18
Advertising Effects and Advertising Effectiveness

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Advertising is a deliberate attempt at persuasion by an identified sponsor, using controlled messages displayed in a media outlet not owned by the advertiser (Ha, 2018a). Advertising is one of the many promotional tools of marketers. Although it is most frequently a paid message by a business (Thorson & Rodgers, 2012), advertising can also be free, such as public service announcements (e.g., "Don't text and drive!"). Advertising tends to be brief and repeatedly delivered with a clear intent to influence perceptions of the advertised brand or cause. This persuasive and repetitive nature annoys us and makes us weary of advertising. At the same time, some ads provide high information or entertainment value for us. As a result, advertising is both loved and hated. But as Berger (2007) stated, the first rule of advertising is to attract our attention.

Advertising is the primary (or in some cases, the sole) source of funding for many mass media outlets including television, websites, search engines, online videos, to name a few. In addition to being a source of funding, advertising itself is an important part of media content. It defines the "newshole" for newspapers and serves as "commercial time" or "paid programs" for television and radio. Different advertisements contribute to our perceptions of consumption and consumerism, as well as the relationships between products, individuals, family, and friends. But one commonality of all advertising is its goal to appeal to consumers to create the desired belief or understanding of the brand.

Some people assume advertising has powerful effects, viewing consumers as passive users being manipulated by advertisers. Others argue that advertising effects are limited because consumers are active, will act in their own best interests, select messages that they agree with, and will resist persuasion. There is an irony that advertisers and agencies complain about lower-than-expected effects of advertising on sales or other advertising goals; they say consumers are hard to persuade and that they resist persuasion. In a meta-analysis of advertising effects on young people's attitudes, comprehension, and product selection, Desmond and Carveth (2007) indeed found low explanatory power from advertising exposure. Nevertheless, consumer activists (e.g., Adbusters, n.d.; Makhijani, 2013) and many scholars (e.g., Berger, 2007; Pollay, 1986) have expressed concern about the powerful, negative effects of advertising on society. Rotzoll

and Haefner (1996) explained this debate on advertising effects well: "Because of its cultural boundness, its complexity of forms and functions, and the difficulty in ascertaining its outcome, advertising is highly prone to disparate interpretations" (p. 9). We can begin to resolve this dispute by understanding the difference between *advertising effects* and *advertising effectiveness*.

Broadly speaking, advertising effects refer to the influence exerted by advertising on individuals and society. Such effects can be deliberately caused or unintended by the advertiser. To an individual brand or advertiser, the sole purpose of advertising is to advance the marketing communication goals of the brand. These goals can range from creating brand awareness, developing a favorable attitude toward the brand, building a brand's identity, to inducing the purchase of the brand. From the advertiser's perspective, advertising's effects on its consumers focus on the benefit of advertising to the brand as a business. Because the persuasive communication goals are clear to the advertiser, measuring how much the persuasive goals have been achieved should be counted as the effectiveness of advertising, not advertising effects. Yet, for the convenience of emphasizing the influence of advertising on brand image and sales, most scholars still refer to such research as advertising effects research. Such microscopic, advertiser-centered perspectives on advertising effects on a brand's success are of little concern for social scientists, advertising critics, and policy-makers who are more interested in the broader societal effects of advertising.

Social Effects of Advertising

The social effects of advertising are collective, cumulative, and mostly unintended by the individual advertisers. It is likely that few or no advertisers or advertising creators will say their ads are intended to create a materialistic society. But what their ads portray is a materialistic society that uses products to meet consumers' social and psychological needs, such as gaining the respect and admiration of people who own those advertised products. The blame on advertising for various negative social effects such as racial and sexual stereotypes, materialistic values, body image and social comparison, or addiction and consumption of health-hazardous products is not the problem of one advertisement or one advertiser. Various advertisements with similar themes and appeals, encountered repeatedly, cultivate those perceptions and values. Because advertisements are short and simple and have to compete for consumers' attention with other ads and editorial content, communication strategies that are easy to comprehend (e.g., stereotypes, eye-catching and attractive images) will be commonly used, though this reality should not be used to excuse advertisers' social responsibility.

Advertising and Materialistic Consumer Culture

Since the late 1950s, advertising has frequently been the target of critical scholars for promoting consumer culture and materialism in society (Nelson, 2008), often criticized through books such as Vance Packard's (1957) *The Hidden Persuaders*, Stuart Ewen's (1976) *Captains of Consciousness: Advertising and the Social Roots of the Consumer Culture*, and Michael Schudson's (1984) *Advertising: The Uneasy Persuasion*. Packard's work focused on research demonstrating how advertising influences consumers through psychological motivation and how children are taught to become "consumer trainees." Ewen offered a history of the development of advertising as a tool for American corporations to exploit human instincts and to mobilize people to become consumers for mass-produced products. To Schudson, advertising is "capitalistic realism," which is "part of the establishment and of a common symbolic culture" shared and celebrated by consumers. Advertising is "thoroughly optimistic, providing for any troubles that it identifies a solution in a particular product or style of life"

(p. 215). He also argued that singularity in the themes and pervasiveness of advertising as a popular culture has profound impacts on society. Similarly, Richard Pollay (1986) called advertising "a distorted mirror of the society" with its value "heavy on the seven deadly sins but light on the seven cardinal values" (p. 20). Most of these and related studies rely on neo-Marxist or political-economic critiques and perspectives.

Because advertising's goal is to encourage the use of certain products/brands, it is expected that consumption of products and advertising exposure are related. Many researchers have used large-scale content analyses to show how advertisements glorify and glamorize consumption using images and symbols (e.g., Messaris, 1997; Pollay, 1985). The value commonly conveyed in advertising is that owning products can produce peer recognition, admiration, or social acceptance. This is especially true for products that have high social functions, such as those related to beauty and fashion.

Research on advertising's effect on consumer culture assumes all advertisers are motivated by profit and sell their products and services in advertising to their advantage. Many of these products may even be hazardous to health such as tobacco, alcohol, fast food, and unhealthy snacks. Indeed, these are the industries with the largest advertising spending-to-sales ratios (Radio Advertising Bureau, 2017). The use of advertising bans and regulations on certain products manifests the recognition of the power of advertising in influencing consumption of these products. Luxury brands build their images and status symbols through heavy advertisements. Because non-profit advertisements are a minority in the advertising world, the effect of advertising on consumption indulgence and materialism in society is almost a consensus among most scholars researching the social effects of advertising. However, Holbrook (1987) argued that advertisers have diverse targets and use different themes to influence consumers, with some being for wholesome goals such as family values and helping others. Hence, Holbrook warned against a monolithic approach to interpreting advertising content. While materialism is considered a negative social effect of advertising, the increase in consumption can stimulate the economy as a positive economic effect of advertising. Though beyond the boundaries of this chapter, it is important to note that there is a rich body of literature on the economic effects of advertising regarding market power and competition (e.g., Albion & Farris, 1981), product price (e.g., Steiner, 1978), media price (e.g., Ha, 2018a), and product category consumption (e.g., Saffer & Chaloupka, 2000).

Advertising Effects on Children

Researchers have also focused on advertising's effects on children as a vulnerable population. In general, children are understood to not yet have the developed cognitive and emotional systems to identify the persuasive intent of advertising or to resist the influence of advertising (Laczniak & Carson 2012). Through a meta-analysis of studies conducted from 1972 to 1994, Martin (1997) found that the older the child, the more able he or she was to distinguish advertising from editorial content. Children aged eight or under were less able to differentiate ads from editorial content (Stephen, Stutts, & Burdick, 1982). With regard to effects, a 12-month study of Dutch children aged 8–11 found that advertising exposure increased materialism through increased desire of the advertised products (Opree, Buijzen, van Reijmersdal, & Valkenburg, 2014). Other studies have shown how advertising affects children through implicitly acquired affective associations rather than cognitive processing (Nairn & Fine, 2015). Consequently, it is not just that children lack cognitive ability but also that their affective associations with the advertised product serve to heighten consumer culture. Together, research findings on advertising's effect on children have important policy implications. For example, some countries such

as Sweden have banned advertising to young children, and the United States has restricted advertising shown in children's programs.

Advertising Effects on Media Content

The commercialization of media content due to increases in advertising presence is another important social effect of advertising. Media critics have long lamented how advertising influences media content by appealing to the popular taste of the masses in order to maximize viewership. There is a considerable body of media economics literature examining the effect of advertising on quality of editorial content. For example, Einstein's (2004) study of U.S. commercial-broadcast networks' programs found that advertising drove program development and reduced the diversity of program content. Likewise, Picard (2004) found that advertising-supported newspapers placed less emphasis on content related to social value, and instead featured content that was sensational or that employed other questionable practices. However, other studies have identified positive effects of advertising on editorial and content quality. Sun and Zhu's (2013) study showed that despite shifting toward popular topics to attract audiences and advertisers, blogs participating in an ad-revenue-sharing program did not decrease in quality. Thus, it is possible that advertising as a revenue may actually professionalize media content, improving quality and popularity by adding funding to the media.

Psychological/Individual Effects of Advertising

Psychological-effects research typically focuses on the intended effects of advertising; so, most such studies belong to the world of advertising effectiveness. In discussing the individual effects of advertising, researchers typically differentiate between cognitive, affective, and conative effects. Cognitive effects refer to the knowledge and brand accessibility or top-of-mind awareness effect of advertising on consumers. Affective effects include brand preference, affinity, and attitude toward the brand. Conative effects are the behavioral effects of advertising on brand purchase, referral, and advocacy of the brand.

The Hierarchy of Advertising Effects model is the most classical and dominant model in the study of advertising. Developed by E. St. Elmo Lewis in the late 1800s and advocated by Strong (1925), the model assumes the process of advertising effects begins with the cognitive effect (A—awareness/attention) of advertising, which arouses the audience's interest (I—interest) in the product, creating a demand (D—desire) for the product, and leads to a purchase decision (A—action). Given the presumed sequence of effects, the model is more commonly referred to as the AIDA model and is adhered to by many advertising practitioners. However, different views exist regarding whether the sequence of advertising effects follows this route necessarily. Barry and Howard's (1990) review and critique of the research on the Hierarchy of Advertising Effects model and other alternative sequences of the cognitive, affective, and conative effects shows that, in fact, it is hard to separate one effect from the other. They argued that it is better to acknowledge the existence of the different cognitive, affective, and conative effects rather than imposing an order of the effects. Nevertheless, recent studies on advertising still use the AIDA model to examine advertising effectiveness (e.g., Venkatraman et al., 2015). However, scholars have suggested that the model be expanded to include responses such as search, like/dislike, share, and love/hate to accommodate the new technology affordances for consumer searches of information online and post-purchase activities (Wijaya, 2012). With the AIDA model in mind, it might be useful to briefly consider each of the three types of advertising effects in more detail.

Cognitive Effects

Among the three types of individual effects, cognitive effects have received the strongest empirical support, especially with regard to how repeated exposure to advertising can increase brand accessibility and top-of-mind awareness (Nan & Faber, 2004) and low-involvement learning of the ad (Krugman, 1965). There is little dispute that advertising creates awareness of the advertised brand or the message it promotes. Heightened awareness is especially likely when advertisements are repeatedly shown to consumers. Additionally, low-involvement learning is common, with people learning advertising messages without conscious effort but rather through passive, repeated exposure. When consumers need to make a purchase decision, top-of-mind awareness is crucial; thus, advertisers need to make their brand the most accessible in memory to the consumer.

Because advertisements are usually not solicited by consumers, people rarely spend much effort to remember them. Krugman's (1965) three-exposure theory argues that with a minimum of three exposures, people will remember ads even when they do not pay much attention to them. This theory is embraced by advertising practitioners who believe that repeated exposure to ads will generate the necessary memory for ad effectiveness. It has also resulted in various propositions concerning the minimum threshold for effective frequency of advertising exposure (Schmidt & Eisend, 2015). At the same time, brand accessibility also benefits from other promotion strategies, such as product placement (Ham, Park, & Park, 2017).

Attitude Change Effects

Studies of the effects of advertising on attitude change are more inconclusive. The Elaboration Likelihood Model suggested by Petty, Cacioppo, and Schumann (1983) offers a comprehensive explanation for how attitudes are formed and changed through advertising. It posits two routes to persuasion. Attitudes formed through the central route are more likely to be resistant to counter-arguments or change because of the elaboration of thoughts through systematic processing and evaluation of information. In contrast, attitudes formed through the peripheral route involving cues unrelated to the argument of the message (e.g., jingles, attractive sources) are less resistant to counter-arguments (Schumann, Kotowski, Ahn & Haugtvedt, 2012). Research has shown that people with strong attitudes and higher elaboration are more resistant to persuasive attempts, whereas those who have ambivalent or weak attitudes are more likely to be persuaded by peripheral cues (Petty & Krosnick, 2014).

Another attitude-change theory is affect transfer, which posits that a positive attitude for a general object will transfer to a specific object. In advertising, this means that a positive attitude toward an advertisement is likely to transfer a positive attitude toward the advertised brand. In other words, when consumers like the ad, they will tend to like the advertised brand. However, research on such direct attitude transfers has not provided consistent support. MacKenzie and Lutz's (1989) comparison of the affect transfer model with other models found that there is a dual mediation of attitude toward the specific ad and attitude toward the brand. The attitude toward the ad (A_{ad}) affects cognition about the brand as well as attitude toward the brand (A_b). A subsequent meta-analysis of studies on the effect of A_{ad} on A_b found that cognition of the brand plays a more important role than attitude toward the ad in influencing attitude toward the brand (Brown & Stayman, 1992). However, it must be remembered that the cognition of the brand can be influenced by other factors such as prior brand-consumption experience and familiarity with the brand.

To appeal to the audience, different message strategies are utilized, which can broadly be categorized into rational (hard-sell) and emotional appeals (soft-sell) by their emphasis (Okazaki, Mueller, & Taylor, 2010). Rational appeals include information about the product and the functional benefits to the consumer about the brand. Emotional appeals include various types of content that arouse the emotion of the consumers such as happiness, humor, fear, anger, love and erotism (sex), and nostalgia; these are the bases of creative philosophies in many advertising agencies (West & Ford, 2001). Researchers have found that both rational and emotional appeals can be effective in generating favorable responses to advertisements, including for example social media advertising (Lee & Hong, 2016). Many advertising practitioners (Nyilasy & Reid, 2012) and some researchers such as Morris (2012) and Geuens, De Pelsmacker, and Faseur (2011) argue for the stronger effect of emotional appeals than rational appeals in the persuasive power of advertising. However, the effectiveness of specific appeals such as humor, fear, love, and erotism vary by product and execution. Further, cultural norms regarding the appeals can also generate a backlash effect.

In terms of specific types of appeals, research shows that humor generally reduces resistance toward a persuasive message and increases preference for the ad, but it may also distract a consumer's understanding of the ad's main message. A meta-analysis of the effect of humor as an advertising appeal showed that humor primarily enhances positive attitudes toward the advertisement, but less for the advertised brand (Eisend, 2011). In addition, humor is found to be the main factor for effective television advertising and viral advertising spread by consumers (Porter & Golan, 2006). The use of humor represents the expectation of advertising to entertain the audiences (Beard, 2008).

Fear appeals are commonly used in health-related advertising by emphasizing the negative consequences of having health problems or bad habits. However, fear appeals are associated with many questions. For example, some question the ethicality of arousing fear and posing threats to consumers, whereas others argue that high fear can result in high effectiveness (LaTour, Snipes, & Bliss, 1996). The effects of fear appeals also vary by culture. A meta-analysis of more than 60 years of research found that fear appeals are effective only up to a certain point when consumers feel able to make the change, but high levels of fear result in incompliance (Ruiter, Kessels, Peters, & Kok, 2014).

Sex appeals are prevalent in the advertisement of products, such as fragrance and clothing, associated with the attraction of a romantic or sexual partner (Reichert & Lambiase, 2014). However, the effectiveness of these appeals varies by culture (Liu, 2014). They can attract the consumer's attention and recall of the ad, but they can also lower the memory of the advertised brand by distracting the consumer's focus from it (Wirtz, Sparks, & Zimbres, 2018).

Finally, nostalgia can arouse consumers' fond memories of the past, increase involvement in the ad, and create a liking of the ad as well as the brand (Muehling & Sprott, 2004). More recent research on nostalgia in advertising focuses on responses to specific moments (e.g., childhood brand exposure; Muehling, Sprott, & Sultan, 2014) and the "reminiscence bump" years, when consumers were 15–24 years old (Ju, Choi, Morris, Liao, & Bluck, 2016).

Conative Effects of Advertising

The most common conative (or behavioral) effect of advertising is purchase of the brand. Because most effects studies are conducted in a lab setting rather than at the actual point of purchase, purchase intention or brand selection among choices is often used as a proxy for purchase. However, interest in consumer engagement, especially on social media, has recently become another common behavioral outcome measure of advertising effects (Ashley & Tuten,

2015). The typical measures of consumer engagements are the clicking of likes, sharing of posts, and posting comments on social media.

Resistance to Advertising and Advertising Avoidance

In addition to examining the intended psychological effects of advertising, several theories have also sought to explain how individuals resist persuasive advertising and the intrusiveness of advertising clutter. Verklin and Kanner (2007) estimate that people (in cities) are exposed to 3,000 ads per day in various shapes and forms, including outdoor signages, flyers, and commercials. The addition of social media sponsored posts and other emails implies even more exposure to advertising.

Three major approaches explain users' avoidance of advertising: reactance theory, the persuasion knowledge model, and goal impediment theory. Reactance theory argues that audience members resist attempts at external control and react negatively toward efforts to persuade them (Brehm & Brehm, 1981). Advertisers violate individuals' freedom to consume the media content they want to watch because ads are not solicited by the consumers, with advertisers often forcing consumers to watch ads via commercial interruption or compulsory online ads (Edwards, Li, & Lee, 2002).

Another theory commonly used is the persuasion knowledge model (PKM) proposed by Friestad and Wright (1994). Persuasion knowledge is a loose set of beliefs held by the target (the consumer) about how marketers attempt to influence his or her decisions, including beliefs that may not be correct (Yoo, 2009). Consumers learn about the tactics used by advertisers who have a clear intention to persuade them to buy the product. They then resist persuasive attempts by being critical of the message and not trusting the advertiser. According to the PKM, the consumer is an active participant, coping with the persuasive tactics and interacting with the persuasion agent, such as a salesman or an advertisement (Kirmani & Campbell, 2004). In the context of advertising, consumers will try to understand the advertiser's persuasive tactics, and then consider whether the persuasion is effective and appropriate. Thus, consumers are both goal seekers that utilize the persuasion agent to achieve their own goals, and sentries that guard against unwanted marketing persuasion.

Several studies of the PKM have found that being repeatedly exposed to persuasive information causes people to resist persuasive materials (Henrie & Taylor, 2009). For example, one study showed that different ways of delivering product information (e.g., editorials, advertorials, advertisements) impacted the perceived credibility of the sources of information, perceived selling intentions, and consumers' purchase intentions (Attaran, Notarantonio, & Quigley, 2015). People perceived that the editorial had lower levels of selling intention than the other two information delivery formats. Editorials and advertorials were perceived as containing more product information than advertisements, resulting in consumers being more likely to buy a product based on editorial content and advertorials rather than advertisements.

One final theory used to explain the resistance to and avoidance of advertisements is the goal impediment theory. According to this theory, the interruption of media consumption by advertising clutter results in consumer resentment. As a result, consumers will choose to skip or ignore advertisements and continue their media content consumption, even though they may still be physically exposed to the ads. However, because they do not pay attention to the ads, advertising will not achieve its intended effect of creating a positive image or memory of the brand. Further, Ha and McCann's (2008) integrated model of advertising clutter proposed that users' task orientations affect perceived advertising clutter levels. Namely, task-oriented consumers engaged in informational searches perceive higher levels of ad clutter than entertainment, exploration, or shopping-oriented consumers. Their propositions were supported by

Zanjani, Diamond, and Chan (2011) in an experiment that found that information seekers were more likely to be affected by ad clutter than were surfers.

Next Steps in Advertising Effects Research

As discussed at the beginning of the chapter, researchers have to determine their path in studying advertising effects, be it in terms of advertising effectiveness or as a form of cultivation of social and economic outcomes. Practitioners and applied advertising researchers will likely be more interested in advertising effectiveness research, whereas academic and critical researchers will probably be more interested in the broader social consequences of advertising. Regardless, the recognitions of emerging technologies is central to future scholarship in this area.

Impact of New Media Technologies on Advertising Effectiveness Research

New media technologies enable customization and personalization of communication messages, making it easier to find the target audience for advertisers and allowing consumers to escape exposure to irrelevant messages. Technologies can also optimize a message through global positioning system (GPS) locationing and through the avoidance of repetition within a short period of time to the same audience (Ha, 2018b). How this strategy improves consumers' receptiveness to advertising and the overall advertising environment is a fruitful area for researchers. Sundar, Kim, and Gambino (2017) used their theory of interactive media effects (TIME) to explain how interactive advertising can be more effective than traditional advertising by increasing consumers' trust and user agency, including the avoidance of advertising. They argued that the technological affordances represented by different attributes and features of new media technologies create cues that affect consumers' perceptions of advertising content and facilitate purchase behaviors or sharing information with others. The cues and actions can be positive or negative depending on consumers' use of the cues as heuristics in judgments and the consumers' engagement with the advertising content. Below are a few important future directions that researchers should consider in studying advertising effectiveness related to new media.

Big Data, Algorithms, and Personalization of Advertising

One major contribution of new media technology in the improvement of advertising effectiveness is the ability to compile user data through computer network systems. Each company can generate its own user-data analysis in correspondence with different advertising campaign messages. Advertisers can change their advertising messages easily through the use of programmatic advertising, which is the use of algorithms to place targeted advertisements in media content, generate automatic responses, and customize advertising messages to the user. With a record of consumers' past behaviors and purchase experiences, the technology can further increase the effectiveness of communicating to the audience. For example, consumers who are bargain hunters should be responsive to ads that feature discounts and sales announcements, and companies can identify this type of consumer through their previous use of discount codes on their website via their online purchases. On YouTube, for example, the same ad will not be shown to the same consumer on the same day because of its algorithm. The extent to which consumers respond more favorably to personalized advertising than standard mass advertising requires more controlled experiments to see whether the absence

or presence of personalization changes their attitude toward the ad and the advertised brand. Likewise, researchers may also consider studying the challenges that personalization presents. Namely, as advertising becomes more individualized, different consumers will not see the same ad at the same time. Consequently, such personalization may threaten the power of advertising to create popular images and symbols, necessitating a comparison between brand cognitions in mass versus programmatic ads.

Recommender Systems and Machine Learning

Another related personalization technique afforded by computer technologies is the use of machine learning to recognize the preference pattern of consumers through their past purchases or searches. E-commerce giants such as Amazon.com and online streaming services such as Netflix and You-Tube track the digital footprint of their consumers to discover genre or product category preferences and to identify complementary products and accessories for the consumer. Recent research has shown that consumers primarily follow recommendations (Ha, 2018b). Further, advertisements are presented as recommendations to the consumers based on what they are looking for. Thus, the nature of advertising as an image builder is changed to a recommended option, based on the consumer's need and the automatic generation of advertisements.

Consumer Responses to New Forms of Advertising

New media technologies facilitate the development of new advertising formats such as branded mobile apps, augmented reality ads, native ads, paid search listings, mobile ads, TrueView skippable video ads on YouTube, and content marketing. Branded mobile apps keep a brand on the screen of the mobile device as an app icon. Augmented reality ads can show users what the various advertised items would look like in their homes before they purchased them. Native ads are those resembling editorial content, such as promoted tweets and sponsored posts similar to news feeds on social media. Paid search listings come in different forms after a consumer types a word on a search engine or maps directions, highlighting the advertiser's paid listing on the result page. Mobile ads are those that pop up when consumers arrive at a certain location near the advertiser, or ads that are displayed on the screen when the consumer uses advertiser-supported free apps. Skippable video ads are those that one can choose to skip after five seconds. Content marketing is content created by marketers of interest to the consumers in the form of branded magazines, newsletters, or video channels. Although blurring the boundary between advertising and editorial content raises the ethical issues of editorial integrity and independence from commercial influence, mixing advertising with editorial content may remove the nuisance of advertising. More studies should be conducted on how receptive consumers are toward these new ad formats and how effective the formats are for different products. It is also imperative to examine the complementary or substitutional role of these new ad forms in advertising campaigns versus traditional display ads.

Additionally, it is important that future research recognizes the synergy of pull and push communication made possible by new media technologies (Ha, 2008). Most advertising is based on a push model in that advertisers display the ads to the consumers without their request. But search engine advertising uses a pull strategy based on the initiative of the consumer using an engine to obtain more information on a product or brand. On the one hand, the effectiveness of pull strategies should be measured in terms of how useful the

information is for the consumers and how accurate the algorithm is in finding the target audience which has an interest in and need for the brand. Push strategies, on the other hand, will encounter resistance and avoidance from consumers unless advertisers create enough value to the consumers to accept the unexpected and even unwanted advertising messages.

New Measures of Advertising Effectiveness

Traditional advertising-effectiveness measures are mostly about brand awareness, brand preference, and purchase intentions or sales. But as discussed in the latest development of the AIDA Hierarchy of Effects model, advertising-effectiveness measures must now include how ads arouse interest and induce greater searching for information about the advertised brand. Because searching for product information and reading reviews of products are now easily in reach for most consumers, measures of searching and immediate online purchases after ad exposure are reasonable measures of ad effectiveness. In addition, behavioral-effectiveness measures of consumer behavior should now include additional indicators, such as consumers sharing information with family or friends. Indeed, consumer advocacy is one of the best indicators of consumer loyalty. Some alternative measures of advertising effectiveness based on consumer engagement can also include visits to brand pages and websites, brand channels on YouTube, sharing brand postings, consumer advocacy for the brand in the form of posting one's own experiences to friends on social media, writing product reviews, or creating consumer-generated advertising.

Impact of New Media on Advertising Effects Research

The social effects of advertising will continue to shed light on public policy regarding advertising and help advertisers to reflect on their role in society. Given the advent of different media technologies, the following areas of research will take advertising effects scholarship to the next stage.

Relationships between Advertisers and Consumers: Cat and Mouse or Partners with Mutual Interest?

Is advertising a zero-sum game only benefitting the advertiser, or can advertising foster a win–win relationship between advertisers and consumers? Must consumers be the mouse for the advertiser cat to catch, while consumers try to escape from advertisers through avoidance or banning advertising all together? Because search advertising has changed the push model of advertising to a pull model of advertising on demand, research needs to also consider whether or not these changes improve relationships between advertising and audiences. Brand channels can provide much useful information about products including product-demonstration videos and tutorials, as well as product topics of interest to consumers from other sources. Although such videos are created by the advertisers with vested interests, its content is often helpful to consumers and can gradually become a standard for all companies as a service to its customers and to the general public (Ha, 2018b). From this perspective, advertising can be part of the media content rather than a nuisance. In a new media environment that customizes ads and makes relevant information easily accessible, advertisers and consumers can benefit from each other. Advertisers inform and persuade consumers with relevant and entertaining ads, and consumers can make their choice based on their needs. How advertisers and consumers perceive their relationship with one another

and whether emerging technologies enhance or reduce mutual trust between advertisers and consumers should be examined further.

Advertising's Effect on Consumer Expectations

Advertising is about meeting the needs of consumers with promises about how a product will address their needs. Consequently, it is important to assess how advertising affects consumers' expectations of the product performance and how often consumers feel the product meets or exceeds their expectations or disappoints them after actual consumption experiences. Hence, studying the extent to which advertising affects customer satisfaction and repeat purchase via setting expectations should be an important direction of research.

Comparing Media Content with and without Advertising Support

Because most new media technologies such as social media and mobile apps offer free content through advertising, it is imperative to continue to examine the positive and negative effects of advertising on new media content. A cross-sectional study comparing media content with or without advertisements can illuminate how advertising affects consumers' perception of the editorial quality of media content and media performance (e.g., professional quality, content diversity). Another approach to ascertain advertising's effect on editorial quality is through the longitudinal study of advertising intensity and the editorial quality and content changes in new media content. This direction may be particularly helpful because many new media platforms such as social media start with little or no advertising because of their low number of users. Once they become popular, however, they receive more advertising. How the increase in ad presence changes the perceived quality in social media such as YouTube, Snapchat, and Instagram is an important advertising effects question.

Longitudinal Studies of Advertising's Effect on Cultural Values in Society

The social effect of advertising is a long-term effect which requires longitudinal studies to examine changes and to confirm causal relationships. For example, to establish advertising's cultivation effect on consumer culture and the morphing of consumer culture over time, it is necessary to examine the alignment of consumer values with the values presented in advertising across diverse media outlets. If the values of consumers and advertising are similar, then at least researchers can confirm advertising reflects consumer values. Causation can be deduced through tracking the changes in values over time. Further, it is important to borrow from cultivation research in differentiating people who are heavy users of advertising versus those who are light users to determine the contribution of advertising to those cultural values of the consumer. Finally, Pollay (1986) called for the use of seven cardinal values (wisdom, justice, temperance, courage, faith, hope, and love) and seven deadly sins (greed, lust, sloth, pride, envy, gluttony, and anger) as standards for measuring the values presented in advertising. How to operationalize and measure these values reliably in new advertising formats will be the challenge to research in advertising effects in the future.

Concluding Thoughts

To conclude, the big data compilation capability and tracking of digital footprints and our behavior online make websites, emails, messaging apps, search engines, and social media

platforms the new Big Brother(s) of our lives. Every webpage a consumer visits is logged and can be analyzed for patterns for profiling. However, not all sites are equal in their knowledge of consumers. Social media and messaging-app sites know our preferences by what we have watched and read in the past, who we have connected with on social media, what we have "liked" and shared, and our frequency of responding to offers. Big Brother is indeed watching us. But we must remember that the data collected are partial (e.g., we do not use the same devices and platforms) and behavioral only. Using behavioral data to determine preference, attitudes, and knowledge is prone to errors, although Google and Facebook are trying to perfect this induction process. Search engines may make us depend on the ranking of the listing to determine what is good and bad, and thereby make us lazy by following their recommendations. More research is necessary to assess this cultural shift of consumers from relying on themselves to relying on search engines and social media sites which master the compilation of big data to influence the decisions of consumers. Because of the unequal distribution of data and data-management capability among various organizations and advertisers, how big and small companies may benefit or be disadvantaged in the age of big data is another social effect to be studied by advertising effects researchers.

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