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Theorizing the Impact of Targeted Narratives: Model Admiration and Narrative Memorability

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Communication campaigns often include components that have been designed for a specific population, a strategy referred to as targeting. Targeted narratives are story-based components of a campaign that feature a character or situation relevant to the intended audience. Though commonplace, few studies have explicated the underlying mechanisms by which targeted narratives exert influence. In a message evaluation study, 316 women aged 40–75 ($M_{age} = 51.19$, $SD = 8.11$) were exposed to one of two targeted narratives and asked to complete measures of model admiration, narrative memorability, and intentions to receive a mammography. Targeting was based upon affiliation with the Mormon church. The results revealed that the relationship between the targeted narratives and screening intentions was especially strong for women from the target population who admired the depicted models and found the stories memorable.

Narratives are a pervasive part of the human experience. Every day we are bombarded by narratives: a co-worker's amusing holiday anecdote, the story of the semi-truck driver who rolled on the interstate, or the report of the woman who found a lump in her breast just in time to avoid catastrophe. Walter Fisher posits that humans are essentially storytelling animals (1984), so it is not surprising that we are both originators and recipients of countless narratives each and every day. Research has suggested that these narratives, far from being merely informational, can have a strong influence on attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors. Persuasive effects of narratives have been observed in domains such as attitudes toward tobacco use and the tobacco industry (Dixon, Hill, Ron, & Paxton, 2001), capital punishment (Slater, Rouner, & Long, 2006), gun ownership (Holbert, Shah, & Kwak, 2004), family planning (Singhal & Rogers, 1999), and jury decision making (Pennington & Hastie, 1993; Yale, 2013).

This interest in narratives has taken hold across academic fields of inquiry as it has become clear that narratives have the potential to influence real-world beliefs and behaviors, whether they are true or fictional (Busselle & Bilandzic, 2008; Gerrig & Prentice, 1991; Green & Brock, 2000; Green, Garst, Brock, & Chung, 2006; Strange & Leung, 1999), and their persuasive impact may actually increase over time (Appel & Richter, 2007). Hinyard and Kreuter (2007) argue that targeted narrative messages are particularly promising for communication interventions in health promotion campaigns, and many investigations have demonstrated the effectiveness of

narrative approaches to health promotion (e.g., Kreuter et al., 2008, 2010; McQueen, Kreuter, Kalesan, & Alcaraz, 2011; Moyer-Gusé & Nabi, 2010; Thompson & Kreuter, 2013).

Communication campaigns are often designed to inform and/or persuade relatively large groups of people with target characteristics—for example, Mormon women who are not adherent to mammography screening recommendations. One way of doing this is through targeted narratives. Targeted narratives are designed to influence a specific population or group as opposed to the overall population or at an individual level (Kreuter & Wray, 2003). For example, a campaign could include stories about Mormon women screening to target the message toward Mormon women. In fact, many health and advertising campaigns include peer or celebrity narratives that are selected to resonate with the intended audience (Sarapin, Christy, Lareau, Krakow, & Jensen, 2015)

Even though targeted narratives—and targeted campaigns in general—are commonplace, there is limited literature explicating the underlying mechanisms or efficacy of this approach. The existing literature largely examines targeted messaging as a contrast to other strategies such as personalized or tailored communication. Tailored communication refers to a message that is manipulated in response to individual differences between consumers. For example, a message might allow tailoring along the dimensions of sex, age, and religion. In the context of a tailoring campaign, a middle-aged Mormon woman would receive a substantially different message than a young Muslim man. Targeted communication, on the other hand, focuses more on producing a single message (or campaign) that will resonate well with all members a targeted population or group (e.g., Mormon women) without necessarily attempting to reach those outside of the given group (Kreuter & Wray, 2003).

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Although the assumption might be that tailored messages are always superior, research has demonstrated that at least within the context of narrative messages targeted communication may be equally or more effective at changing attitudes and behaviors as personalized or tailored communication (Dillard, Fagerlin, Cin, Zikmund-Fisher, & Ubel, 2010; Lairson et al., 2008). Given that targeted communication campaigns are often less complex to implement, more cost-effective, and more easily distributed than tailoring campaigns, there is an increasing need for research that explicates the underlying mechanisms of targeted approaches.

Targeted narratives could impact behavioral outcomes through at least two paths. First, targeted narratives may be more effective if they feature admired characters. Admiration consists of two basic dimensions, namely admiration for moral qualities and admiration for skill (Sarapin et al., 2015). Social cognitive theory posits that admired models may be more effective at changing attitudes and behaviors, likely because they draw more attention and exert greater influence (Bandura, 2004; Dillard et al., 2010; Larkey & Hecht, 2010). Second, targeted narratives should resonate more with the intended audience, a situation that should increase message memorability or stickiness. Increased message memorability should increase the effectiveness of a targeted message.

The present study tests both hypothesized pathways by examining how a targeted audience responds to targeted narratives. In 2014, the Utah Department of Health (UDOH) developed a state-wide mammography campaign targeting Mormon women. The decision to target Mormon women was based on prior data showing lower screening rates within that population (Authors, under review). Accordingly, UDOH developed two public service announcements (PSAs) depicting prominent Mormon women (Mary Nickles and Sheri Dew) telling personal stories about their experiences with breast cancer screening. Our research team was then asked to evaluate whether the PSAs had functioned as intended and to test underlying mechanisms theorized to influence the targeted messages, that is, admiration and memorability. In a message evaluation study, participants completed a measure of intention to have a mammography were exposed to one of the targeted PSAs and then completed measures of admiration, narrative memorability, and, once again, intention. The goal of the study was to examine whether the impact of targeted narratives is the result of admiration and narrative memorability.

Admiration

Kreuter and colleagues (2007) asked future researchers to explore the question, “what attributes of [models] enhance the likelihood of desired outcomes?” One attribute that could influence outcomes is admiration for the model. Admiration is a discrete affective state that has been described as an other-praising adaptive emotion that induces the desire to emulate the model and advances the process of learning from imitation (Algoe & Haidt, 2009; Haidt & Seder, 2009; Henrich & Gil-White, 2001; Sarapin et al., 2015; Schindler, Zink, Windrichm, & Menninghaus, 2013). Current research suggests that admiration is predominantly either an emotion that consists of two dimensions or an emotion that manifests as two different

types: (a) admiration for moral virtue and (b) admiration for skill (Algoe & Haidt, 2009; Immordino-Yang & Sylvan, 2010; Sarapin et al., 2015).

Admiration is usually examined in light of its ability to inspire and facilitate the mastery of behaviors that can help humans adapt to new situations or to improve responses in familiar situations (Algoe & Haidt, 2009; Immordino-Yang & Sylvan, 2010). As social cognitive theory suggests, observational learning—whether from real-world or media models—takes place via four major processes: attention to the modeled behavior, retention of the modeled behavior, production of the modeled behavior, and motivational processes, such as self-efficacy (Bandura, 2009). Admiration is particularly related to the first and final steps in this process: attention to the modeled behavior and motivation to enact said behavior.

Admiration occurs when a favorably perceived individual, or role model, draws the attention of observers through the performance of “extraordinary and praiseworthy actions” (Smith, 2000, p. 185). It is this attention drawing feature that functions as a mechanism by which some observers recognize that a particular trait of another person is worth emulating, thus addressing the first step in observational learning (Kelan & Mah, 2014). Second, research has demonstrated that people identify strongly with admired models (Fraser & Brown, 2002; Hoffner & Buchanan, 2005; Klimmt, Hartmann, & Schramm, 2006). This identification with admired models can help boost self-efficacy (i.e., the belief that one is capable of enacting a given behavior). Observing an admired person overcome or surmount a challenge can provide the inspiration necessary for observers to attempt imitation of the admired individual’s response to that challenge. The observer thinks: If the admired person can tackle a problem and be successful using that particular behavior, then perhaps I, too, can be successful if I mimic that behavior. Indeed, a great deal of literature on narrative persuasion has demonstrated the strong link between identification with media characters and endorsement of modeled attitudes and behaviors (Cohen, 2001; Kreuter et al., 2007; Moyer-Gusé, Chung, & Jain, 2011; Moyer-Gusé & Nabi, 2010; Murphy, Frank, Moran, & Patnoe-Woodley, 2011; Slater & Rouner, 2002). Thus, using admired models within targeted narrative campaigns should increase the efficacy of the campaign overall, as increased admiration for a model may increase attention to the message and self-efficacy.

Narrative Memorability

One characteristic of targeted narratives that has not received extensive attention is memorability, or the ability of a narrative to remain in a person’s memory long term and be spontaneously recalled. This differs from recall in that recall is a process that occurs when an individual remembers information, whereas narrative memorability is a characteristic of the message. Brown and Fraser (2000) posited that when consumers experience identification with a model, the effects can be short term or more enduring, depending on the memorability of the narrative. Memorability is of critical importance for targeted narratives because messages must not only be comprehended; they must also be retained in order to be effective antecedents to behavior change (Rimer & Glassman, 1984). Prior investigations suggest that not only is message

persuasiveness influenced by source credibility (Heesacker, Petty, & Cacioppo, 1983), but that source credibility enhances the memorability of the message (Knapp, Stohl, & Reardon, 1981). People encounter hundreds of messages each day and most of these information are released from the short-term memory, but few messages that are perceived as important are stored in long-term memory so they stick in our brain and have a strong effect on our behavior (Holladay, 2002).

Memorable messages have the capability to persuade behavior when they can be recalled long after initial contact. Memorable messages have been studied in several areas, such as organizational socialization (Barge & Schlueter, 2004; Stohl, 1986), higher education (Dallimore, 2003), aging (Holladay, 2002), athletic performance (Kassing & Pappas, 2007), final conversations (Keeley, 2004), breast cancer prevention and detection (Smith et al., 2009), and work–family balance (Medved, Brogan, McClanahan, Morris, & Shepherd, 2006). However, this research has rarely been done within the context of narrative memorability.

In the context of messages about breast cancer, memorable messages have been shown to motivate both prevention and detection behaviors (Smith et al., 2009). Given the well-established relationships between source credibility, message memorability, and persuasive outcomes (e.g., Lauckner et al., 2012; Nazione et al., 2011; Smith et al., 2009, 2010), we hypothesize that admired sources are more credible, deliver messages that are more memorable and thus are more successful at effecting behavior change.

Targeted Narratives, Admiration, and Narrative Memorability

Targeted narratives are designed to influence a specific population or group (Kreuter & Wray, 2003). In other words, targeted narratives should exert greater influence for individuals that match or fit with the targeting strategy—a concept we label target fit (see Figure 1 for a conceptual model). How target fit influences behaviors is currently unknown, but the current study forwards two possibilities. First, narratives are targeted, presumably, to increase their resonance with the audience (Larkey & Hecht, 2010). Narratives that resonate with an audience should be more memorable or sticky (Smith et al., 2010). Accordingly, it is hypothesized that the impact of targeted narratives will be mediated by narrative memorability (H1). Second, target fit could be more influential if the intended population admires the depicted model(s). Bandura (2004) argued that admired models could exert more influence as they generate increased attention and impact. Admiration has two dimensions, so it is hypothesized that both admiration for moral qualities (H2a) and skill (H2b) will moderate the effects of target fit on intention to get a mammography, such that participants with higher model admiration will report greater intentions to be screened. Third, favorable impressions of a communicator can translate to increased memorability (Knapp et al., 1981); thus, it is possible that admiration for moral qualities (H3a) and skill (H3b) will moderate the relationship between target fit and memorability.

Method

Procedure

Men and women aged 18 and older ($N = 3,300$) filled out a brief recruitment card at one of four Department of Motor Vehicle (DMV) locations in the following Utah counties: Weber, Davis, Salt Lake, and Utah. Participants completed the recruitment cards with the understanding they could be contacted for future research opportunities. As incentive to fill out the card, participants had a chance at winning a \$750 gift card to a store of their choice. Approximately two months later, a subset of Utah women from the DMV research pool were invited to participate in a study sponsored by the University of Utah and the Utah Department of Health. Participants were sent a description of the study via email with a link leading directly to a Qualtrics survey. Two follow-up emails were sent for those who did not respond to the initial query.

Those who chose to complete the survey completed a consent form (signed digitally) prior to study participation. They then completed pretest measures of demographics, viewed one of the two possible embedded public service announcements, and completed posttest measures of intention to get screened, narrative memorability, and admiration. Participants were randomly assigned to receive one of two public service announcements.

Participants

A subset of Utah women from the DMV research pool were surveyed spring 2014 to evaluate the impact of the 2014 mammography campaign. Eight hundred eleven eligible women were initially contacted. Of those, 372 (45.86% response rate) provided complete responses, providing the initial sample.

Due to the nature of the study, participants were only included in the final sample if they were between the ages of 40 and 75 (the target age demographic for mammography screening; American Cancer Society, 2013) and either (a) had never been screened before or (b) were not adherent in the last 2 years. The final sample was comprised of 316 women ranging in age from 40–74 ($M = 51.19$, $SD = 8.11$). Complete demographic information for the sample can be found in Table 1.

Stimuli

The UDOH created two PSAs as part of the 2014 Utah Mammography campaign. The PSAs targeted Mormon women, as prior research (Jensen et al., 2015) has found lower breast cancer screening rates within that population. The PSAs each depicted a prominent Mormon woman (Mary Nickles or Sheri Dew) relating their experiences with mammography screening.¹

Mary Nickles is a well-known Mormon news anchor for KUTV 2 News in Salt Lake City, Utah who appears on KUTV

¹The Mary Nickles Public Service Announcement is available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=n8c6AhE9NpA>, and the Sheri Dew Public Service Announcement is available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gujGIFSQayA>.

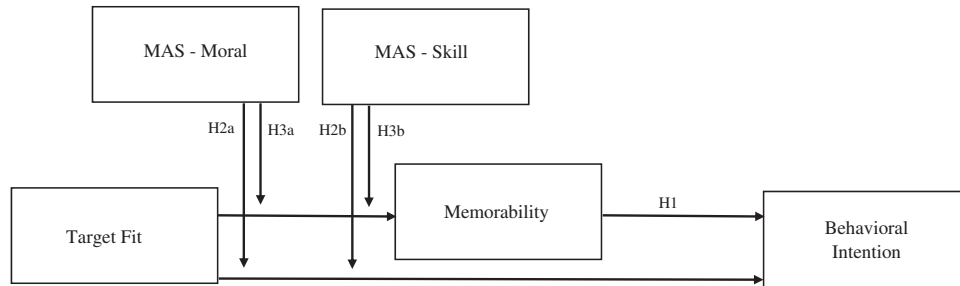


Fig. 1. Conceptual model of the relationship between fit with target population (target fit) and behavioral intention moderated and mediation by admiration (MAS—Moral, MAS—Skill) and memorability.

Table 1. Demographics.

Characteristic	N	Percentage
Race/Ethnicity		
Non-White	20	6.3
White	296	93.7
Religion		
Mormon	196	62.0
Not Mormon	145	38.0
Education Level		
High school	32	10.1
Some college credit, no degree	76	24.1
Trade/technical/vocation training	20	6.3
Associate’s degree	40	12.7
Bachelor’s degree	84	26.6
Master’s degree	40	12.7
Professional degree	12	3.8
Doctorate degree	12	3.8
Household Income		
Less than \$10,000	8	2.5
\$15,000 to \$24,999	8	2.5
\$25,000 to \$34,999	52	16.5
\$35,000 to \$49,999	36	11.4
\$50,000 to \$74,999	76	24.1
\$75,000 to \$99,999	72	22.8
\$100,000 to \$149,000	56	17.7
\$150,000 to \$199,999	8	2.5

Note. Demographic characteristics for the sample of Utah women recruited in 2014 from four Utah counties. N = 341.

2’s morning news segment and is the station’s Check Your Health spokesperson. She is perhaps best known for the 2012 Emmy award winning news series that followed her experiences with being diagnosed with breast cancer as a result of a mammography done for a news story and her subsequent treatment and recovery. She is also the writer for a number of health blogs that deal with a variety of health issues.

Sheri Dew is a prominent Mormon author, businesswoman, inspirational speaker, and religious leader. She is CEO of the Desert Book Company and has been a highly visible figure in The Church of the Latter-day Saints, leading the 2004 Republican National Convention in prayer and speaking around

the world on issues of particular relevance to those of the Mormon faith. She is also known as a breast cancer survivor and has been very active in speaking about early detection and promoting breast cancer awareness.

Measures

Covariates

Past research has identified several variables that are related to intentions to get screened for breast cancer (see Gail et al., 2007). Participants responded to questions about their marital status, number of first-degree relatives with a history of breast cancer, mammogram history, breast biopsy history, their age, race/ethnicity, household income, highest level of education, and whether genetic testing had ever identified them as a carrier of BRCA1/BRCA2.

Target Fit

In the current study, the PSAs were designed to target Mormon women in Utah. Thus, target fit was operationalized using the self-reported religious affiliation of the participants. Mormon women (n = 196) were coded as a fit (1), whereas non-Mormon women (n = 145) were coded as not fit (0). Target fit was the independent variable for all of the analyses.

Intention

In line with past research (Champion, 1999; Skinner, Strecher, & Hospers, 1994; Tolma, Reininger, Evans, & Ureda, 2006), participants responded to a single item, “I intend to get a mammogram within the next 6 months,” using a 7-point scale ranging from *strongly disagree* to *strongly agree* (M = 4.97, SD = 2.08). Six months were included as a time interval as it has proven to be a meaningful timeline for assessing the accuracy of intentions (Menon et al., 2007).

Perceived Narrative Memorability

Narrative researchers have developed measures of narrative transportation (Green & Brock, 2000) and believability (Yale, 2013), but there was no validated measure of narrative memorability or stickiness. Thus, a four-item measure was created to capture perceived narrative memorability; how memorable participants perceived the message to be. The four items were measured on 7-point semantic differential scales with the following lead-in, “The video I just watched . . .” and endpoints: (a) will not stick in my head/will

Table 2. Exploratory factor analysis and descriptives for narrative memorability.

The video I just watched ...	Factor Loadings	M (SD)	Skew	Kurtosis
... will not stick in my head/will stick in my head	.92	5.19 (1.48)	-1.16 (.14)	1.13 (.28)
... is not memorable/is memorable	.92	5.17 (1.61)	-.91 (.14)	.42 (.28)
... I won't think about again/I will think about again	.89	4.83 (1.80)	-.66 (.14)	-.56 (.28)
... is forgettable/is unforgettable	.89	4.69 (1.70)	-.57 (.14)	-.40 (.28)
Total		4.97 (1.56)	-.80 (.14)	.36 (.28)
Eigen Value	3.47			

Note. Factor loadings, mean and standard deviation, skew, and kurtosis for narrative memorability. All items loaded on a single factor and demonstrated strong internal reliability ($\alpha = .95$).

stick in my head; (b) is not memorable/is memorable; (c) I won't think about again/I will think about again; and (d) is forgettable/is unforgettable. An exploratory factor analysis with principle axis analysis and direct oblim rotation was utilized to examine the underlying structure. It revealed a single underlying factor with an Eigen value greater than 1 for which all four items loaded greater than .89 (see Table 2). The four items were combined into a single scale ($M = 4.97, SD = 1.56, \alpha = .95$).

Multidimensional Admiration Scale

Admiration for the models was measured using the validated multidimensional admiration scale (MAS) (Sarapin et al., 2015). The MAS has two underlying dimensions: moral admiration (MAS—Moral) and skill admiration (MAS—Skill). Each dimension is measured via 7 items anchored by 7-point scales ranging from *strongly disagree* to *strongly agree* (moral: $M = 4.17, SD = .84, \alpha = .96$; skill: $M = 4.31, SD = 1.79, \alpha = .96$). Sample items include, “[Target] is someone with many accomplishments” and “[Target] is honest and truthful.”

Results

Bivariate correlations were calculated among all the variables to identify which measures might need to be controlled for in

subsequent analyses. Four variables were significantly related to intentions to get screened: marital status, number of first-degree relatives with a history of breast cancer, mammogram history, and breast biopsy history (see Table 3). Mormon women were significantly older, more likely to identify as white, and more likely to have a first-degree relative with a history of breast cancer. Therefore, marital status, number of first-degree relatives with a history of breast cancer, mammogram history, breast biopsy history, age, and race were included as covariates in subsequent analyses.

The bivariate correlation between target fit (0 = not Mormon, 1 = Mormon) and intention to get screened was not significant ($r = -.01, p = .87$). The partial correlation between target fit and intention—controlling for the six covariates identified previously—was also not significant ($r = .06, p = .34$).

Though unexpected, the lack of a relationship between target fit and intention is not a significant concern for the present study, which is focused on explicating the process, whereby a targeted message might influence a particular group. A path analysis program, PROCESS, was utilized to test whether admiration and perceived narrative memorability formed a moderated mediation model between target fit and intention. PROCESS allows for more precise testing of moderation and mediation by allowing analysts to specify a particular moderated

Table 3. Correlation matrix.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. Intention	—											
2. Marital Status	-.14*	—										
3. First-Degree Relative	.19**	.06	—									
4. Biopsy	.20**	.12*	.02	—								
5. Mamm. History	-.12*	.04	-.08	.06	—							
6. Age	-.01	.06	.19**	-.02	-.30**	—						
7. White	-.05	.14*	.11	-.11	-.21**	.18**	—					
8. Education	-.07	.21**	-.29**	-.11	-.15**	-.07	-.06	—				
9. Household Income	.04	.18**	.01	.00	-.32**	-.02	-.03	.04	—			
10. Mormon	-.01	.03	-.19*	.03	.02	.26*	.12*	-.05	.02	—		
11. Memorability	.31*	.18*	.07	.35*	-.02	-.02	.01	-.16*	.06	.24*	—	
12. MAS-Moral	-.10	-.01	-.17*	.04	.12*	-.12*	-.30*	.01	.14*	-.02	.00	—
13. MAS-Skill	-.05	.07	-.17*	.10	.21*	-.09	-.28*	.03	.09	-.01	.07	.83*

Note. Bivariate correlation matrix. * $p < .05$.

mediation model (see Hayes, 2013). For the present analysis, we utilized PROCESS model 4 to test H1 (memorability mediating the relationship between target fit and intention) and model 10, which specifies that there are two moderators (MAS—Moral, MAS—Skill) and one mediator (perceived narrative memorability). The moderators are positioned on the (indirect) and y' (direct) paths of the model.

H1 posited that memorability would mediate the relationship between target fit and intention to get screened. That hypothesis was supported as the indirect path through memorability was significant, $r = .31$, $SE = .10$, 95% confidence interval: .1464, .5487. Target fit was significantly related to perceived memorability ($r = .74$, $SE = .16$, $p < .001$) and perceived memorability was significantly related to intention to get screened ($r = .43$, $SE = .08$, $p < .001$). Thus, even though there was no significant direct relationship between target fit and intention, there was a significant indirect relationship through memorability.

Tables 4 and 5 report the conditional direct and indirect effects of Mormon status on intentions to screen. A conditional effect is an effect that occurs only at certain values of the moderating/mediating variables, in this case at the mean, one standard deviation above, and one standard deviation below. Table 4 reveals that Mormon status was negatively related to intentions to screen only for individuals who perceived the models to have very low morality and skill. That is, if a

Mormon participant did not admire the depicted model—as represented by low scores on both dimensions of admiration—then, they were significantly less likely to intend to screen. H2a and H2b posited that admiration would moderate the relationship between target fit and intention. There was evidence of moderation—though only for those with low admiration scores—which amounts to partial support for those hypotheses.

Table 5 reveals a very different indirect path through perceived narrative memorability. As both dimensions of admiration increase, the positive relationship between Mormon status and intention to get screened increases through perceived narrative memorability. In other words, Mormon women were more likely to intend to screen if they perceived the narrative to be memorable, a relationship that increased in magnitude as both dimensions of admiration increased. Thus, the moderated mediation analysis supported H3a and H3b.

Discussion

The present study demonstrated that targeted narratives are more persuasive when the intended audience (a) admires the depicted model and (b) perceives the message to be more memorable or sticky. This finding will help researchers to explicate how targeted narratives impact audiences and provide communication practitioners in public health, advertising, and other fields with greater insight into an oft-used strategy.

Table 4. Conditional direct effects of mormon status on intention at values of the moderators.

Moral	Skill	Effect	SE	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	LLCI	ULCI
-1 SD	-1 SD	-1.0000	.3313	-3.0180	.0028	-1.6521	-.3478
-1 SD	Mean	-.7145	.5312	-1.3451	.1797	-1.7601	.3310
-1 SD	+1 SD	-.4291	.9280	-.4624	.6442	-2.2556	1.3974
Mean	-1 SD	-.4994	.5065	-.9859	.3250	-1.4963	.4976
Mean	Mean	-.2139	.2506	-.8537	.3940	-.7072	.2793
Mean	+1 SD	.0715	.5250	.1362	.8917	-.9618	1.1049
+1 SD	-1 SD	.0012	.9142	.0013	.9989	-1.7981	1.8006
+1 SD	Mean	.2867	.5252	.5459	.5856	-.7470	1.3203
+1 SD	+1 SD	.5721	.3500	1.6347	.1032	-.1167	1.2610

Note. Values for quantitative moderators are the mean and plus/minus one SD from mean. Values for dichotomous moderators are the two values of the moderator.

Table 5. Conditional indirect effects of mormon status on intention at values of the moderators.

Mediator	Moral	Skill	Effect	Boot SE	Boot LLCI	Boot ULCI
Memorability	-1 SD	-1 SD	.1828	.0838	.0588	.3846
Memorability	-1 SD	Mean	.2353	.1074	.0649	.5086
Memorability	-1 SD	+1 SD	.2877	.1690	.0098	.7211
Memorability	Mean	-1 SD	.2995	.1418	.0807	.6621
Memorability	Mean	Mean	.3519	.1110	.1614	.5884
Memorability	Mean	+1 SD	.4044	.1307	.1975	.7337
Memorability	+1 SD	-1 SD	.4161	.2355	.0580	1.0107
Memorability	+1 SD	Mean	.4686	.1882	.1668	.9105
Memorability	+1 SD	+1 SD	.5210	.1670	.2214	.8806

Note. Values for quantitative moderators are the mean and plus/minus one SD from mean. Values for dichotomous moderators are the two values of the moderator.

Bandura (2004) postulated that admired models would be more effective at changing attitudes and behaviors. The results of the present study are consistent with this hypothesis as both dimensions of admiration (moral, skill) moderated the impact of the message such that greater admiration equated to increased effect. Future studies can continue to examine whether and how admired models exert influence. A longitudinal design that assessed admiration before, during, and after a campaign would have significant value as a way to untangle issues of causality. Moreover, researchers should begin to theorize and test which model features trigger admiration for different populations. Not only would this research help to develop a stronger theoretical platform for targeted messaging, but it would also enable communication practitioners to more readily identify optimal models for campaigns and interventions.

Narrative memorability is a new construct that builds on past work examining memorable messaging. The present study found that perceived memorability was a significant mediator, a logical finding in that messages with greater memorability should generate stronger effects. Future research should examine how narrative memorability relates to other narrative constructs such as narrative transportation (Green & Brock, 2000) and narrative believability (Yale, 2013). Conceptually, there should be a strong relationship between memorability and transportation, as the two variables likely influence one another. The relationship between memorability and believability is more complex as a message can be memorable without being believable (and vice versa).

Knowing the topics and sources of the messages that are remembered about breast cancer can improve the efficacy of future breast cancer outreach. (Smith et al., 2009). Message source is an important aspect of any message because it affects persuasiveness (Heesacker et al., 1983). For example, remembered messages typically originate from sources that are higher in status and familiar to the receiver (Dallimore, 2003; Holladay, 2002; Stohl, 1986). Smith et al. (2009) found that the media (celebrities, journalists) was the most common source of memorable breast cancer messages, followed by friends, family members, and health care professionals. It appears that when it comes to health-related topics, dyadic interaction is not the only mode of transmission for memorable messages.

The current study had several limitations. The participants were all residents of Utah, a state that may not represent the characteristics or response behavior of the United States in general, and the sample was recruited from DMVs located in four counties, which may not represent the state as a whole. Additionally, the results are based on a participant response to two PSAs focused on mammography screening. Whether participants respond to other PSAs or topics in the same manner is still unknown. The study did not include an ad with a non-Mormon woman, although this is a minor limitation, as the current study was primarily interested in the processes underlying persuasion via targeted narratives. It is also difficult to determine to what degree other aspects of fit, beyond religious affiliation and sex, may have had on the results. Because the outcome measure was a single item assessing behavioral intention, it is difficult to determine whether or not actual behavior changed. Future research should look into post-exposure

behaviors. Additionally, narrative memorability has rarely been investigated before; thus, it is difficult to determine exactly how well our measure of perceived narrative memorability would predict actual memorability. Future research should investigate the correlation between these constructs. Finally, screening intentions were only assessed post-exposure, which makes it difficult to determine the extent to which these intentions were affected by exposure to the PSAs.

It should also be noted that the narratives included in this study were typical of public service announcement narratives, being stories about breast cancer as experienced by the women who survived it. However, this type of narrative is not representative of all narratives; therefore, this study's results may not generalize to narratives in other contexts (e.g., feature length films). Additionally, this study did not directly assess narrative transportation (one's emotional and mental involvement with a story; Green & Brock, 2000) or narrative processing. These constructs are important factors in the process of narrative influence, and future studies should examine how admiration and narrative memorability may interact with these factors.

Conclusion

It was hypothesized that narratives about Mormon women would be especially influential for Mormon women who admired the depicted models and found the stories memorable. This hypothesis proved true as the positive impact of message memorability was significantly moderated by both dimensions of admiration. Conversely, though still consistent with the aforementioned pattern, Mormon women who did not admire the depicted models were less likely to intend to screen. The results of this message evaluation are consistent with the idea that targeted narrative campaigns are more influential for those who admire the selected models, primarily because the stories become more memorable. Future campaigns should pretest model admiration in advance—using the MAS—and select individuals scoring high in both dimensions (morality, skill) among the target population.

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