

MARKETING COMMUNICATIONS RESEARCH UNIT

A REVIEW OF LITERATURE
ON THE
PROCESSES OF ADVERTISING

'How Advertising Works'

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INTRODUCTION

The question of 'how advertising works' is a vast one, and is one in which it is difficult to draw any firm conclusions. In addition, the area could almost be described as hybrid - this is in the sense that it draws on many different sources of knowledge, particularly on different branches of psychology, as well as from the practitioner. On the one hand there is a body of commercially derived research findings relevant to understanding 'how advertising works'; on the other, there is a great wealth of material which has been developed in the behavioural sciences, but which is not directly related to advertising. This report attempts to integrate these two sources of knowledge.

One of the problems encountered in doing this, is that many of the experiments carried out in the behavioural sciences make use of American college student populations, rather than samples of housewives, or other relevant groups. In addition, the purpose of the experiments is not always connected with the area of commercial advertising. This means that the results are not immediately transferable to commercial situations, but must be validated in an appropriate environment. This is not to say, however, that such results should be ignored. Often they cover ground which can aid understanding of the advertising process, and to that extent they must be considered. Where experiments have been conducted using a population of consumers, housewives, or some relevant group, this has been stated.

The report is divided into thirteen sections. To some extent each section is treated as being self contained and is followed by an appropriate bibliography. This is given in two groups; the first lists the references used in the text, the second lists additional reading,

much of which had not been traced at the time of writing. The second group of references has been chosen on the apparent appropriateness of the titles given. This is included as a guide for any reader wishing to explore the area further.

The sections of the review are as follows:-

1. The Advertising Process

A brief history is given of the way in which the models describing 'How Advertising Works' have developed over time. The early models relied on the stimulus - response formula, while the later ones begin to take into account the environment in which the purchasing decision is being taken. The evidence supporting the models is given, before outlining the general conclusions which can be drawn in this area.

In a sense this first section serves the purpose of an introduction to the area because it covers in broad terms, many items which are discussed in detail at a later stage.

2. Persuasion

If one accepts that all advertising is undertaken with a view to affecting the predispositions or behaviour of the target audience, then it is apparent that persuasion is likely to form some part of the advertising process. This section relies very heavily on the work of two psychologists - Marvin Karlins and Herbert I. Abelson - who have summarized much of the experimental work carried out in connection with persuasion. They pose questions pertinent to persuasion, and having described the relevant work, state the conclusions

indicated by it. These conclusions serve as a rapid guide to the dos and don'ts of persuasion.

3. Perception

The fact that three people all look at an oak tree or a packet of soap powder, is not to say that they all see an identical image. Because individuals have different perceptions of apparently similar objects, the marketer must be concerned with understanding how this comes about. Whole books have been devoted to the subject of perception, but the articles reviewed attempt to demonstrate the role of perception in the process of persuasion.

4. Source Credibility

The selection of media, or of the people to take part in communicating the advertising message, evokes the whole question of source credibility. The work in the area would suggest that the way in which the consumer perceives the source of the communication can be very important in determining their reaction to it. The articles included in this section help define the terminology, and also demonstrate how important source credibility can be.

5. Truth in Advertising

In a sense, truth in advertising is simply an extension of the previous section, for it is likely that 'truth' will be perceived according to the source of the communication. Nevertheless, it is an area which warrents separate coverage. For the marketing man, concern must be with the extent to which the degree of truth influences the effectiveness of promotional copy. Some articles which consider this question are discussed.

6. Cognitive Dissonance

Despite its origins in psychology, this term is used a great deal in the literature, and among commercial companies concerned with advertising policies. One wonders to what extent the term is properly understood, and indeed how applicable it is in the various situations in which it is mentioned. The review attempts to define the term and to show where it has been and can be applied in marketing.

7. The Distraction Hypothesis in Marketing

Experiments have been conducted which have shown that people will accept communications to a greater extent if they do not have the opportunity to present counter arguments. Such arguments do not have to be verbal, but are a natural mental process of the individual exposed to any form of communication. The main work on this has been undertaken in connection with voting and religious behaviour. This same process is examined to see whether or not it holds in the marketing situation.

8. The Use of Fear Appeals in Advertising

The debate on the extent to which fear can be employed as a motivating factor in the marketers promotional activities, is one which has aroused both interest and concern. A series of articles are reviewed which explore the degree to which marketing men are either ignoring a potentially useful tool, or else exploiting a human emotion in a most dangerous manner.

9. Personality

The extent to which behaviour is attributable to the personality of the individual is an area of speculation which has fascinated many people over a very long time period. The work devoted to defining exactly what is meant by the term, has itself been very extensive. Such arguments are not within the realm of this report. Instead the articles reviewed give an idea of how personality has been linked more specifically with behaviour.

10. Relating Brand Choice to Attitudes

Many methods of measuring advertising effectiveness rely heavily on measuring attitudes; the assumption being that a favourable attitude must improve the probability of a potential consumer buying the product. This section does not set out to question whether or not this assumption is correct, but instead tries to illustrate work exploring this assumption.

11. The Influence of the Media

The choice of medium to be used for a particular advertising campaign can be a crucial one if the message is to be conveyed as effectively as possible. The articles reviewed here are concerned to show how the medium can influence the reception and effectiveness of advertisements. Because so much attention has been focussed on the use of television in the last ten years, this emphasis is reflected in the section.

12. Subliminal Advertising

Despite the fact that considerable steps are taken to disallow the use of it, in the U.K., just what is the evidence to say that subliminal advertising is physically possible and works? This section draws together the main work published in this area.

13. Some General Thoughts on Attitudes

The whole area of what is meant by an attitude, how this can be measured, and how it is related to behaviour, is one which is so vast that it warrants a review by itself. This is outside the scope of the present report, but this section does endeavour to give a brief coverage of the kind of subject matter involved.

1. THE ADVERTISING PROCESS

Introduction

In this section a review will be made of:-

- (a) Models which have been proposed to explain how advertising works.
- (b) Related findings or theories which purport to help explain the way advertising works, and
- (c) Useful hypotheses and conclusions which have been drawn about the way advertising may work.

For the purpose of this exercise advertising is defined as 'consisting of impersonal communication through the main mass media, such as press, T.V., cinema, poster and radio.' The purpose of advertising is to help induce the consumer to buy the product or service being presented. It is worth noting at the outset that many of the models discussed have been developed from research and findings in the non-commercial communications environment.

The "advertising process" is defined as being 'a description of the way in which the advertiser achieves his intended purpose on his intended audience'. As certain models have become not accepted, so the immediate purpose of advertising has changed. The evidence to support and refute the various proposed models will be briefly described in this section. Until recently models have been based on the stimulus - response

concepts borrowed from psychological research and theories. More recently attempts have been made to accommodate wider behaviour patterns which are emerging from the study of consumer behaviour.

(a) MODELS THAT HAVE BEEN PROPOSED TO DESCRIBE THE PROCESS

Until recently most of the published models of the process by which advertising is thought to work were based on simple, mechanical principles. The general belief was that an advertiser sent a message by some medium to a potential customer who, upon receiving the message, was variously "caused", "triggered", or "stimulated" to react in accordance with the advertiser's intentions.

Starch

Starch, writing in 1925, postulated that, in order for an advertisement to be successful, it must: be seen, be read, be believed, be remembered, and be acted upon. This model assumed that the advertisement was the main influence on the consumer, rather than his state of mind towards the product. In addition, this model is also not very comprehensive in the sense that it does not allow for the possibilities of the cumulating effect of advertisements, that is, it implies that the effects of each advertisement on a consumer are independent of each other.

AIDA

In 1925 Strong proposed the AIDA model in which the buyer was seen as passing through successive stages of awareness, interest, desire, and action. This model is more satisfactory in some ways because it can refer either to the potential buyer's conception of the product or his reaction to an advertisement.

Cartwright

A much more recent analysis of the advertising process has attempted to incorporate the importance of considerations of consumer behaviour and decision making. Cartwright (1949)1501, described what he believed happened psychologically when someone attempts to influence the behaviour of another.

"To influence behaviour a chain of processes must be initiated within the person. These processes are complex and inter-related, but in broad terms they may be characterized as:

- (i) creating a particular cognitive structure,
- (ii) creating a particular motivational structure,
- (iii) creating a particular behavioural (action) structure.

In other words, behaviour is determined by the beliefs, opinions, and "facts" a person possesses; by the needs, goals and values; and by the momentary control held over his behaviour by given features of his cognitive and motivational structure. To influence behaviour "from the outside" requires the ability to influence these determinants in a particular way."

Cartwright's analysis suggests that four sequential steps must be achieved for an advertisement to be effective:

1. The message (i.e. information, facts, etc.) must reach the sense organs of the persons who are to be influenced;
2. Having reached the sense organs the message must be accepted as part of the person's cognitive structure;
3. To induce a given action by mass persuasion this action must be seen by the person as a path to some goal that he has;
4. To induce a given action an appropriate cognitive and motivational system must gain control of the person's behaviour at a particular point in time.

Kotler, (1972) 1500, believes that this process is, in effect, adopted by many current practicing marketing managers, to stimulate product trial and adoption. He feels that most marketers do not try to create new needs in the buyer that will lead him to want a particular product. Rather the marketer is said to identify the buyer's existing needs and then present the product to him as something that will efficiently and effectively satisfy those needs. Of the various means of presenting the product in this light, such as packaging, media advertising is usually the one employed.

DAGMAR

Colley (1961) 28, reports what is a very widely known systematic approach to advertising which, to some extent, allows for the aggregative effects of individual advertisements, though not in a quantifiable way. This model is called DAGMAR* and refers to the sequential state of mind through which it is assumed consumers must pass.

"All commercial communications that aim at the ultimate objective of a sale must carry a prospect through four levels of understanding: from unawareness to awareness; to comprehension; to conviction; and to action".

The motivation for this particular model was to allow a more precise measurement of the effects of advertising.

The various steps were meant to be well defined and measurable in the market place. However, comprehension and conviction are somewhat loosely defined but operationally seem to be represented by, in the case of comprehension, penetration or recall of the messages, and conviction to be represented by belief in the message and overall preference for the product or desire to buy it. The foundation for this particular model, the result of an ANA Committee, was the concept that:-

"The purpose of advertising is to bring about a change in a state of mind towards the purchase of a product. Rarely is a single advertisement powerful enough to move a prospect from a complete

*Defining Advertising Goals, for Measured Advertising Results.

state of unawareness to a condition of action. Advertising accomplishment should be measured in terms of the extent to which it moves people up the ladder from one level to another."

The acceptance of the DAGMAR hypothesis is claimed to lead to clearer statements of advertising objectives and to the measurement of the achievement of these objectives. Whereas there are conceptual arguments against the acceptance of this model, as discussed later, the apparent value of adopting this procedure has been presented in two recent papers. Marschner, (1971) 57, examined the commercial performance of nine oil companies eight years after they had adopted, to varying degrees, the DAGMAR approach to their advertising. The nine companies were rated as to their degree of management control over advertising and adherence to the principles of DAGMAR. Their financial performance over the previous eight years was correlated against these ratings. It was found that those companies performing well on the various financial criteria also had the higher degree of management control of advertising activities. Another study carried out by Urwick Orr among both U.K. and European companies attempted to examine how companies managed their advertising effort and specifically how they measured the attainment of advertising objectives. This study is reported in Management Today (1972) 492. It was found that 70% of the sample formulated advertising objectives but that only 55% of the total sample actually reduced these objectives to written forms. It was also found that only 25% of the companies regulated their advertising budgets to correspond

with predefined advertising objectives. The advantages of using a management by objectives approach based on the DAGMAR principles was claimed in this article to have the following effects:-

1. It helps to integrate the advertising effort with the other ingredients of the marketing mix, thus setting a consistent and logical marketing plan.
2. It facilitates the task of the advertising agency in:
 - (a) preparing and evaluating creative work, and
 - (b) recommending the most suitable media.
3. It assists in determining advertising budgets,
4. It enables marketing executives to appraise the advertising plan realistically before giving it approval.
5. It permits meaningful measurement of advertising results.

As in Marschner's study, examples are quoted of the apparent value of adopting such a systematic approach based on the Stepwise model. However neither study in any way statistically proves that success is related to advertising but both, no doubt, illustrate that a well run company with a system of attempting to appraise its objectives, stands a good chance of performing well in the market.

Hierarchical Effects

Another "sequence" model is that proposed by Lavidge and Steiner, (1961) 689 . They postulated a hierarchical sequence of effects, resulting from the perception of an advertisement which moves the consumer ever closer to purchase. The movements were said to progress through the following sequence: awareness, knowledge, liking, preference, conviction, purchase. Lavidge and Steiner claimed that this sequence was based on what they termed a classic psychological model, which divides behaviour into cognitive, affective and conative (or motivational) states.

Each of the last three models assume that as a person moves through each succeeding stage his probability of purchasing the product increases. A study reported by Maloney (1966)1442 , reported the action of 2,800 people questioned about a particular brand: 69% of those reporting a preference for it, bought it; 42% of those regarding it as acceptable, bought it; and only 9% of those reporting only awareness of the brand, bought it. However, the evidence to support the belief that these models actually explain what happens in the process of advertising is extremely scant. All these models have the objective of attempting to make a consumer learn something. They also assume that the consumer is rational in his purchase decision. Another objective resulting from the use of these models would seem to be to turn non-buyers of a product into buyers.

Palda, (1966) 591, has reviewed the empirical evidence purporting to support the sequential models. His very rigorous analysis also includes two specially conducted exercises on the launching of a new brand. He also included an examination of the relevance of the various means used to measure the achievement of the steps in the advertising process. His overall conclusion is that there is little evidence to support the hypothesis that the sequential models do, in fact, represent reality. Examples of his criticisms of the models and methods of measuring inputs are:-

- (a) Brand awareness measurement - difficulties of discriminating between awareness as a consequence of advertising and awareness as a consequence of word-of-mouth dissemination;
- (b) In general, there is no logical necessity for awareness of a brand to precede its purchase by any significant fraction of time, particularly in self-service stores;
- (c) Purchasers of a brand may be better rememberers of advertising, for various reasons.

It is also true to say that there are considerable problems with any technique for testing the above hypotheses.

A confirmatory study has also been reported by Clement, (1967) 541. The study reported on, in this paper, attempts to shed further light on the nature of the advertising process by empirically evaluating the system of relationships stated by Lavidge and Steiner. Essentially the hypothesis investigated is that the level of advertising expenditure influences consumer

exposure to the advertising message; exposure to the advertising changes consumers' attitudes; and changes in attitudes stimulate purchase response. The data used for this analysis was generated from controlled experiments conducted over a two-year period to determine whether two increased levels of advertising expenditure had increased sales of fluid milk enough to justify the added cost. The experiment was conducted in six market areas in which three levels of advertising were tested. During each of four advertising periods about 1,500 consumers, 250 in each of the six markets, were interviewed to determine among other things:-

- (a) Respondent awareness of the advertising as indicated by both unaided and aided recall measurements.
- (b) Incidence of consumption of coffee, milk and soft drinks.
- (c) Respondents' scaling of 43 statements concerning attitudes about milk.

In addition to the information obtained from the consumer survey, data on total milk sales for each market were obtained.

Among several interesting results of this study were the fact that:-

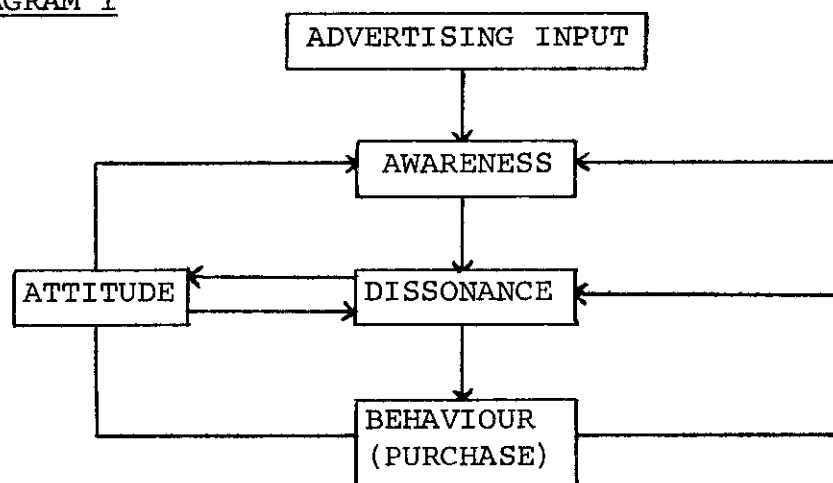
- (a) Recall of the advertising themes was higher among those consumers with the most favourable attitudes,

but the purchase response was greatest among those with the least favourable attitudes;

- (b) Changes in attitudes were not as marked as changes in consumer recall. However, the changes that did occur suggested that attitudes improved in the period following, rather than during, intensified advertising. In fact, the evidence suggested that the initial impact of the advertising was to make attitudes somewhat less favourable.

Clement proceeds to interpret the findings in terms of Festinger's Cognitive Dissonance Theory. (This theory is described briefly later in this section and more comprehensively in the section 'Cognitive Dissonance'.) He then devises an advertising process model which initially accepts that the first effect of advertising inputs is to make consumers who are exposed to advertising become "aware". Added to his model at this stage are "existing attitudes". Diagram 1 illustrates Clement's model of the advertising process for a product situation he experimentally examined.

DIAGRAM 1



From the diagram it can be seen that three variables - exposure to the advertising, dissonance, and product experience - interact to influence the observed level of attitude. Results from traditional measurements of attitudes would, Clement maintains, suggest that advertising was ineffective when, in fact, consumers' unsatisfactory experience with the product was the determining factor. "Unless there is some way of untangling these complex interactions, it is not certain what the attitude survey has measured." From the experience of this experiment, Clement warns that the group with the greatest awareness may not be the one which responds to the advertising. Thus judging advertising effectiveness solely on the basis of awareness could be totally misleading. It is also to be noted that behavioural change is only one possible adjustment to awareness. Another important form of adjustment includes merely reinforcing existing attitudes with no change in behaviour. One cannot tell from awareness studies alone which of these alternatives the consumer has chosen.

Finally, further evidence has been produced by Ehrenberg, (1966) 33, who has examined many records of individual consumer purchase patterns over a variety of heavily advertised markets. (This work is elaborated in the later section 'Relating Brand Choice to Attitudes'.) The results of these examinations do not coincide with the assumptions necessary for the sequential models of the advertising process, i.e. converting non-buyers into buyers or turning the buyer

of one brand into the buyer of another. Ehrenberg has shown that in many markets typical consumers tend to have fairly stable multiple brand purchasing behaviour. They do not veer from one brand to another but regularly buy a number of brands each with different frequencies of purchase and that these purchasing patterns are systematic and predictable. Another study, by Bird and Ehrenberg, (1966) 39, on over 100 brands, revealed a statistical relationship between spontaneous brand awareness and brand usage. On examining the deviations from the general awareness-usage relationship, they found that there was a relationship between the deviations from the norm and past advertising expenditure over a long (5-year) period. No consistent relationship was found between these deviations and recent advertising. Hence these results do not support the sequential type of advertising process, previously described.

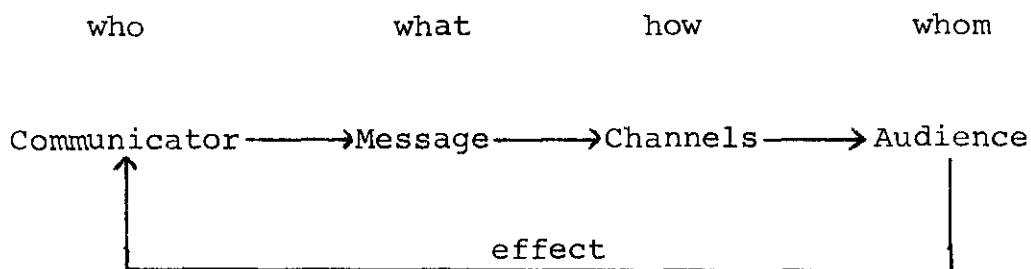
Another more recent study by McDonald (1970) 145, attempted to elucidate the short-term effect of advertising on purchasing behaviour, using individual purchase pattern data. The tentative results of this pilot study showed that there was a very small short-term effect, i.e. when housewives make a switch between brands they are on average 5% more likely to switch into than out of a particular brand if, between the two purchases in question they saw two or more advertisements for that brand. This somewhat limited study did not show that a main determinant in brand switching is short-term advertising effects, as should be expected from the sequential approach, particularly

for the markets studied in this case (washing powders, cereals, tinned soup, margarine, wrapped bread, toothpaste, etc.).

Communication/Information Theory

Another model of the advertising process has emerged recently in the literature. This stems, to a large extent, from a theory of communication, expounded by Shannon and Weaver, (1962) 1503 . In its simplest form this model consists of four basic elements: the communicator, the message, the channels, and the audience. The outline model is illustrated in diagram 2.

DIAGRAM 2



This model does not necessarily help explain advertising effects but is useful for planning the advertising process. The model is said to help conceptualize:

- (a) Who,
- (b) Says what,
- (c) In what channel,
- (d) To whom,
- (e) With what effect.

It is interesting to note that this model, in alternative forms, has been used extensively for designing and researching the technological side of communication processes. The principles on which this model is based are fundamental, allowing such quantities as the entropy (i.e. a measure of 'uncertainty') of the total system to be calculated. It would seem that this theory has interesting possibilities for being used as a framework for understanding the advertising process, in certain situations. As yet little research has been undertaken along these lines.

Practitioner's Models

Models discussed so far have largely been developed by researchers, either drawing on research in psychology or on experiments or observations actually in the market place. As Joyce (1966) 739, has noted, it is worth mentioning briefly two "models" of the advertising process actually propounded by leading advertisers. The first is Reeves, (1961) 30, who reported the principles his agency had worked with for 30 years, embodied in the unique selling proposition, U.S.P. He stated that:

"A consumer tends to remember just one thing from an advertisement - one strong claim or one strong concept. Each advertisement must make a proposition to the consumer. A proposition must be one that the competition either cannot or does not offer. A proposition must be so strong that it can move the mass millions, i.e. pull over new customers to your product."

This theory seems to say that an advertisement works by promising a benefit, which is perceived as unique to the product concerned (although it may not be unique intrinsically), and which will be recalled by the consumer and motivate him to purchase at the appropriate time. Another theory of how advertising works is perhaps best expressed by Ogilvy, (1963) 31. In effect, this theory seems to say that advertising works by associating the brand, through advertising, with favourable connotations which do not necessarily have anything specifically to do with the product's properties in use. This might be termed the "Brand image" theory of advertising. Many case histories exist purporting to illustrate both these procedures, but precise definitions are difficult and no direct evidence exists to validate them.

b) RELATED FINDINGS AND THEORIES

In this section a brief review is made of certain theories and research findings which are pertinent to an examination of the overall process of advertising, but which in themselves do not attempt to wholly explain the phenomenon. In an excellent essay on "What do we know about how advertising works?", Joyce (1967) 739, observes that consumers differ considerably in amounts bought and consumed, the number of brands bought in any period, and that some need to be stimulated to use a particular product category. Consequently when considering the advertising process it is important to know what purpose a particular advertisement is trying to achieve. Also some advertising is aimed at retaining current users, and is therefore fulfilling a

defensive role. In many competitive markets where this latter objective pertains, much advertising must be judged on its performance on present users, by force of circumstances. Certain requirements, therefore, seem to follow from this situation: the advertising or the advertiser is aiming to intensify and exploit favourable attitudes; similarly the advertising must be compatible with the product because the users can compare it very easily with experience. The conclusion that can be drawn from these statements is that in order to understand the advertising process, one needs to understand the consumer purchase process. Therefore, the advertising theorist is concerned with understanding the reasons for the consumers' choice of certain courses of action rather than others. It is assumed that this choice is affected by consumer attitudes, which in turn can be influenced by advertising.

Stability Models

In looking for evidence and theories of relationships between attitudes and choice, advertising theorists have turned to the work of psychologists and social psychologists. Among the most influential, it seems, of research findings from this area are those concerned with "balance", "congruity", "reinforcement" and "dissonance". A good review of theories that have been developed around these four principles is that given in Cohen, (1964) 1030. Heider's work on "balance" examined the way people viewed their relations with other people and their environment. Through experiments, Heider showed that unbalanced situations tend to produce

tension and feelings of unpleasantness. Similarly, Osgood and Tannenbaum's principle of "congruity" is concerned with the direction of attitude change. Experiments were conducted that showed that when individuals were presented with arguments in favour of a concept they valued, which was attributed to a source they did not value or respect, they thought worse of the concept and better of the source. It is important to note that this particular theory and the experimental result on which it stands was concerned with statements on current affairs by well-known public figures. The corollary in an advertising context would suggest that a poorly thought-of brand advertised by a company held in high esteem, would produce a state of incongruity. The need in the individual to restore congruity would tend to cause a less favourable attitude towards the company but a more favourable attitude towards the brand. A further conclusion from this work could be that an incongruous situation may not always produce an attitude change, but could lead to the rejection or non-acceptance of the evidence of the source of the statement, i.e. the advertisement.

Reinforcement

"What we know about the effects of mass communication: the brink of hope" is an excellent survey of relevant research findings up to 1957 by Klapper, (1957) 872. In it he discusses the principle of reinforcement. Various studies are quoted, many of them connected

with voting situations, from which in general, it has been found that when material is presented in the medium in support of both sides of a given issue, the dominant effect is reinforcement, and the least common effect is conversion.

Cognitive Dissonance

A more sophisticated re-statement of the above three theories could be said to be expressed in Festinger's theory of Cognitive Dissonance, (1957) 1029. Essentially this theory asserts that a person has certain cognitive elements which are "knowledges" about himself, his environment, his attitudes, his opinions, and his past behaviour. If one cognitive element follows logically from another, they are said to be consonant to each other. They are dissonant to each other if one does not follow logically from the other. Dissonance is said to be psychologically uncomfortable with the result that an individual will actively avoid situations and information which might increase dissonance. Dissonance may be aroused (a) after making an important and difficult decision, (b) after being coerced to say or do something which is contrary to private attitudes, opinions or beliefs and (c) after being exposed to discrepant information. Although the theory does not specify the way in which dissonance reduction occurs it suggests that there are many possible ways to achieve this: attitude change, opinion change, seeking and recall of consonant information, avoidance of dissonant information, perceptual distortion, and behavioural change. [See for example Brehm and Cohen, (1962)1031.]

Many experiments have been conducted examining exposure to information and attitudes held after a decision has had to be made based on this information. For example, it was believed that many decisions involved dissonant situations in that an alternative not chosen will have had some attractive features, and, similarly, the chosen alternative will have had some unattractive aspect. In this situation it is hypothesised that after a decision has been made the attractiveness of the chosen alternative should increase and the individual will also seek information to justify this choice. Examples quoted of situations which bear out this hypothesis are that new car owners have been found to notice and read advertisements about the cars they have recently purchased more than advertisements about other cars. This theory and some of the findings on experiments based around it, tend to suggest that behaviour change may cause attitude change rather than vice versa. Hence, exposure to advertising may also be caused by purchasing rather than the reverse. A very interesting analysis of many of the experiments based around cognitive dissonance has been carried out by Oshikawa, (1969) 1504. His very well reasoned examination of over 20 reported experiments comes to the conclusion that "the theory of cognitive dissonance is designed to explain and predict post-decisional behaviour, but in most instances it is not adequate to explain consumer behaviour before a purchase decision. (Further discussion of this theory is to be found in the section 'Cognitive Dissonance'.)

Attitudes and Usage

The work of Ehrenberg has been referred to earlier. Mention must be made in this part of the review, of his work in examining the relationship between frequency, or recency of purchase, and the commonly used general measures of attitudes, such as intention to buy questions and awareness questions. He has suggested that there is a possible plausible relationship between frequency or recency of purchase and the level of attitude measure. Ehrenberg and Bird, (1966) 39, found that levels of intention to buy measures were less than would be predicted (from the relationship found for established, static markets), in the case of new brands, or brands increasing their sales, and more than this for declining brands. The view that movements in intentions to buy precede sales movement would predict the opposite. They also found similar relationships between awareness and purchasing, with the additional fact that brand awareness level appeared to be influenced by weight of advertising as well.

Needs

Another area of study by, and contribution from, psychologists is that of "needs". Little evidence appears to exist to explain how the importance of various needs influences the advertising process. Joyce (1967) 739, summarises the importance of and relevance of needs.

"Can advertising influence needs? In particular, can it create new needs? One sometimes hears

these questions discussed and someone will usually say that advertising cannot do this - it can only build on the needs which are already there. It seems to me that this is somewhat obtuse. In many cases it seems straightforward to say that advertising has helped to produce a need (possibly by creating dissatisfaction) and suggested a product to satisfy it. One of the strongest points which can be made by the supporters of advertising is that the consumers' level of aspiration is continually being raised by advertising, which says to her, in effect, that life could be better. Of course, the critics of advertising would say that this creates needless discontent, or that the object of aspirations are meretricious. Either side of the argument implies that advertising can influence needs in the ordinary sense of the phrase."

Brand Image and Rational Choice

A criticism made earlier of the sequential models was that they assumed rational choice by the consumer, in a simplistic way without reference to other factors. Various models have been produced lately which assume that a consumer's choice of a particular brand is influenced by his attitude towards it together with his system of needs. From these models it is postulated that the better these two factors fit together the more likely the brand is to be chosen for purchase. On this assumption various models have been produced, for example, Rothman and Tate, (1964) 40 , and what is known as the St. James' Model, (1967) 911 . Both rely on the determination of the "ideal brand" for each consumer and then establishing advertising which will either move the consumer and his attitude towards

the brand or move the brand towards the consumer. These are interesting models conceptually but are admittedly not based on very well established theories.

c) HYPOTHESES AND CONCLUSIONS

In this section well reasoned hypotheses and conclusions are given about the mechanisms by which communication, including advertising, may work.

Word of Mouth

An important consideration in the total communication process between advertiser and customer is that of personal influence or colloquially "word of mouth". There has been considerable discussion of the relative effectiveness of personal versus non-personal influence in changing attitudes and behaviour. Klapper (1960) 1034, states however:-

"Personal influence may be more effective than persuasive mass communication, but at present mass communication seems the most effective means of stimulating personal influence."

Some writers have postulated a "two-step flow of communication process". This is expressed in the statement "ideas often flow from radio and print to opinion leaders and from these to the less active sections of the population". Katz (1957) 970, has thoroughly examined all the evidence and experiments related to this hypothesis. The original evidence for this theory was derived from an analysis of an election in 1940 in the United States. Many of the

other studies are now similarly very old, and it seems fair to comment that in many respects the social environment has changed a great deal since this time and the relevance of some of the findings may now be less. Among the very balanced conclusions Katz quotes that:-

"Opinion leaders and people whom they influence are very much alike and typically belong to the same primary groups of family, friend and co-workers. While the opinion leader may be more interested in the particular sphere in which he is influential, it is highly unlikely that the persons influenced will be very far behind the leader in their level of interest. Influential and influencees may exchange roles in different spheres of influence."

Hence, although this hypothesis of a two-step-flow of communication exposes a further understanding about the flow of influence, it does not allow a complete picture to be drawn concerning advertising processes. The following qualifications must be made (see Kotler p. 634):-

- (a) Opinion leadership is not a dichotomous trait, it is a matter of degree. All group members may have some opinion leadership in certain areas of consumption;
- (b) Opinion followers do not get their information only from opinion leaders, they too are in touch with mass media, although a little less so;
- (c) Effective mass media strategy might be to aim it at every one and stimulate opinion seeking; this is a useful way to use opinion leaders.

Involvement

The importance of involvement with advertising has been interestingly explored by Krugman, (1966) 230. In this paper he refers to an earlier hypothesis that in the processes of attitude change mass communication impacts are of two kinds: (a) with low involvement with persuasive stimuli one might look for gradual shifts in perceptual structure, aided by repetition, activated by behavioural choice situations, and followed at some time by attitude change; while (b) with high involvement one could look instead for the classic and familiar conflict of ideas at the level of conscious opinion and attitude that precedes changes in behaviour. In other words it is suggested that the processes of attitude change underlying mass communication impact are of two kinds - low involvement and high involvement. The paper describes the development and application of a method of measuring this involvement. Three studies are described which applied the measurement of "connections" to various mass media stimuli. "Connections" are used to measure involvement and are defined as "the conscious bridging experience of personal references per minute, that the subject makes between the content of the persuasive stimulus and the content of his own life." This very detailed study examined low involvement and high involvement across first the media, then across different testing situations and finally across different advertisements.

The results of these small scale experiments led Krugman to postulate certain hypotheses:-

- "1. Involvement with advertising in magazines or television tends to be highest when attention is directed to the editorial environment, less when it is directed to the advertising, and least when advertising is presented alone.
2. Involvement with advertising tends to be consistent with interests in the editorial environment, i.e. greatest interest "carries over" to produce higher involvement.
3. Involvement with advertising tends to be higher for magazines than for television and with high involvement products, but no different with low involvement products.
4. Involvement, as measured by numbers of "connections" per minute, tends to be more sensitive than, and independent of, two other measures (a) Starch noting scores and (b) seconds of stimulus exposure.
5. Involvement with specific stimuli tends to be more varied and consequently best predictable with products of intrinsically low involvement, whilst stimuli representing a high involvement product more often tend to share the same level of involvement."

A final and equally tentative hypothesis was also put forward applying to advertising, not to medium messages in general. This is the hypothesis that women tend toward higher or more favourable involvement than men.

The difference may be viewed in terms of the woman's role of family "purchasing agent" in American Society. Moreover, in terms of the general theory of involvement, which relates low involvement impact to conditions in which behavioural changes precede attitude changes, it supposes that the less highly involved men are more likely to be "impulse" buyers, while the more highly involved women are more likely to be "planful" buyers of advertised goods or services.

Krugman's work is further referred to in the sections 'The Effects of the Media' and 'The Distraction Hypothesis in Marketing'. Evidence of the difference between men and women in terms of the attention paid to the media is instanced by press and poster advertisement noting data from Hulton Research (Hobson and Henry) (1949) 1505, and (1949) 1521, see Table 1. Note that men appeared to pay greater attention to posters.

For Advertisements directed mainly at:	% Noting among men	% Noting among women
Men	30 (53)	24 (35)
Both	26 (39)	29 (33)
Women	25 (26)	39 (26)

Table 1. Attention values for average sized advertisements in full size daily newspapers, and on 16 sheet posters - figs. in brackets (1949)

Liking

A corollary to involvement with advertising is "liking". Does it matter whether an advertisement is liked or not? Treasure and Joyce (1967) 1506, present some evidence to suggest that liking is in general probably not positively associated with attributes which are believed to be closely associated with effectiveness,

such as desire for the product after exposure to the advertisement. However, liking was shown not to be negatively associated with effectiveness: there was no value in attempting to offend in an advertisement.

Benefits

Clement, subsequent to his analysis of a large scale experiment, described earlier, derived three hypotheses related to the way advertising may work. The first hypothesis was that the less obvious the benefit to be gained by consumption of the product, the more likely a behavioural change will precede that of attitude. Conversely, the more obvious the benefit to be gained from consumption, the more likely attitude change will precede behavioural change. The second hypothesis is that the less important price and income in the purchase, the more likely a behavioural change will precede an attitude change. Price and income, being important in the purchase, imply a greater risk in the purchase. The consumer, in an attempt to minimise risk, is apt to make careful evaluation of the purchase beforehand giving rise to pre-formation of attitude, according to Clement. His third hypothesis and a corollary of the previous one, is that the more frequently an item is purchased, the more likely behavioural change will precede attitude change.

Clement appears to have operationally defined attitudes as consumer disposition towards 43 statements about attributes of milk. Note must also be made of Ehrenberg's establishment that the greatest moderator of a consumer's next purchase is what he last purchased.

Company/Brand Image

Lowe Watson, (1967) 178, in a thoughtful essay in "Advertising and the Buyer/Seller Relationship" derives a hypothesis about the importance of the relationship between buyer and seller, considering the way advertising may work.

"The theory of advertising which is put forward in this paper is based on the concept of a set of relationships between the buyer, the "personality" of the brand, and the "personality" of the seller, or company. This theory it is suggested is more useful than the standard advertising theories of today as it can satisfactorily account for a number of discrepancies between the existing theory and empirical observation... It also embraces the role of the company image or personality - a notable omission from most current theories of advertising... In this paper it is postulated that any effective communication implies a relationship between the speaker and the audience. For a persuasive communication, such as an advertising campaign, to be effective implies that some part of its function, at least, must be to establish and maintain a relationship between the buyer and the seller. In general terms it is suggested that "our conceptualisation of the advertising process is incomplete unless it includes not only the customer's view of the product and the claims made about it, but also his view of the advertiser who makes those claims".

In order to develop this theory of advertising, Lowe Watson examined the contribution of established psychological theories, particularly those pertaining to the relationships between individuals e.g. the theory developed by Emery in 1962 regarding the importance of the persuasive communication medium in the relationship between two people regarding a third object. Of the theories examined this has the most direct relationship to the commercial advertising situation. The theory states that for person A to be prepared to accept person B's persuasion about the

suitability of a product for a particular need, it is necessary for A to accept that B is able to view the product in the same way that A views it. Hence advertising which presents the product in a way which A recognises as relevant to his needs will also help to strengthen A's image of B as someone who understands his point of view. Also if B is seen, in his role as manufacturer or seller, as being competent to make obvious qualities of the product which A cannot perceive for himself, this will further strengthen the power of the persuasion.

Two general conclusions which emerge from the examination of academic psychologists in this area, particularly Emery, are (a) advertising is described as being part of a complex system of balancing relationships between buyer, seller, product, and advertisement; and (b) because of the assumption of "balance" or "congruity" a change in any one of these relationships will result in tension tending to change the system as a whole. From the development of this theory it is hypothesised that three key factors are involved in effective advertising: the customer's image of the company, his image of the product and his perception of the advertising. "These three factors mutually support and reinforce each other like the three strands of a rope ... If one is weak or is not properly interwoven with the other two, then the whole rope is weakened and the campaign is likely to fail." The purpose it is claimed, of any descriptive theory of this type must be to provide a conceptual framework as a basis for prediction and for measurement. It is further suggested that the theory set out in this paper gives a fresh insight into the nature of the relationships involved. This has several implications: "In the first place it underlines the importance of the concept of "total communication". This means coordination of policy in every part of the company's communication activity, advertising, sales promotion, packaging, product planning, public relations, and corporate identification."

All these forms of communication contribute to the company "personality" as seen by its customers and can influence the effectiveness of its sales and advertising effort; secondly, attention has been drawn to the role which the company image or personality is likely to play in the process of advertising persuasion. This role it is suggested may play an important part in the longer term effects of advertising. These longer term or "carry-over" effects are recognized by most advertising people, but are very imperfectly accounted for in the "conversion" type of theory.

Consumers'Viewpoint

An interesting article by Stidson, (1970) 118, examines the advertising process from the consumer's point of view, to some extent, and exposes some interesting questions.

"The basic point of contention here is that advertising is still a long way from being an effective and efficient source from the point of view of the consumer. And, following the simple logic of the marketing concept, an information source that does not serve the consumer's purposes cannot possibly be maximally serving the advertiser's purposes. Advertising, like all human communication, is necessarily a two way process regardless of the kind of advertisements involved .

Stidson claims that advertising is still treated as being something someone does to someone else, with an identifiable effect. He points out that the important question facing the advertising researcher is not what advertising does to people, but what people do with advertising. He also states that an important consideration often omitted in formulating advertising

theories is that people have feelings, beliefs, and knowledge about the usefulness, believability, and function of advertising in general, and people also have feelings, beliefs and knowledge about the usefulness and validity of a specific advertisement. Models of the advertising process are seldom stated to include this distinction. An important consideration, it is claimed, when attempting to measure the effectiveness of advertising, is the role necessarily played by consumers in the advertising process.

"There is no way, on the basis of the traditional theories of the advertising process, to decide just who or what it is that is effective. Is it the consumer who is an effective receiver, or is it the advertisement or the medium which delivers an effective message, or is it the copywriter who is an effective sender? Traditional models do not attempt to answer these questions."

It is claimed that advertising can only be viewed as effective if it is mutually advantageous to both advertisers and consumers. Stidson next proceeds to examine and then define the important elements for communication purposes, from the consumer's point of view. He concludes that there are five important factors. He next determines that there are five ways of analysing and describing the advertising process that can be suggested from the literature. Consequently, he concludes, that each of the five different elements of an individual's communication system can be studied from five different and complementary points of view; also since each of the five

approaches to the analysis and description of the advertising process implies a conceptualisation of that process different from that of the others, five different, yet complementary, criteria for the assessment of advertising effectiveness logically emerges. Although he does not conclude this, Stidson is essentially exposing the magnitude of the problem of trying to derive an overall method of measuring advertising effectiveness, suitable for all situations.

Principles of Communication?

In an article titled "Is Communications Research really worthwhile?" Greenberg, (1967) 232, examines the usefulness of some so called "principles" of communication, that have been derived from certain studies and so called theories in the literature. The conclusions he comes to, although somewhat obvious, are possibly worth stating for completeness:-

1. Findings stemming from research in fields other than marketing cannot be generalised readily to the field of marketing, and thus cannot be used as guidelines without major modifications;
2. Even when applicable, a marketing communications principle should not be construed as "absolute truth".
3. The focus for decision always revolves around the specific content of the problem;

4. The results of a marketing study have an unknown degree of precision when used for prediction at a later period of time;
5. The greater the risks that an incorrect decision might involve, the more is additional information required.

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2.

PERSUASION

"Those familiar with mass communication and persuasion know that many variables must be considered in devising persuasive appeals. The persuader must take into account how the audience will react to the source of the communication. He must decide on the type of medium and appeal to employ. He must decide whether to spell out the conclusion at the end of the message or to let the audience draw the conclusions. And, in addition to these and many other decisions, he also must determine how much attitude change his appeal will advocate or, in other words, the exact position that will be set forth in the communication."

Whittaker, (1966) 42.

The above quotation serves as a very concise statement of the many decisions which have to be taken when choosing the strategy for persuasive communication. Golby, (1963) 43, in his article on the theory of persuasive communication, covers the broad theoretical background to the area. He maintains that there are four areas which the communicator has to take into account when deciding on a communication. He must consider the needs, wants and fears of the audience to whom he is appealing. Since these are fundamental to the individual, it is essential that they should not be violated if communication is to be successful. Also of concern are the beliefs and attitudes of the individual, and the importance of internal and external consistency. The point being made here is that the individual has a tremendous drive to make things within his life consistent, a point borne out by all the congruity theories in psychology. This means that

communication appeals which are consistent with the individual's own beliefs and attitudes, stand a greater chance of being successful. The third point is that communications need to be geared towards creating a learned agreement on the part of the potential consumers. The communicator must attempt to create a situation in which the potential consumer automatically reaches the recommended product. This is a classic stimulus response situation. The fourth general point to be made by Golby is that communications must be pitched at the right level of difficulty if they are to be effective. If they are too high in their level of difficulty the consumer will not be prepared to pay attention to them, and if too low he will not be sufficiently interested to take note of them. Hence this is a crucial aspect of communication.

The Golby paper provides a very good theoretical back-ground to all that is involved in communication theory. Such considerations set the scene for many of the following sections. Nevertheless, it is considered worthwhile summarising the findings of Karlins and Abelson, (1970) 836, which are reported in their book "Persuasion". The book is a very good summary of the various behavioural experiments which have taken place on many aspects of communication. The majority, however, were conducted using student populations. They pose the main questions one is keen to investigate, and having evaluated the experimentation which helps elucidate the issue, draw their conclusions. The subject matter of some of their chapters will be briefly stated by giving the questions posed and conclusions given.

Because so many experiments mentioned in the review are based on student population, their shortcomings need to be elucidated. Such experiments are usually undertaken in one of the North American Universities

using first year psychology students. Obviously such a population is unrepresentative of the general public but in addition it is a very sceptical population. The very fact that the students' are concentrating their studies on psychology, makes them suspicious of all activities. Hence they are likely to be constantly looking at their work with a biased attitude of mind. From this it has to be emphasised that it is dangerous to extrapolate from such experiments to the general population without further work being undertaken in a more appropriate environment.

Chapter 2 - How to Present the Issues

How can you best use fear to influence people?

In some circumstances a mild fear appeal (threat) is more persuasive; in other situations strong fear appeal is better.

Do you tell your audience what you think, or do you present the evidence but let them draw their own conclusions?

There will probably be more opinion change in the direction you want if you explicitly state your conclusions than if you let the audience draw their own.

Can a persuasive appeal be enhanced by distracting the person listening to it?

Pleasant forms of distraction can often increase the effectiveness of persuasive appeals.

Are people persuaded by hearing both sides of an argument, or only one side?

When the audience is generally friendly, or when your position is the only one that will be presented, or when you want immediate, though temporary, opinion change, present one side of the argument. When the audience initially disagrees with you, or when it is probable that the audience will hear the other side from someone else, present both sides of the argument.

When both sides of an argument are presented, which side should be told first?

When both sides of a controversial topic are presented one after the other, a number of variables determine whether the side presented first or last will be more persuasive.

When should the most important arguments be presented in a persuasive appeal?

Arguments presented at the beginning or at the end of a communication will be remembered better than arguments presented in the middle.

Does information change attitudes?

Information by itself never changes attitudes.

Are emotional appeals more powerful than factual ones?

Sometimes emotional appeals are more effective, sometimes factual ones; it depends on the kind of message and kind of audience.

Is humour an effective persuasive technique?

Initial evidence indicates that humour is not an effective persuasive technique.

Chapter 3 - The Influence of Others

How well do you have to know a person before he can influence your behaviour?

A person's everyday behaviour can be influenced by the actions of total strangers.

How important are such groups as neighbours, family, fellow workers and friends, in moulding opinion?

A person's opinions and attitudes are strongly influenced by the groups to which he belongs and wants to belong?

What kind of control does the group exercise over its members' opinions?

The person is rewarded by conforming to the standards of the group and punished for deviating from them.

Which members of a group are the most difficult to persuade?

People who are most attached to a group are probably least influenced by communications which conflict with group norms.

Is it easier to change an opinion that has been stated publicly, or one that a person keeps to himself?

Opinions which people make known to others are harder to change than opinions which people hold privately.

Can you increase your influence by getting people "into the act"?

Audience participation (group discussion and decision making) helps to overcome resistance.

Chapter 4 - The Persistence of Opinion Change

Does propaganda have a lasting influence on opinions?

In time the effects of a persuasive communication tend to wear off.

Is opinion change at its highest point right after the persuasive communication has ended?

More of the desired opinion change may be measurable some time after exposure to the communication than right after exposure (the "sleeper effect").

Are there any ways to make the impact of a persuasive appeal last longer?

Opinion change is more persistent over a period of time if the persuasive appeal is:

1. Repeated and/or
2. Requires active (rather than passive) listener participation.

Chapter 5 - The Audience as Individuals

When you talk, who do you think is listening?

The people you may want most in your audience are often least likely to be there.

Who is more persuadable, a man or a woman?

In our society, women are more persuadable than men.

In order to change someone's opinion, what must you know about his reasons for holding that opinion?

Successful persuasion takes into account the reasons underlying attitudes, as well as the attitudes themselves.

Does knowing about someone's personality help you determine his susceptibility to persuasive appeals?

The individual's personality traits effect his susceptibility to persuasion.

Chapter 6 - The Persuader

Does a man have to believe in the persuader before he believes in his message?

There will be more opinion change in the desired direction if the communicator has high credibility than if he has low credibility.

When is belief in the persuader less important in changing opinion?

Credibility of the persuader may be less of a factor in opinion change later on than immediately after exposure.

Are there ways to enhance the persuasiveness of the low credibility communicator?

The persuasiveness of a low credibility communicator can be enhanced when he argues against his own best interests or when he is identified after, rather than before, presentation of his appeal.

Will a communicator be more persuasive if he agrees with his audience on some issue not directly related to his appeal?

A communicator's effectiveness is increased if he initially expresses some views that are also held by his audience.

Are people's opinions about a persuader affected by what he tells them?

What an audience thinks of a persuader may be directly influenced by what they think of his message.

Should a persuader try for a maximum of opinion change or just a little opinion change?

The more extreme the opinion change that the high credibility communicator asks for, the more actual change he is likely to get.

Is a persuasive appeal more readily accepted by listeners who share certain similarities with the communicator?

People are more persuaded by a communicator they perceive to be similar to themselves.

This summary can only act as a general guideline, for obviously not every type of situation has been explored in these experiments. The experiments quoted by Karlins Abelson are fully referenced for those wishing to examine them further.

Some of the above issues have been discussed in greater detail in other parts of the review.

Four areas which have particular relevance to persuasion, however, will be discussed in this section.

Greenwald, (1965/66) 371, takes up the point about the effect of prior commitment to an action and its relationship with persuasive communication. He sets up an experiment to investigate whether prior commitment opposing a behavioural change has any influence on the reception of a persuasive communication. He hypothesised that if a prior commitment had been made, although opinion change might follow the persuasive communication, a behavioural change would not follow. The experiment carried out upheld this hypothesis. Greenwald expands the article to say that by and large the research would indicate that beliefs and behaviour are quite independent of each other. He concludes that the mere stating of an opinion before receiving a persuasive communication, does in fact create a different environment from the one normally operating for the individual. In this situation he maintains that the resistance to the behavioural change and persuasive communication are in fact correlated, whereas in the normal situation the two are not actually correlated.

Schultz, (1963) 433, discussed the material available on whether arguments put at the beginning of a communication (primacy), have a greater effect on opinion change than arguments put at the end (recency). His findings support other work in the area; familiarity with the subject matter of the communication increases the primacy effect.

The Gestalt psychologists consider that people perceive things in wholes rather than fragments. They have shown that a single object is not perceived in isolation, but is seen as forming part of a total. An experiment by Heller, (1956) 697, considered this in relation to advertising slogans. The hypothesis tested was that an incomplete advertising slogan would be remembered more readily than a complete one. It was expected that people would complete the slogan for themselves (closure theory), and would be more inclined to remember it simply because they had participated in perceiving the advertisement. The hypothesis was upheld. This does not lead the author to conclude that all advertisement slogans should be incomplete, rather he concluded that the study reaffirmed that memory is a function (in part) of the degree of active participation.

A term which appears in the literature of both psychology and advertising is that of the "sleeper effect". Hovland, Lumsdaine and Sheffield (1949) 1047, were the first to use it. Their original experiment was concerned with army orientation films. They found that over time the effect of the communicator decreased thus allowing a greater change in the attitude of the individual toward the original communication. Those receiving the communication from a source they found highly credible showed a large opinion change in favour of the communication. After four weeks the opinion change are very much smaller amongst this group. In contrast, those receiving the message from a low credibility source showed little opinion change in favour of the communication immediately after exposure to it, but after four weeks the level of change had risen considerably, In fact the two groups shared very similar opinions after this time lag.

Johns, Lannon and Lovell (1966)1502, submitted a winning Thompson Silver Medal paper on the sleeper effect. In defining the term they say:-

"Broadly this is the phenomenon of rest being advantageous to the learning of factual material, attitude formation and development of behavioural response.

The term is used in a somewhat broader sense than intended by Hovland et al. but these authors seem to suggest that this has more relevance. The paper is very thorough, discussing the various theories which lend support to the existence of the sleeper effect, before presenting the evidence in support of, or against, it.

Determining the effect of time on a particular communication is obviously a complex matter. Johns et al. suggest that there are four factors which will influence the rate at which a communication is forgotten, distorted, or remembered over time. These are as follows:-

- "(i) Factors relating to the Stimulus or material to be learned, e.g. order of presentation, amount of repetition, the distribution of practice, the nature of the material, presence or absence of conflicting material.
- (ii) Personality Factors - that is the personality characteristics of the individual and how this ties in with learning or the adoption or modification of attitudes.
- (iii) Social Factors - the importance of other people's opinions - social acceptability.

- (iv) Emotional and Motivational Factors - the presence and extent of changes in these factors within the individual, with regard to the material and what is connected with the material".

The paper ends with the authors listing the implications of the sleeper effect for media research. The areas they discuss are attention values, repetition and media patterns, and measurements of advertising and media choice effectiveness.

Two more recent papers to discuss the sleeper effect are Gary, Schulman and Worrall (1970) 127, and Ray, Sawyer and Strong (1971) 58. The first paper reports a recent experiment which partially supports the idea of the sleeper effect; the second looks at the concept in the context of the rate at which people forget advertising.

It is notable, however, that there are not very many examples supporting the existence of sleeper effects. If and when it does appear to occur, it does, perhaps draw attention to the fact that media communications are not the only influence on attitudes and opinions and that other factors can be at work.

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3.

PERCEPTION

The article by Parker, Smith and Davenport, (1963) 432, discusses the role of perception in the total persuasive process. These authors consider the advertising sequence to have five main parts. The first is that of media distribution, the second is exposure to the particular advertising vehicle, be it magazine, television or whatever, the third is exposure to a particular advertisement, the fourth perception of the advertisement, and the fifth link in the chain, the advertising influence itself. It is emphasised that the category of advertising influence cannot be subdivided into smaller sections until far more is known about the physical process of influence.

It is emphasised that perception is a necessary condition for advertising influence to take place, but that it is not a sufficient criteria by itself. The definition of perception given is that of Osgood. Osgood describes perception as being "a set of variables that intervene between sensory stimulation and awareness". It is maintained that the only way one can determine whether or not perception has taken place is to find if some change in behaviour has occurred in the individual to indicate that the stimulus was actually perceived.

In an attempt to understand the processes of advertising, the authors advocate that the nearer one can get to measuring perception the nearer one is to understanding the processes themselves. In the absence of adequate

methods for measuring perception as such, however, the authors recommend one should measure any of the preceding four stages in the influence process, preferably getting as far along the chain as possible. It is stated that many attempt to use recall as a measure of effectiveness. These authors strongly criticise recall measures, saying that the variations in them reflect the respondent's interest in the brand or product being advertised, rather than the effectiveness of the advertisement as such. Instead it is suggested that recognition scores should be used. Despite the fact that these have been widely criticised in the past, the authors maintain that some of the points of criticism can be overcome by using controlled advertisements rather than a control group of non-readers of the media in question. By using controlled advertisements, the question of confusion 'scores' (the confusion in the mind of the respondent as to which advertisement is being remembered) is reduced for the individual.

A very thorough literature review is provided by Aaronson, (1967) 235. The review is highly academic, but the author has some pertinent comments to make for the commercial advertiser. The particular emphasis of this article is on the temporal factors in perception and their effect on short term memory. Again recall methods are criticised; this time on the grounds that the temporal course of perception will produce many errors in immediate recall. Among the areas examined in this paper are:-

- a) the rate at which stimuli are presented,

- b) the duration of the stimuli,
- c) the pre- and post-stimulus events.

From the experiments carried out, it was found that an increase in the presentation rate of the stimulus resulted in lesser time for perception to take place between items of the stimuli, and this in turn seemed to result in poorer recall accuracy. It was found that the duration of the stimuli as such was not a crucial factor in determining accurate recall. The point is made that the individual continues to perceive after the removal of the physical stimulus. An important point in recall seems to be whether or not the time allowed for perception to take place, is sufficient.

The authors Leckart, Levine, Goscinsky and Brayman, (1970) 1098, look at perception and its relationship with perceptual deprivation. The experiment run by these authors again involved a student population, and was concerned with controlling exposure time of a stimulus, and the deprivation time between stimuli. In a situation where the subjects were able to determine their own attention time, it was found that this bore a direct relationship to the duration of the perceptual deprivation that they had been subjected to. From the work carried out, it was concluded that the greater the perceptual deprivation, the greater the need on the part of the individual to have a longer stimulus. In consequence, those students who had undergone deprivation, looked for significantly longer periods at the stimuli provided than those who had not undergone the same duration of deprivation. The authors suggest that

further work needs to be undertaken to determine an optimal time of stimulation and deprivation.

Yet again using a student population, Leckart, (1966) 1097, investigated the effects of stimulus on perception. The findings of this work were that the time of looking at a stimulus was inversely related to familiarity with it, and it was directly related to the complexity of the stimulus.

Sears and Freedman, (1965) 368, introduced the concept of novelty into their experiments. They found, when using identical communications, where the audience expected new arguments to be introduced, greater opinion change was forthcoming. Measurement took the form of before-and-after exposure scores. The reason given for this situation was that where the individual expects to hear new arguments, his commitment to his original opinions are loosened, and consequently he is in a better frame of mind to accept new messages. This study also investigated the interaction of novelty with selective exposure in the context of reading advertisements. It was found that anticipation of new arguments did not affect selective exposure. One suggestion put forward, however, was that those expecting new arguments, who are already familiar with both sides of the issue, will be particularly concerned to hear opposing views. This was not proved conclusively in the experiment.

The consideration of selective attention is undertaken at great length by Egeth, (1967) 204. Egeth gives a very thorough discussion of the ways in which the

individual will pay selective attention to competing stimuli. Of particular concern to Egeth is visual and audial stimuli. The article is particularly theoretical, but it does highlight areas in which further research could be usefully undertaken.

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4.

SOURCE CREDIBILITY

"We know an individual's acceptance of information and ideas is based in part on "who said it". This variable, the source's role in communicating effectiveness, has been given many names: ethos, prestige, charisma, image, or, most frequently, source credibility. Which-ever label is used, research consistently has indicated the more of "it" the communicator is perceived to have, the more likely the receiver is to accept the transmitted information."

Lampert and Mertz, (1969/70) 100.

Hovland was amongst those responsible for creating the concept of source credibility. He felt that source credibility had two aspects to it - expertise and trustworthiness. He felt both aspects to be important variables in determining source credibility, but was unable to disentangle the importance of each of them.

Lampert and Mertz undertook work to see if they could clarify more precisely what was involved in source credibility. Their work led them to isolate three meaningful and statistically independent dimensions of source credibility. The three variables isolated were as follows:-

"Safety: safe-unsafe; just-unjust; kind-cruel; friendly-unfriendly; honest-dishonest.

Qualification: trained- untrained; experienced-inexperienced; skilled-unskilled; qualified-unqualified; informed-uninformed.

Dynamism: aggressive-meek; emphatic-hesitant; bold-timid; active-passive; energetic-tired.

The authors maintain that their variable of safety coincides very closely with that of trustworthiness, and that of qualification with the variable expertise. Dynamism is an addition to these. A further point which the authors make is that source credibility should be defined in terms perceived by the receiver of the message, rather than in terms of the objective characteristics of the communicator.

The work of Choo, (1964) 412, extends the work on source credibility to incorporate the notion of communication discrepancy. In a sense this is an extension of cognitive dissonance theory which would suggest the greater the discrepancy the greater the opinion shift on the part of those receiving the communication. Staying with the variables given by Hovland for source credibility, i.e. expertise and trustworthiness, Choo found that trustworthiness could account for differences in opinion change by itself. This emphasis on trustworthiness is contrary to the findings of Hovland and Mandell, but no reason is given in an attempt to explain the difference. One of the variables controlled in Choo's experiment was that of communicator discrepancy. He predicted that where the position of the communicator was discrepant with that of the recipient of the communication, the pressure to change an attitude was particularly great. This was found to be the case. Choo further looked at the interaction between the two variables of communicator credibility and communicator discrepancy. He did not find any significant interaction. What he found was that both high and low credibility groups shifted to a larger extent if the opinion difference

between them and the communicator was a large one. Where there was a small discrepancy between the group's opinions and that of the communicator, the shift was much lower regardless of whether the source was of high or low credibility.

Kelman and Eagly, (1965) 337, raise the issue of source orientation and content orientation. They suggest that there is the possibility that people are predisposed towards one or the other of these orientations. They carried out two experiments in which they explored the relationship between attitude towards the communicator and perception of the content of the communicator's message. It was found that where the communicator was offering a negative communication, i.e. one which was not in keeping with the views held by the receiver, there was a marked tendency to misperceive the message. This was found to vary in strength according to the degree of negative feelings held towards the communicator. Another finding of the study was that source orientation was particularly important when the communicator aroused strong feelings in the recipient. An additional influence on whether or not a person is source or content oriented, is likely to be a function of personality dispositions. The authors suggest that the relationship between source or content orientation and personality, is one which could be further investigated.

Johnson, Torcivia and Poprick, (1968) 748, go some way towards this by looking at the significance of the F-scale (the name given to this particular measurement

by psychologists), or authoritarianism, in a person. The authors describe two particular conflicting opinions of the effect of F-scales on source credibility. On the one hand they describe the work of Johnson and Steiner, undertaken in 1967, which indicated that the highly authoritarian person would be dependent upon the source of the message, while the low authoritarian person would be more concerned with its content. In contrast to this, McGuire's work showed that the high authoritarian scorer would be relatively unaffected by source credibility. The authors describe their experiment in which they manipulate the source credibility with a view to examining the effects of this on the relationship between the F-scale scores and attitude change. They were particularly keen to see whether the suggestions of Johnson and Steiner or those of McGuire held. In fact, their experimentation supported the suggestions of McGuire, i.e. they did not find the authoritarian person to be source oriented.

Wilding and Bauer, (1968) 754, looked at the relationship between the goals of the consumer and the communication source. Their experiment was carried out with a large number of housewives rather than with students. The authors put forward the view that in a buying situation not all consumers have exactly the same goals. They suggest that the goals might be split between those who are concerned with evaluating the product features and those who are more concerned with emulating other people or groups in their environment. Effectively, the latter group would be more concerned to emulate their reference group. It is maintained

that those who are concerned with product evaluation are actually concerned with problem solving behaviour, and those concerned with emulating others, in fact, have goals of psychosocialising. Wilding and Bauer do not adopt the variables put forward by other authors in regard to source credibility, namely expertise and trustworthiness, or safety, qualifications and dynamism. Instead they suggest that four dimensions are operative. In association with problem solving they think the dimensions operating are competence and truthfulness. In relation to psychosocialising, the dimensions involved are power and likability. As might be expected, the authors suggest that these two groups of consumers will be seeking very different things from the communicator. The problem solver will be seeking information about whether or not the communicator knows what he is talking about, and in deciding whether he can trust the communicator to tell the truth. In contrast, the psychosocialisers will be asking how powerful the communicator is and whether or not the level of power makes the consumer wish to emulate him, and whether or not the communicator is liked sufficiently to be emulated. The authors investigate the possibility that people with a need for high social approval will be more likely to choose the psychosocialising goal in the buying situation. The work which was undertaken was intended to indicate if the distinction between differing goals in the buying situation had relevance. Although not overwhelmingly conclusive, the authors feel that their work demonstrated that these are meaningful distinctions to be making. Nevertheless,

they build into this the situation in which the consumer has to take decisions, and whether or not that situation permits this differing implimentation of goals.

"The data indicate that problem solvers in a given situation can react to a message independently of their assessment of the source, and that the reaction of psychosocializers is dependent on their assessment of the source. It does not follow that problem solvers will always respond independently of their perceptions of the source. This would seem to depend on the problem solvers' perceived ability to unravel the task without assistance. It would be unexpected, however, if the reaction of psychosocializers were ever independent of their assessment of the source."

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5.

TRUTH IN ADVERTISING

This section is closely allied to that of 'Source Credibility'. (See section no. 4)

Maloney, (1962) 44, and (1963) 45, reviews findings in the literature on the credibility of advertisements and its effects. In order to test apparent conclusions about the effect of believability, an experiment was devised whereby housewives were exposed to material containing advertisements for various food products. A ten point 'readiness to serve' scale was administered to the respondents before they saw the advertisements. They were then questioned specifically about their 'believability' of the advertisements, after they had seen them and completed the second 'readiness to serve' questions. The results showed that of the 600 housewives in the sample, 204 'shifted' up the 'readiness to serve' scale towards greater 'readiness to serve' the advertised products after exposure to the advertising material. Of the remaining 396, 312 did not change scale positions and 84 'shifted' downwards. There was found to be no difference at all between the response of those who found the advertisements 'hard to believe' and those who found nothing 'hard to believe' in them.

Cohen, (1972) 1073, relates cases of deceptive advertisements and the behavioural science findings on which some of them are based e.g. colours have been shown to have emotional associations which are not necessarily related to objective reality. Guide lines are suggested

for regulating implied and subjective advertising claims using such deceptions.

Finally, Hobson, (1972) 1077, reviews the relevance to the main stream of advertising of the call for 'more informative advertising'. He states, from an experienced practitioner's viewpoint, the role of advertising and the four functions it must fulfil:-

- a) the first job of advertising is to communicate with the public as it is, not as, perhaps, it ought to be in the best of possible words.
- b) in the low cost consumer goods category the public is interested in an impression of the satisfaction promised by the product, not factual information about it which indeed the average person may find very difficult to evaluate. Moreover this satisfaction will vary in its validity from one group of consumers to another. Satisfaction will, of course, include the promise of the product's objective importance.
- c) With higher priced goods, consumer durables ranging from a car to a washing machine, expensive package holidays, mortgage and investments and so on, the case is admittedly different. However, let us start by recognising that these groups represent a minority of advertising volume. More information is needed and a more rational choice will be exercised. Indeed, advertisements in this group are usually far more informative.

- d) the last proposition briefly refers to the suitability of advertising media for given information. A poster can do little more than remind ... a TV commercial cannot give much information on a verbal basis, though it may fleetingly hint at visual information ... a double page spread on a technical paper can be packed with information (partisan of course) in a context where the objective considerations are all important.

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6. COGNITIVE DISSONANCE *

"'What the hell is cognitive dissonance anyway?' from one of this country's top creative directors convinced me that psycho-research theories on 'how advertising works' are not getting through to the practitioners and emboldens me to put my head in the noose with a straightforward philosophy which I call The Complementary Benefit Principle."

Hutchinson, (1970) 117.

Hutchinson removes the highly technical jargon from cognitive dissonance, and puts in its stead a practical guideline for those wishing to employ the theory in a commercial situation. He advocated the adoption of two main principles:-

1. Concentrate in the advertising on those product benefits which are not learnt in a single trial;
2. Concentrate in manufacture on perfecting those benefits which can readily be detected on trial.

Hutchinson goes on to give the theoretical justification for adopting these two guidelines. Putting forward benefits which are not easily seen widens the product appeal. It is much easier to convince people of things they cannot easily prove or disprove for themselves. Because many of the barriers to purchase are often ones which are imaginary, the use of this approach will frequently provide a counter to any negatives the consumer might invent. The fact that additional reasons for buying the product have already been provided helps the consumer relieve any cognitive dissonance i.e. after

This term and associated theory developed by Festinger (1957), 1029.

sales anxiety which makes him feel a need to justify the purchase already made. By adding the new dimension of benefits not easily seen, the advertiser is provided with a far greater scope for his appeals when compared with the advertiser who concentrates solely on the greatest benefit of the product being sold. The final justification put forward, is that by concentrating on the unseen product benefits, the manufacturer is accepting that the consumer is relatively rational, and will decide for herself whether the more overt product benefits do, in fact, exist.

Hutchinson goes on to give a number of case histories which demonstrate where this approach has proved successful. The criteria of successfulness is that of sales effect. The author maintains that it was easy to find successful campaigns which fitted his theory, but not at all easy to find campaigns fitting his theory which proved disastrous.

Hunt, (1970) 150, summarises Festinger's definition of cognitive dissonance:-

"Definition 1: Cognitions are the bits of knowledge one has about himself, about his behaviour and about his surroundings.

Definition 2: Two cognitions are in a dissonant state if, considering these two alone, the obverse of one cognition would follow from the other.

Definition 3: Two cognitions are consonant if one cognition does follow from the other.

Definition 4: Two cognitions are irrelevant if one cognition implies nothing at all concerning the other.

With the above definitions in mind, Festinger presents the core of the theory of cognitive dissonance with respect to a decision:-

1. There may exist dissonant or 'nonfitting' relations among cognitive elements.
2. The existence of dissonance gives rise to pressures to reduce the dissonance and to avoid increases in dissonance.
3. Manifestations of the operation of these pressures include behaviour changes, changes of cognition, and circumspect exposure to new information and new opinions."

The theory of cognitive dissonance would lead one to conclude that the consumer should be very receptive to communications from the retailer or manufacturer immediately after an important purchase. Having taken this stand, Hunt set up an experiment to see whether or not this assumption was valid. The important purchase used in this experiment was one of buying a refrigerator. Three groups of people were used, each having bought a refrigerator on the day before the experiment took place. Of the three groups, one acted as a control group and received no communication; one received a letter from the appliance manager of the department store, stating how sensible the decision of purchase was; and the third group received a telephone call from the researcher posing as an employee of the department store. Again the content of the message was the same as that in the letter. Hunt hypothesised that the subjects receiving reassurance from the department

store after their purchase, would have lower dissonance scores than the control group. He further hypothesised that those receiving reassurance would have more favourable attitudes towards the store, when compared with those in the control group. The third hypothesis in the experiment was that the people receiving reassurance would be more predisposed to further purchase from the department store than the control group. The results of this experiment were somewhat surprising. Those people who received the letter from the department store supported all the hypothesis, i.e. they had less dissonance; they felt more kindly towards the store, and they showed a greater predisposition to purchase from the store in future. However, the people receiving the telephone call came bottom of the league on all three hypotheses. It had been expected that these people would rank somewhere between the letter group and the control group. Those receiving the telephone call had a very high level of post-transaction anxiety, they felt very negatively towards the store and they also had lower expectations of future purchases. The author was anxious to suggest why this situation might arise. He put forward three reasons:-

- "1. The subjects who received the telephone call may have suspected some ulterior motive for its purpose.
2. The telephone call may have interrupted some of the subjects at an inopportune time.
3. Some of the subjects may have been annoyed by firms that sell over the telephone, and therefore interpreted the telephone call as a sales device."

Perhaps the conclusion to be drawn from this experiment, is that the retailer or manufacturer wishing to communicate with the purchaser with a view to reducing dissonance, must be particularly careful of the approach he employs.

A further example of cognitive dissonance is put forward by Auster, (1965) 887. Auster set out to investigate the differing effects of ideological and technological propaganda. His experiment used film exposure.

"Ideological propaganda refers to persuasive techniques which expound and extol values and beliefs of a doctrinaire nature. It typically involves sentimental and emotional appeals, opinionated statements and explicit conclusions.

Technological propaganda focusses on concrete facts, deeds and procedures. It characteristically avoids values and nonrational appeals. Conclusions and implications are usually left unstated."

The subject matter of the film communication was concerned with the oil industry. The somewhat paradoxical findings of this experiment were that those showing the greatest influence to the communication, i.e. showing the greatest attitude change, were those who generally disliked the film, who felt it to be unfair, and in addition felt it to be over-simplified. Auster had expected quite contrary findings to this and consequently he had to look further for some explanation for this finding. He found that those disliking the film but who were influenced by it, in fact held very favourable attitudes towards business. The dissonance created by the stimulus in the experiment

was such that it created great motivation to re-establish some equilibrium between already held attitudes and the film's content. As such Auster concluded this was a very good demonstration of how cognitive dissonance works in practice.

Talking of cognitive dissonance, Straits, (1964) 854, gives a warning of extrapolating from carefully controlled laboratory experiments to marketing situations. He points out:-

"Psychological studies of cognitive dissonance typically have employed experimental (laboratory) designs, while marketing researchers have relied primarily on survey approaches. But these two approaches often yield conflicting results, as in attitude studies where 'survey results typically show little modification of attitudes by communication while experiments indicate marked changes'.

The marketing practitioner who draws upon materials from the behavioural sciences must realise that most of the theories have not been subjected to adequate tests, although often they have been treated as if valid, and that broad generalisations from narrow empirical studies are risky."

Having voiced his warning about the use of cognitive dissonance experimental findings, Straits goes on to say that as far as the marketer is concerned, cognitive dissonance is only of interest in as far as it has implications for the future purchasing patterns of the consumer. The marketer has no interest in whether or not dissonance as such has been reduced. In addition to these general comments, Straits points out that there are two types of dissonance which the

marketer needs to be aware of. The one is post-decision dissonance and the other cognitive intrusion dissonance. The chief distinction between these two is that for post-decision dissonance the consumer suffers anxiety before and immediately after making a decision to buy a new product. With regard to cognitive intrusion dissonance, dissonance is experienced when an established user of a product comes across information which is detrimental to his use of it. The obvious example of this would be the smoker who smokes regularly, and subsequently finds that people are talking about the connection of smoking with lung cancer.

In practical terms dissonance is not measured directly but rather indirectly. The two methods commonly used are:-

1. Recall or sensitivity, and
2. The evaluation of new relevant information.

It is to be expected that the dissonant purchaser will avoid exposure to any information which does not endorse the sense of his purchase decision, and that he will be particularly favourably disposed towards any communication which gives additional credence to his decision. Where the consumer is exposed to dissonant communications, every attempt will be made by the consumer to reduce the dissonance. This leads to the conclusion that attempts to measure dissonance must take place before the consumer has had an opportunity to enter dissonance reducing activity. A number of cases are

quoted in which it was expected dissonance would exist but was not actually found. The reason given for this was that the time between purchase and dissonance measurement was too long.

The problems of measuring cognitive dissonance are further elaborated by Oshikawa, (1972) 1092.

Oshikawa maintains that Festinger's theory of cognitive dissonance is eminently testable, but that many experiments which have been carried out have produced conflicting results. He goes on to consider various explanations which could account for this situation. He maintains that there are two particular errors which the researcher might commit. The first is that the researcher might be measuring a change in behaviour which is actually produced by something other than dissonance reduction. The second is that the available measures might not be measuring dissonance at all. Measurement of dissonance might, in fact, be measurement of a personality characteristic, namely chronic anxiety in the individual. The author draws a definite distinction between these two types of dissonance. Dissonance would actually be temporary or after-the-purchase-anxiety and would be unrelated to the chronic anxiety trait in a person. Oshikawa seems to be suggesting that in order to measure dissonance, one needs to know the normal level of anxiety in a person. If this is known the change in anxiety level could be put down to a state of dissonance.

Oshikawa set out to test the hypothesis that reported dissonance on the part of the respondent, in fact, represented chronic-anxiety and not cognitive dissonance. He further hypothesised that the state of chronic-anxiety would be negatively correlated with the degree of general satisfaction in overall purchase

behaviour. He found both his hypotheses to hold. The author maintains that his findings help explain the equivocal experimental results of other people's work.

Hawkins, (1972) 1091, follows up the previous article. He questions the finality of Oshikawa, stating that there is a need for additional research before anything conclusive can be stated. In his conclusions Hawkins states:-

"This article suggests that several aspects of Professor Oshikawa's interpretations of dissonance and anxiety theory need to be re-evaluated. The findings that people who say they generally worry after making a decision tend to score higher on a measure of chronic or trait anxiety than to individuals who report a lower degree of worrying, suggest that dissonance may be a specific form of anxiety. Furthermore, it suggests that people will vary in the frequency with which they will experience dissonance after decision making. However, it must be pointed out that felt anxiety, and presumably dissonance, is a situational phenomena. Thus, while some may be more prone to experience dissonance than others, whether or not an individual will experience dissonance in a given situation depends upon the interaction between that individual and a specific situation".

Two questions which Hawkins feels could receive particular attention are:-

1. Is dissonance a specific form of temporary anxiety? and
2. Do individuals vary in their tendency to experience dissonance?

He suggests that the State - Trait Anxiety Inventory which has separate scales for the measurement of chronic and temporary anxiety, could be a useful instrument for producing some results on this issue. Details of this particular Inventory are not given in the paper, but a reference is quoted.

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7. THE DISTRACTION HYPOTHESIS IN MARKETING

The distraction hypothesis in marketing holds that the individual will argue with a communication at a sub-vocal level. Where this counter-argument takes place it means that the individual can rapidly reject any communication which does not immediately fit his own sense of norms and values. The idea of the distraction hypothesis is that if the individual is not paying full attention to the communication he is receiving, he will be unable to carry out his sub-vocal counter-arguments to the same extent. If the counter-argument activity is reduced, there is a high probability that the communication will be received in total.

If this hypothesis stands examination, it means that the communication will stand a better chance of creating a positive effect in the individual. Gardner, (1970) 141, is among those who point out that the work of Festinger and Maccoby was responsible for developing this theory. They reported not only a larger degree of attitude change where distraction was employed, but also less rejection of the communicator on the part of the subjects listening. These authors maintain that at the time a communication takes place it is received totally by the individual, and that it is only the subsequent counter arguments which reduce the effectiveness of the communication put forward. Counter-arguments will normally take place in the individual when the communication being made does not easily fall into his own value system.

Gardner is of the opinion that behavioural theories should not be lifted and transplanted into marketing situations without validity tests being run. Because of this he felt justified in running a similar experiment to that of Festinger and Maccoby in order to see if the findings still held. The experiment which he ran involved three levels of distraction - none, low and high levels. At both levels of distraction, however, Gardner found that the distraction so reduced the receipt and understanding of the message, that the message was not actually picked up. From his findings Gardner concludes that the distraction hypothesis does not work in the marketing context to the extent that it does in either a religious or a political context. Before rejecting it completely, however, he advocates that more work be done.

Another team to attempt replication of the work of Festinger and Maccoby was that of Vohs and Garrett, (1968) 914. They wished to explore the relationship between the degree of distraction employed and the extent to which persuasion took place. They felt that perhaps there was a continuum of distraction which could be identified. At the one extreme there could be mild distraction which would have little or no effect on the reception of the message. At the other end of the continuum it was anticipated that strong distraction would provide total interference with reception of the message. The test set up involved four groups; a control group, a group who listened only to the message itself, a group who had a mild form of distraction (figures), and a group with very strong

distraction (arithmetic distraction). The finding did not support the idea of a continuum of distraction. However, further examination of the methodologies and issues involved (when comparing this study with that of Festinger and Maccoby), indicated that the differences of results could be accounted for by these factors alone. Vohs and Garrett suggested further research in order to clarify the situation.

Zimbardo et al., (1970) 134, go some way towards clarifying the confused results emanating from experiments which have considered the distraction hypothesis. These authors take the stand that previous experiments have not taken sufficient account of the way in which the subjects in an experiment have been directed in the research. They have found that the outcome depends very much on where the attention of the subjects has been directed. Where it has been directed primarily at the message, the distraction has aided reception of the communication. Where the attention of the subjects has been centred on the distraction itself, this has not helped reception of the communication. The authors suggest that had this been taken sufficiently into account in previous work, the results would not be so confusing. Three experiments are quoted in which the authors show that the focus of attention of the subjects is all important.

Krugman, (1966/67) 230, discusses advertising involvement, an issue which can be seen as being very closely related to the distraction hypothesis. He extends the idea of focussing the attention of the subject, and

suggests that attention is greatest when directed to the editorial environment in which the advertising is taking place, less when focussed directly on the advertising, and least when the advertising is presented alone. He maintains that where interest in the editorial matter is particularly high, there is a high involvement with the advertisements appearing amongst it. For products which can be termed high involvement products, Krugman has found that involvement with advertising tends to be higher for magazines than for television. For low involvement products no differences appear to exist. Krugman puts forward a number of additional hypothesis before suggesting that the next step in research needs to be an attempt to relate involvement level to purchasing consequences of advertising exposure. (For further discussion of Krugman's work on 'Involvement' see Section II, 'The Influence of the Media')

Taken to its logical conclusion, the distraction hypothesis could lend support to the idea of subliminal advertising being an effective medium. If there is a positive relationship between lack of opportunity for counter arguments and persuadability, then it could be argued that subliminal advertising is potentially very powerful. However, the evidence of this is not conclusive. (see Section 12 on Subliminal Advertising).

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8. THE USE OF FEAR APPEALS IN ADVERTISING

During recent years there has been a considerable debate about whether or not fear appeals in advertising are an additional tool to the marketer. Vinson and Lundstrom, (1972/73) 1465 provide a useful summary of the theoretical rationale underlying the use of fear appeals.

"The use of fear as a means of arousal involves two components: first, it is necessary that some perceived threat, real or imagined, be instilled in the individual, and secondly, there must be the creation of an emotional state which leads to anxiety."

The neo-Freudian, Horney (1937) 1467, has suggested that anxiety in the individual has been a great motivator of man's actions.

"Anxiety induced through advertising that jeopardizes the person's security (safety), affection and belonging from his family and friends (love), and his self respect, prestige and status (esteem), is likely to seek known or suggested avenues for its reduction. It is in this setting that the offering of the advertiser who has induced the tension and provides a means for its immediate or future reduction, has the greatest opportunity for initiating changes in behavioural patterns.

The effective communication of the fear appeal message requires that the individual not only receive, but perceive the message correctly - it must be selected and organised into a meaningful cognitive structure. A correct combination of communicator, message and channel are therefore essential to the acceptance of the appeal as being both valid and germane to the receiver if the intent is to confirm, change or create attitudes." (Vinson and Lundstrom),

It is suggested that the higher the source credibility employed, the greater will be the chance of the communication being perceived as truthful. Source credibility is here determined by the expertise, likability or trustworthiness of the source as perceived by the consumer.

A matter of importance is that the degree of fear incorporated in the message should be at an appropriate level. If the fear content is too high it is likely that the defensive mechanism of the consumer will be brought into being, and dissonance reducing activity will follow. If this happens the fear appeal will cease to have the positive effect intended by the communicator. If, however, the fear appeal is at too low a level, it is likely that the consumer will not be interested in the communication and will consequently ignore it. Again, the desired effect will not be created. This means that a moderate level of fear is the most suitable for creating a positive reaction; a view supported by the bulk of the literature. The right level of fear appeal must however be co-ordinated with an appropriate approach to the consumer. If it is an attitude which is being manipulated by the communicator, it is desirable that the right aspect of the attitude structure be approached. The three elements of the attitude structure are cognitive, affective, and connotative. It is the affective or emotional element to which the communicator must appeal. The authors suggest that without the emotional involvement, the consumer will not be susceptible to the message. One further point which a communicator must bear in mind, is that if the communication is to be effective, it must be followed rapidly by reassurance. Having created fear

in the individual, the immediate suggestion that a particular remedy will help rectify the fear, should be well received. Over and above all this, however, it has to be remembered that fear appeal can only be used where consumers do not have a strong commitment to the activity in question. Once the communicator attempts to encroach on areas where the consumer has a strong commitment, he will be attempting to shift very basic attitudes. This is something he will not be able to achieve through advertising. Work by many psychologists has demonstrated this.

Having described the general features of using fear appeals in advertising, the authors go on to say that the evidence for using them effectively is at best inconclusive.

Ray and Wilkie, (1970) 121, take the attitude that the use of fear appeal in advertising is an area neglected by marketing.

"Marketing's neglect of the fear appeal is a prime example of the field's failure to take full advantage of communication research findings. While a large number of behavioural studies on fear have been published, marketing ignores their hints for segmentation, communication goal setting, message construction, and product differentiation. Instead of looking at these detailed results, marketing seems content to ask the simple question, 'Is fear effective or not?', and to reach the premature conclusion that fear is not effective as an appeal."

The authors maintain that there is now sufficient evidence available to show how fear appeals can be used in marketing. They point out that over 90 studies have been reported in the psychological abstracts since the now famous work of Janis and Feshback. This was a study carried out in 1953 which demonstrated that fear appeals were not altogether a good thing in terms of affecting behaviour. It is true that amongst the 90 studies reported, the results have differed widely, some saying that fear can affect behaviour, others saying it cannot affect it. The authors take the view that sufficient studies have now been carried out to provide marketing men with a very good idea of how to segment the market along this continuum of fear. It is pointed out that the research has shown that high fear appeals have worked best with people who are low in anxiety and are high in self esteem. In addition, such people exhibit high coping behaviour and find the topic under consideration of low relevance to themselves. What this effectively means is that fear appeals can best be used amongst people who do not consider themselves in the market for that particular product. Examples given are of cancer society appeals appealing particularly to younger rather than older smokers, and of insurance advertising appealing particularly to those who do not see themselves as needing it. From this the authors conclude that fear motivation seems to be more effective in opening up new market segments rather than in creating additional sales in old ones.

Ray and Wilkie feel that, hitherto, marketing men have typically emphasised the potential inhibiting effects which can be expected from a fear motivation. Nevertheless, there is now sufficient research to show that fear can, in fact, have a facilitating effect, i.e. can produce positive behaviour. In situations where consumers are familiar with all the arguments for buying a particular product, it is likely that the introduction of a fear appeal will generate new interest. Having said this, however, it has to be remembered that the use of fear appeals is just like any other when it comes to creating behaviour in the potential consumer.

Wheatley and Oshikawa, (1970) 119, pursue the question of fear by looking particularly at the relationship between anxiety in people, and positive and negative advertising appeals. In particular they consider two hypotheses:-

1. Moderately strong negative appeals are more effective than positive appeals in communicating with low anxiety individuals.
2. Moderately strong positive appeals are more effective than negative appeals in communicating with high anxiety individuals.

They set up an experiment to test these hypotheses. The stimuli used in the experiment took the form of advertisements by trade associations. They were compiled by the authors to resemble each other as much as possible, with regard to length and other salient features. The subject matter was essentially the same,

but the two different approaches of positive and negative appeals were used. In the positive copy the desirable consequences resulting from the use of the advertised product were advocated, while in the negative approach the undesirable consequences of failing to use the produce were emphasised. Much checking was undertaken to ensure that the negative and positive aspects of the advertisements were perceived. In addition, the tests for anxiety carried out on the subjects of the experiment, were checked against the anxiety of other groups of the population.

There was no statistical difference between the two. The results of the experiment supported the hypotheses. The group in the low anxiety category exposed to the negative copy experienced a more favourable attitude shift than those who were shown the positive copy. Similarly, those in the high anxiety category who were shown the positive copy experienced the most favourable attitude shift. An odd finding in this experiment was that for the few subjects who did not conform to this pattern, subsequent research showed that they perceived the copy incorrectly, i.e. they saw the positive stimuli negatively and vice versa. This appears to be some sort of perceptual distortion which has not been identified. The authors put forward another possibility to explain the odd discrepancies in the result, namely, that product ownership might be one of the factors influencing reaction to the particular advertisement. They were advocating that non-owners would respond more positively to a negative communication than would the owners.

This was the theme taken up by Wheatley, (1971) 83, in his article "Marketing and the Use of Fear - or Anxiety-Arousing Appeals". The experiment set up by Wheatley was concerned with life insurance. He hypothesised that the owners of life insurance would not react as well to the anxiety of the arousing message as the non-owners. His experiment is explained in the article, and the hypothesis is upheld. He concludes his article by saying:-

"The evidence presented here does not provide a definite explanation why an anxiety-arousing message produces better results with non-owners than with owners. Nevertheless, the Ray-Wilkie hypothesis which predicted the significance of non-ownership from a marketing standpoint has been supported by the evidence in this particular experiment at a reasonably high confidence level."

Kay, (1972) 1072, furthers this dialogue by questioning the methodology being employed. He says:-

"The Wheatley, Ray-Wilkie, and other articles which attempt to deal with the role of 'anxiety' in affecting responsiveness to advertising copy and other types of messages deserve special attention. They direct attention to a relatively neglected but important variable which affects everyday behaviour. But those reports have omitted discussion of such a great number of serious methodological questions that the resulting findings cannot be evaluated regardless of any statistical tests which were applied. In the specific case of Wheatley's conclusions, they are not necessarily incorrect; nevertheless there is insufficient information for the reader to determine whether they are correct."

The doubts voiced by Kay apply to many experimental situations and not simply to those using fear appeals. He takes the stand that he is not intending to criticise the experiments reported to date, but rather he intends to pose questions which should not be ignored when interpreting experimental results.

Among the problems mentioned by Kay is that little attention has been paid to the starting point attitudes of the respondents involved in the experiment. He raises the point that if somebody already owns a product and is particularly well disposed towards it, there is little room for improvement in their attitude when compared with non-owners. None of the reports hitherto mentioned have given any indication of the level of attitudes held towards the product prior to the experiment. Kay points out that Hovland was amongst those who overcame this problem by producing what has come to be known as the "effectiveness index". Wheatley and the others do not mention this problem in their articles, and consequently do not appear to take any particular steps to overcome it. A second point mentioned is that it is frequently assumed that if a researcher says he is measuring a given attitude then he is, in fact, measuring it. Quite probably he may be measuring something else, so that his assumption is totally invalid. This seems to be a methodological problem which is infrequently talked of. The third problem mentioned is that of definition. Anxiety is considered to be one of the most complicated and confusing personality factors, and consequently is particularly difficult to measure. Kay points out that even a cursory glance

at the literature will show that there is little agreement amongst psychologists as to what anxiety means. In some cases it is used synonymously with the term fear, in others it is used in a quite different manner. In the articles previously mentioned, care is not taken to show how these terms are being used.

Little attention has been given to the ethical considerations of the use of fear appeals. It is Spence and Moinpour, (1972) 1089, who really take up this question in detail. These authors go beyond saying "Is a fear appeal an effective marketing tool?" to asking "Is a fear appeal defensible in social welfare terms?". Two particular points are made about the use of fear appeals. The first is that psychologists have demonstrated time and again, that learned anxiety is very easily achieved. It is well known that children learn fear from their parents before they are able to understand what the fear actually consists of. Similarly, people are very readily conditioned into a stimulus-response situation where the anxiety is created by the mass media. The second point raised by them is what effect will this continual fear arousing situation have on the average person's threshold of anxiety. They point out that in Western society the state of anxiety is very well developed without any additional encouragement from the mass media. The authors merely raise these issues, but they suggest that still further research needs to be done into two particular areas:-

1. Whether continuous exposure to fear-appeal advertising creates high-anxiety persons in the target audience itself; and

2. Whether the effect of fear-appeal advertising on low-anxiety individuals is different than on high-anxiety individuals.

In their conclusions the authors state:-

"While anxiety is an acknowledged facet of human existence, its causes are complex, and its effects can be unfavourable to both the individual who becomes highly anxious and to the society in which the anxious individuals live. Anxiety can be stimulated using impersonal and mass media, and behaviour modifications can result. Advertising which utilises fear appeals can contribute to individual, and hence social levels of anxiety, although it is not the only contributing factor or even likely the primary one. However, it does appear to be a factor that deserves attention as would be any other potentially harmful practice.

To date, marketers have primarily been concerned with improving the effectiveness of advertising's use of fear appeals. The authors suggest that concern for consumer welfare includes an obligation to critically evaluate all marketing techniques that have indeterminant psychological effects."

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9.

PERSONALITY

"One of the more engrossing concepts in the study of consumer behaviour is that of personality. Purchasing behaviour, media choice, innovation, segmentation, fear, social influence, product choice, opinion leadership, risk taking, attitude change, and almost anything else one can think of have been linked to personality."

Kassarjian, (1971) 712.

Kassarjian gives a very thorough review of the various aspects of personality which have been used for any of the above marketing purposes. He structures his article by discussing the many theories which have been applied in this way. The theories he discusses are the psycho-analytic; the social theorists which are essentially neo-Freudians - for example Fromm and Horney; the stimulus-response theories which build up on the classical learning theory approach; the trait and factor theories which are essentially various personality profile approaches; the life style form of segmentation; and other miscellaneous approaches. He summarises each of these theoretical groups before stating their marketing applications.

It is pointed out that taking all of these theories together, the end result must be that the conclusions are equivocal. Some experiments have been carried out in which it has been demonstrated that there is a very strong relationship between some personality types and aspects of consumer behaviour. Similarly, there have been many studies showing no relationship whatever, and a great many which indicate that if correlations

do exist, the correlations are so weak that they are of questionable validity.

Kassarjian goes on to discuss the various methodological problems which may account for this ambivalence of research. One of the problems highlighted is that of the conditions under which consumer researchers collect their data. Very often they find themselves interviewing women who attempt to give answers which they think the questioner requires, rather than giving answers which are as factual as possible. Alternatively, the housewife might be describing what she thinks she is or wants to be, rather than describing what she actually is. A second problem is that of the applicability of the measurement tools being used. Very often researchers are using techniques which were developed for measuring gross personality characteristics such as sociability, emotional stability, introversion, or neuroticism, but in situations where they want to know which brand of toothpaste or cigarette will be bought by a particular consumer. Before the importance of personality can progress further states Kassarjian, an attempt must be made to develop appropriate measuring techniques. A third main reason for the complexity of results which have been found, is that many of the experiments which have been carried out have been carried out on an ad hoc basis, and not as a means to giving information on a particular hypothesis. As long as this is so, the experiments will not be correctly structured, and at the end of the day it will not be known whether or not an hypothesis holds. The final criticism made by

Kassarjian is that researchers who find personality accounting for perhaps 5% or 10% of the variance in a situation, reject this as meaningless. He points out that in other situations, e.g. when social research is being carried out, such a variance would be perfectly acceptable. In other words, he is saying that consumer researchers are expecting personality to be an overriding criterion in determining an individual's action in purchasing a product, rather than being quite a substantial contributory one.

Woodside, Jnr., (1968) 790, investigates a specific personality segmentation, and undertakes an experiment to see whether or not it has relevance in the marketing situation. The segmentation used by Woodside is that of Riesman's concept of inner directed people, other directed people, and traditional directed people. As the terms imply people look within themselves, outside themselves or to their past for their norms and influences on behaviour. The first work undertaken to see whether or not this typology could be applied to marketing was undertaken by Meyersohn, (1957) 1285. Meyersohn was able to conclude from his work that Riesman's typology could be used to demonstrate how the value systems in our society have changed.

"He states that Riesman's concept can be used to make the following point: while in other cultures and in our past, sophistication was centred around areas of subsistence and work, today it is centred around the area of consumption, focussing on minor or marginal differences between almost identical goods."

The work carried out by Woodside was undertaken with a view to determining whether or not people in these three categories were more prone to use a particular product. An example he gives is the possibility of heavy smokers being other directed and non-smokers inner directed. In his test five product groups were used; cigarettes, mouthwash, headache remedies, magazines, and television. In addition to this, the execution of ten pairs of advertisements was varied to see whether this too had a relationship with inner and other directed persons. The subject matter of the advertisements was identical, but their execution emphasised points which were felt to appeal to inner directed persons or similiarly to other directed persons.

The results of this experiment were not conclusive, but this inconclusiveness was attributed to the fact that the products considered were not products involving risk taking on the part of the consumer. It was felt that if products requiring greater risk had been taken, a more positive relationship between personality type and product usage might well have been found. Of the ten pairs of advertisements tested in this experiment, just two were found to have a significant relationship with personality type. These were advertisements for drinking glasses and for restaurants. Both had a relationship with other directedness.

Venkatesan, (1968) 746, tackled another aspect of segmentation - namely that of group pressure and personality. The precise relationship being tested was that between what can be called self-esteem (generalised

self-confidence) and persuadability. It was envisaged that there would be a curvilinear relationship between these two, a finding put forward by Cox and Bauer in some earlier work.

The experiment involved the choice of three suits which were, in fact, identical, but the participants were requested to pick out that which was best. A typical Asch experiment was set up in which the individual was subjected to pressure by other people when making his choice. It was found that a significant number of people responded in accordance with the pressure exerted. Such people were found to be yielders rather than non-yielders. The research went on to see whether this split coincided with that of those desiring high self-esteem, and those not desiring it. Over the total group this relationship was not found to hold, however, taking the extremes in the group - i.e. those requiring high self-esteem and those not requiring it - it was found that the relationship did hold. The author maintains that the relationship between personality and persuadability is certainly worthy of further research.

Kamen, (1964) 414, pursues the issue of whether personality and food preferences are related. Before detailing this experiment he describes the literature which would indicate that there are very definite "yeasayers" in the population, and goes on to suggest that there are also a large group of people who opt for non-committal and neutral answers - people he has termed "idunnosayers". Following from this, what he particularly explores is the possibility of "nitpickers" existing. These he

described as people who are forever differentiating between identical things.

He followed through his example using food as the test product. The participants in the experiment had to compare foods ranging over very different qualities and foods which were, in fact, quite identical. In some circumstances it was found that people ranged very widely over both groups of products - those which were, in fact, differentiated and those which were not - but that this finding was not sufficiently generalisable to be able to say that "nitpickers" existed as such. This raised the interesting question of what criteria do you choose food tasters on? It would seem that some people are highly differentiating regardless of the differences, and perhaps this is due to a personality variable rather than anything else.

In her article on psychographics for market segmentation, Ziff, (1971) 80, discusses the possibility of using various types of segmentation for marketing purposes. In particular she looks at pure personality typologies, lifestyles, and segmentation based on values and beliefs. Whenever one talks of psychographics it is always debatable what basis for the segmentation is being used. Ziff worked through data collected for a commercial purpose to see whether or not any sort of psychological segmentation had meaning for marketing. The data was collected from 1,600 housewives, covered 214 attitude statements, and collected information on such things as personality, lifestyle and judgmental questions.

From the work broad segments of housewives were identified. These were named as; "outgoing optimists, conscientious vigilants, apathetic indifference, self-indulgents, contented cows, and worriers." Each of these six groups had characteristics which are given in the paper. She then went on to see whether one could extrapolate from these general segmentations to the type of products which would appeal in particular circumstances. She worked through the example of a drug product. For the drug product four categories of people were identified; realists, authority seekers, sceptics, and hypochondriacs. The study showed that there was a very definite relationship between these drug related segments and the general ones.

This work appears to demonstrate that such segmentation is meaningful to marketing, and that the results of it will give clear guidelines for the type of product which will be acceptable, the theme on which one can appeal to the potential consumer, and the tone of the advertising which will be acceptable. Nevertheless, it should be noted that the data and analysis used are not given in great detail.

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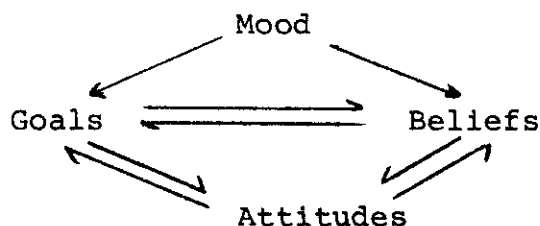
10. RELATING BRAND CHOICE TO ATTITUDES

As stated in the introductory section on advertising processes, there is a fundamental assumption in most recent theories about how advertising works that, in some way, brand choice and attitude towards the brand are related and predictive towards one another. The problems of researching this assumption and some findings are reviewed elsewhere. (See 'Advertising Processes' p.28, and 'Some Thoughts on Attitudes')

In this section some examples are quoted of the apparent relationship between attitudes and choice behaviour, particularly induced by advertising.

A rudimentary and early example is that quoted by Du Bois, (1960) 696. He examined a sample of 228 housewives over time for their attitudes and user-ship of 40 brands, within eight product categories. It was found that users who rated a product highly continued to use it; non-users who at the beginning of the study had rated the product highly, eventually became users.

In an experiment conducted by Axelrod, (1964)988, the effects of "mood" changes were examined. Mood is defined here as a multi dimensional concept made up of nine dimensions, such as concentration, aggression, pleasantness. The model being tested in the experiment was essentially one describing the influences on a persons attitudes towards the use of a product (after Rosenberg)



The experiment was conducted on 184 women students and showed that a mood change, measured as attitudes towards mood goals, predicted changes in attitude towards 11 consumer products. The stimulus for a change of mood was the showing of the film "The Nuremberg Trials". The study was based on the premises that:-

1. Mood changes systematically influence the evaluation of moods as goals. For example, does a person tend to evaluate concentration more highly when he is concentrating than when he is not concentrating?
2. Mood changes systematically influence belief about consumer products as leading to or from various mood goals. For example, does a person tend to see drinking a particular drink as making him happy when he is happy and sad when he is sad?
3. Attitudes towards consumer products can be predicted from a knowledge of the values given to various mood goals and of the beliefs about a product as leading to or from these mood goals. For example, knowing that excitement is a highly valued goal and that driving a sports car is seen as leading to that goal, can we safely predict favourable attitudes towards a sports car?

Consequently, if mood changes are systematically related to the evaluation of moods as goals and to beliefs about products as leading to or from the goals, and if in turn these two factors determine attitude, then changes in mood should have a systematic and predictable influence on attitudes towards consumer products. The data produced by this experiment, would support to some extent, the view that it is possible, within limits to predict the effect of mood change on attitude. Changes in mood were highly correlated with changes in the evaluation

of moods as goals. Changes in mood were also highly correlated with changes in the beliefs about products as leading to or from various mood goals. However, there was a much lower correlation between directly measured attitude towards the 11 consumer products and predicted attitude based on the values assigned to mood goals and the beliefs about the products as leading to or from these mood goals. The data indicate that given all three correlations are significant and correct, only the direction of attitude shift can be predicted, but not the magnitude. Further research would obviously be required to determine the utility of using moods as goals and predicting attitude. (See also reference to Fishbein in 'Some Thoughts on Attitudes'.)

The influence of brand name on attitudes has been examined in a study by Simon, (1970) 87. This experiment consisted of measuring a sample of consumers' preference for a range of brands, on a four-point scale, under three conditions: pre-exposure to the advertisement; brand name masked advertising exposure; and identified brand exposure of advertisements. A range of brands' advertising was used, from major brands to less well known ones. The results of this study suggested that:-

"Adverts for brand leaders will score higher than their content warrants because of the influence of their names. Consumers interpolate their backlog of attitudes into the advert and well known brands benefit thereby. Conversely, adverts for less familiar brands will not score as well even though they may be superior."

As mentioned in the section on Advertising Processes, Ehrenberg and Bird have investigated the relationship between brand awareness and brand usage, (1966) 39. In this article they describe the analysis of monthly or quarterly surveys in a number of product fields, which cover topics such as consumer awareness of different brands, consumer usage habits, advertising awareness, and various attitudinal and brand image factors. They show that for brands with low market shares, spontaneous awareness is linearly related to usage; for large brands the proportion aware is higher than the proportion using the product regularly. An empirically derived relationship between attitude and usage is quoted. It is shown that deviations from the standard relationship can be explained by past advertising expenditures over long periods, such as five years. No consistent relationship between deviation and recent advertising expenditure was found.

The relationship between brand image and brand usage has been further examined by Bird, Channon and Ehrenberg, (1970) 574. In this paper examination is made of the general nature of the variations in attitudes held about any brand by 'current users' of the brand, 'former users', and 'never tried'. Brand images were measured by a battery of paired question of the form: Which of these brands (list) would you say was nourishing? Which of these brands etc., is not so nourishing?

Some general findings were:-

1. For all brands and all attitudes the proportion holding a positive image is highest among current users, lowest amongst never tried.
2. Proportion holding negative images is almost invariably highest amongst former users.
3. In fields where the proportion of current users holding positive images is high relative to never tried, a lower proportion of current users tend to hold negative image relative to never tried.
4. The proportions of all usage groups holding positive images is higher generally for the brand leader than for other brands, i.e. a brand's average positive image even amongst its former users and never tried, is correlated with share of the market.
5. The proportion of all usage groups holding negative images is lower for the brand leader than for other brands.

Greene and Stock, (1966) 280, review important considerations which must be taken into account when attempting to use attitude measures to measure advertising effectiveness. They suggest that pre- and post-surveys should be conducted on matched samples of "exposed" and "unexposed" panels.

A paper by Matricon, (1967) 259, develops the argument that the degree of exposure should be taken into account when assessing the effect of advertising on attitudes. He develops a theory to allow attitude measures to be modified by exposure and devises an "index of effectiveness" based on this. This exercise is not, however, related to an actual example.

The effect of sex in advertisements on brand recall is reviewed by Steadman, (1969) 170. Evidence from other studies is cited to show that sexual illustrations have high attention getting value, but that readership and recall of messages accompanying such illustrations may well be low. It is claimed that little attention appears to have been paid to controlled testing of the findings on the relationship between recall of brand names and specific aspects of sexual themes, such as attitudes to the use of sex in advertising or the degree of erotic content in advertisement illustrations. An experiment is described which used 60 U.K. business school students whose ages ranged from 21 to 35. The results showed that fewer brand names accompanying sexual illustrations were correctly recalled than were those accompanying non-sexual illustrations. The results, however, did not demonstrate that the more erotic the illustration becomes, as perceived by the observer, the fewer brand names are correctly recalled.

11. THE INFLUENCE OF THE MEDIUM

In this section a review is made of the studies designed to examine the effect of the media in which advertisements appear. Almost exclusively, the studies reviewed here are concerned with the effect of television; most studies reported in the literature, certainly during the last 10 years, have been primarily concerned with examining the effect of television on audience receipt of advertising.

This section summarises findings on such aspects as: levels of attention vis-a-vis attention to programmes and advertisements; the effects of programme content on advertisement reception; the effects of the way television is used - "involvement with the media"; studies relating attitude change to the effects of television advertising; and finally, some general comments on the role of the media.

Susceptibility

How susceptible are people to television advertising? An interesting paper by Weinberger, (1962) 876, describes an experiment to gain more information on the degree of accuracy with which people are able to gauge their susceptibility to advertising on television. Basically, four tests were conducted where subjects were invited to evaluate a new television programme. Commercials for various products were interspersed in this programme. Before-and-after-exposure questionnaires were completed by the audience which included the "prize-draw competitive-preference" question* for ascertaining the effect of the television commercials on brand preference. The subjects were also asked the following questions "How often

* e.g. "If, in a prize draw, you could win a years supply of (product category), which one out of the following pairs of brands would you choose?"

would you say that advertising on television has led you either to buy or to enquire about something?" Four possible answers were allowed ranging from "very often" to "not very often". It appears that 24 such experiments were run and that the sample sizes averaged 200, ranging from 113 to 362. Care seems to have been taken in selecting the samples to be representative of the target populations for the products advertised. The results of this exercise indicated that in general, those who describe themselves as "not very often" influenced by advertising on television were nearly as persuadable, on the measure used, as those who describe themselves as "very often", or "quite often" influenced. In 17 of the 24 tests, there was no significant difference in the brand preference behaviour of the respondents claiming either to be "very often" or "not very often" influenced by advertising. When rank orders are considered in a more detailed analysis, there is a statistically significant relationship between the self-designated persuasability and brand preference behaviour as a result of the exposure to the advertisements. This relationship is not consistent however. On the criteria used to judge effectiveness, this exercise suggests that people are not able to either state or gauge the influence of television advertising upon themselves.

Programme Effect - Programme Viewing

In an interesting and constructive paper, Brown, (1967) 228, examines the hypothesis that:-

"For a given audience and commercial, the attitude of the viewer to the programme is not irrelevant to the effect of the advertising appearing in it. At least two mechanisms might be thought of as operating. On the one hand, the sheer level of attention paid to the vehicle might be correlated - positively

or negatively - with commercial break viewership. On the other hand, liking for, or credibility of the programme might in some way rub off onto the commercial."

In examining this question, Brown first states that any relationship between the effect of a particular commercial and the attitude of the viewer to the programme carrying it must be proved. Next, if this is proved to exist, the relationship must be quantified in relation to some particular attitude-to-programme scale. Thirdly, a way must be found of applying these findings to practical problems. Ten studies are quoted, mainly American, which attest to the reality of the relationship between attitudes held towards a programme and the "effect" of a television commercial appearing in it. The criterion of advertising effect in all these studies is a communication measure - notably "recall". Hence it is claimed that there is descriptive evidence of the existence of the relationship being examined, and some qualified quantitative evidence. Assuming this relationship to exist, Brown then describes an experiment that was conducted to further quantify the relationship, using a different criterion of advertising effect. Consideration was also given to the need to apply the results. Briefly the experiment involved screening the same commercial in four successive weeks, each time in a different programme. The item advertised was a frequently purchased food product. In each week matched samples of 360 housewives were recruited and interviewed before and after the evening's T.V. viewing. The respondents were asked what they were going to watch, what they did watch, and also to rate programmes for "liking", on a five-point scale. The "effect" of the commercials was

examined by a paired comparison, brand preference change measure. The results of this exercise are carefully analysed and also compared with a somewhat similar study done in the U.S. Results for brand preference were corrected for trends in sales over the four weeks, it was claimed. The U.K. results do not show a clear relationship between liking for programme and brand preference change. When certain assumptions* were made, it could be shown that generally there was the trend that the higher the liking for a programme, the higher the brand preference change. In order to examine the applicability of such findings, an examination was next made between respondents "liking" of programmes and their subsequent viewing behaviour. It was subsequently found that the proportion of the viewing audience, falling into a particular "liking" category was a simple, linear function of the proportion of the total population, giving the same opinion of the programme in question. Hence the overall conclusion of this paper is to indicate how the effects of attitude to programme could be taken into account, using existing data on the media, in planning the positioning of commercials to be received in a favourable environment. Further, more comprehensive experiments would need to be conducted to firmly establish the findings suggested by this study.

Corlett and Richardson, (1970) 129, review work done in the last decade examining 'attention' paid to television, in the U.K. Such work has shown how 'attention' increases from 5.30 p.m. until 9.00 p.m. and stays fairly constant for the rest of the evening. Such studies when applied to standard JICTAR+ audience data, have made it possible to estimate the "cost per thousand attentive housewife" for different time periods. As the authors then point out, these studies

* e.g. The U.S. study had 3 "programme opinion" categories, the U.K. study had 4, two of which were combined to make the comparisons;

+ see references at end of section for definition.

have made no explicit reference to the effect of different programmes. Three other studies are quoted which have examined the effect of programming on attention and shown an effect to exist. It is claimed that the results of these studies have been difficult to apply to practical time-buying decisions since it did not relate attention directly to the I.B.A audience data provided by JICTAR. The survey reported in this paper was designed to investigate the extent and nature of the relationship between the level of housewives' attention to television and their frequency of viewing particular programmes.

"It seemed to us that viewing frequency was not only likely to be a sound indicator of programme interest in its own right, It had the additional, very important, advantage of being regularly available to us for any quarter hour from the routine analysis of JICTAR 'diary' data. Hence total audience estimates, from JICTAR data, could be modified for both attention, due to time of day, and programme interest, as measured by viewing frequencies. Hence, more complete estimates could be made of the total attentive 'audience'."

The paper details the surveying method which comprised 2,650 interviews. The paper claims that there is a linear relationship between housewives' programme viewing frequency and their attention to programmes. A graph is presented showing how attention varies with programme frequency for different time periods in an evening.

"The general picture is nevertheless reasonably clear and makes sense. Housewives' attention levels vary both with time and also with viewing frequency. Variation with viewing frequency is greater in early pre-peak time than it is later, for example."

The graph also shows that where viewing frequency for a particular programme is especially high, attention will also be high almost irrespective of time in the evening. The authors also quote the grounds for believing that of these two factors influencing attention, time and viewing frequency, time will normally remain the dominant one in determining housewives' likely attention levels in particular cases. Other factors such as social class and terminal education age give guides to the overall total amount of television watched.

Relevance of Programme Content

Crane, (1964) 379, examines the importance of the harmonisation between the product advertised and the programme content in which it appears. He quotes depth interviews by Campbell-Ewald, (1961) 1510, which suggested that men's products are most favourably positioned in situation comedy programmes. The difficulty however, that findings may just reflect respondent's knowledge of current practices is acknowledged by the author. A laboratory experiment is then described by Crane. In this experiment, 300 men and women were shown sequences of various programmes containing various advertisements. There were ten different commercials, two for each of five products, in three different programme settings. The respondents rated their liking for each combination of programme and advertisement, i.e. programme plus advertisement taken as a single entity. The results quoted show that for men the liking for a programme-plus-advertisement sequence is determined primarily by the product featured in the advertisement. In contrast, for women, the programme rather than the product seems to be the decisive factor. The findings of this study have not been replicated over a wide variety of products, programmes and advertisement type.

Within this limitation, the conclusions suggested by Crane are that since women appear more sensitive to programme context (on the criteria of liking) choosing the appropriate context for commercials may be more important for day-time television, when the audience is primarily female. Since programme context appears less important for men, an advertiser would seem to face a problem when he seeks both men and women. This study is based on U.S. evidence, as day time T.V. has only recently been introduced in the U.K., there is as yet no supportive evidence.

Another study of the relationship between programme content and advertising reception is that reported by Kennedy, (1971) 69. This examined, particularly, the potential differing effects of advertisements in a thriller programme and a comedy programme. The inspiration for this experiment was based on evidence by Sargent, (1957) 1511, that upon the completion of an intense emotional experience an individual tends to be susceptible to new or previously opposed ideas. Small samples (39) of people were invited to attend film shows into which were inserted three commercials. The position of the commercials was rotated. Three recall measures were gathered about the brand name, the product features, and the commercial format. Like-dislike measures were also gathered on the brand and the commercial. The analysis of the results attempt to show whether there is a differing effect of the commercials due to the position of either before the film, in the middle of the film, or at the end of the film. The sample sizes are really too small for any firm conclusions to be drawn, but there are suggestions, it is claimed, that the middle position in a thriller film is better than either the beginning or the end, for example. Overall, the results, although not conclusive by any

means, suggest that the programme environment does effect commercial performance, as gauged by the particular measures used here.

Involvement

In a series of articles Krugman has examined the importance and implications of people's "involvement" with television as a medium. ((1965)1206, (1970)130, (1971)7). The work of Krugman is briefly summarised elsewhere in this review, in the sections 'Advertising Processes' and 'The Distraction Hypothesis in Marketing'.

In the first article Krugman suggests that T.V. may not sell products by changing attitudes but more by changing perceptions of the product in the course of merely shifting the relative 'salience' of attitudes. He believes this to be particularly true when a potential purchaser is not particularly involved with an advertising message. He further suggests that television advertising and television itself is different from other media in that:-

"They include stimuli and responses of a different physiological nature which play a perhaps different role in the steps leading to a purchase decision."

He then quotes experiments which involved showing four advertisements in a pre-test situation, four times in a row, to samples of up to 57 people. Recall measures were taken after each showing of the advertisements and the graph of recall against number of exposures was U-shaped. This is the same pattern of learning as observed when people are shown nonsense letter or number sequences. This is claimed to suggest that people find T.V. advertisements unimportant and uninvolving.

Krugman suggests that this does not mean that, given enough trivia people, will eventually believe something, but rather that the way advertising works is not by overcoming resistant attitudes and it is a mistake to try to detect this. He suggests that the repeating of a particular message will alter "the frame of reference" or salience of these attitudes, e.g. a product may have been seen as "modern" and after repeated advertisements could be seen as no more modern than before, but modernity could now be the prime factor in the organisation of the percept. Krugman rightly drew attention to the fact that much audience research is related to an assumed high involvement with the media and the commercials in it, and consequently assumes more dramatic, conflict of ideas and conscious opinion changes to be occurring.

In the next article Krugman attempts to identify some of the differences between passive and active learning and suggests the implications for television use. After examining extensive literature on this subject, Krugman quotes that the distinction between voluntary and involuntary attention means that much of thinking, learning, and reading represents a sequence of successive efforts to attend, while much of the viewing of life around us, films, T.V. and other "changing stimuli" are far less likely to require effort.

"The rate at which a man can perform repetitive tasks is limited. Such diverse movements as tapping the finger, moving the eyes, or saying short words, can be made no more often than ten times per second. The limitation appears to be of the central nervous system rather than of muscles."

Without this ten per second limitation, we would not be able to experience the illusion of movement when we look at films. He then proceeds to examine the nature of alpha rhythms in the brain and reports that these disappear when people pay attention to something.

Experiments involving the measurement of alpha rhythms in different subjects have shown that some people respond to stimuli more easily than others, i.e. they pay attention easier. Similarly people are different in their innate ability to be susceptible to stimuli. In this article he concludes by saying that perhaps knowledge and information are more important than attitudes held by viewers, since people have attitudes as a result of television coverage of important events. Formerly there would have been many "don't knows" on important issues, he claims, because people were less informed without television. However, this argument is mainly based on consideration of attitudes to social aspects, rather than commercial factors.

In the earlier articles, Krugman has used as a measure of "involvement" the metric of "connections". These are defined as the number of thoughts which come spontaneously to the mind of the viewer during exposure to the visual stimulus and which are linked with something in the content of the stimulus. He reports three studies which have used this metric and have shown that T.V. advertisements evoke many fewer "connections" than press advertisements. An experiment is then reported where the eye movements of subjects looking at T.V. advertisements were recorded. An examination was made of eye movements when either learning or communication was said to be taking place between the viewer and the advertisement. 'Recall' was the criterion of learning in these experiments.

Additionally, the subjects were brought back once a week for three weeks without verbal interviewing, just to note the effects of repeated exposures on looking. The way people looked at the advertisements could be described either as "bunched" or "spread out". No data is given in this article, but the results are claimed to show that: those respondents who scanned more, recalled more; but those advertisements which were scanned less, were better recalled. The resolution of this paradox is given as:-

"Advertisements which are easily learnt require very little of the respondent and they communicate with little work on his part. But advertisements which do not learn easily do require the respondent to be more active, to look around, and to scan."

Krugman believes that scanning represents the intrusion of the stimulus in the head of the viewer in the form of a thought. Hence there is the suggestion that scanning represents an active learning process; non-scanning or bunching would seem to suggest non-active learning. In order to investigate this non-active learning possibility, Krugman devised an experiment to use alpha brain rhythms. The experiment was performed on one subject, who looked at magazine advertisements and television advertisements while her brain waves were being monitored. It was shown that the mode of response was different for the two media, rather than the advertisement content. The print advertisement evoked fast brain waves while the television advertisement stimulated slow brain waves. It is suggested, that this, very limited indeed investigation, indicates that television is a passive medium.

Comparison is then made with McLuhan's thesis:-

"Television is not mass communication in the traditional sense. Nobody out there is trying to decode or receive any messages, instead their eyes and ears have been "extended" into the situation portrayed on the screen. In terms of all mass communication theories, it would ordinarily be said that television is better or richer than radio because an extra dimension, that of vision, is added; or richer than newspapers because the audio element is added."

This is said to be the right conclusion but from the wrong premise. Radio and newspapers as communication are deficient in that they must omit much information. Similarly, television as 'experience' is deficient in that reality is present minus feelings. This is McLuhan's "cool" medium and in consequence is said to be breeding a generation yearning for feelings and meanings behind superficial happenings and encounters in life as it is portrayed. Krugman claims his experiments support McLuhan in that television does not appear to involve working to learn something. Hence television appears to communicate something effortlessly, it does not require thought on the part of the recipient at the time of exposure. As Krugman stresses, however, there is no real evidence for speculative inference in his paper to suggest that neither print nor television is "better" than the other, or that neither fast nor slow brain waves are "better" than the other. What appears to have been demonstrated is that the response to television is more passive simply because it is an easier form of communication. Further research is therefore needed to determine just how easy or hard different communication should be made for optimal learning by various audiences. Also one would like to know the effect on brain waves of the fact that to read print advertisements probably requires more mental activity to focus the eyes and that

the time needed to look at a stimulus is probably proportional to one's familiarity with the subject matter. There is also more content in print media to have to select from, which will require mental effort.

The work of Krugman has been extended by Mabey and Bodger, (1971) 198. There are two aspects of Krugman's work which were of particular interest to these authors. The first, was the idea that commercials and advertisements vary in their structure, i.e. the number of connections the individual is able to make between the content of the persuasive communication and the content of his own life. In Krugman's terminology the greater the number of connections made by the individual, the lower the structure for that particular communication. The second idea, which these authors are interested in is the concept of "work" which Krugman proposes. By work, Krugman is referring to the effort the individual has to make to assimilate the particular communication. From these two suggestions of Krugman's, it follows that one would expect the lower the structure of the communication the more work the subject would have to do. Krugman has actually undertaken work to demonstrate that this relationship exists, but Mabey and Bodger undertook an experiment with some commercials to see whether the relationship still held. The authors did find that the relationship held, but they concluded that it was not sufficiently sensitive to be used as a means of choosing different advertisements within a single media. They suggested the use might be more appropriate when looking at the effects differing media were likely to have on the consumer.

Effect of the Media on Attitudes

A variety of studies have been reported where attitudes to brands or subjects are measured before and after T.V. commercials or campaigns have been shown. Usually these studies are for well known, existing brands and account does not seem to be taken of the influence of the usership in all these studies. The importance of this factor has been described earlier in this review [see p. 100 Ehrenberg, (1966) 39]

Alper, (1970) 91, reports the impact of information presented through a T.V. programme on attitudes and knowledge. The subject was the Law, and matched samples of 1,500 students were used:- one group who saw the programme and one who did not. Before and after questionnaires were administered to monitor attitudes and knowledge on various subjects to do with the U.S. Law. It was found that the viewer's knowledge and attitude changed as a result of the programme, but that the effect had disappeared after six months, when further questionnaires were used. (n.b. the conflicting evidence of the 'Sleeper Effect' on the section on Persuasion.) O'Keefe, (1972) 82, reports a study on the effect of an anti-smoking campaign. Two samples were used. One of 900 under 21 year olds and 600 over 21 year olds, in a particular town in the U.S. where a T.V. campaign was run.

The two samples were chosen to see if there was a detectable difference in influence on the young. The results of the analysis of this campaign were that only those who were pre-disposed to giving up smoking before the campaign were in any way disposed to giving up after the campaign. There was also no difference in response between the different age groups.

An article by King and Summers, (1971) 65, explores whether attitudinal variables broadly defined are related to media exposure and, if so, what is the nature of this relationship. They are specifically interested in whether personality and attitude and value measurements are effective in identifying highly exposed consumers within media groups. Also they wish to know whether highly exposed consumers exhibit similar or different attitude profiles across media groups. They cite various other studies which have shown that the preference for different media by different audience segments can be attributed to differences in attitudes or psychological needs. They also quote a study which claimed to show that non-demographic data on consumers "explained" advertising related behaviour, e.g. slogan recognition, television and magazine readership. The exercise conducted by the authors themselves measured media exposure and a battery of personality inventory questions on a random sample of a thousand homes in a town in the U.S.. Magazine, newspaper and T.V. and radio exposure were covered by the exercise. The results claim that substantial differences are demonstrated among the

attitudinal profiles for six broad media classes, i.e. television and five different categories of magazine. It was also shown that the attitudinal profiles were not primarily a function of education levels.

Finally, the section ends on a more philosophical note. Wiebe, (1970) 113, has explored the apparent paradox that television programmes are often regarded, by critics and the intelligentsia particularly, as at best trivial and at worst vulgar and harmful, but that these programmes continue to attract very large audiences. The explanation, according to this author lies not in the commercial pandering to debased sensibilities, but in two psychological facts. From a study of the work of psychologists, particularly child psychologists, and findings of Feffer and Piaget, he believes:-

"The media reinstate the opportunity to enjoy the early pattern (of childhood behaviour) of taking without deference to the reciprocal needs of the giver."

The second fact claimed to be relevant, is that there is resistance to change, except under conditions not ordinarily created by the mass media.

"The media allow the audience member to resume the the infantile posture observed by Piaget in which, when the stimulus is removed, it ceases to exist. Reality, on the other hand, is beset with people and things that resist, react, encroach, demand. Small wonder, then, if, when people are weary, frustrated and crowded, they embrace the media where people and things are ephemeral - as they once were for each of us."

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JICTAR -

Joint Industry Committee for Television Advertisers

This committee represents the T.V. contractors, the advertising agencies and the advertisers' interests, and runs the industry's method of determining T.V. 'ratings' (i.e. percentage of homes with set switched on to a particular programme). The budget for this activity is £0.5m. and the work is currently carried out by A.G.B., Essentially, a panel of households - 100 to 350 - exists in each T.V. area and a meter is attached to the back of each household's set which records continuously whether the set is switched on and to which channel it is tuned. The household also keeps a diary which is supposed to record how many people are watching the set in each quarter hour. Both the records are analysed and reported upon weekly. The total sample for the U.K. is 2,650. The BBC use an interview technique to determine audience sizes, among other things, and interview 800,000 per year.

A good summary and critique of these methods is given in:-

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12.

SUBLIMINAL ADVERTISING

The most prevalent definition related to the phenomenon under consideration in this section is that subliminal perception refers to the registration of a stimulus below the threshold of perception. The subject matter reviewed in this section is that which most pertains to, or involves evidence of the commercial application of this phenomenon.

There are at least three interpretations possible of the concept of perceptual thresholds. There is a "registration threshold" below which stimulus is presumed to have no effect on the organism. Early studies in this area have also utilized a concept of an "absolute threshold", i.e. the length of intensity of exposure at which the stimulus is correctly identified fifty per cent of the time. Finally, many recent non-commercial investigations utilize the concept of "recognition threshold", the length or intensity of exposure on which a stimulus is correctly reported for the first time, in a series of exposures of increasing duration or intensity. None of the above thresholds represents an absolute point, it seems. Instead, all three vary with individual, experimental conditions, characteristics of the stimuli, and psychological and physiological conditions of the subject. Hence the actual threshold under consideration for the use of subliminal advertising falls somewhere along this continuum, depending on the effect of these influencing factors.

An interesting review of the psychological and physiological evidence for subliminal perception is given in an article by Dixon, (1972) 2 . Explanations for the

way in which the brain works are given, which would seem to allow for the phenomenon of subliminal perception to exist. Laboratory experiments are described which prove that subliminal perception occurs and causes a physiological response in a subject. Brain wave activity was recorded while subjects watched a screen upon which emotional or neutral words slowly increased in brightness. By pressing a button, the subjects indicated their awareness threshold for "something on the screen" and then as the brightness increased further, the recognition threshold for the word in question. This experiment produced three interesting results:-

- (a) Conscious thresholds were higher or lower for the emotional than for the neutral stimuli.
- (b) Significant changes occurred in brain wave activity prior to awareness of particular words.
- (c) Both heart rate and the incidence of particular brain patterns indicated an emotional response to critical words prior to their emergence into consciousness.

This data seems to suggest "that at some pre-conscious stage of the perceptual process the brain detects the meaning of the incoming stimulus and so initiates an appropriate change in its level of sensitivity for their conscious representation." It is important to also remember that subjects tend to respond more to stimuli when they are requested to expect them.

Turning to the commercial application of this phenomenon, there would seem to be no concrete evidence that consumer

behaviour can be influenced in this way. Particularly, it has to be remembered that consumers are subjected to very overt persuasion via the media and also have a great ability for ignoring or forgetting all such messages. Brief details are given here of various studies which have examined the commercial possibilities of subliminal advertising.

In the 1950's there was much publicity and interest focussed upon the effects of subliminal communications. Such interest seems to have been aroused by reports of the infamous "experiment" in a New Jersey cinema in 1957 wherein the Subliminal Projection Company flashed the words "drink Coke" and "eat popcorn" on the screen so quickly that they were below the conscious awareness of the average individual. It was alleged that the sales of Coke and popcorn were markedly increased by the use of this sub-threshold technique. Attempts to establish the actual details concerning this "experiment" by, among others, McConnel (1958) 828, and Taylor (1972) 827, have shown that this exercise proved no such thing. Among many considerations apparently overlooked was the fact that during the week of this exercise - in only one cinema - the weather was very warm and the film being shown was "Picnic".

In 1958 the IPA in Great Britain reported a study of the available information concerning subliminal communications. The investigating committee concluded that:-

"The present evidence shows little, if any, effect for subliminal communication in the fields of selling and persuasion. The dangers of this method of communication - which have given rise to public comment - are, therefore, not justified by any evidence submitted."

Nonetheless, the committee felt that:-

"The free choice of the public to accept or reject, is an integral part of all forms of professionally accepted forms of advertising, and does not appear to be available to recipients of subliminal communication."

Subliminal advertising was subsequently legislated against in the U.K.

Dixon (see p.146) describes an experiment where people were shown film which contained a subliminal message "eat more beef". After the film they were required to rate themselves for the feeling of hunger and were then invited to choose one from a selection of different sandwiches. The results were unequivocal. Those who had had the subliminal message rated themselves as hungrier than people in a controlled group without subliminal stimulation, but did not show any significant preference for beef as opposed to other sorts of sandwiches.

Hawkins, (1970) 149, also reviews and clarifies the main findings surrounding the effects of subliminal stimulation. He conducted two experiments to test various hypotheses. Both experiments relied on a three-channel tachistoscope to present messages subliminally. He examined the apparent effect of these messages on "drive arousal" and on subsequent behaviour. Twenty-four subjects were exposed to the subliminal message forty times over approximately fifteen minutes. A control group were exposed to the messages at least five times. The messages were again concerned with drinking Coca Cola. The subjects were asked about their feelings of thirst and preference for brands. These two experiments claim

to suggest that subliminal advertising can affect needs, or drive arousal (in this case thirst) but that this appears to have no effect on the brand advocated to satisfy the need.

Berelson and Steiner, (1964) 1513, after reviewing research on subliminal stimulation, concluded that:-

"There is no scientific evidence that subliminal stimulation can initiate subsequent action, to say nothing of commercially or politically significant action. And there is nothing to suggest that such action can be produced 'against the subject's will' or more effectively than through normal recognized messages."

DeFleur and Petrinoff, (1959) 837, report the results of broadcasting subliminal suggestions both in closed circuit T.V. settings and actual "on-air" situations with a commercial T.V. station. These authors conclude that while inefficient communication is possible with subliminal messages, they are ineffective as persuasive devices. In the first example, twenty-five students were shown a film containing subliminal presentation of digits. After the film the subjects had to guess which of certain symbols had been presented. The number of correct guesses was shown to be greater than would have occurred than by chance. The next experiment involved T.V. programmes containing advertisements subliminally presented for future programmes; audience sizes were then measured before and after subliminal advertising.

A somewhat contradictory experiment is reported by Banréti-Fuchs, (1967) 971. Again two experiments were conducted both involving samples of about thirty students. In the first experiment reaction times to various stimuli was

the criteria of response, and in the second experiment the prediction of various digits was used as the criteria. No evidence at all was found for subliminal perception via these experiments.

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13. SOME GENERAL THOUGHTS ON ATTITUDES

The problems of relating attitudes to purchase behaviour are discussed by Myers and Alpert, (1968) 799. They point out that it is not the whole array of attitudes which are important to the researcher wishing to determine future purchase behaviour, but rather attention needs to be paid to the determinant attitudes. The definition of these authors is:-

"Attitudes towards features which are most closely related to preferences or to actual purchase decisions are said to be determinant."

From the article it is apparent that determinant attitudes are being used as synonymous with differentiating attitudes. That is to say, where all products have a very similar attribute, this is not differentiating and hence the attitude towards that product will not be determinant. An obvious example of this is to be found in the car market. Everybody has very set expectations of the minimum safety standards of any car on the road. In consequence, no attitudes towards the safety of a particular car will be considered determinant, by these authors.

The authors suggest that the researcher can gain information of determinant attitudes through any of three main methods of research - direct questioning; indirect questioning, including motivation research and observation and experiment. Each of these methods is discussed in some detail and the pros and cons given for them.

An additional point made in this paper is that it is important for any manufacturer undertaking research to ascertain to what extent his own particular brand falls

short of the absolute requirement of the consumer. That is to say, research should not be restricted to comparing the various brands available on the market, but should also take into account anything which could be classified as a potential substitute for the product group. It may well be that the manufacturer is undertaking research oblivious of the fact that the whole product class is about to be supplanted by a new product entrant. The authors maintain that this situation can be avoided if adequate research is undertaken.

Sandell, (1968) 800, discusses the importance of the situation in which a consumer is asked to make a choice. The point made by Sandell is that although attitudes may be important in determining behaviour, a different choice is likely to be made according to the environment in which that choice has to be made. This means that attitude research unrelated to the situational factor will be less than adequate.

"There is now a considerable body of evidence in the psychological literature to support the conclusion that a person tends to evaluate communications in a manner consistent with his relevant attitudes. If a communication about some issue is consistent with a person's attitude towards that issue it is more likely to be accepted than rejected."

N.T. Feather, (1964) 373.

Feather has written a lengthy and technical article on how one can determine in advance how a communication will be received. He builds what he has called a structural balance model of communications effects. This model takes into account four issues - the source of the message, the receiver of the message, the actual

form of the communication, and the issue involved. He goes to great lengths to show how these four factors can be balanced to obtain optimum communication effectiveness.

Instrumentality theories are the subject matter of the article by Mitchell and Bigland, (1971) 716. The underlying hypothesis of instrumentality theories is that behaviour is in part determined by two things:-

- (a) The expectations of the individual that certain outcomes will result from his behaviour,
and
- (b) The individual's evaluation of these outcomes.

The authors review the literature making use of such theories.

In his discussion of temporary effects of communication, Krugman, (1970) 114, discussed how the temporary effect of an exposure might eventually slip into a fixed effect. This whole area raises the issue of when an actual change takes place, i.e. does it take place when it first begins to appear in the response of a subject, or when the change has become a permanent one. This in turn has possible implications for when the change can be measured. Krugman's ideas of how communication actually becomes part of a stable response, has lead him to concentrate on what thoughts are actually going through a subject's mind at the time of being exposed to a communication. He has developed a methodology to concentrate on non-verbal responses of what is important to the consumer (see section 'The Effect of the Media'). Further experiments

along the same lines by Mabey and Bodger, (1971) 198, indicate that the sensitivity of the measures are insufficient to enable the differences between advertisements, or messages, to be detected.

Attitude Models and Measurement

In recent years a concentrated effort has been made to understand the processes through which an individual passes when making a purchase. How an individual can be prompted into considering the purchase of a particular type of product, and how the decision is taken to buy a particular brand are matters crucial to the marketer. Kotler (1965) 881, gives a very good summary of the early models which attempted to explain the motivation of man.

"But uncovering why people buy is an extremely difficult task. The answer will tend to vary with the investigator's behavioural frame of reference.

The buyer is subject to many influences which trace a complex course through his psyche and lead eventually to overt purchasing responses.The buyer's psyche is a "black box" whose workings can be only partially deduced. The marketing strategist's challenge to the behavioural scientist is to construct a more specific model of the mechanism in the black box."

In his conception of the buying process as a system of inputs and outputs, Kotler lists the buying influences, or inputs, as follows:- price, quality, availability, service, style, options and images. The channels through which these influences are able to operate he lists as the advertising media, salesman, acquaintances, family, and personal observation. At this point the buyer's psyche intervenes to produce the outputs to the system, namely product choice, brand choice, dealer choice, quantities and frequency.

Five models are discussed in the paper, each giving a different interpretation of what occurs in the black box. These are summarized as follows:-

"Marshallian man is concerned chiefly with economic cues - prices and income - and makes a fresh utility calculation before each purchase.

Pavlovian man behaves in a largely habitual rather than thoughtful way; certain configurations of cues will set off the same behaviour because of rewarded learning in the past.

Freudian man's choices are influenced strongly by motives and fantasies which take place deep within his private world.

Veblenian man acts in a way which is shaped largely by past and present social groups.

And finally,

Hobbesian man seeks to reconcile individual gain with organisational gain."

Each of the models is discussed in some detail, and the marketing implications of them is given. Kotler is of the opinion that each interpretation of the black box has a contribution to make to a better understanding of buyer behaviour, but as yet, no model has been produced which is sufficiently comprehensive.

Three theoretical models which are comprehensive are those put forward by Nicosia, (1966) 607; Howard and Sheth, (1969) 1512; and Engel, Kollat and Blackwell, (1968) 834. Each of these takes into account many of the influences impinging on the purchasing decision, producing a descriptive model of how these interact. Because these models are general in nature, rather than specifically geared to the influence of advertising in the purchasing process, they will not be elaborated here. Howard and Sheth's model has however, been empirically tested recently by Farley and Ring (1970) 1517.

St. James and Fishbein Models

Of recent interest and possibly more immediate relevance to advertising and marketing research are the two models put forward by Hendrickson (St. James), and Fishbein. Both of these are concerned with the relationship between attitudes and behaviour, paying particular attention to the extent to which attitudes can be used as predictors of purchase behaviour.

The general literature covering this area makes the assumption that the more favourable the attitudes held by an individual, towards a particular product or product use, the more likely he is to purchase it. Similarly, if an individual holds unfavourable attitudes towards a product, the more likely he is to purchase an alternative product. The two models considered here examine this relationship, and its implications for research and advertising, in some detail.

What we know as the St. James model was developed by Hendrickson. In the paper he delivered to the Admap World Advertising Workshop, (1967) 911, he gave a comprehensive coverage to his theory and the rationale underlying it. His concern is with measuring the 'ideal' of a particular product, together with the attitudes held towards brands of the product in the market place. By comparing the relationship between the existing brands and the ideal, it is possible to determine where a specific product is defective, or else where a new one could be successfully positioned. Such knowledge has obvious implications for the development of advertising copy.

In contrast to this, the Fishbein model does not measure attitudes towards the product as such, but rather those towards the use of the product for a particular purpose. It also includes the effect of 'normative behaviour' i.e. allowances for the influence of doing 'what others would expect of us.

In her article on "Practical Frameworks for Advertising and Research", Tuck, (1971)1475 , gives a brief summary of the way in which research and advertising have been practiced in London over the preceding decade, pointing out that there has been a lack of adequate theory to guide these activities. She then goes on to outline the theory of Fishbein, maintaining that this represents a great step forward for both research and advertising. The model put forward, in addition to being of practical use, is also testable; a factor frequently overlooked in this area.

"Fishbein's behaviour model depends on two main insights. The first is that the right attitude to measure if we wish to understand behaviour is not the attitude to the object, but the attitude to that behaviour. If we want to understand the determinants of "kicking a policeman" we should not investigate attitudes to "the police", but attitudes to "kicking a policeman". The salient beliefs underlying the two attitude objects are quite different and so are the attitudes themselves.

The second insight is that behaviour does not depend on attitude to the act alone. Even if we have identified the right behaviour and measure the attitude to that behaviour (not the attitude to the product), we have not done sufficiently..... Fishbein proposes methods of measuring what he calls "social normative beliefs", that is, the person's perception of what others think he should do, and he considers that these social normative beliefs must be investigated if we wish to understand the determinants of behaviour."

Although this article is not the most thorough description available of the Fishbein model, the formula used is given, together with an indication of the rationale involved. Also its place in the development of advertising research is described. Tuck ends her article by listing what she sees as the advantages of the Fishbein approach as a framework for advertising planning and research.

such things as sensitivity, stability etc., with the result that:-

Neither of the two models, St. James or Fishbein, would claim to deterministically relate 'attitude formation' and subsequent purchasing behaviour, such that brand shares were specifically explained or predicted. Such models do exist but become more comprehensive micro-simulations of market behaviour and as such were reviewed in Report No. 2 (ii), by the MCRU.

One also wonders whether any such model can adequately summarise the population as a whole. It would seem that it would be more fruitful and acceptable to apply such models to meaningful segments of the population. In practice this is probably done but it is not always pointed out in reported work.

Summary

A very useful recent summary of some key articles in advertising research and particularly relating attitude measurement to advertising assessment, is that by Holbert, (1972) 1228. The review admittedly covers only four U.S. journals and does not therefore include much from Europe, but indicates findings which have confirmed or influenced market research practice over the last decade.

On the techniques front, this review notes, among other things, the work of Rothman, (1964) 1514, which concluded that the 'Gift choice' type of question is best for predicting 'propensity to buy':-

"The gift scale method has greatest likelihood of yielding satisfactory results for a variety of brands and products ... the self rating method ... can be still applied satisfactorily where ... opportunity to use the gift choice question is not available."

Also discussed are the experiments by Hughes, (1967) 1515, for selecting scales for attitude measures:-

"The Thurstone, the semantic differential and a check-list scale to measure attitude shift (was explored). The latter two were effective in detecting it, the former was not. Some useful and clever research disguise techniques are contained in the article."

The article by Kassarian and Nakanishi, (1967)1516 on techniques of opinion measurement, is similarly mentioned:-

"Many alternate scales are chosen for study: Likert, open-choice, limited choice, order of merit, and paired comparison. Much experimentation is done and all methods result in about the same order of preference The selection of the research method might best be determined by reasons other than concern about inter-method differences."

Much the same ground on techniques evaluation has been well trodden many years ago in applied psychology, a point not mentioned by Holbert. A good selection of papers on this topic, amongst others, is given in Fishbein, (1967) 1435.

Holbert also summarises the findings of some extensive exercises examining 'attitudes' predicting behaviour. For example, Axelrod, (1968) 745, tested 10 intermediate criteria between exposure and behaviour, for such things as sensitivity, stability etc., with the result that:-

"Where the interest is in prediction of short term trends in purchase behaviour, first brand awareness is the best measure to date ... With a brand that has a large share of the market and the problem is one of holding customers rather than gaining new ones the constant sum scale would be considered best it is quite possible to use both."

Another article mentioned is that of Assael & Day, (1968) 803 which gives insights into the usefulness of attitudes and awareness measured over time for predicting sales over time. Implications for advertising pre-testing are therefore apparent. Some conclusions are:-

"Results vary by product class attitudes and awareness - moreso attitudes - do seem to predict behaviour, at least for volatile markets situations.... in which ... brand switchers may be more quick to translate attitude change to a behaviour change."

Festinger (1964) 36, has reviewed existing evidence and reported his subsequent experiments which show no evidence to support a behaviour change subsequent to attitude changes brought about by persuasive communications. It is perhaps, important to remember that the subject matter mainly considered by Festinger was non-commercial, being social behaviour.

Many other studies are reviewed by Holbert including Crespi, (1971) 52:-

"It becomes possible to obtain moderate to high correlation between attitude and behaviour ... It works, he suggests, where the behaviour under investigation is either highly institution-alised or routinised ... voting, movie attendance or food buying ... characterised by a well defined role of expectations.";

and Rokeach, (1966) 240:

"Feels that when attitudes shift and behaviour shift produce incongruencies, it is because they are not stringent enough in measures of the former.... changes in attitudes (as opposed to merely expressed opinions) must encompass attitude towards situation as well as object."

This leads us back towards Fishbein, as previously discussed. Holbert concludes this section of his review by stating:-

"In the area of attitude measures.... research suggests more research is needed. There is neither the certainty that attitude shift does all its proponents claim, nor that it lacks any virtues, as its detractors believe....

In what situation does it work best or poorly?
What about single versus multiple exposure?
What types of specific behaviour measures should be asked in ascertaining attitude shift measures that will best relate to future real-world behaviour?

These are the unanswered attitude questions for the seventies."

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