken, Hoeken, & Sanders, 2017). Van Krieken (2016), in her study on crime news narratives, showed that a reader's engagement with a text could possibly be affected through use of certain linguistic viewpoints. These are the linguistic representations of perspective in the narrative. If strategic use of linguistic viewpoints can indeed enhance a reader's engagement with a narrative then that has big implications for the effect of language on the way a narrative is processed. Some research on perspective within a narrative has already shown that first-person and second-person narrations can have more powerful effects on the reader than third person narrations (e.g., Brunyé, Ditman, Mahoney, Augustyn, & Taylor, 2009; Brunyé, Ditman, Mahoney, & Taylor, 2011; De Graaf, Sanders, & Hoeken, 2016). These effects range from the mental simulation of action, to effects on memory, to changes in attitude and believes. This indicates that careful choice of language in a narrative can influence the effects a narrative has on the reader. Van Krieken et al. (2017) proposed a framework through which the possible effects of linguistic viewpoints on the reader's involvement with the narrative can be measured. This framework offers researchers new possibilities to research how language can affect a reader's processing of a narrative. New insights into how readers of a narrative process the narrative, and how that processing is affected by the use of certain linguistic elements can shed new light on the workings of narrative persuasion. In a broader context, new insights like that contribute to a better general understanding of how language affects cognition and how people perceive the world around them. The present paper sets out to further examine this

interaction between linguistic viewpoints, narrative processing, and narrative persuasion. The question this paper seeks out to answer is: how do linguistic viewpoints affect narrative persuasion? This paper will examine this interaction by means of a literature review. The topics of persuasion, narrative comprehension, immersion into a narrative, linguistic viewpoints, and related concepts have been researched in several different academic disciplines, such as social psychology, communication science, and cognitive linguistics. To fully investigate these topics, insights and perspectives from all these respective disciplines need to be taken into consideration. The present paper will try to incorporate theories and studies from all these academic disciplines, and will give a concise overview of these theories and studies. The goal of this is to show where these theories from different disciplines might overlap, complement each other, or even contradict each other. Furthermore, this will lay bare any gaps in the theories, exposing possible directions for future research. This paper will show how research on specific linguistic phenomena can contribute to answering much larger questions in relation to communication and human cognition. Furthermore, the paper will emphasise the importance of interdisciplinary academic work.

The first chapter will examine how persuasion in general works. This will provide a strong foundation from which narrative persuasion can be understood. The second chapter will investigate narrative persuasion and its related concepts. The third chapter will narrow the scope down to linguistic viewpoints and their supposed effects on narrative involvement. The discussion will serve to reflect on the findings and to relate the linguistic viewpoints, as examined in the third chapter, to the concepts and theories that have been laid out in the first two chapters. The expectation is that linguistic viewpoints mainly affect narrative persuasion by influencing the way that the narrative is processed. More specifically, linguistic viewpoints are expected to enhance the reader's involvement with the narrative.

2. Persuasion

To gain a better understanding of how narrative persuasion works it is important to first examine persuasion in general. O'Keefe (as cited in Hoeken, Hornikx, & Hustinx, 2012, p. 13) defined persuasion as a successful, intentional attempt to alter someone else's mental state through means of communication all the while the other has a certain degree of freedom. Hoeken et al. (2012, p. 13) stated that the mental state, as used in O'Keefe's definition, is often equated to attitude. However, a commonly accepted definition of attitude does not seem to exist. Eagly and Chaiken (as cited in Hoeken et al., 2012, p. 13) define attitude as "a psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favour or disfavour". As explained by Hoeken et al. (2012) the term entity is used in a very broad sense, it can refer to a lot of things ranging from a person to a football club to a certain behaviour or policy. It can refer to anything that can be liked or disliked. Even though the attitude is stored in the memory together with other information on the entity (Fazio, 1989, as cited in Hoeken et al., 2012, p. 14), the attitude and the rest of the information are not necessarily strongly connected. It is possible to evaluate a certain entity without remembering what the evaluation is based on (Lingle & Ostrom, 1981, as cited in Hoeken et al., 2012, p. 14). It is important to note that persuasion is defined as an attempt to alter attitude rather than behaviour. This distinction may seem counterintuitive since the end goal of persuasion often is to change a person's actions and not just a person's believes. For instance, the end goal would not be to just evoke positive feelings towards a certain product; the end goal would be to make the person buy the product. The reason why persuasion is not said to alter actions but attitude is because persuasion happens through means of communicating information (Hoeken et al., 2012, p. 14). Communicating information can influence a person's mind and can alter someone's attitude which can lead to a change in behaviour, but it can never directly change someone's behaviour. O'Keefe's definition of persuasion also requires a degree of freedom on the persuaded person's end. The person who is being persuaded needs to have the possibility to choose to not listen to the persuader. A judge sentencing a criminal to prison cannot be said to be persuading the criminal to go to prison since the criminal does not have the possibility to not go to prison.

Since the end goal of persuasive communication usually is to change behaviour, but it is not possible to directly change behaviour through persuasion it is important to understand how persuasion can indirectly lead to behavioural changes. Hoeken et al. (2012, p. 35) argued that persuasive communication is not directly aimed at behaviour, but rather at the underlying determinants of behaviour. Before determining what the underlying determinants of behaviour are

Hoeken et al. distinguished between two types of behaviour. The two types of behaviour are automaticity and planned behaviour.

2.1 Automaticity

The first type of behaviour outlined by Hoeken et al. (2012, p. 35) is automaticity. Automaticity is the type of behaviour that is carried out unconsciously. An example of automaticity is when someone rides their bike to work every day. The person riding the bike does not actively think about cycling or about the route to work, rather these actions are done unconsciously out of habit or routine. A lot of this unconsciously acted out behaviour is activated by situational aspects. This behaviour is often a response to stimuli from our surroundings and not a well thought out decision.

Bargh and Chartrand (1999) gave an insight into the possible determinants of automaticity. The first determinant outlined by them is the perception of behaviour of others. This determinant is heavily linked to the principle behind a phenomenon called the *ideomotor effect*. Ideomotor action refers to unconsciously carried out motions that are caused by an idea or thought. These are often small muscular motions and the individual carrying them out might not even be aware of them. A well-known example of ideomotor action is the effect of Ouija boards (Gauchou, Rensink, & Fels, 2012). Ouija boards are boards through which the users are said to be able to communicate with spirits by placing their fingers on a small planchette that will then move across the board to spell out words. Users can actually experience the planchette moving autonomously, but in reality, the planchette is moved by their own fingers through the ideomotor effect. The principle behind the ideomotor effect is that thoughts about a certain action make it more likely that the action will take place. Merely thinking about certain behaviour can be enough to cause an individual to act out that behaviour without needing to make a conscious decision to do so. Bargh and Chartrand (1999) built upon the ideomotor principle and stated that perceiving certain behaviour increases the likelihood that an individual will carry out similar behaviour. Perceiving the surrounding world happens primarily automatic and cannot actively be controlled; for instance, it is not possible to perceive a blue car as yellow through sheer willpower. Since the surrounding world is perceived automatically the environment has a direct influence on mental activity. Perceiving the behaviour of others can activate thoughts related to that behaviour and therefore increase the chance that the behaviour will be copied (Bargh & Chartrand, 1999).

The second determinant of automaticity is the activation of goals. Bargh and Chartrand (1999) pointed out that even though behaviour is to a certain extend determined by the passive perception of the behaviour of others without the need for conscious decision making this does not imply that people are passive experiencers of events who only act as a response to what they

perceive of their surroundings. People have goals and ambitions. Decisions and behaviour are often determined not simply by the outcome of the sum of our surroundings but rather they are based on how our surroundings relate to whatever goal is currently being pursued. For instance, when an individual is listening to a lecture that individual may behave differently and pay attention to different things when the goal is to use the lecture to prepare for an exam as compared to when there is no exam and the individual is listening purely out of interest. Bargh and Chartrand argued that if currently-held goals mediate between the environment and behaviour, that would seem to suggest that automatically perceived surroundings cannot directly influence behaviour. The only way in which the automatic perception of the environment can directly influence behaviour is if the environment itself can activate goals. The explanation offered by Bargh and Chartrand as to how the environment itself can activate goals is that since motivations often persist for a long time, an individual is likely to regularly chase the same goals. When the same goal is regularly chased in a similar setting then the conscious decision to pursue that goal can be skipped; the situational characteristics of that setting should be enough to activate that goal. Goal driven behaviour can be manipulated by activating certain goals through the environment in which an individual is situated. Spencer, Fein, Wolfe, Fong, and Dunn (1998) presented empirical evidence that supports that it is indeed possible to activate goals through someone's environment. In their study they showed that negative feedback can activate the goal to re-establish one's damaged self-esteem. One way for people to re-establish self-esteem is through putting down others, this can happen through stereotyping. In the studies conducted by Spencer et al., participants who had, prior to the test, received a hit to their self-esteem resorted to stereotyping others even in circumstances in which stereotyping does not usually take place. The hit to their self-esteem had automatically activated the goal to re-establish that self-esteem which then led to the behavioural change of the activation of stereotypes. This experiment, amongst other experiments discussed by Bargh and Chartrand (1999), showed that it is indeed possible to influence automaticity via the activation of goals.

2.2 Planned Behaviour

The second type of behaviour distinguished by Hoeken et al. (2012, p. 35) is planned behaviour. Planned behaviour is the type of behaviour that is acted out consciously. An example of planned behaviour is the decision to purchase of a house. When purchasing a house people usually make a conscious decision based on several reasons. They take several facets such as size, location, and price into consideration before coming to a decision.

Fishbein and Yzer (2003) developed a model that can be used to examine planned behaviour. The *Integrative Model of Behavioural Prediction* was originally designed to be used in the

development of effective health communication campaigns, but it is also applicable to behaviour that is not related to health (Hoeken et al., 2012, p. 39). The model developed by Fishbein and Yzer draws on several predating theories about behavioural prediction and suggests three main determinants for planned behaviour: skills, intention, and environmental constraints. For an individual to act out on certain behaviour the three determinants need to suffice. If say, the planned behaviour is to work out then the individual needs to have the intention to work out, but also knowledge about how to work out, and there need to be no environmental constraints prohibiting the workout. In this example an environmental constraint could be the lack of a gym that is close by.

Persuasion is mainly focussed on the intentions of the individual. According to Fishbein and Yzer's model intention is determined by three factors: attitude towards the behaviour, perceived norms, and self-efficacy. The attitude towards a certain behaviour is based on what the person believes the possible positive and negative outcomes of executing said behaviour are. The perceived norms are what the person believes that others, who are of importance to the individual, would want the person to do. The perceived norms also include what others in a similar situation within that community do. Self-efficacy refers to the individual's own believe in his or her capability to perform the behaviour. The relative influence of each of these determinants of intention differs per behaviour and per targeted population. For instance, the choice to eat at a specific restaurant could primarily be determined by attitude, while the choice to wear business attire to office could be due to the perceived norm. Meanwhile, someone may have a positive attitude towards losing weight and be aware that others want that individual to lose weight, but not believe in his or her own ability to lose weight and therefore not pursue that behaviour.

In the Integrated Model of Behavioural Prediction, the three determinants of intention themselves are the result of underlying beliefs. The determinant attitude is the sum of the evaluation of the expected outcomes of the relevant behaviour. The two underlying factors of attitude that are mentioned in the model are: behavioural beliefs and outcome evaluations. Behavioural beliefs are the beliefs held by an individual on the probability that the relevant behaviour leads to a certain outcome. An example of a behavioural belief is the extent to which a person believes that quitting smoking will improve his or her health. The outcome evaluations are a person's evaluations on how desirable the expected outcome of the behaviour is. In the example of quitting smoking the outcome evaluations are based on how important it is to the person in question to improve his or her health. Behavioural believes and outcome evaluations can differ strongly from person to person.

The underlying beliefs related to the perceived norms are normative beliefs and the motivation to comply. Normative beliefs are what an individual believes others want that individual to do. When deciding to quit smoking the perceived opinions of others might influence that decision. Someone could think that his parents want him to stop smoking while he also feels that his friends would look down on him for stopping. These perceived opinions might not actually be the true opinions of the parents and friends but if the person in question thinks they are then that will determine his normative beliefs. The motivation to comply is the extent to which the beliefs of others are of importance to the individual. If the individual is strongly motivated to comply to the beliefs of his parents then the perceived norm to quit smoking will increase. If the person does not have a strong motivation to comply then the relative influence of the perceived norm on the intention will be small.

Self-efficacy is based on the extent to which a person believes to be able to execute the behaviour. If a person believes to be able to execute the behaviour even when possible problems arise then the self-efficacy of that person is strong.

Next to the determinants that directly influence intention some other indirect determinants also play a part in the integrative model of behavioural prediction by Fishbein and Yzer (2003). These indirect determinants are things such as demographic variables, culture, and personality. These determinants do have an influence on intention but this influence is predominantly indirect since it only influences intention by influencing attitude, perceived norms, and self-efficacy

2.3 Influencing the Determinants of Behaviour

Now that the determinants of behaviour are outlined the next step in understanding persuasion is to examine how persuasive communication can influence those determinants. To influence the determinants of behaviour it is essential that the text is processed by the target audience. McGuire (as cited in Hoeken et al., 2012, p. 59) argued in his information processing paradigm that the readers of a text first need to pay attention to the text and then understand the arguments presented in the text before they can accept the message. Due to the sheer amount of advertisements and messages that people are exposed to every day it is not possible to pay attention to every message. Getting the target audience to pay attention to the text is not always an easy task. Hoeken et al. (2012, p. 62-64) gave an overview of what makes a text interesting for readers. For a text to be interesting it is important that the text contains information that is new to the person who is reading the text. Even though the information needs to be new, it does help if the text is about a subject that the reader is familiar with. Relevant pre-existing knowledge makes it easier to understand new information about the subject and therefore the new information is more

appealing towards the reader. Since pre-existing knowledge differs per person interests also vary from person to person. However, there are some subjects like sex, violence, and money that are interesting to virtually everyone since they are so directly linked to the wellbeing of the individual. (Schank, 1979, as cited in Hoeken et al., 2012, p. 64). Another factor in the interestingness of a text is the personal relevancy of the information to the reader. When the information is strongly related to the reader the text becomes more interesting to that reader. It is for instance more interesting to read about an event when it happens close to home than when it happens on the other side of the world.

McGuire's previously mentioned information processing paradigm states that next to paying attention to the text the reader needs to be able to understand the arguments presented in the text. Hoeken et al. (2012, p. 59) disputed that notion. While it is true that an understanding of the arguments can help with accepting the message, it is not always necessary. Readers can come to a conclusion by carefully evaluating the arguments, but it is also possible that a reader disregards those arguments and instead bases a conclusion on peripheral cues and the emotions that the message invokes in the reader. The *Elaboration Likelihood Model* (ELM) developed by Petty and Cacioppo (as cited in Kitchen, Kerr, Schultz, McColl, & Pals, 2014) assumes that a message can be processed in one of two ways; a message is processed either via the central route or the peripheral route. Someone who is both motivated and capable to understand a message will process the message through the central route, meaning that the person will carefully evaluate the arguments before reaching a conclusion. An individual who is not motivated or capable to understand the message will process the message through the peripheral route and reach a conclusion based on peripheral cues (e.g. the argument is presented by an expert and therefore must be true). Despite the model's popularity in communication literature, much doubt has been cast on the validity of the ELM ((Kitchen et al., 2014). Much of the critique is directed at the descriptive nature of the model (Kitchen et al., 2014). The model is very good at explaining why a certain persuasive message was or was not successful and due to what variable the message was successful, but it is less good at predicting whether a variable will play an important part. Due to this descriptive nature it is very difficult to falsify the model, which is a bad quality to have for a scientific model. Other critique on the model is aimed at the division of the two routes (Kitchen et al., 2014). According to the ELM a message is processed either through the central route or the peripheral route. Kitchen et al. (2014) showed that several researchers have questioned this dichotomy by stating that the idea that a message cannot be processed both centrally and peripherally is based on an assumption. Other message processing models, such as the *Dual Mediation Model* (DMM) by Mackenzie (as cited in Kitchen et al., 2014), emerged to demonstrate that peripheral cues can indeed affect the central

route. Coulter and Punj (2004, p. 53) stated that the DMM has shown that the two processing routes do not exclude each other. Message arguments and peripheral cues both affect attitude formation (Kitchen et al., 2014). This does not mean that the variables of elaboration likelihood, as proposed in the ELM, should be disregarded. A study conducted by Coulter and Punj (2004) demonstrated that increasing processing motivation can enhance persuasion when the message is strong and reduce persuasion when the message is weak. They defined strong messages as messages that primarily evoke supporting arguments and weak messages as messages that primarily evoke counterarguments.

Due to the possible effects of processing motivation and capability on persuasion it is relevant to outline the variables that can affect motivation and capability. Hoeken et al. (2012) gave an overview of five variables that can affect motivation and capability.

The first variable related to motivation is involvement. The extent to which the reader of a message feels involved with the message can play a role in determining how motivated the reader is to process the message. Three different of involvement are identified: impression-relevant involvement, outcome-relevant involvement, and value-relevant involvement. Impression-relevant involvement concerns behaviour that is meant to create or preserve a certain image. People evaluate each other based on their attitudes and because of that people can use attitudes to establish a certain image. Outcome-relevant involvement relates to behaviour that has direct consequences for the individual. This type of involvement is highly relevant for the persuasion process since a high outcome-relevant involvement leads to a high motivation to adopt the right attitude and therefore a strong motivation to process the message. Value-relevant involvement concerns behaviour that is related to a value that is of importance to the individual. Value-relevant involvement seems to coincide with relatively much pre-existing knowledge on the subject (Johnson & Eagly, 1989, as cited in Hoeken et al., 2012, p. 73). People who are highly value-relevant involved with a certain subject are less likely to be persuaded to adopt a different attitude on that subject than people who are less highly value-relevant involved with that subject. A high value-relevant involvement often seems to coincide with a biased evaluation of arguments. A high outcome-relevant involvement, on the contrary, often seems to coincide with an unbiased evaluation of arguments.

The second variable related to motivation is affect. A meta-analysis conducted by Hullet (2005) showed that mood and emotion can impact the way a message is processed. The general conclusion of the meta-analysis is that people who are in a negative mood are relatively more motivated to systematically process messages than people who are in a positive mood. Since people

in a negative mood are more willing to systematically process a message than people in a positive mood they are comparatively more amenable to strong arguments than people in a positive mood. A positive mood can reduce an individual's motivation to carefully examine arguments. However, there seems to be an exception to this rule. Hullet's analysis indicated that messages that have positive hedonic consequences increase processing motivation for individuals that are in a positive mood. In addition to that, messages that have negative hedonic consequences decrease processing motivation for individuals that are in a positive mood. In other words, people in a positive mood are more motivated to systematically process messages that reinforce that positive mood than messages that undermine that positive mood. This is in line with the *hedonic contingency hypothesis* proposed by Wegener and Petty (1994). The hedonic contingency hypothesis postulates that individuals who are in a positive mood strive to maintain that positive mood and therefore scrutinise the hedonic consequences of potential future behaviour. Not only are the results of the meta-analysis in agreement with the hedonic contingency hypothesis but they also suggest that readers of a message quickly establish an impression of the message's implications and then process the message accordingly to minimise negative hedonic consequences. Because of this it is unlikely for an individual in a positive mood to carefully process a message that disagrees with the individual's views. Therefore, strong arguments aimed at recipients in a positive mood are expected to be less effective at changing attitudes than at forming new attitudes and reinforcing existing attitudes (Hullet, 2005, p. 439). Hullet added that although attitude change through strong arguments may be most feasible by directing the message at people in a negative mood, there are some critical notes that need to be considered. Apart from the obvious ethical implications of deliberately evoking a bad mood to increase the effectiveness of persuasion, it is necessary to consider that in all the analysed studies negative moods were elicited by means unrelated to the message. It is unclear if the same effects would be found when the negative mood is caused by the message itself.

The third variable mentioned by Hoeken et al. (2012, p. 74) is *need for cognition* (NFC). NFC is a personality variable that refers to the extent to which a person is inclined towards engaging in cognitively challenging activities. People with a high NFC are more willing to complete complex intellectual tasks than people with a low NFC. Critically assessing complex arguments requires cognitive effort. People with a high NFC are therefore more likely to be motivated to carefully consider arguments than people with a low NFC.

The fourth variable is distraction (Hoeken et al. 2012, p.75). To carefully process a message, the recipient of the message must not only be motivated to process the text, but must also be able to process the text. One factor that can hinder an individual in systematically processing a message is distraction. Distractions can cause an individual who is highly motivated to thoroughly process a

message to fail to process the message as the individual normally would. Strong arguments can therefore be disregarded in favour of peripheral cues. It can be especially useful to take this into consideration when designing a message that is meant to be shown in a place with a lot of distractions.

The fifth variable distinguished by Hoeken et al. is pre-existing knowledge. Pre-existing knowledge relevant to the attitude can be an important factor in determining the capability to systematically assess arguments. Dual process models such as the ELM describe critically evaluating arguments as relating new information to pre-existing knowledge relevant to the subject (Hoeken et al., 2012 p. 75). The presence of pre-existing knowledge can therefore lead to a higher capability to process a message.

While the ELM assumes that message processing takes place through either the central route or the peripheral route, there are also scholars who suggest that there is a third way in which a message can be processed, namely through the experiential processing route. The addition of this third processing route to the dual process model was introduced by Meyers-Levy and Malaviya (1999). They claimed that in addition to the central processing route and the peripheral processing route there could be a third route in which the evaluation of a message is not necessarily based on thoughts provoked by message content but rather on the feelings experienced by the recipient while processing the message. The feelings evoked by the message can influence the evaluation of the attitude object. For an evaluation based on experiential processing it is not always important what the message says about the attitude object but rather how this message is conveyed (Hoeken et a., 2012, p. 81). Meyers-Levy & Malaviya (1999, p. 49) stated that evaluations based on experienced feelings may only require minimum cognitive effort. Nonetheless, experientially based evaluations are not necessarily limited to situations in which cognitive effort is constrained. A review carried out by Petty and Briñol (2014) suggests that experienced emotions affect the processing of a text differently when cognitive effort is low as compared to when cognitive effort is high. When cognitive effort is low emotions can serve as simple cues. When cognitive effort is high emotions can serve as an argument, affirm judgement, or bias cognitive processing of the message. The importance of message evaluation has increased in the world of advertising (Hoeken, 2001, as cited in Hoeken et al., 2012, p. 81). Advertisements have shifted away from informing the audience on the product to entertaining the audience. This shift in focus from informing to entertaining has sparked scientific interest in the appreciation of advertisements, and especially in the role of rhetorical figures on message appreciation (e.g. Van Enschot, Beckers, & Van Mulken, 2010; Van Enschot, Hoeken, & Van Mulken, 2008; Van Mulken, Van Enschot-van Dijk, & Hoeken, 2005). Van Enschot et al. (2008) explained rhetorical figures as “an artful deviation from a straightforward way of communicating the

advertising message" (p. 35). Rhetorical figures can be useful tools for persuasion since they can stimulate positive feelings during message processing (Van Enschot at al., 2008, p. 35). Hoeken et al. (2012, p. 181) provided a possible explanation for the positive effects of rhetorical figures. Rhetorical figures are like a puzzle that needs to be solved by the recipient of a message. If the recipient manages to solve the puzzle then that will lead to a positive feeling and therefore a positive evaluation of the message, hopefully leading to a positive evaluation of the attitude object. Likewise, if the recipient fails to solve the puzzle then that can lead to frustration and a corresponding negative evaluation.

3. Narrative Persuasion

To understand how narrative persuasion works it is first necessary to establish what exactly a narrative is. As outlined by De Graaf et al. (2016) ideas on what constitutes a narrative differ amongst scholars. However, they found that most scholars agree that a narrative includes a minimum of one character who experiences a minimum of one event. A character is a human or human-like agent that acts towards achieving certain goals. An event is the transition between two temporally and causally linked states. These events do not need to be presented in their original chronological order but there is always an underlying cause and effect relation to tie the characters and the events together in the narrative. De Graaf et al. continued defining the narrative by stating that narratives take place in a spatiotemporal framework. This means that the narrative takes place at a specific time at a specific location, this can also be referred to as a setting. Within this setting specific characters are linked to specific events. This makes narratives very concrete. This concreteness separates narratives from more scientific and informational texts that tend to portray more general information. De Graaf et al. concluded that a narrative would best defined as "a presentation of concrete event(s) experienced by specific character(s) in a setting" (p. 91). This will also be the definition used in this review.

Since both narratives and persuasion are now defined the link between the two can be examined. Narrative persuasion refers to when a narrative is used to persuade a person or a group of people. People have suspected narratives to have persuasive powers for years. This idea is backed by literature on narratives in which several theoretical reasons support the assumption that narratives yield persuasive powers (Bilandzic & Busselle, 2013, as cited in Braddock & Dillard, 2016). A meta-analysis by Braddock and Dillard (2016) of empirical research on narrative persuasion showed that narratives indeed are more persuasive than nonnarratives. The persuasive effects of narratives as found by Braddock and Dillard are similar to the effects of other already proven persuasive texts. As pointed out in the meta-analysis, it is important to realise that even small persuasive effects can have large implications. In an all or nothing situation a small persuasive effect can be the deciding factor, e.g. when deciding to buy a certain product even the smallest effect can be the difference between yes and no. A small persuasive effect can also have large implications through means of repetition since the effect can accumulate into a larger effect. The effects found by Braddock and Dillard are in line with the results of other meta-analyses of empirical studies on narrative persuasion (e.g. De Graaf et al., 2016; Shen & Han, 2014; Zebregs, Putte, Neijens, & Graaf, 2015).

Although there is sufficient evidence that narratives can influence people's believes, attitudes, and behaviours (Hoeken, Kolthoff, & Sanders, 2016, p. 292), not all narratives have been found to harness persuasive powers (Braddock & Dillard, 2016). This suggests that there could be differences between narratives that cause one narrative to be more persuasive than the other. The question arises as to why narratives differ in terms of persuasive effects. To account for the differences in persuasive effects of narratives it is necessary to understand what aspects of a narrative can cause it to be an effective persuasive tool. Scholars have identified several possible aspects of narratives that may be responsible for a narrative's persuasive effect. Some possible determinants of narrative persuasion that have been proposed by researchers are: transportation (e.g. Green & Brock, 2000; Murphy, Frank, Chatterjee, & Baezconde-Garbanati, 2013), character identification (e.g. Hoeken et al., 2016; Van Krieken et al., 2017), and emotion (e.g. De Graaf et al., 2016; Volkman & Parrott, 2012). Each of these possible determinants will be discussed separately.

3.1 Transportation

Narrative transportation refers to the phenomenon in which an individual experiences a sensation of being drawn into a story. In literature many different terms, such as absorption, narrative involvement, engagement and immersion (Moyer-Gusé, 2008, p.409), have been used to refer to this phenomenon. This review will use the term transportation. Note that transportation is not synonymous to narrative presence. Narrative presence refers to the sensation of feeling present in the narrative in a spatial sense, and it is considered an aspect of narrative transportation (Van Krieken et al., 2017). The main idea of transportation is that the reader becomes more engaged with the narrative world than with the reader's own world. Transportation was first proposed as a narrative mechanism by Green and Brock (2000). They defined transportation as "a convergent process, where all mental systems and capacities become focused on events occurring in the narrative" (Green & Brock, 2000, "Transportation Theory", para. 2). Transportation can affect the reader's emotional and cognitive responses, and can cause the reader to process the message of the narrative with less negative cognitive responses and greater affective responses (Sestir & Green, 2010). Narrative transportation is also linked with changes in attitude, beliefs, and intention (Van Laer, De Ruyter, Visconti, & Wetzels, 2014).

Van Laer et al. (2014) conducted a meta-analysis on the effects of narrative transportation. They established that narrative transportation was caused by two main elements: empathy and mental imagery. Empathy causes the reader of a narrative to try and understand what the characters in the story are going through and therefore the reader tends to experience the narrative world in the same way as the characters. This explains why the reader becomes more engaged with the

narrative world than with the reader's own world. Through mental imagery the reader can vividly imagine the world in which the narrative takes place, causing the reader to experience the events in the narrative as if they were happening to the reader.

Van Laer et al. identified that there are some crucial differences in the processing pattern of narrative transportation compared to the processing pattern in persuasion models such as the ELM. As previously explained, the ELM states that message processing is to an extent dependant on the level of motivation in the reader to process the message. The reader's motivation is determined by several variables, one of which is involvement. A reader is expected to be highly involved with a message when the message has direct consequences for the reader. Narratives rarely pose direct consequences for the reader but they seem to be able to get readers far more involved in the message than a lot of nonnarrative texts. As explained by Van Laer et al. this may indicate that persuasion models such as the ELM are not readily applicable to narrative persuasion. Narrative transportation can cause persuasion not through systematic processing of the relevant arguments but through unconscious affective processing. This is believed to have lasting persuasive effects. Van Laer et al. also offered a possible explanation for these long-lasting persuasive effects. The explanation is based on the idea that language can not only reflect reality but is also capable of constructing it. Long-lasting lasting persuasive effects could be the result of the reader internalising the narrative world and therefore changing the reader's own world outside of the narrative.

Slater and Rouner (2002) offered a different solution to account for the effect of transportation on narrative persuasion. They attempted to adapt the ELM into a model better suited to describe the processing of a narrative. The result of that was the *Extended Elaboration Likelihood Model* (E-ELM). In the E-ELM variables such as involvement have been replaced by transportation, or as they call it absorption, and character identification. Furthermore, the distinction between the peripheral route and the central route is no longer visible in the model. Slater and Rounder stated that without transportation narrative persuasion is unlikely to occur (p. 178). According to the E-ELM narrative transportation enhances persuasion by reducing counterarguing (p. 180). If the reader of a narrative is generating counterarguments to refute the message of the narrative then that indicates that the reader has disengaged from the narrative. A reader that experiences transportation into the narrative world does not counterargue the message of the narrative even if the message conflicts with prior beliefs, attitudes, or values (p. 180).

Busselle and Bilandzic (2009) sought to find a way in which narrative transportation, or as they call it narrative engagement, could be measured. They developed a scale based on a mental models approach to narrative processing. The mental modals approach suggests that people process

a narrative by constructing a mental model in which the narrative is represented. In these models the setting, characters and events of the narrative are constructed based on information from the narrative and information acquired by the individual through life experiences and through other fictional works the individual has been exposed to. These models are continuously updated as the narratives progresses.

The scale developed by Busselle and Bilandzic distinguishes four dimensions of narrative transportation: *narrative understanding*, *attentional focus*, *emotional engagement*, and *narrative presence*. Narrative understanding refers to the extent to which the reader can comprehend the narrative. A lack of comprehension is thought to have negative effects on the construction of mental models and therefore on narrative transportation. A lack of comprehension can be caused by narrative external and narrative internal factors. External factors include things like noise, stress, or other distractions that might cause cognitive resources to be shifted away from the construction of mental models. Internal factors include things like flaws in the plot, narrative inconsistencies, or story elements that are deemed unrealistic by the reader. Narrative comprehension requires the reader to be located in the mental model of the narrative. The reader needs to take on the perspective of the characters to understand information that is dependent on the context of the narrative world. Busselle and Bilandzic based this idea on the Deictic Shift Theory by Segal (as cited in Busselle & Bilandzic, 2009). The meaning of deictic words depends on the context in which they are said. When used in a narrative, deictic words do not refer to the world of the reader but to the world of the narrative. Therefore, the reader needs to assume the context of the narrative to understand meaning of these words.

The dimension attentional focus refers to the degree to which the reader's attention is focussed on the narrative. If the reader is fully engaged with the narrative then the reader can be said to be in a flow. In this flow there is no attention for anything outside of the narrative. This leads to the reader forgetting about his or her physical surroundings and any events that may occur around the reader. Busselle and Bilandzic argued that this flow is similar to when people experience to be in a flow when engaging in certain nonnarrative activities such as sports or music. The only difference is that this flow positions the reader in an alternative world. This loss of awareness for time and one's immediate surroundings may be caused by the focus on the mental construction of the narrative world that is needed to understand the narrative.

Emotional engagement refers to the emotions the reader experiences in relation to the characters. Busselle and Bilandzic made a distinction between emotions evoked through empathy and sympathy. Emotions related to empathy are the emotions the reader experiences through the

characters. By taking on the perspective of the characters the reader can experience the emotions of the characters. The emotions evoked through sympathy are the emotions the reader experiences by feeling for the characters; for instance, when the reader is happy for the character.

The last dimension discerned by Busselle and Bilandzic is narrative presence. Narrative presence refers to the sensation of feeling physically present in the narrative world. The reader can feel present at the events and locations of the narrative. When a reader is fully immersed in the narrative then the world of the narrative can be experienced as more immediate than the real world.

Busselle and Bilandzic used these four dimensions to develop a scale in which narrative transportation can be measured. The result is a 12-item scale in which narrative transportation can be measured. The scale cannot only be used to measure narrative transportation but also to measure the different aspects of transportation separately. This is useful for future research to help distinguish what aspects of a narrative lead to each different aspect of transportation. Also, this distinction amongst the aspects of transportation can be useful for research aimed at examining the processes that lead to different effects of narratives, such as attitudinal changes and enjoyment. The results of the empirical studies by Busselle and Bilandzic on the scale showed that narrative understanding appears to be related to enjoyment but not to attitudes. Emotional engagement, on the other hand, seems to be strongly related to both enjoyment and attitudes.

3.2 Identification

A concept related to transportation that is also often researched in relation to narrative persuasion is identification. Identification, in this sense, refers to when the reader of a story perceives a connection with a character in the story. Moyer-Gusé (2008) defined identification as "an emotional and cognitive process whereby a viewer takes on a role of a character in a narrative" (p. 410). It is important to note that identification is not the same as merely taking a liking to a character. The reader takes on the role of the character and responds to events in the narrative as if the reader is the one experiencing them. Cohen (2001) stated that identification with others is a valuable social skill that develops at a young age. Furthermore, children and adolescents identify with others to take on different ideas and attitudes, it is possible that this has long term effects through repeated internalisation (p. 249). Identification, according to Cohen, "is expected to increase involvement with messages and decrease the chances of critical interpretation" (p. 261).

There seems to be some disagreement amongst scholars about the interaction between identification and transportation. While some scholars argue that transportation and identification

are two related yet separate concepts, others consider identification to be an aspect of transportation. Sestir and Green (2010) argued that although transportation and identification do conceptually overlap, they are two separate constructs that can, at least theoretically occur without each other. Slater and Rouner (2002) assumed identification to be an additional dimension of transportation that cannot occur in the absence of transportation; however, transportation can occur in the absence of identification (p. 178).

Moyer-Gusé (2008, p. 410) noted that identification needs to be distinguished from several other related concepts. Identification is often mixed up with wishful identification. Wishful identification is when a reader wants to be like a certain character. Wishful identification and identification are different because identification is an emotional and cognitive process that leads to the reader temporarily forgetting about his or her own world and immersing him- or herself in the character, while wishful identification does not have such effect.

Another concept that needs to be distinguished from identification is similarity. Perceived similarity refers to the extent to which the reader perceives him- or herself to be similar to a certain character (Moyer-Gusé, 2008, p. 410). Similarity is not the same as identification since it does not involve the affective and cognitive processes that makes the reader experience the events as if the reader is the character. However, similarity is often considered to be a prerequisite to identification (Moyer-Gusé, 2008, p. 410). Van Krieken et al. (2017) argued that similarity to the character is an important determinant for identification along with the likeability of the character.

Empirical evidence suggests that identification with fictional characters may have an influence on how people identify themselves (McDonald & Kim, 2001). Research has found that children identify strongly with characters and that this affects how children describe themselves (Sestir & Green, 2010). McDonald and Kim (2001) researched how children develop their concept of self and personality through media characters. They based their studies on the concept of the social self. The concept of the social self is that people construct their self-concept through interaction with others. McDonald and Kim (2001) argued that “the social self is formed as people make comparisons between themselves and others” (p. 242). Communication with others therefore plays an important part in developing personality. There is believed to be a strong connection between media and the social self since the consumption of media can be considered social interaction (McDonald & Kim, 2001, p. 243). McDonald and Kim went on to investigate how children identify with videogames characters and what the implications of that identification are for the children’s concept of self and for the development of their personality. The results showed that the more the children identified with the characters the more likely they are to describe themselves using the

same criteria as they describe the character (McDonald & Kim, 2001, p. 254). Children are prone to describe themselves as similar to the character with whom they identify (Sestir & Green, 2010). Sestir and Green (2010) stated that if there is indeed a causal relationship between identification and perceived similarity, then it is possible that certain traits of a character are activated in an individual's concept of self through identification with that character. The interactions with that character can therefore alter the way the individual sees him- or herself. The results of the study conducted by Sestir and Green showed that identification does indeed seem to activate certain characteristics of the character in the reader.

As highlighted by Hoeken et al. (2016, p. 293) there is plentiful empirical evidence for the relevancy of identification in narrative persuasion. Studies conducted by Igartua (2010) showed that identification with characters in a feature length film could predict positive attitudes and beliefs on immigration in participants. These attitudes and beliefs were consistent with the message presented in the film. Moyer-Gusé and Nabi (2010) showed that identification with characters influenced perceived risks of unwanted pregnancies amongst participants. Research by De Graaf, Hoeken, Sanders and Beentjes (2012) indicated that identification with a character can in some cases possibly be a determining factor in narrative persuasion. In two experiments they showed that identification with a character can prompt changes in attitude and beliefs. In experiment one participants read a story in which two characters had opposing goals. There were two versions of the story in which the story was told from the perspective of either one of the characters. The perspective from which the story was told affected what character the participants identified with and lead to attitudinal changes consistent the character. Experiment two was similar in setup, but this time the characters had conflicting opinions instead of goals. Character identification was again influenced by perspective and lead to attitudinal changes in line with the opinion of the character. The results of this study show that character identification can both strengthen or undermine existing attitudes, and therefore suggests that character identification can be an effective tool in narrative persuasion.

There are several different ways in which identification can be considered to play a part in narrative persuasion. In accordance with the E-ELM, identification is suspected to enhance narrative persuasion by increasing transportation and therefore reducing counterarguing (Slater & Rouner, 2002 p. 178). Sestir & Green (2010) considered identification and transportation to be separate concepts and therefore accounted for the persuasive effects of identification differently. They argued that identification may cause increased message involvement, leading to a higher elaboration. This explanation is more in line with the ELM, as discussed prior.

Another possible explanation for the persuasive effects of character identification is that it might affect the perceived norm. As discussed earlier, the perceived norm is influenced by what an individual thinks others in his or her surrounding want the individual to do. If an individual perceives certain behaviour as normative then it is likely that the individual will disregard information that spells out potential negative effects of that behaviour (Moyer-Gusé, 2008, p. 419). It is possible that perceived norms can be challenged through character identification. A character that strays away from certain risky behaviour can, through character identification, in still in a reader that not everyone engages in such risky behaviour (Moyer-Gusé, 2008, p. 419). As a result, that individual's perceived norms can change, prompting a change in attitude towards that behaviour.

Next to influencing the perceived norms, identification might also influence self-efficacy (Moyer-Gusé, 2008, p. 412). Whenever an individual identifies with a character that individual experiences the events of the narrative through the eyes of the character. The individual can, consequently so, experience the accomplishment of certain goals. As the person experiences that the character is capable of certain behaviour, it is possible that the person's self-efficacy relating to that behaviour increases. Self-efficacy is especially likely to be influenced when the character that is being identified with is successful, perceived as similar to the individual, and or attractive to the individual.

Hoeken and Sinkeldam (2014) posited even another way in which identification could mediate narrative persuasion. Character identification can evoke strong emotions in the reader which can lead to enhanced persuasion. Character identification can cause a reader to experience the events in a narrative as if the reader is the one experiencing them. The reader takes on the character's goals and experiences the same emotions as the character. The extent to which the reader identifies with the character determines the intensity of the experienced emotions. When a reader takes on the goals of the character the reader can experience vivid emotions as the character achieves or fails to achieve its goals. How exactly these emotions drive narrative persuasion will be further examined in the next section in which emotion as a determinant of narrative persuasion will be discussed.

3.3 Emotion

Another factor that has often been researched in relation to narrative persuasion is emotion. As addressed earlier in this review, emotion is thought to play an important role in persuasion. Emotion is said to affect the motivation to process a message, and can influence attitudes through experiential message processing. As discussed in the previous sections on transportation and identification, emotion is an important factor in the reader's involvement with

the narrative. Busselle and Bilandzic (2009) identified emotional engagement as one of four dimensions of narrative transportation. Identification with a narrative character is even thought to be an emotional process (Moyer-Gusé, 2008, p. 410). Since there is ample evidence suggesting that emotion is vital in narrative persuasion, questions arise as to what the role of emotion is in narrative involvement, and as to how emotion can be used to enhance narrative persuasion.

Emotion seems to be one of the key deciding factors in narrative persuasion. The importance of emotion is especially apparent in relation to identification. Busselle and Bilandzic (2009) suggested that identification is mainly connected to the emotional dimension of narratives. They argued that through identification an individual can take on the emotions of the character and relive these emotions as if they are his or her own emotions. These emotions are an essential tool in helping the audience understand the actions and feelings of the characters. Even when identification with a character does not happen and the reader does not take on the emotions of the character, the reader should understand the emotions of the main characters to completely comprehend the narrative. In such case when the reader does not identify with a character, the reader should still understand the emotions through sympathy.

A meta-analysis by De Graaf et al. (2016) showed that numerous studies have researched whether the level of emotions expressed by a narrative influences narrative persuasion. The results of these studies showed that narratives that are highly emotional in content are more effective in bringing about attitudinal changes. The narratives in these studies expressed emotions by reporting emotional outcomes of health behaviours by characters (De Graaf et al., 2016, p. 98). This indicates that adding descriptions of highly emotional experiences to a narrative might increase the narrative's persuasive powers. Volkman and Parrott (2012) researched the use of emotions as evidence in health-related narratives, they concluded that emotions expressed by the narrative can generate emotions in the reader, and that those emotions might then bias the cognitive responses of the reader. They also found that narratives that express positive emotions also evoke positive emotions in the reader and that narratives that express negative emotions evoke negative emotions in the reader. This indicates that writers of a narrative may be able to direct what emotions the readers of the narrative will experience.

4. Linguistic viewpoints

The link between narratives and persuasion has been examined in the previous two chapters, this chapter sets out to investigate if and how linguistic viewpoints contribute to this process of narrative persuasion.

Every narrative is told from at least one perspective. Genette (as cited in Van Krieken, 2016, p. 15) advocated for a distinction between the focaliser and the narrator. The focaliser is the character who experiences the events of the narrative, and the narrator is the agent who narrates the story. A narrative can be told from either an internal viewpoint or an external viewpoint (Van Krieken, 2016, p. 15). In case of an internal viewpoint, the audience sees the world and the events of the narrative through the perspective of the character. This means that the audience does not only see the events of the story but also the thoughts and emotions of the character from which the story is told. In case of an external viewpoint the narrative is told by a narrator who is not the focaliser. The result of this is that the audience experiences the events of the narrative from an outside perspective without seeing what goes on inside the mind of the character.

Research has found indications that the viewpoint from which the narrative is told can affect identification with the characters. Hoeken et al. (2016) pitted similarity with the character and viewpoint against each other as determinants of identification. Audience similarity with the character was proven to positively affect identification, but the effect of viewpoint was stronger. The readers of the narrative identified more with the protagonist even if the antagonist was perceived as more similar to the reader. This suggests that the viewpoint from which a story is told can be an important driver for identification. Thus, the choice of viewpoint might be able to influence identification which then mediates narrative persuasion. This conclusion is in line with the results from the study conducted by De Graaf et al. (2012) which was addressed earlier in this review in the identification section. The implication that viewpoints affect identification warrants a closer examination of viewpoints in a narrative.

In recent years several studies have been conducted on the linguistic manifestation of viewpoints in narratives. Especially the relation between use of pronouns and perspective taking has been studied (e.g. Brunyé et al., 2009; Ditman, Brunyé, Mahoney, & Taylor, 2010). Brunyé et al. (2009) demonstrated with their study that pronouns can affect whether the reader takes on an internal viewpoint or an external viewpoint. When the pronouns *you* or *I* were used participants of the study tended to take on the internal viewpoint of the character, while use of the pronoun *he* primarily caused participants to adopt an external viewpoint. However, whenever the identity of the

character was explicitly revealed in the context preceding the pronoun *I* participants would be more inclined to take on an external viewpoint. Another study by Brunyé et al. (2011) tested whether readers represent situational elements of a narrative differently depending on use of either the pronoun *you* or the pronoun *I*, and whether use of the pronouns influenced the participants' responses to the emotional valence of the story. The results of the study revealed that participants who read the narrative written in second-person had a more precise and more readily available mental representation of the spatial environment of the narrative than participants who read the first-person narrative. Furthermore, the narrative written in second-person yielded stronger emotional responses in line with the character's emotions in the readers than the first-person narrative did.

Van Krieken et al. (2017) argued that the grammatical person of the protagonist is a crucial choice when deciding the viewpoint of a narrative. A narrative with a first-person character has an intradiegetic narrator, meaning that the narrator is involved in the events of the narrative. This contrasts with narratives written in third-person, since they have an extradiegetic narrator that narrates the story from an outside perspective. Van Krieken et al. (2017) stressed that although research indicates that readers identify more with first-person characters than with third-person characters, this does not imply that readers cannot strongly identify with third-person characters. Next to grammatical person there are more linguistic viewpoint cues that can affect identification. A study by Van Krieken and Sanders (2017) showed that use of personal pronouns instead of nouns to refer a character increased emotional and cognitive identification with that character.

Van Krieken et al. (2017) developed a multidimensional *Linguistic Cues Framework* that distinguishes six dimensions of identification and explains how these dimensions are evoked through linguistic cues. The Linguistic Cues Framework tries to account for how linguistic elements guide the reader in the construction of mental models in which the narrative is represented. Each of the dimensions distinguished in the Linguistic Cues Framework corresponds to a dimension of the subject that can be conveyed in a narrative. The framework assumes that a reader can only identify with a character if the viewpoint of the character is presented to the reader. The six dimensions of identification that are distinguished in the framework are: spatiotemporal identification, perceptual identification, cognitive identification, moral identification, emotional identification, and embodied identification.

Spatiotemporal identification occurs when the reader takes on the character's physical position in space and time. Characters in a narrative experience the events of the narrative in a limited frame of space and time. Readers align their own viewpoint with the spatiotemporal

viewpoint of the character in their mental representation of the narrative. Van Krieken et al. consider spatiotemporal identification to be a standard form of identification. Every reference to the character's movements or activities is linked to the character's spatiotemporal viewpoint. Van Krieken et al. identified several linguistic cues that are related to spatiotemporal identification: grammatical choice, verb tense, and deictic elements. Grammatical choice affects spatiotemporal identification since the grammatical subject usually dictates from what perspective the scene is told. Verb tense is thought to affect spatiotemporal identification since it can control the temporal distance between the reader and the character. Deictic elements are also assumed to influence spatiotemporal identification. Deictic elements can dictate the reader's sense of space. Proximal deictics such as *here* or *now* are expected to evoke stronger spatiotemporal identification than distal deictics such as *there* or *then* since they exert a sense of closeness while the distal deictics instil a sense of distance.

Perceptual identification is the process in which the reader constructs a mental representation of everything the character perceives. The reader is said to take on the character's perceptual viewpoint. Perceptual identification is enhanced by linguistic cues that refer to the character's perceptions and sensations. In storytelling, the diegetic world and events are often depicted through the senses of the character; the story describes what the character feels, sees, hears, and smells. Linguistic cues that might contribute to perceptual identification are verbs of bodily sensation, such as *feel* or *itch*, and verbs of perception, such as *see* or *hear*.

Cognitive identification lets the reader adopt the characters mindset, this entails things such as thoughts, goals, and intentions. Van Krieken et al. stated that although cognitive identification is similar to cognitive empathy it is not the same. Cognitive empathy refers to the recognition of another individual's mindset, while cognitive identification involves taking on another individual's mindset. Cognitive identification is expected to be heightened by linguistic cues that refer to the character's psychological viewpoint. These linguistic cues are, for instance, verbs of cognition. Verbs of cognition include verbs like *think* and *realise*. Other linguistic cues that refer to the character's psychological viewpoint are metaphoric expressions that refer to the character's cognition. Van Krieken et al. posited that a character's psychological viewpoint can also be expressed by reports on the character's thoughts.

Moral identification refers to the process that lets the reader take on the character's morals, beliefs, and attitudes. The linguistic cues associated with moral identification are "evaluations, attributions, memories, and desires" (Van Krieken et al., 2017). The character's assessment of the events in the narrative are expected to evoke similar attitudes and emotions in the reader. If moral

identification can indeed be elicited through means of linguistic viewpoints then that implies that careful choice of linguistic viewpoints related to moral identification can be used to amplify narrative persuasion.

Emotional identification refers to the reader assuming the character's feelings and emotions. As discussed in the previous chapters, emotion is often researched in relation to persuasion, narrative persuasion, transportation, and identification. There are still multiple theories as to how exactly emotion enhances persuasion. However, it is clear that evoking emotion in the readers of a message, and especially through use of a narrative, has strong implications for how the message is processed and for its effects on the reader's attitudes. Van Krieken et al. posited that linguistic representations of the character's emotional viewpoint can steer emotional identification and help the reader in constructing a mental representation of the character's emotion. Linguistic cues that are thought to affect emotional identification are verbs of emotion, such as *love* or *hate*; adjectives; and metaphoric expressions of emotion.

Van Krieken et al. explained that the previously discussed dimensions of identification collectively make up the character's inner world. Some narratives focus a lot on the character's inner world whereas other narratives mainly emphasise on the events of the narrative and the role of the character in those events. Narratives that mainly focus on the events of the narrative still require the reader to construct a subjective representation of the events, mediated through the eyes and actions of the character. As is the case in narratives that emphasise the character's inner world, the viewpoint through which the events are perceived is based in the character's spatiotemporal perspective. Grammatical choices and deictic references guide the reader through the events.

The last dimension of identification identified by Van Krieken et al. is embodied identification. Embodied identification allows the reader to simulate the actions of the character. As pointed out by Van Krieken et al. studies have shown that language comprehension entails the activation of motor systems. In other words, language comprehension causes actions to be mentally simulated. This embodied identification is expected to be activated by linguistic representations of the character's actions. These linguistic representations include actions verbs and the description of events. Another factor that might be related to embodied identification that is not mentioned by Van Krieken et al. is the use of pronouns. Research by Ditman et al (2010) showed that the mental simulation of action as a result of language comprehension increased when the pronoun *you* was used instead of the pronouns *I* or *he*. This suggests that use of pronouns might influence embodied identification. Ditman et al. also found that action simulation appears to lead to more reliable memories.

The Linguistic Cues Framework developed by Van Krieken et al. (2017) has promising implications for future research concerning narrative identification and the linguistic elements that might guide the identification process. The framework provides a possible explanation for how linguistic viewpoints might help shape the identification process. It can serve as a basis for future research in this direction. Although, a few studies (e.g. Van Krieken, 2016; Van Krieken, 2017; Van Krieken & Sanders, 2017) have produced results that seem to be in line with the Linguistic Cues Framework, more empirical research needs to be done to test the framework.

5. Discussion

The present paper set out to examine the possible influence of linguistic viewpoints on narrative persuasion. To do that, papers from multiple academic disciplines, such as communication sciences, cognitive linguistics, and social psychology, have been reviewed. In doing that, the present paper also aimed to give a concise overview of several theories from the respective academic disciplines related to the subject at hand. The goal of this was to show where these theories overlap, contradict each other, and or complement each other to stress the importance of an interdisciplinary approach to the topics of linguistic viewpoints, narrative persuasion, and persuasion in general. The relevance of these topics cannot be confined to a single academic discipline; neither can any of these topics be completely researched through a single discipline. The present paper might serve as an introduction to what research on specific linguistic phenomena, such as linguistic viewpoints, can contribute to research on much broader, general concepts such as persuasion.

The review of the studies on persuasion, narrative persuasion, and linguistic viewpoints seems to indicate that linguistic viewpoints do indeed affect narrative persuasion. The influence of linguistic viewpoints on narrative persuasion is expected in, but not confined to, the process of identification. The Linguistic Cues Framework proposed by Van Krieken et al. (2017) offers a theoretically sound explanation for how linguistic viewpoints might guide the identification process. Empirical evidence in support of this explanation has started to surface, but more research needs to be conducted on the interaction between linguistic viewpoints and identification before any conclusions can be drawn. There is sufficient empirical evidence that indicates that identification plays an important role in narrative persuasion (Hoeken et al., 2016, p. 293), so if linguistic viewpoints do indeed guide the identification process then that suggests that linguistic viewpoints can, through the process of identification, enhance narrative persuasion.

Although empirical evidence shows that identification is an important aspect of narrative persuasion, it has not yet been established how exactly identification amplifies narrative persuasion. Several theories from several academic fields offer possible explanations for how identification affects narrative persuasion. Considering the Integrated Model of Behavioural Prediction developed by Fishbein and Yzer (2003), it is possible that identification affects narrative persuasion since it appeals to the perceived norm of the reader. In addition to that, it is also possible that identification can enhance the reader's self-efficacy. Another possible explanation is that identification evokes strong emotions in the reader that intensify narrative persuasion (Hoeken & Sinkeldam, 2014). It is even possible that identification can affect automaticity since it lets the reader experience behaviour of others which might activate thoughts relevant to that behaviour in the reader, heightening the

chances of the reader copying that behaviour. Automaticity might also be influenced through the activation of goals. Identification is thought to align the reader's goals with the goals of the character (Van Krieken et al., 2017), this alignment of goals could be similar to the automatic activation of goals which has been shown to influence automaticity. All these different possible explanations for the effect of identification on narrative persuasion warrant more empirical research on the interaction between the two. The Linguistic Cues Framework posited by Van Krieken et al. (2017) might present researchers with new possibilities to empirically research identification. More specifically, a better understanding of the linguistic manifestation of the dimensions of identification allows researchers to more carefully control for elements that evoke identification. As a result of this, researchers can more precisely manipulate identification in an experimental setting, allowing them to examine the effects of identification on concepts such as the perceived norm, self-efficacy, emotion, and automaticity. Moreover, the distinction amongst the different dimensions of identification, as distinguished by Van Krieken et al. (2017), allows for research that is specifically geared towards certain aspects of identification. For example, the alignment of the reader's goals with the character's goals has been attributed to the moral identification dimension of identification. Research concerned with examining whether identification can influence automaticity through the activation of goals might, through use of the Linguistic Cues Framework, be able to specifically test the effects of identification on goal activation, and thus automaticity, by manipulating moral identification.

However, before the Linguistic Cues Framework can be used to advance research on identification, more empirical research needs to be done on the dimensions of identification and the corresponding linguistic cues that are thought to help construct these dimensions. Van Krieken et al. (2017) suggested a range of possibilities through which the influence of linguistic viewpoints on identification can be measured. The methods they proposed can be used complementary to the commonly used methods which involve self-report items, but Van Krieken et al. intended to advance the field by proposing methods that are likely to provide more complete insights into the mechanisms of identification and linguistic viewpoints. These proposed methods include both offline and online measuring methods. The proposed methods for the dimensions of identification that are most relevant to research concerned with persuasion will be highlighted below. These dimensions are cognitive identification, moral identification, and emotional identification.

Van Krieken et al. (2017) argued that the effects of linguistic viewpoints on cognitive identification can be measured by use of fMRI. This proposition is based on the results of a study that measured the activity of neural networks during narrative processing (Nijhof & Willems, 2015). Narrative descriptions of a character's cognition are linked to the activation of neural networks

related to understanding other people's believes, desires, and intentions. Verbs of cognition, metaphoric expressions referring to the character's cognition, and thought reports are therefore expected to activate the same neural networks.

Moral identification can be measured through implicit association tests (Van Krieken et al., 2017). Usually, self-report scales are used to measure attitude, but they pose two problems: they assume that people can correctly assess their own attitudes and they can lead to the participants giving socially desirable answers. Implicit association tests can measure associations and attitudes that the participant might even be unaware of, and they can potentially measure attitudes that the participant would normally not explicitly state in an explicit attitude test. Implicit association tests can be used to test whether the has adopted the character's morals and attitudes. This can be used to determine if the reader has morally identified with the character.

Van Krieken et al. suggested that emotional identification can be measured through several different means. It can be measured by use of psychophysiological methods, such as galvanic skin response and heart rate variability. Galvanic skin response and heart rate variability are measures that have been proven to signify emotional arousal (Van Krieken et al. 2017). Emotional identification can also be measured by use of fMRI, since it can show whether the neural networks associated with emotional responses are activated or not (Van Krieken et al., 2017). Another way to measure emotional identification in the reader of a narrative is through use of facial expression recognition software (Van Krieken et al., 2017). Measuring facial expressions can be especially useful in determining if the reader's emotional response is in line with the character's emotions. Through use of measuring facial expressions a necessary distinction can be made between sympathetic and empathetic responses, and emotional identification (Van Krieken et al., 2017). For instance, when the character in the narrative is angry the reader might feel sorry for the character out of sympathy or empathy. Meanwhile, a reader that emotionally identifies with the character would feel angry just like the character.

Although most of the reviewed studies on linguistic viewpoints were concerned with the interaction between linguistic viewpoints and identification, there might also be a link between linguistic viewpoints and transportation. Transportation and identification are two closely related concepts. Some theories state that transportation and identification are two distinct phenomena, while other theories, such as the E-ELM (Slater & Rouner, 2002, p. 178), consider identification to be a dimension of transportation. Either way, it is to be expected that transportation, like identification, is at least to some extent the result of storytelling techniques. The supposed determinants of identification are character based factors, such as similarity and likeability, and storytelling

techniques, such as linguistic viewpoints. It is likely that transportation is also at least partially evoked by linguistic elements in the narrative. The scale for measuring transportation, as developed by Busselle and Bilandzic (2009), proposes that one dimension of transportation, narrative understanding, relies on the reader taking on the perspective of the character to make sense of the character's emotions and of deictic references. This seems to indicate that linguistic viewpoints might also affect transportation. Two other dimensions of transportation distinguished by Busselle and Bilandzic, emotional engagement and narrative presence, also require the reader to partake in the narrative world. A direction for future research could be to investigate whether linguistic viewpoints affect these dimensions of transportation. A framework like the Linguistic Cues Framework could be developed to examine the linguistic manifestation of the different dimensions of narrative transportation.

To further examine the effects of linguistic viewpoints on narrative persuasion future research could use the Linguistic Cues Framework by Van Krieken et al. (2017) to manipulate linguistic viewpoints in narratives that have previously successfully been used in studies on narrative persuasion. These narratives could then be used to test whether differences in linguistic viewpoints lead to differences in the persuasive effects of the narrative.

Next to the priorly discussed implications for future research, the examination of linguistic viewpoints in light of narrative persuasion also has some broader implications for the understanding of communication in general and for the understanding of the human mind. Insights in the workings of narratives contribute to the understanding of why storytelling has such a central role in human societies. Additionally, a good understanding of the relation between the form of narratives and the impact narratives have on readers gives valuable insights into how the human mind processes language and surrounding world. Investigating how persuasion works can potentially contribute to a better understanding of human behaviour and of the motivations behind behaviour.

6. Conclusion

The aim of this paper was to examine the role of linguistic viewpoints in the process of narrative persuasion. To do this a literature review was conducted in which studies from several academic disciplines were reviewed. The expectations were that linguistic viewpoints enhance narrative persuasion by evoking a high sense of involvement with the narrative. These expectations were confirmed and the literature review has shed more light on the effects of linguistic viewpoints on narrative persuasion. Through the review it has become clear that there seems to be an interaction between linguistic viewpoints and identification with the narrative characters. Linguistic viewpoints are expected to be able to enhance the identification process by guiding the reader in the construction of a mental representation of the narrative. Through use of the linguistic manifestation of perspective, linguistic viewpoints can help with the alignment of the reader's perspective with the perspective of the character. Identification with a narrative character is proposed to consist of six dimensions that can each be constructed through help of linguistic cues. When a reader fully identifies with a character, the reader is expected to, amongst other things, take on the perspective, emotions, morals, and cognition of the character. This process of identification has great implications for narrative persuasion. Results of empirical studies on narrative persuasion and identification show that greater identification with a narrative character leads to a stronger persuasive effect. This means that identification influences the attitudes, believes, and morals of the reader to be more aligned with the attitudes, believes, and morals as expressed by the character. How exactly identification enhances narrative persuasion is still up to debate, but there are several theories that might be able to account for it. It is possible that identification enhances narrative persuasion by affecting the perceived norm or self-efficacy. Identification is also thought to be a highly emotional process. It is possible that the evoking of emotions causes readers to experientially process the narrative, and to therefore link the experienced emotions to the implied message of the narrative. Research suggests that emotions play an important role in narrative persuasion. Narratives that are highly emotional in content have proven to be more persuasive than less emotional narratives. If strategic use of linguistic viewpoints can evoke more emotions in the reader than that implies that linguistic viewpoints are a powerful tool in narrative persuasion. The theory on linguistic viewpoints is still tentative as more empirical research needs to be conducted on the subject. Van Krieken et al. (2017) laid the basis for future research on linguistic viewpoints in relation to identification by the developing of the Linguistic Cues Framework. This framework can be used in future research to study the effects of linguistic viewpoints on identification.

Furthermore, this paper has given a concise overview of the working of narrative persuasion and its related concepts. In doing so it has exposed new research opportunities. It has also clarified the link between specific linguistic phenomena and much bigger concepts relating to communication and cognition.

References

Bargh, J. A., & Chartrand, T. L. (1999). The unbearable automaticity of being. *American Psychologist*, *54*(7), 462–479.

Braddock, K., & Dillard, J. P. (2016). Meta-analytic evidence for the persuasive effect of narratives on beliefs, attitudes, intentions, and behaviors. *Communication Monographs*, *83*(4), 446–467. https://doi.org/10.1080/03637751.2015.1128555

Brunyé, T. T., Ditman, T., Mahoney, C. R., Augustyn, J. S., & Taylor, H. A. (2009). When you and I share perspectives: Pronouns modulate perspective taking during narrative comprehension. *Psychological Science*, *20*(1), 27–32. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9280.2008.02249.x

Brunyé, T. T., Ditman, T., Mahoney, C. R., & Taylor, H. A. (2011). Better you than I: Perspectives and emotion simulation during narrative comprehension. *Journal of Cognitive Psychology*, *23*(5), 659–666. https://doi.org/10.1080/20445911.2011.559160

Busselle, R., & Bilandzic, H. (2009). Measuring narrative engagement. *Media Psychology*, *12*(4), 321–347. https://doi.org/10.1080/15213260903287259

Cohen, J. (2001). Defining identification: A theoretical look at the identification of audiences with media characters. *Mass Communication and Society*, *4*(3), 245–264. https://doi.org/10.1207/S15327825MCS0403_01

Coulter, K. S., & Punj, G. N. (2004). The effects of cognitive resource requirements, availability, and argument quality on brand attitudes: A melding of elaboration likelihood and cognitive resource matching theories. *Journal of Advertising*, *33*(4), 53–64. https://doi.org/10.1080/00913367.2004.10639177

De Graaf, A., Hoeken, H., Sanders, J., & Beentjes, J. W. J. (2012). Identification as a mechanism of narrative persuasion. *Communication Research*, *39*(6), 802–823. https://doi.org/10.1177/0093650211408594

De Graaf, A., Sanders, J., & Hoeken, H. (2016). Characteristics of narrative interventions and health effects: A review of the content, form, and context of narratives in health-related narrative persuasion research. *Review of Communication Research*, *4*, 88–131. https://doi.org/10.12840/issn.2255-4165.2016.04.01.011

Ditman, T., Brunyé, T. T., Mahoney, C. R., & Taylor, H. A. (2010). Simulating an enactment effect: Pronouns guide action simulation during narrative comprehension. *Cognition*, *115*(1), 172–178. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cognition.2009.10.014

Fishbein, M., & Yzer, M. C. (2003). Using theory to design effective health behavior interventions. *Communication Theory*, *13*(2), 164–183. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2885.2003.tb00287.x

Gauchou, H. L., Rensink, R. A., & Fels, S. (2012). Expression of nonconscious knowledge via ideomotor actions. *Consciousness and Cognition*, *21*(2), 976–982. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.concog.2012.01.016

Green, M. C. (2008). Research challenges: research challenges in narrative persuasion. *Information Design Journal*, *16*(1), 47–52. https://doi.org/10.1075/idj.16.1.07gre

Green, M. C., & Brock, T. C. (2000). The role of transportation in the persuasiveness of public narratives. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *79*(5), 701–721.

Green, M. C., & Clark, J. L. (2012). Transportation into narrative worlds: Implications for entertainment media influences on tobacco use. *Addiction*, *108*(3), 477–484. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1360-0443.2012.04088.x

Hoeken, H., Hornikx, J., & Hustinx, L. (2012). *Overtuigende teksten : onderzoek en ontwerp*. Bussum : Coutinho,.

Hoeken, H., Kolthoff, M., & Sanders, J. (2016). Story perspective and character similarity as drivers of identification and narrative persuasion. *Human Communication Research*, *42*(2), 292–311. https://doi.org/10.1111/hcre.12076

Hoeken, H., & Sinkeldam, J. (2014). The role of identification and perception of just outcome in evoking emotions in narrative persuasion. *Journal of Communication*, *64*(5), 935–955. https://doi.org/10.1111/jcom.12114

Hullett, C. R. (2005). The impact of mood on persuasion: A meta-analysis. *Communication Research*, *32*(4), 423–442. https://doi.org/10.1177/0093650205277317

Igartua, J.-J. (2010). Identification with characters and narrative persuasion through fictional feature films. *Communications: The European Journal of Communication Research*, *35*(4), 347–373. https://doi.org/10.1515/COMMM.2010.019

Kitchen, P. J., Kerr, G., Schultz, D. E., McColl, R., & Pals, H. (2014). The elaboration likelihood model: review, critique and research agenda. *European Journal of Marketing*, *48*(11/12), 2033–2050. https://doi.org/10.1108/EJM-12-2011-0776

McDonald, D. G., & Kim, H. (2001). When I die, I feel small: Electronic game characters and the social self. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, *45*(2), 241–258. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15506878jobem4502_3

Meyers-Levy, J., & Malaviya, P. (1999). Consumers' processing of persuasive advertisements: An integrative framework of persuasion theories. *Journal of Marketing*, *63*(4), 45–60.

Moyer-Gusé, E. (2008). Toward a theory of entertainment persuasion: Explaining the persuasive effects of entertainment-education messages. *Communication Theory*, *18*(3), 407–425. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2885.2008.00328.x

Moyer-Gusé, E., & Nabi, R. L. (2010). Explaining the effects of narrative in an entertainment television program: Overcoming resistance to persuasion. *Human Communication Research*, *36*(1), 26–52. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2958.2009.01367.x

Murphy, S. T., Frank, L. B., Chatterjee, J. S., & Baezconde-Garbanati, L. (2013). Narrative versus nonnarrative: The role of identification, transportation, and emotion in reducing health disparities. *Journal of Communication*, *63*(1), 116–137. https://doi.org/10.1111/jcom.12007

Nijhof, A. D., & Willems, R. M. (2015). Simulating fiction: Individual differences in literature comprehension revealed with fMRI. *PLOS ONE*, *10*(2). https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0116492

Petty, R. E., & Briñol, P. (2014). Emotion and persuasion: Cognitive and meta-cognitive processes impact attitudes. *Cognition and Emotion*, *29*(1). https://doi-org.ru.idm.oclc.org/10.1080/02699931.2014.967183

Sestir, M., & Green, M. C. (2010). You are who you watch: Identification and transportation effects on temporary self-concept. *Social Influence*, *5*(4), 272–288. https://doi.org/10.1080/15534510.2010.490672

Shen, F., & Han, J. (2014). Effectiveness of entertainment education in communicating health information: a systematic review. *Asian Journal of Communication*, *24*(6), 605–616. https://doi.org/10.1080/01292986.2014.927895

Slater, M. D., & Rouner, D. (2002). Entertainment—education and elaboration likelihood: Understanding the processing of narrative persuasion. *Communication Theory*, *12*(2), 173–191. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2885.2002.tb00265.x

Spencer, S. J., Fein, S., Wolfe, C. T., Fong, C., & Dunn, M. A. (1998). Automatic activation of stereotypes: The role of self-image threat. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *24*(11), 1139–1152.

Van Enschot, R., Beckers, C., & Van Mulken, M. (2010). Rhetorical figures in TV commercials: The occurrence of schemes and tropes and their effects on commercial likeability. *Information Design Journal*, *18*(2). https://doi.org/10.1075/idj.18.2.04ens

Van Enschot, R., Hoeken, H., & Van Mulken, M. (2008). Rhetoric in advertising: Attitudes towards verbo-pictorial rhetorical figures. *Information Design Journal*, *16*(1), 35–45. https://doi.org/10.1075/idj.16.1.05ens

Van Krieken, K. (2016). *Linguistic viewpoint in crime news narratives. Form, function and impact*. Utrecht : LOT. Retrieved from http://repository.ubn.ru.nl/handle/2066/159206

Van Krieken, K., Hoeken, H., & Sanders, J. (2017). Evoking and measuring mdentification with narrative characters – a linguistic cues framework. *Frontiers in Psychology*, *8*. https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2017.01190

Van Krieken, K., & Sanders, J. (2017). Engaging doctors and depressed patients: Effects of referential viewpoint and role similarity in health narratives. *International Journal of Communication*, *11*(0), 19.

Van Laer, T., de Ruyter, K., Visconti, L. M., & Wetzels, M. (2014). The extended transportation-imagery model: A meta-analysis of the antecedents and consequences of consumers' narrative transportation. *Journal of Consumer Research*, *40*(5), 797–817. https://doi.org/10.1086/673383

Van Mulken, M., Van Enschot-van Dijk, R., & Hoeken, H. (2005). Puns, relevance and appreciation in advertisements. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *37*(5), 707–721. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2004.09.008

Volkman, J. E., & Parrott, R. L. (2012). Expressing emotions as evidence in osteoporosis narratives: Effects on message processing and intentions. *Human Communication Research*, *38*(4), 429–458. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2958.2012.01433.x

Wegener, D. T., & Petty, R. E. (1994). Mood management across affective states: The Hedonic Contingency Hypothesis. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *66*(6), 1034–1048.

Zebregs, S., Putte, B. van den, Neijens, P., & Graaf, A. de. (2015). The differential impact of statistical and narrative evidence on beliefs, attitude, and intention: A meta-analysis. *Health Communication*, *30*(3), 282–289. https://doi.org/10.1080/10410236.2013.842528