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Effects of Storytelling in Advertising on Consumers’ Empathy

Myungjin Park*
Doo-Hee Lee**

Differentiated positioning becomes increasingly difficult when brand salience weakens. Also, the daily increase in new media use and information load has led to a social climate that regards advertising stimuli as spamming. For these reasons, the focus of advertisement-related communication is shifting from persuading consumers through the direct delivery of information to an emphasis on appealing to their emotions using matching stimuli to enhance persuasion effects. Recently, both academia and industry have increasingly shown an interest in storytelling methods that can generate positive emotional responses and attitude changes by arousing consumers’ narrative processing. The purpose of storytelling is to elicit consumers’ emotional experience to meet the objectives of advertisement producers. Therefore, the most important requirement for storytelling in advertising is that it evokes consumers’ sympathy for the main character in the advertisement. This does not involve advertisements directly persuading consumers, but rather, consumers themselves finding an answer through the advertisement’s story. Thus, consumers have an indirect experience regarding the product features and usage through empathy with the advertisement’s main character.

In this study, we took the results of a precedent study as the starting point, according to which consumers’ emotional response can be altered depending on the storytelling methods adopted for storytelling ads. Previous studies have reported that drama-type and vignette-type storytelling methods have a considerably different impact on the emotional responses of advertising audiences, due to their different structural characteristics. Thus, this study aims to verify that emotional response aroused by different types of advertisement storytelling (drama ads vs. vignette ads) can be controlled by the socio-psychological gender difference of advertising audiences and that the interaction effects between the socio-psychological gender differences of the audience and the gender stereotype of emotions to which advertisements appeal can exert an influence on emotional responses to types of storytelling in advertising. To achieve this, an experiment was conducted employing a between-group design consisting of 2 (storytelling type: drama ads vs. vignette ads) x 2 (socio-psychological gender of the audience: masculinity vs. femininity) x 2 (advertising appeal emotion type: male stereotype...
emotion vs. female stereotype emotion). The experiment revealed that the femininity group displayed a strong and consistent empathy for drama ads regardless of whether the ads appealed to masculine or feminine emotions, whereas the masculinity group displayed a stronger empathy for drama ads appealing to the emotional types matching its own gender as well as for vignette ads.

The theoretical contribution of this study is significant in that it sheds light on the controllability of the audiences' emotional responses to advertisement storytelling depending on their socio-psychological gender and gender stereotype of emotions appealed to through advertising. Specifically, its considerable practical contribution consists in easing unnecessary creative constraints by comprehensively analyzing essential advertising strategic factors such as the target consumers' gender and the objective of the advertisement, in contrast to the oversimplified view of previous studies that considered emotional responses to storytelling ads were determined by the different types of production techniques used. This study revealed that emotional response to advertisement storytelling varies depending on the target gender and emotion type appealed to by the advertisement. This suggests that an understanding of the targeted gender is necessary prior to producing an advertisement and that in deciding on an advertisement storytelling type, strategic attention should be directed to the advertisement's appeal concept or emotion type. Thus, it is safe to use drama-type storytelling that expresses masculine emotions (ex. fun, happy, encouraged) when the advertisement target, like Bacchus, includes both men and women. For brands and advertisements targeting only women (ex. female clothes), it is more effective to use a drama-type storytelling method that expresses feminine emotions (lovely, romantic, sad). The drama method can be still more effective than the vignette when women are the main target and a masculine concept-based creative is to be produced. However, when male consumers are targeted and the brand concept or advertisement concept is focused on feminine emotions (ex. romantic), vignette ads can more effectively induce empathy than drama ads.

Key words: Storytelling, Drama ads, Vignette ads, Empathy, Gender

I. Introduction

According to previous studies on emotional responses to advertising (Deighton and Hoch 1993; Escalas and Stern 2003; Bok and Min 2013), the storytelling characteristics of an advertisement are an effective persuasive element capable of influencing consumer attitude and behavior by arousing sympathy in consumers. Consumers purchase products when they feel sympathy and immerse themselves in the story a brand conveys. According to Escalas's study (2004), consumers tend toward narrative processing through which they interpret the meanings of what they experienced themselves by
examining whether a brand’s story matches their own experience. It also showed that narrative processing plays a role in promoting the self-brand connection between consumers and brands. As such, storytelling is an important element in understanding consumers’ psychology (Escalas 2007). Nevertheless, academic research in this area has been rather neglected, and it has been downplayed as a practical concept.

Efforts to systematize a theory on storytelling and verify its effect have recently begun (Escalas and Stern 2003; Holt and Thompson 2004; Woodside et al. 2008). According to Woodside et al. (2008), storytelling researches in the field of advertisement have mainly investigated the impact that advertisement production methods have on emotional responses to the ads. Wells (1989) has become a pioneer of the new research field of studying responses to storytelling by classifying advertisements into lecture type and drama type, according to advertisement production methods, and defining storytelling or narrative method-based advertisements as drama advertising. Deighton, Romer, and McQueen (1989) discovered that consumers were more emotionally responsive and voiced fewer rebuttal arguments when they watched drama-type ads than when they viewed persuasion-type ads because those who watched drama-type ads were immersed in the story of the advertisement and felt an empathetic experience for its characters. Stern (1994) created a more elaborate classification by regrouping drama ads into classical drama and vignette drama. Escalas and Stern (2003) studied emotional response to advertisements in relation to the two aspects of sympathy at the cognitive level and empathy at the emotional level. According to their study, consumers show stronger emotional responses (sympathy/empathy) when they watch drama ads than when viewing vignette ads. The study also found that these emotional responses to drama ads elicited a more positive attitude toward argument ads. After Escalas and Stern (2003) published the results of their research, most follow-up studies have tended to accept the theory that drama ads trigger stronger emotional responses than do vignette ads as a natural premise (Escalas and Stern 2003; Woodside et al. 2008). Viewed from the perspective of a practical application in advertising, this finding may signify that drama-types must be given priority over vignette-types when producing a storytelling-based advertisement because drama ads are always more effective in arousing consumer’s emotional response than are vignette ads. This generalization is very likely to bring about a logical leap in establishing advertisement strategies by oversimplifying the effects of emotional response in advertisement storytelling types, since the results of the study by Escalas and Stern (2003) focused only on the fact that emotional response to an advertisement varies according to the types of advertisement production technology without attending to situational factors.
(target consumers, image appeal, emotional appeal, and the like).

This study aims to examine how the results of previous studies into the emotional responses to drama ads and vignette ads can be modified by integrating as a core element of concern in ad production the situational variables such as the characteristics of target groups, direction of emotion intended to be elicited by an ad, and product target positioning. Our review of previous studies revealed the absence of studies demonstrating the controllability of emotional responses through the interaction of storytelling-ad type, consumer gender, and the emotions appealed to by the ads. This study verified that emotional responses elicited by different storytelling types in advertising (drama ads vs. vignette ads) can be controlled by the socio-psychological gender differences of ad consumers and that such emotional responses can be influenced by the interactive effects between socio-psychological gender differences and gender-specific stereotypes of emotions appealed to by ads. The purpose of this study is to suggest fundamental information that provides insight into consumers’ adoption of storytelling and to amplify the results of previous studies.

II. Theoretical Background

2.1 Consumer Storytelling Research

Essentially storytelling can be defined as ‘to convey lessons, thoughts, concepts, or causal relationships using narrative and anecdote in order to share knowledge or experience.’ (Sole & Gray-Wilson 1999) According to Holt and Thompson (2004), dramatic consumption experiences result from stories that are created by service providers or consumer sub-culture’s institutional structures. Brands or products that provide dramatic consumption experiences often enable customers to feel catharsis either mentally or through psychologically specific archetype. The specific archetype refers to periodically reiterating the given story to relive the experience again. According to Woodside et al. (2008) brand-consumer storytelling refers to the process of guiding perspective customers to satisfy their specific desires. Fundamentally, brand-consumer storytelling is customers creating archetypal stories to experience catharsis through brand consumption. Both consciously and sub-consciously, storytelling encompasses consumer-brand dialogue. (Wang et al. 2007; Zaltman 2003). Therefore, either anthropomorphic identity brand or archetypical icon brand dealing with consumer psychology or study of psychological analysis becomes the foundation of consumer storytelling study. (Fournier 1998;
Hirschman 2000: Holt 2003) In the same vein, Adval & Wyer (1988) claim that in everyday lives, people obtain considerable amount of social information through a narrative format. Thus, people experience emotions or events through either thematically or temporally related sequence, then the information is represented through their specific memories. Eventually, people make decisions and judgments based on their specific representation of their memories. The notion that everyday social information is stored in the memory as a form of narrative depiction to be utilized in decision making process is not only dealt in psychology but also in social cognitive psychology, personality, etc. which is an idea that has already been studied and theorized heavily in the past.

2.2 Advertisement Storytelling Research

The purpose of storytelling is to elicit consumers’ emotional experience to meet the objectives of advertisement producers. Therefore, the most important requirement for storytelling in advertising is that it evokes consumers’ sympathy for the main character in the advertisement (Boller and Olson 1991). This does not involve advertisements directly persuading consumers, but rather, consumers themselves finding an answer through the advertisement’s story. Thus, consumers have an indirect experience regarding the product features and usage through empathy with the advertisement’s main character. Boller and Olson (1991) defined empathy involved in a storytelling ad as “a dynamic process in which consumers put themselves imaginarily into the main character’s experience in an advertisement.” At that instant, empathy may be regarded as the most important persuasive factor in storytelling ads. Stern (1994) took this a step further by suggesting that empathy is distinguished from sympathy, which has cognitive characteristics elicited by the effects of drama ads. Consumers who watch drama ads can forget about themselves and experience empathy by sharing the main character’s emotional experience and immersing themselves in the drama. By contrast, consumers can be sympathetic observers who identify with opposing or assenting viewpoints (Abrams 1988) and recognize objects in the realm of clear consciousness, while they do not internalize the experience of the main character in drama ads. In other words, sympathy means having a positive or negative cognitive classification with the main characters, while empathy means a fusion with the main characters through pleasure and pain. Edell and Burke (1987) showed that emotion elicited by advertisements affects an audience’s attitude toward the advertisement and brand. Bagozzi and Moore (1994) discovered that sympathy responses generated from watching public service advertisements are connected to altruistic behaviors. Stern (1994) argued that different advertisement types might cause different emotional re-
sponses (Escalas, Moore, and Britton 2004). Escalas and Stern (2003) distinguished audiences’ empathy from sympathy in drama ads and measured it empirically by developing a measurement tool. Also, the results of their study showed that sympathy is the medium for empathy and that the two emotional responses evoke positive attitudes toward an advertisement.

Storytelling’s persuasiveness may be attributable to its facilitating narrative processing when used in advertising (Escalas 2004). According to Escalas’s research (2004), narrative processing may be defined as interpreting the meanings of consumers’ own experiences by examining whether a story matches these: it also facilitates persuasion effects by triggering a strong emotional response (Deighton, Romer, and McQueen 1989; Green and Brock 2000). Also, consumers are moved to relate themselves to the brand advertised (Escalas 2004). On the other hand, an explanatory advertisement promotes logical and piecemeal evaluation of the advertised claim by causing consumers to use cognitive processing (Adaval and Wyer 1998). According to previous studies, consumers show a more favorable attitude toward storytelling ads than toward explanatory ads (Adaval and Wyer 1998; Escalas 2004; Polyorat, Alden, and Kim 2007). Self-referencing theory should be examined to understand the persuasion effects of narrative processing more fully. According to Escalas (2007), self-referencing is divided into analytical self-referencing and narrative self-referencing. Analytical self-referencing is a process of persuasion through the elaboration likelihood model (ELM). This conventional ELM-based persuasion model argues that self-referencing boosts elaboration, message remembrance, advertising attitude, and brand attitude based on the given information. By contrast, narrative processing consists of persuasion that is influenced by a mechanism called transportation (Gerrig 1994; Green and Brock 2000). The transportation involved in narrative processing increases persuasion effects by reducing the negative recognition process, increasing an experience’s realism, and arousing a strong emotional response (Green and Brock 2000). The effect is a different mechanism from that of the conventional elaboration-based explanation about the effects of self-referencing. While elaboration elicits changes in attitude through evaluation based on logical consideration and argument, transportation elicits persuasion by reducing the negative recognition process, increasing an experience’s realism, and giving rise to a strong emotional response. Also, affective response is transferred in narrative transportation, which affects persuasion. Therefore, emotion transferred by an autobiographical story boosts persuasion without increasing elaboration of the advertisement’s claims. According to Escalas (2007), narrative self-referencing evokes positive evaluation of the advertised product regardless of the level of ad claims, whereas analytical self-referencing evokes positive atti-
tudes toward an advertisement and brand only when the advertised message is strong because it induces a high level of elaboration regarding the ad claims. The study also revealed that the effects of narrative processing can be controlled by consumers’ recognition of manipulative intention, since such recognition regarding the advertisement reduces the likelihood that audiences will become immersed in the advertisement. In her study, she conducted an experiment to examine the transportation tendency in advertising situations and discovered that the narrative force of evoking transportation of audiences can be offset by consumers’ persuasion knowledge and skepticism regarding an advertiser’s intention.

2.3 Gender Difference of Advertisement Storytelling

Gender is the most important and fundamental consumer characteristic. According to previous studies, gender is classified into biological sex and socio-psychological gender. Socio-psychological gender classification is more effective for studying consumer behavior than biological sex classification because the former facilitates a comprehensive view of consumers’ inner characteristics through a gender-based in-depth understanding. Existing psychological studies reported that gender schema has a wide influence on general psychological phenomena including individual information processing, interpersonal perception, emotional response, attitude formation, and so on (Bem 1981; Meyers-Levy and Sternthal 1991). As the purpose of this study is to verify the influence exerted on the emotional responses of audiences to different types of storytelling ads by the concurrence of socio-psychological gender and advertisement appeal to gender-based stereotypes, it is important to recognize that masculinity and femininity are not based on biological sex classification, but on socio-psychological gender classification. According to Putrevu, Tan, and Lord (2004), male and female consumers show different responses toward sensory stimulation as well as type and depth of information processing. The difference comes from socio-psychological differences between men and women. A masculinity-dominated group shows more of an individual-centered view with categorical and achievement-oriented attitudes than does a femininity-dominated group. By contrast, a femininity-dominated group has a high concern for both self and others. In other words, women try to understand environmental evidences for subtle interpersonal relation as they are driven by a higher need for achievement and motivation. Thus, women are likely to symbolize message evidence for processing ad claims more clearly than men do (Chamblee, Gilmore, Thomas, and Soldow 1993). On the other hand, men elaborate little, as they symbolize ad claims to a less extent (Meyers-Levy and Maheswaran 1991). Also, women
symbolize non-verbal evidences more intensely, such as the advertisement’s background music and model’s acting, than do men, as women tend to rely on visual evidence more than men do. Some study results also reported that women interpret advertisement images more because of their high sensitivity and tendency to understand visually complicated messages more easily than men do (Meyers-Levy and Maheswaran 1991).

The majority of previous researches that examined gender differences in terms of response to ads adopt a cognitive approach, thereby explaining gender differences mainly with respect to advertisement information processing (Chang 2007). Also, previous studies on gender differences in responses to the emotional appeal of advertising show mixed results. Some of the previous studies presented results consistent with our stereotype model that women are more emotional than men by clarifying that women show stronger emotional responses than men do to the emotional appeal of advertising (Escalas and Stern 2003; Moore 2004). On the other hand, other studies suggested that the emotional appeal of advertising can evoke more effective responses to advertisements from men than women (Conway and Dube 2002). As emotion is a concept that can be differently associated on the basis of gender, according to the stereotypes of men and women, it can be classified into emotion that corresponds to the male stereotype and emotion that corresponds to the female stereotype. In other words, emotion types that correspond to the male stereotype include passion, excitement, rage, and so on. In contrast, emotion types that accord with the female stereotype include shame, guilt, warmness, loveliness, kindness, compassion, fear, and the like (Fisher and Dube 2005). Response to the emotional appeal of advertising does not only vary considerably between men and women, but is also decided by the degree of correspondence between the gender stereotype of emotion expressed in the advertisement and the gender of the audiences. Therefore, men can give a more positive emotional response than women do in the light of the concept of emotion’s gender stereotype, which contradicts the general perception that advertising’s emotional appeal would affect women more than men. Involvement in stories has been treated as an important variable in the study of advertisement storytelling. According to Huizingh and Hockstra (2003), involvement is the most crucial predictor of transportation, and consumers who experience high involvement are likely to experience high-level transportation. In other words, since consumers who are deeply involved in stories care more about the stories concerned, as Escalas (2007) argued, there is a high probability they will engage in narrative processing through transportation.
III. Hypothesis Development

Stern (1994), created sub-divisions on drama advertisement previously formatted by Wells (1988) and Deighton, Romer & McQueen (1989) through creating categories such as 'classical advertising dramas' and 'vignette advertising drama' which widened the concept of drama advertisement. Drama advertisement consists of acting, causal configuration, dramatic conflicts which are elements people are familiar with TV drama and movies. Vignette advertisements consists of detailed characters, time, and place and offer various forms of repeated story configuration format that enable people to continuously develop similar storylines. The key difference in the two types of advertisement is that in drama advertisement, the mutual personal relationship between characters are clearly presented however, in vignette advertisement, the mutual personal relationship is unclear or disconnected. Also, the storyline of drama advertisement proceeds naturally as time flows and causal configuration develop through time, however, in vignette advertisement people create a representation image as the characters satisfy their desires through visual/ auditory associative configuration in repeated fashions. In other words, drama advertisement demonstrate conflicts and desires through the characters in a familiar and traditional structure, but vignette advertisement display their specific concept or image through the secluded and individual characters various repeated actions.

The combined results of previous studies suggest that femininity-dominated audiences who have a relatively strong tendency to transportation into films and dramas will have a stronger empathy for drama ads that have strong dramatic characteristics than for vignette ads. This is because drama ads have more narrative structures (plot, dramatic situation) that are effective in eliciting transportation from advertising consumers than vignette ads do. In support of this conclusion, previous studies about the structure and transportation of storytelling report that stories that are well-made and induce consumers’ transportation require structural factors including an introduction, development, turn, and conclusion (Bruner 1990), as well as causal inference (Delgadillo and Escalas 2004). Especially, Delgado and Escalas (2004) selected chronology as the most important structural factor for stories and argued that this factor can elicit favorable emotion. Plot and dramatic situation, which are structural characteristics of drama ads, are effective in showing the development of a conflict situation created through the character’s desire and the factors impeding that desire. This also lends itself well to evoking transportation by means of the advertisement’s contents through inducing tension and suspense from consumers who attempt to predict the development of the story (Tobias 1993).
The structural advantages of these drama ads include the high transportation tendency for drama and the reinforcement of empathy with the advertisement by maximizing effects on femininity-dominated audiences who comprehensively process the given information. Also, femininity-dominated audiences more accurately symbolize a main character’s acting (non-declarative factor) and dialogue-based information than men do. On the other hand, masculinity-dominated audiences have relatively weak transportation into films and dramas and tend to process the given information selectively.

Dal Cin, Zanna, and Fong (2003) argued that individual differences of transportability into films and dramas have an influence on narrative-based persuasion effects. They contended that the individual differences in transportation tendency of dramas and films act as regulating variables in narrative-based persuasion effects. That is, those who have high transportability are likely to be persuaded more easily than those who have low transportability.

Green and Brock (2000) predicted that gender affects transportability and that women have higher transportability into films and dramas than men generally do. Also, transportability is said to cause empathy with the main characters and transportation into the stories.

Because of this, vignette ads can evoke stronger emotional responses from them than drama ads, the storylines of which are relatively complicated. Drama ads have more structural factors for transportation than vignette ads do. Masculinity-dominated audiences symbolize less information shown in advertisements, since the changed relations of characters in the advertisement do not greatly interest them. They are insensitive to the influence of structural advantages found in drama ads. Masculinity-dominated audiences might achieve transportation and empathy more easily into vignette ads that emphasize a simply conceived single advertising concept, rather than in relation to drama ads that have complicated storylines involving characters and stories that should be understood in chronological sequence. Also, whether the socio-psychological gender of an advertisement’s audience corresponds to the gender stereotype of the emotions appealed to by the advertisement can affect the emotional response to the storytelling type (drama ads vs. vignette ads). In other words, femininity consumers will always show stronger empathy for drama ads than vignette ads, regardless of whether their socio-psychological gender corre-
sponds to the gender stereotype of the emotions appealed to by an advertisement. On the other hand, masculinity consumers are expected to show stronger emotional responses to vignette ads than to drama ads as they have weak transportability into drama. However, it can be predicted that their emotional response to drama ads is as strong as those of feminity consumers when the ad’s emotion appeal corresponds to their gender stereotype, which increases story involvement and makes them care about it more deeply. Furthermore, masculinity consumers show proportionally stronger empathy for vignette ads when drama ads do not correspond to the emotions typical of their gender stereotype, as drama ads may appear to them manipulative, complicated in composition, and requiring a substantial amount of information processing. The following hypotheses are thus derived:

\( H1: \) Femininity-dominated advertising audiences will show stronger empathy for drama ads than for vignette ads regardless of whether their gender corresponds to the gender stereotype of the emotions appealed to by an advertisement.

\( H2: \) Masculinity-dominated advertising audiences will show stronger empathy for drama ads than for vignette ads when their gender corresponds to the gender stereotype of the emotions appealed to by an advertisement.

\( H3: \) Masculinity-dominated advertising audiences will show stronger empathy for vignette ads than for drama ads when their gender does not correspond to the gender stereotype of the emotions appealed to by an advertisement.

IV. Experiment

4.1 Methods

4.1.1 Pilot Study

This study chose TV commercials as an experimental stimulus, because they are a type of advertisement familiar to experiment participants and are considered effective in eliciting consumer empathy. Employees in advertising firms who have professional knowledge of advertisements and university students in their 20s who have similar demographic characteristics to those of the experiment participants participated in a pre-survey to choose an experimental stimulus. They did not participate in the experiment itself. The pre-survey was performed in the following three steps. Five deputy section chiefs at advertising firms joined the first step of the pre-survey. Participants of the pre-survey were advertising professionals who had been working for at least six years in the advertising field. The reason for choosing
them as initial participants for the pre-survey was to provide more elaboration on the selection of advertisements, as they had the best hands-on knowledge of the characteristics of storytelling by type as explained in previous studies, due to their having produced and watched many advertisements. To select appropriate commercials, they were informed about the structural characteristics of drama ads and vignette ads, as defined in previous studies. Then, they were asked to select through a detailed discussion process advertisement stimuli from among 20 commercial clips that they considered matched well the structural characteristics of drama ads and vignette ads. As a result, four advertisement stimuli (Chapstick, Bacchus, Refreshing Water 2%, Everland) were selected.

The second pre-survey was a stage to confirm quantitatively whether the advertisement stimuli chosen in the first pre-survey could be handled properly as storytelling types as intended by this study. Sixty university students participated, divided into two groups (drama vs. vignette) of 30 each. Each group was exposed to two commercial clips and asked to evaluate the degree of congruence between each advertisement stimulus and the structural factors of drama ads and vignette ads. The measurement items for drama-type ads comprised “the advertisement had a narrative structure of four steps in its composition,” “the advertisement told part of a story,” and “the advertisement showed individual changes of the characters” ($\alpha > .80$). Measurement items for vignette-type ads comprised “several scenes in the advertisement that are not related to each other,” “scenes in the advertisement did not follow a chronological sequence,” and “characters in the advertisement are independent of each other” ($\alpha > .80$). They were measured using a 7-point Likert scale (Escalas and Stern 2003). Table 1 outlines the results of this pre-survey.

In the third pre-survey, 30 university students were shown 4 commercials to verify which gender stereotype is involved in the emotions appealed to by the 4 advertisement stimuli chosen previously. The students were also asked to choose items corresponding to the emotional stereotypes of masculinity and femininity for each advertisement stimulus. Among the choices, emotion items for masculinity included “pleasant, 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Division</th>
<th>Drama</th>
<th>Vignette</th>
<th>T</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bacchus</td>
<td>4.78</td>
<td>2.66</td>
<td>7.12*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refreshing Water 2%</td>
<td>5.30</td>
<td>3.14</td>
<td>6.38*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Everland</td>
<td>2.74</td>
<td>5.33</td>
<td>-11.18*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapstick</td>
<td>2.81</td>
<td>5.06</td>
<td>-6.03*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p < .05

Table 1 Evaluation Average of Advertisement Storytelling by Type
happy, encouraged, passionate, sexy, and excited,” whereas those for femininity included “comfortable, warm-hearted, lovely, romantic, emotional, and sad” (Lerner and Keltner 2000; Fisher and Dube 2005). As a result, it was verified that two commercials (Bacchus/Everland) were appealing to masculine emotions while two other commercials (Refreshing Water 2%/Chapstick) appealed to feminine emotions. Based on the results of the three sets of the pre-survey, Bacchus (drama ad) and Everland (vignette ad) were used as commercials matching the male stereotype, and Refreshing Water 2% (drama) and Chapstick (vignette) as commercials matching female stereotypes in the study.

4.1.2 Research Design and Participants

The purpose of this study is to verify the hypotheses predicting the control that the gender stereotype of emotions appealed to by an advertisement will exert over the interactive effects between storytelling type and consumer’s socio-psychological gender. For this experiment, we used a between-group design consisting of 2 (Storytelling Type: Drama vs. Vignette) x 2 (Gender: Masculinity vs. Femininity) x 2 (Emotion Type: Male Stereotype Emotion vs. Female Stereotype Emotion). Four hundred university students (200 men and 200 women) participated in the study, recruited via Embrain Ltd. Co., an online research company. The gender of the experiment participants was determined by means of an assessment using the Bern (1974) BSRI scale comprising 40 questions (masculinity 20 questions, femininity 20 questions) and a 5-point Likert scale. Both femininity and masculinity showed appropriate Cronbach’s alpha values, indicating scale validity, which were over 0.80. A subsequent analysis of variance (ANOVA) was performed on two groups classified according to the median of masculinity and femininity into masculinity group (m=3.30) and femininity group (m=3.45). Respondents who showed high or low measures for both masculinity and femininity were excluded from the analysis. Finally, experimental samples consisted of a drama group (61 participants of masculinity vs. 63 participants of femininity) and a vignette group (60 participants of masculinity vs. 59 participants of femininity). With respect to the difference

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Division</th>
<th>Advertisement Appeal Emotion (Multiple response)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bacchus</td>
<td>Fun (n=13)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Encouraged (n=8)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refreshing Water 2%</td>
<td>Sad (n=30)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Emotional (n=18)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Romantic (n=10)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Everland</td>
<td>Excited (n=22)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Happy (n=6)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fun (n=5)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapstick</td>
<td>Emotional (n=18)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Romantic (n=15)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sad (n=9)</td>
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</tbody>
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of masculinity from femininity based on biological sex, the masculinity of male subjects (m=3.35) showed a statistically meaningful difference (t=4.022, p<.05) compared to the masculinity of female subjects (m=3.05), but no difference was observed (t=1.868, p>.05) between male subjects’ femininity (m=3.44) and female subjects’ femininity (m=3.60).

4.1.3 Procedure and Measurement

As mentioned earlier, the purpose of this experiment is to verify that advertising-induced emotional responses vary depending on the interaction between audiences’ socio-psychological gender and storytelling types. The experiment measured subjects’ transportability to confirm empirically factors supporting the hypothesis prediction. Experiment participants were asked to answer questions about transportability before they watched advertisement stimuli. Transportability was measured using transportability scales (20 items) from Dal Cin, Zanna, and Fong (2003), and a 5-point Likert scale. Cronbach’s alpha value, the measure of reliability, turned out to be appropriate at over 0.80.

As the advertisement stimuli in this study were part of existing ones, to avoid a difference in response due to experience, the attitude toward brand represented by the advertisement stimulus was measured using a 7-point semantic differential scale. Also, the difficulty of message processing was measured with a 7-point semantic differential scale, using the question “how difficult was it to understand the advertisement message?” to exclude the possibility that difficulty in processing the advertisement message would cause a difference in response. Empathy for the advertisement, which was a dependent variable, was measured using the Ad Response Empathy (ARE) scale developed by Escalas and Stern (2003). The coincidence degree of emotion stereotype of masculinity and femininity regarding each advertisement stimulus was evaluated using manipulation checks to examine the emotional appeal type of each advertisement stimulus.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3</th>
<th>Constitution of Experimental Groups</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Advertisement Type</td>
<td>Gender</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drama</td>
<td>Masculinity Group</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Masculine Emotion</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Femininity Group</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Feminine Emotion</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vignette</td>
<td>Masculinity Group</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Feminine Emotion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Femininity Group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Feminine Emotion</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Emotion measurement items for masculinity included “fun, happy, encouraged, excited,” ($a > .90$), while those for femininity included “lovely, romantic, emotional, sad” ($a > .90$). Both were measured with a 7-point Likert scale (Lerner and Keltner 2000; Fisher and Dube 2005).

4.2 Results

4.2.1 Manipulation checks

Manipulated variables of this experiment include storytelling type and gender stereotype of the emotions appealed to by advertisements. To confirm the success or failure of the manipulation, each advertisement stimulus was evaluated as to whether its structural characteristics corresponded to each storytelling type and the emotion stereotypes of masculinity and femininity. As a result, “Bacchus” ($M_d=4.91 / M_v=2.58$) and “Refreshing Water 2%” ($M_d=5.12 / M_v=3.33$), manipulated as a drama ad stimulus, were regarded as drama ads, whereas “Everland” ($M_d=2.93 / M_v=3.81$) and “Chapstick” ($M_d=2.48 / M_v=4.70$), manipulated as a vignette ad stimulus, were regarded as vignette ads. The difference was also confirmed to be statistically significant ($p < .05$).

Furthermore, “Bacchus” ($M_m=5.06 / M_f=2.05$) and “Everland” ($M_m=5.02 / M_f=2.15$) appealed to masculine emotion, whereas “Refreshing Water 2%” ($M_m=1.63 / M_f=5.32$) and “Chapstick” ($M_m=2.97 / M_f=5.24$) appealed to feminine emotion. The difference was also confirmed to be statistically significant ($p < .05$). Thus, the results show that manipulation of this experiment was successful.

Meanwhile, analysis of exogenous variables was conducted in this study, including brand...
attitude and difference between gender groups regarding the difficulty of the advertisement message. As a result, no significant difference between gender groups was found for brand attitude and difficulty of processing the advertisement message (p > .05). Regarding the analysis results on transportability, there was a significant difference associated with the socio-psychological gender difference. Thus, subjects who participated in the experiment showed that the femininity-dominated group (Mt = 3.43) had higher transportability (t = 4.573, p < .05) than the masculinity-dominated group (Mt = 3.13). By contrast, there was no difference between men (Mt = 3.23) and women (Mt = 3.34) in the results of transportability analysis based on biological sex difference.

4.2.2 Moderating Effect Analysis

To verify the hypotheses established in this experiment, 2x2x2 variance analysis was conducted that set subjects’ socio-psychological gender (masculinity vs. femininity), storytelling type (drama vs. vignette), and gender stereotype-associated emotional appeal as independent variables and empathy for the advertisement as a dependent variable. The analysis results, as outlined in Table 7, revealed that interaction effects of gender x emotional appeal x advertisement type were of limited significance (F = 3.510, p = .062) and those of gender and advertisement type showed significant results (F = 21.522, p < .05). Furthermore, interaction effects were also found between types of emotion appealed to and advertisement type (F = 7.165, p < .05). Therefore, the results of the variance analysis seemed to support the directionality of the hypotheses. Regarding the comparison of mean values for each group, more specifically, femininity-dominated experiment participants showed higher empathy (p < .05) for drama
Effects of Storytelling in Advertising on Consumers’ Empathy

Table 6: Between-group comparison - empathy

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Consistency</th>
<th>Inconsistency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Drama</td>
<td>Vignette</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masculinity Group</td>
<td>3.8138</td>
<td>3.4414</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Femininity Group</td>
<td>4.4267</td>
<td>3.4688</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7: Results of variance analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Sum of Squares for Type III</th>
<th>Degree of Freedom</th>
<th>Mean Square</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Significance Probability</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Correction Model</td>
<td>59.791</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8.113</td>
<td>6.024</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intercept</td>
<td>3469.687</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3469.687</td>
<td>2576.387</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advertisement Type</td>
<td>9.002</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9.002</td>
<td>6.684</td>
<td>.010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emotional Appeal</td>
<td>4.355</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.355</td>
<td>3.233</td>
<td>.073</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>.163</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.163</td>
<td>.121</td>
<td>.728</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advertisement Type x Emotional Appeal</td>
<td>9.649</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9.649</td>
<td>7.165</td>
<td>.008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advertisement Type x Gender</td>
<td>28.984</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>28.984</td>
<td>21.522</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emotional Appeal x Gender</td>
<td>.001</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.001</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>.983</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advertisement Type x Emotional appeal x Gender</td>
<td>4.727</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.727</td>
<td>3.510</td>
<td>.062</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Error</td>
<td>316.481</td>
<td>235</td>
<td>1.347</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sum</td>
<td>3833.720</td>
<td>243</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ads than vignette ads, both in regard to advertisements appealing to masculine emotions ($M_d=4.27$ vs. $M_v=3.07$) and advertisements appealing to feminine emotions ($M_d=4.42$ vs. $M_v=3.46$).

As predicted in Hypothesis 1, it was verified that femininity-dominated audiences show higher empathy for drama ads than vignette ads, regardless of whether the emotion appealed to by the advertisement corresponded to the feminine stereotype. Meanwhile, masculinity-dominated experiment participants showed higher empathy for drama ads than vignette ads ($M_d=3.81$ vs. $M_v=3.44$) in advertisements appealing to masculine emotions, and higher empathy for vignette ads than drama ads ($M_d=3.40$ vs. $M_v=4.38$) in advertisements appealing to feminine emotions ($p<.05$). As predicted in Hypotheses 2 and 3, the masculinity-dominated advertisement participants showed different emotional responses to storytelling type, depending on whether the emotion appealed to by an advertisement corresponded to the masculine stereotype.

V. General Discussion

5.1 Theoretical Contribution and Implications

According to the experiment results, masculinity-dominated consumers showed higher empathy for drama ads than vignette ads when they were exposed to advertisements that appealed to the emotion consistent with their gender stereotype. Meanwhile, the masculinity group, when exposed to an advertisement appealing to emotions inconsistent with their gender stereotype, showed higher empathy for vignette ads than for drama ads. This result may imply that narrative processing occurs when the emotion appealed to by the advertisement emotion is consistent with participants’ gender as they become more interested in the advertisement’s story, getting transported more deeply into the story. Meanwhile, analytical processing occurs when the emotion appealed to by the advertisement is not consistent with their gender as they are less interested in the story, and thus, less likely to be transported. In other words, advertisement audiences use narrative processing when gender corresponds to emotion. When this happens, drama ads induce stronger emotional responses than vignette ads as they have several aspects that effectively elicit transportation and empathy in audiences. When gender does not correspond to emotion, however, audiences undergo analytical processing. When this happens, masculinity consumers show higher empathy for simple-structured vignette ads as they have lower transportability with regard to drama and demonstrate greater awareness of the commercial tricks of drama ads with complicated storylines.
On the other hand, femininity consumers, who have relatively higher transportability with regard to films and dramas, showed higher empathy for drama type ads, regardless of whether their gender corresponds to the emotions appealed to by the advertisement. This is because the femininity group is less hostile to drama-type advertisements, since they tend to have high transportation with regard to drama. As they are keenly interested in an advertisement’s story regardless of the consistency of gender and emotion, they consistently demonstrate greater empathy for drama ads than for vignette ads.

It is necessary to investigate the perception of commercial tricks in advertisements, that is, the inference of an advertiser’s manipulative intent, as a psychological mechanism that leads to the core hypothesis of this study on the interactive effects of audiences’ socio-psychological gender and the type of emotion appealed to by an advertisement. A storytelling type of advertisement may be considered a Janus-faced communication method, having concurrently the advantage of eliciting consumers’ emotional response effectively through narrative processing and the drawback of being perceived as an advertisement pretending to be otherwise to persuade consumers into purchasing. In other words, consumers think, “this brand uses this kind of storytelling to lure me” when they watch a narrative-focused advertisement. In that case, the intended emotional response may not occur because the perception of manipulative intentions interrupts transportation into the story. A marketing stimulus launched by a company may draw out two viewpoints on the part of the consumers. That is, consumers may react positively to marketing stimuli, thinking “this product and brand will help me,” or they may react negatively thinking, “this product and brand’s advertisement are intended to make me purchase them.” It is easy to predict negative reactions whereby consumers are suspicious that the company has ulterior motives and that manipulative intents are hidden behind the marketing stimuli so that they do not accept it as intended. Campbell and Kirmani (2000) reported that consumers tend to realize advertisements’ persuasive intents, but respond positively to a salesclerk’s compliment and suggestions. According to the persuasion knowledge model (PKM) theory, consumers learn about marketing stimuli by experiencing them repeatedly. It further states that a high level of knowledge thus formed can precipitate a perception that a company or brand has a manipulative intent, leading to a negative response. This theory is applicable to situations where consumers have had exposure to advertisements; its correctness has been verified in that different responses to advertisements can be provoked by differences in cognitive information processing between men and women (Chang 2007; Darley and Smith 1995). For example, women are influenced more sensitively by advertise-
ment information processing including subtle changes of product information than men due to a lower threshold level. As negative inference processing requires many cognitive resources (Campbell and Kirmani 2000), resistive response and negative inferences appear more strongly in women who use all the available evidence for comprehensive information processing. In this context, Chang (2007) suggested that exposure to advertising may provoke a cautious reaction, similar to the way comparative advertising causes negative responses by inducing women to form a negative inference, since women are more comprehensive information processors than men who are selective information processors. Therefore, the femininity group that comprehensively processes the available information of an advertisement is more likely to form a negative inference regarding an advertisement than would the masculinity group.

This perception of manipulative intent has been treated as an important factor in the study of the persuasion effects of advertisement storytelling. According to Wentzel, Tomczak, and Herrmann (2010), conspicuous manipulative intent affects the evaluation of the advertisement type (narrative ad vs. explanatory ad). In other words, a narrative advertisement is regarded more favorably than an explanatory advertisement as it causes narrative processing when manipulative intent is not remarkable. However, a narrative ad’s relative advantage disappears when the manipulative intent is conspicuous, as consumers use analytical processing, being suspicious of the advertiser’s intention. It was found that inferences of manipulative intent mediate persuasion effects when this happens. According to Green and Brock (2000), transportation into a story does not mean lack of thought, and it is necessary to change a person’s thinking process (to make a person transported into a story conduct a critical evaluation of the advertisement) to control transportation into a story. Advertising skepticism was regarded as a potential mechanism that made people move from narrative processing to analytical processing. Escalas (2007) argued that consumers who are skeptical about advertisers’ persuasive intent are likely to be more critical and analytical toward an advertisement in lieu of being engrossed or transported into it. Consumers who realize the persuasive intents of an advertisement create persuasion knowledge. By this process, consumers avoid transportation into an advertisement. Consequently, narrative transportation does not occur if consumers have a critical perception of an advertisement. Also, consumers tend toward critical analysis that is consistent with analytical processing.

The result of this study is considered a theoretically important contribution in the following areas. First, most of the previous studies, which focused on emotional response to advertisement storytelling, were conducted on the premise that drama-type storytelling elicits stronger emo-
tional response than vignette-type storytelling. However, the contribution of this study consists in expanding the spectrum of theoretical understanding regarding an advertisement’s storytelling method by discovering that emotional response based on advertisement storytelling type differs depending on the gender groups of advertisement consumers. Second, this study verified that emotional response based on advertisement storytelling type is not only different for male and female groups, but it is also defined by the consistency of gender stereotypes of emotion expressed in advertisements, and the socio-psychological gender of advertisement audiences. This study’s theoretical contribution consists in its expanding the range of theoretical explanations about differences in gender response to advertisements’ emotional appeal. The results of our study are also expected to be of practical use because of their implications for effective applications of storytelling methods in advertising. Generally, advertisement producers and advertisers are biased toward thinking that drama-type storytelling will be more effective than vignette-type storytelling when devising creative strategies using storytelling methods. So they tend to prefer an unconditionally dramatized method without considering whether their target consumers are male or female and what type of emotional response (ex. emotion-associated gender stereotype) is to be appealed to in the advertisement. However, this study revealed that emotional response to advertisement storytelling varies depending on the target gender of and emotion type appealed to by the advertisement. This suggests that an understanding of the targeted gender is necessary prior to producing an advertisement and that in deciding on an advertisement storytelling type, strategic attention should be directed to the advertisement’s appeal concept or emotion type. Thus, it is safe to use drama-type storytelling that expresses masculine emotions (ex. fun, happy, encouraged) when the advertisement target, like Bacchus, includes both men and women. For brands and advertisements targeting only women (ex. female clothes), it is more effective to use a drama-type storytelling method that expresses feminine emotions (lovely, romantic, sad). The drama method can be still more effective than the vignette when women are the main target and a masculine concept-based creative is to be produced. However, when male consumers are targeted and the brand concept or advertisement concept is focused on feminine emotions (ex. romantic), vignette ads can more effectively induce empathy than drama ads.

5.2 Limitations and Future Research Directions

Despite the foregoing theoretical and practical contributions of this study, it still has the limitations outlined below. Therefore, we believe a study that overcomes the limitations of our
study would be meaningful by contributing to the development of a theory that would elucidate the difference in emotional responses to advertisement storytelling based on consumers’ gender and gender stereotype of emotions appealed to by an advertisement. First, this study used advertisements of a beverage product, cosmetic product, and an amusement park to prove their validity through the use of various advertisement stimuli. In spite of the efforts to ensure validity in this study, however, all the drama-type advertisement stimuli used beverage products because of the experiment conditions wherein existing advertisement stimuli were used. Also, female models were more prevalent than male models in the two drama-type advertisement stimuli. Therefore, it is hard to state whether the intervention of exogenous variance was perfectly excluded in association with these product classes and the advertisement model characteristic. The possibility of confusion effects might be excluded if the relationship between product class and the advertisement model’s gender is evaluated and the consistency effect of the gender stereotype is verified through hypothetical advertisement stimuli in the future. Second, this study presented the difference between transportability and inferences of manipulative intents based on gender as a basis for interpreting the result that consistency of advertisement audiences’ gender and the gender stereotype associated with the emotions appealed to by an advertisement controls emotional responses to a particular advertisement storytelling type. It was inferred that this psychological mechanism affected the emotional responses to advertisement storytelling type. However, as the psychological mechanism that mediated emotional responses in this study was not verified directly, a validity test of this psychological mechanism would be a meaningful future research theme. Third, this study classified the dimension of emotions appealed to by advertisements according to the criterion of whether it is consistent with a male or female stereotype. However, emotion is a multidimensional and complicated concept so that it can be distinguished by various standards other than this single-dimension classification. For example, “Bacchus” and “Everland,” used as experimental stimuli in this study, are classified as emotions of the male stereotype. However, in “Bacchus,” pleasantness is prevalent, whereas “Everland” depicts excitement more strongly, considering the polarity expressed in the advertisements. By the same token, “Refreshing Water 2%” and “Chapstick” are classified as emotions of the male stereotype. However, “Refreshing Water 2%” shows sadness, whereas “Chapstick” shows romance, considering the polarity expressed in the advertisements. As shown in these results, the concrete polarity of emotions expressed in advertisements can be different even while the gender stereotype is consistent; hence, it is foreseeable that still other emotional responses can be induced. Therefore,
a future research theme considering the comprehensive characteristics of emotion would be worth pursuing.

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Bacchus

Refreshing Water 2%