

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF

ADVERTISING



How to optimize the text, imagery, and framing of ads.

Nick Kolenda

The Psychology of Advertising: How to Optimize the Text, Imagery, and Framing of Ads.

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Images



Position Images on the Left

Your right hemisphere will process the left side of advertisements.

You evaluate stimuli differently on the left or right:

...a stimulus presented in the left visual field (LVF) is initially received and processed by the right hemisphere (RH), and a stimulus presented in the right visual field (RVF) is initially projected to and processed by the left hemisphere (LH; Bourne, 2006, p. 374)

Your right hemisphere will process the left side of advertisements. Therefore, place images in these locations:

Because the right hemisphere is better suited to process pictorial information and the left one is more logical and verbal, placing the image on the left hand side of the text enhances the processing of the whole message (Grobelny & Michalski, 2015, p. 87)

Bourne, V. J. (2006). The divided visual field paradigm: Methodological considerations. *Laterality*, 11(4), 373-393.

Grobelny, J., & Michalski, R. (2015). The role of background color, interletter spacing, and font size on preferences in the digital presentation of a product. *Computers in Human Behavior*, 43, 85-100.

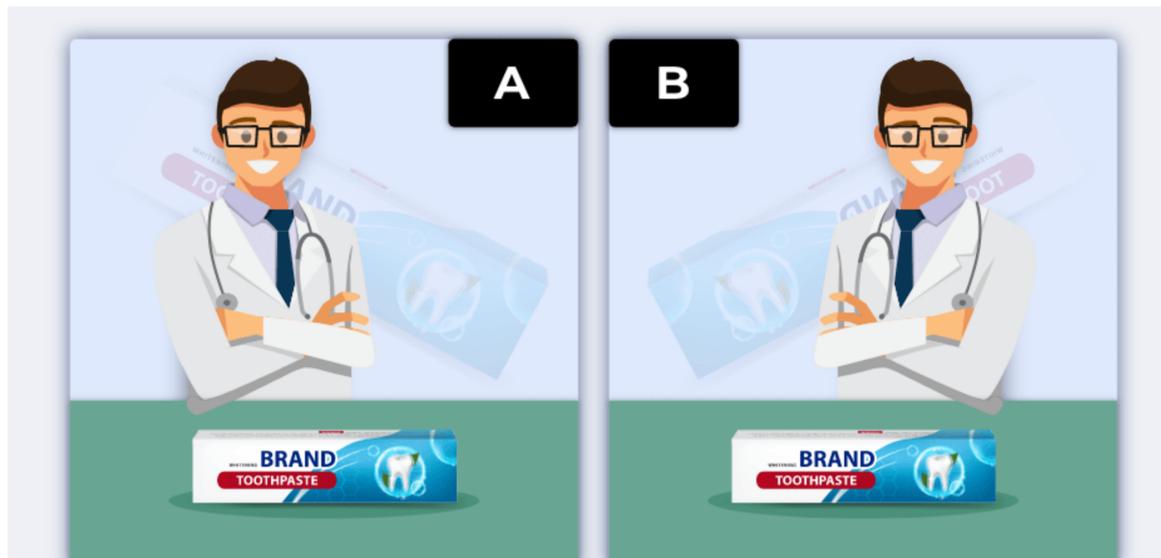




Insert a Blockade Toward the Right of Ads

Eye gaze travels from left to right. Insert an element that blocks viewers' gaze from drifting away from the ad.

If you need to place images toward the right, then depict a blockade. For example, which ad performed better?



Answer: Ad B (Park, Spence, Ishii, & Togawa, 2018).

The researchers argued that people look more trustworthy if they face left, but I see a more plausible explanation.

If you read from left to right, you evaluate ads from left to right. In Ad B, this person blocks your eyes from leaving. Your eyes enter from the left, move rightward until hitting that person, and then move downward toward the product.

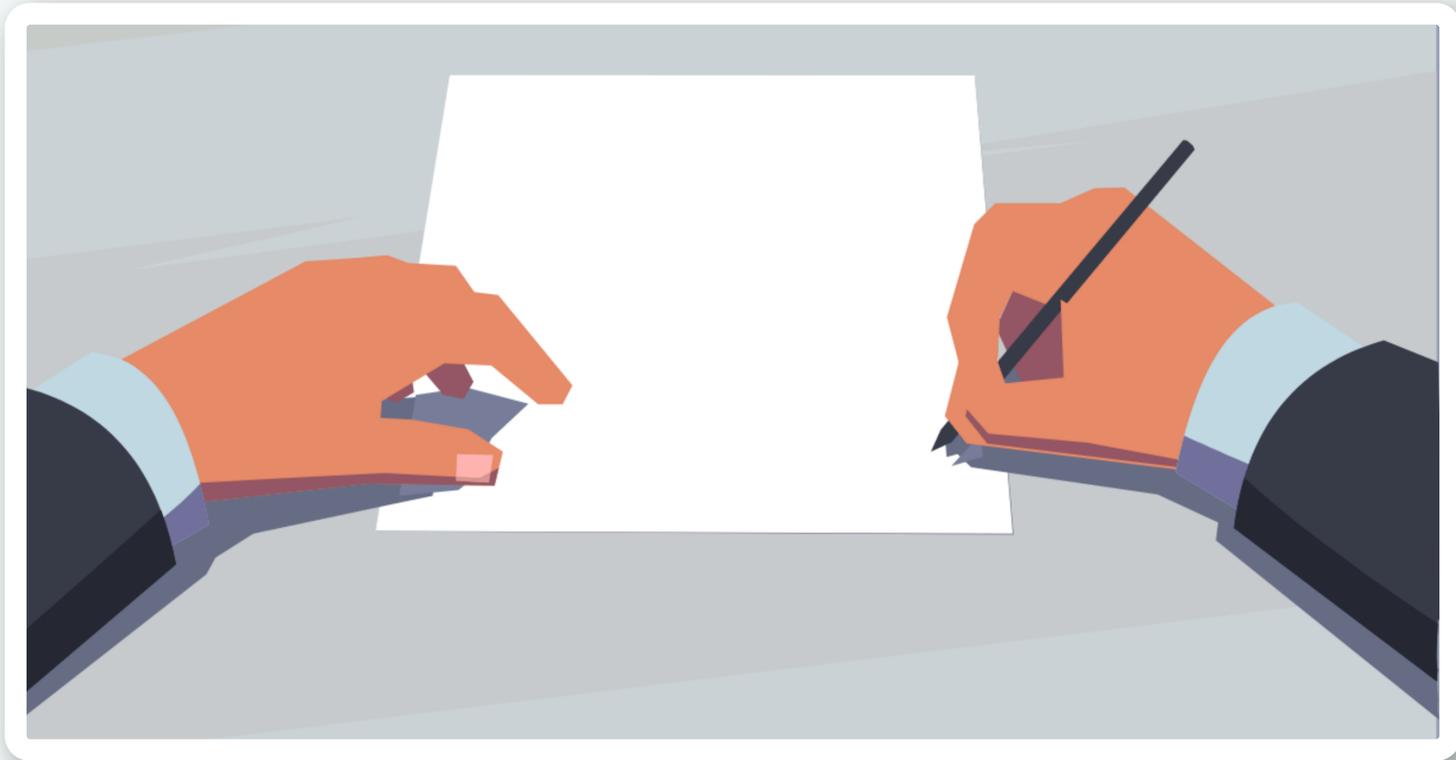
In Ad A, your eyes start at this person and then move rightward (away from the product).

We need research to verify my claim, but I suspect that advertisements hold more attention if they block your eyes from moving rightward.



Park, J., Spence, C., Ishii, H., & Togawa, T. (2018). Does Face Orientation Affect the Perception of a Model and the Evaluation of Advertised Product?. *ACR European Advances*.





Immerse Viewers into 1st Person Perspectives

You're more likely to buy something if you can imagine using a product.

First-person viewpoints encourage people to imagine using a product.



For example, Peloton shows multiple POV shots in their commercials:



These viewpoints ease the simulation of using and buying a Peloton. If people can imagine this behavior, they conclude that they want to buy one: *Hmm, do I want to buy a Peloton? I can imagine myself using it. So yes, I want to buy one.*

See my book [Imagine Reading This Book](#).



- Xu, A. J., & Wyer Jr, R. S. (2007). The effect of mind-sets on consumer decision strategies. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 34(4), 556-566.
- Xu, A. J., & Wyer Jr, R. S. (2008). The comparative mind-set: From animal comparisons to increased purchase intentions. *Psychological Science*, 19(9), 859-864.





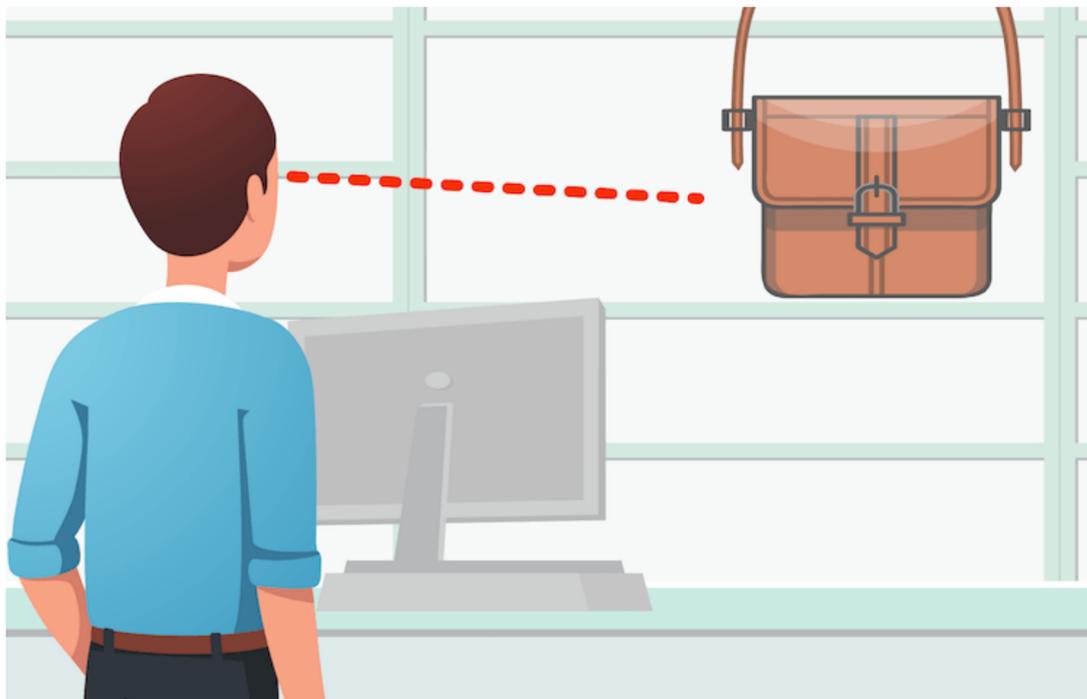
Depict Luxury Products in Far and High Places

Luxury products are more desirable when they are located further away from people.

Luxury brands are aspirational.

If these brands are too attainable, we no longer desire them. Therefore, luxury brands should feel distant from customers.

In one study, customers preferred a luxury backpack when they were standing far away, but they preferred an everyday backpack when they were standing closer (Chu, Chang, & Lee, 2021).



Advertise in Distant Mediums

Selling a luxury watch? Consider advertising in billboards. This fixed distance instills the desired perception.

Plus, viewers need to look up at billboards. Powerful brands are more appealing when they are located up high (Sundar & Noseworthy, 2014).



Zoom Backwards in Videos

Luxury brands are more appealing when videographers move further away from these products (Togawa & Sugitani, 2022).

Angle Luxury Photos Upward

Children visually look up at their parents. From a young age, we associate upward angles with powerful entities.

Even today, tall people are typically stronger and more powerful.

Researchers found that upward angles activate power. Even mundane products, like white rice, look more powerful when the brand photography is positioned with an upward view (Van Rompay, De Vries, Bontekoe, & Tanja-Dijkstra, 2012).





UPWARD
More luxurious

DOWNWARD

- Chu, X. Y., Chang, C. T., & Lee, A. Y. (2021). Values created from far and near: Influence of spatial distance on brand evaluation. *Journal of Marketing*, 85(6), 162-175.
- Park, J., & Hadi, R. (2020). Shivering for status: When cold temperatures increase product evaluation. *Journal of Consumer Psychology*, 30(2), 314-328.
- Park, M., Im, H., & Kim, H. Y. (2020). "You are too friendly!" The negative effects of social media marketing on value perceptions of luxury fashion brands. *Journal of Business Research*, 117, 529-542.
- Sundar, A., & Noseworthy, T. J. (2014). Place the logo high or low? Using conceptual metaphors of power in packaging design. *Journal of Marketing*, 78(5), 138-151.
- Togawa, T., & Sugitani, Y. (2022). Looks Far Beyond My Reach: The Zoom Effect in Product Videos Influences Luxury Perception and Purchase Intention. *Journal of Consumer Psychology*, 32(4), 687-698.
- Van Rompay, T. J., De Vries, P. W., Bontekoe, F., & Tanja-Dijkstra, K. (2012). Embodied product perception: Effects of verticality cues



in advertising and packaging design on consumer impressions...
Psychology & Marketing, 29(12), 919-928.





Show Disorganized Assortments From the Past

Disheveled assortments perform better for past viewers because this content feels "touched."

Disheveled assortments perform better for people who have already viewed content, while clean assortments perform better for new people.



Why does that happen?

In physics, "entropy" is the amount of disorder.

Over time, entropy only increases. Stephen Hawking said:

You may see a cup of tea fall off a table and break into pieces on the floor ... but you will never see the cup gather itself back together and jump back on the table (A Brief History of Time).

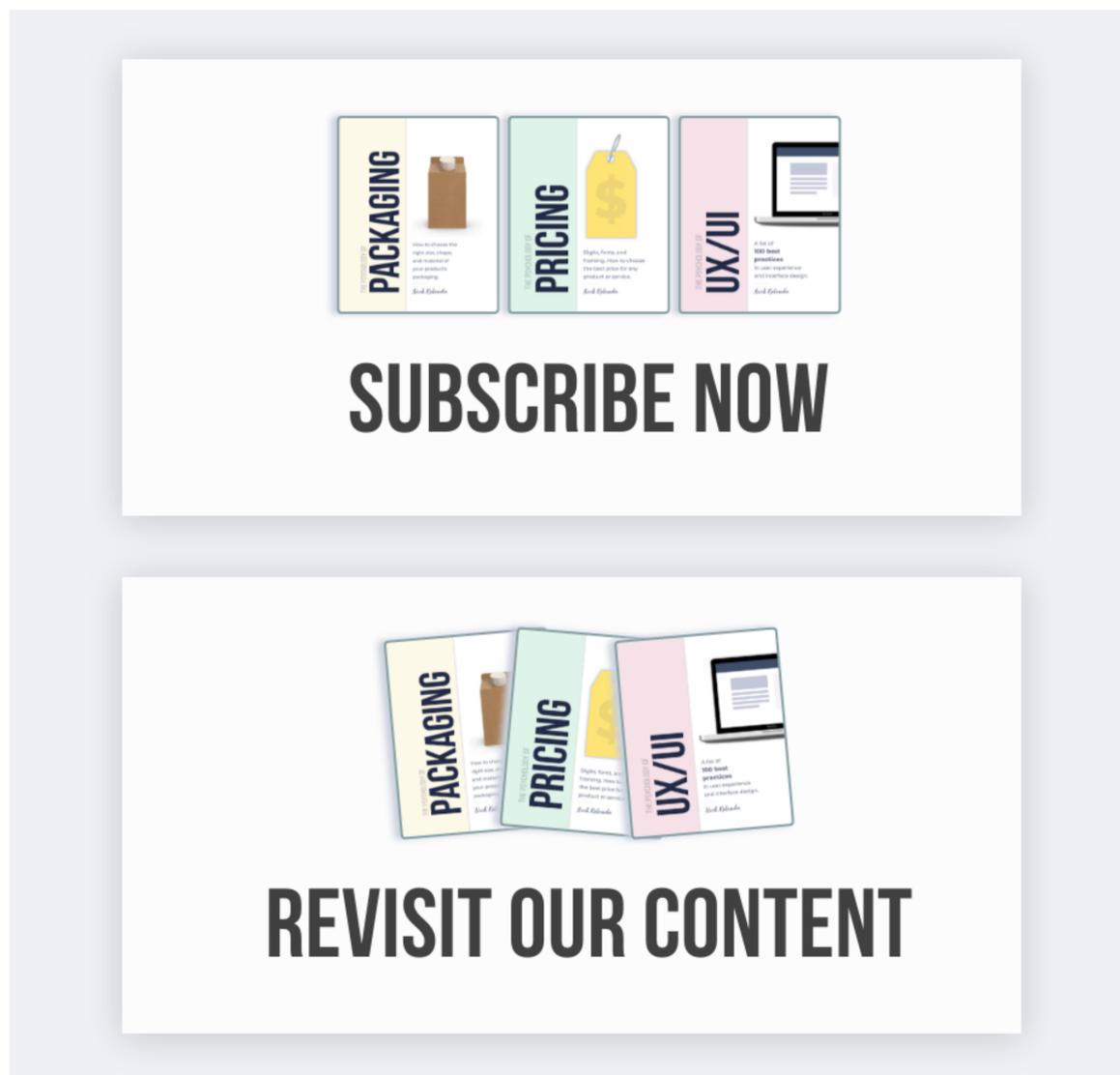
This law of entropy has been drilled into your brain: You prefer advertisements that depict the future in a pristine and untouched condition because your brain is conceptualizing



the future in this style (Biliciler, Raghunathan, & Ward, 2022).

Suppose that you're sending a confirmation email to new subscribers. These subscribers haven't "touched" your content yet. Subconsciously, they are conceptualizing your content in a pristine condition.

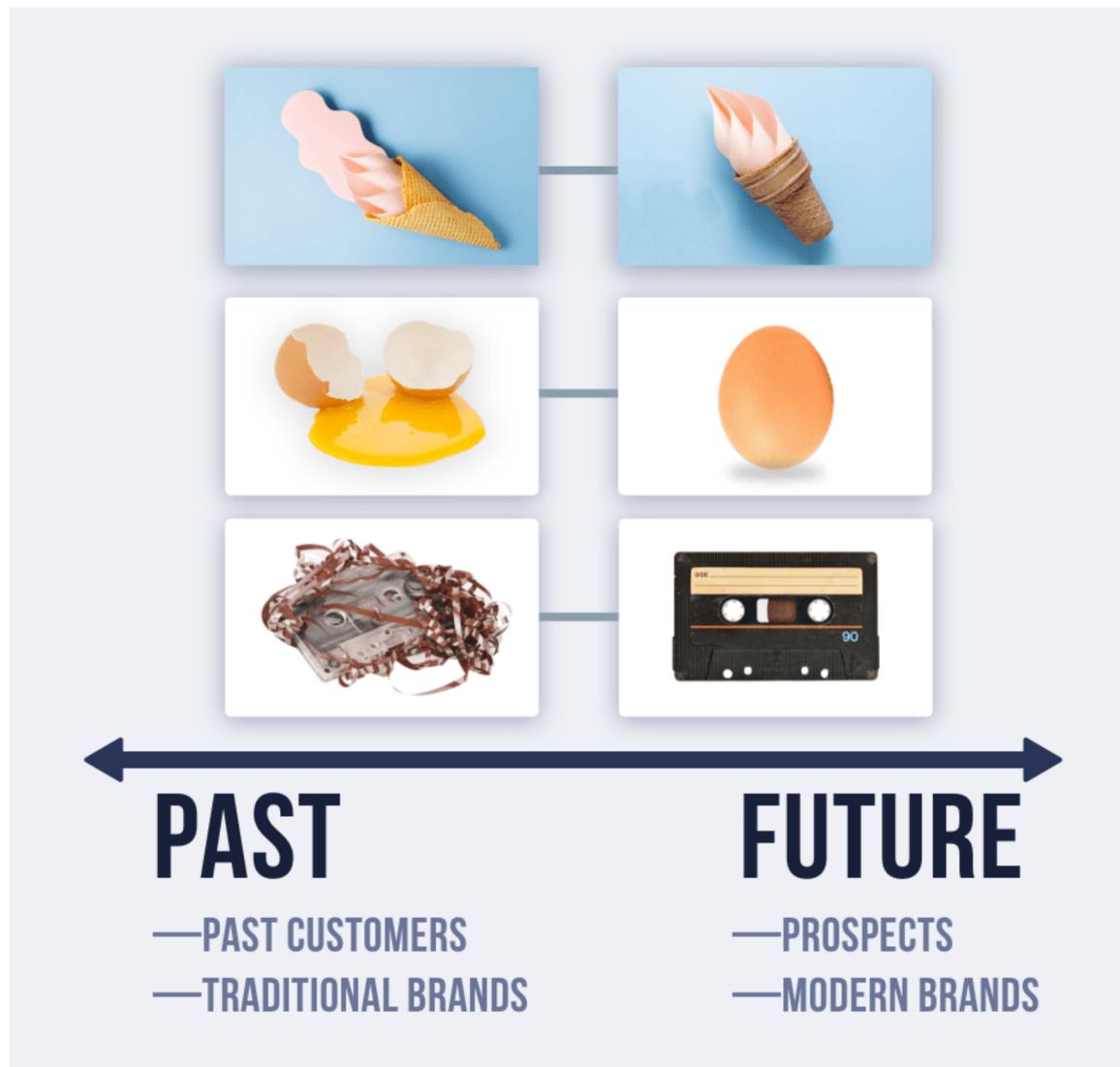
Once they digest your content, however, entropy will exist. Additional exposures (e.g., remarketing ads) should perform better with an imperfect style because their brain is conceptualizing this content with entropy.



Same with branding.



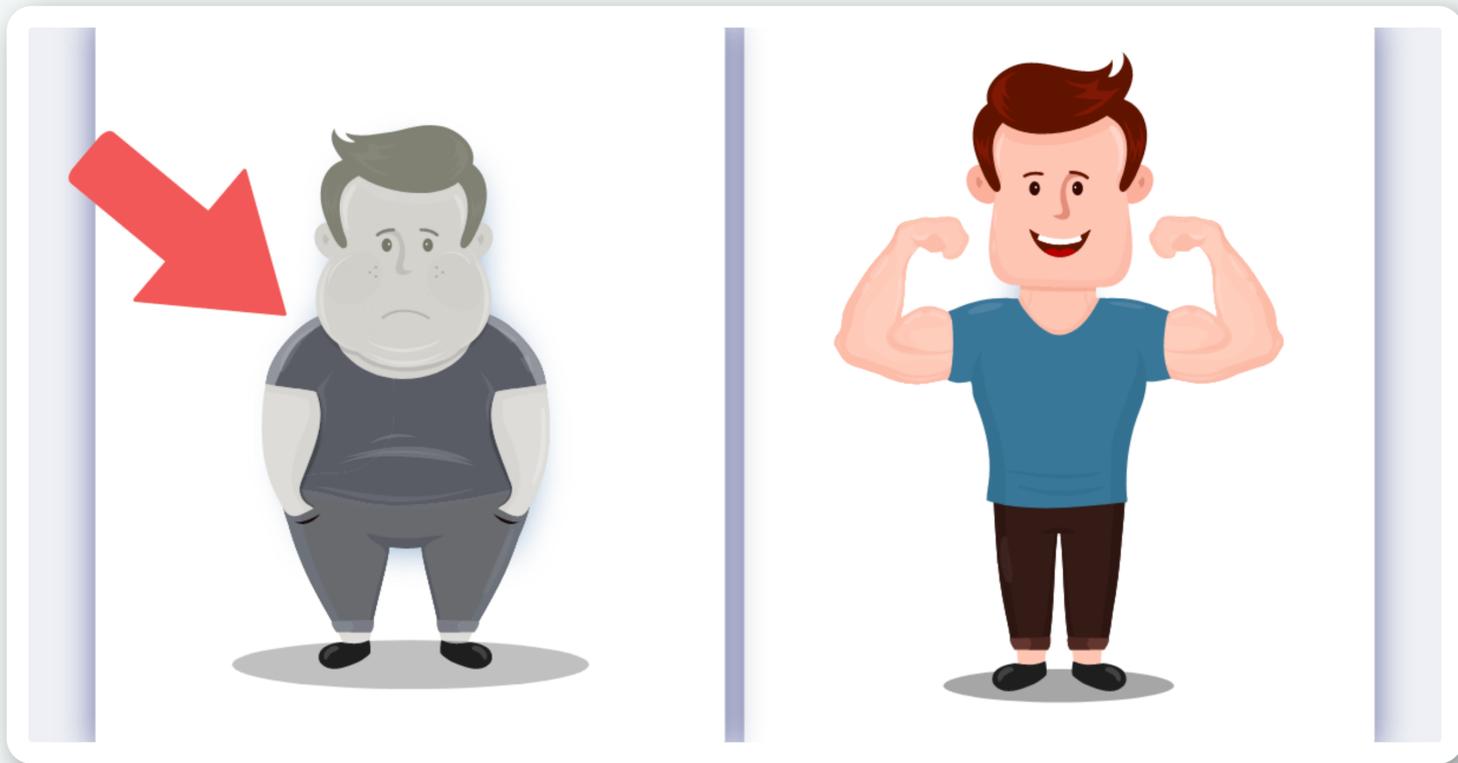
An ad for modern kitchen tools performed better with a fully intact egg, whereas an ad for traditional cooking tools performed better with a broken egg:



Biliciler, G., Raghunathan, R., & Ward, A. F. (2022). Consumers as naive physicists: how visual entropy cues shift temporal focus and influence product evaluations. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 48(6), 1010-1031.



Color



Depict the Problem in Grayscale

Visual contrast feels like semantic contrast.

Infomercials are notorious for this technique.

You see footage of somebody needlessly struggling with an ordinary task. Then *bam*. You see another person solving this problem with a better product.

But have you noticed that the “before” scenario is usually black and white? Advertisers want these two scenarios to look visually different. I call it *contrast fluency*. Viewers confuse visual contrast for semantic contrast: *Hmm, something seems different. The product must make a big difference.*

Therefore, degrade the color or visual quality of the “problem” framing.





Reduce Color in Text-Filled Ads

A lot of text can feel overwhelming, so reduce the level of color in these ads.

Vibrant color isn't always effective.

Grayscale performs better when your ad contains a lot of text:

When the substantial resources devoted to ad processing are inadequate for thorough ad scrutiny, black-and-white ads or those that color highlight aspects highly relevant to ad claims are more persuasive (Meyers-Levy & Peracchio, 1995, p. 121)

Meyers-Levy, J., & Peracchio, L. A. (1995). Understanding the effects of color: How the correspondence between available and required resources affects attitudes. *Journal of consumer research*, 22(2), 121-138.





Reduce Color for Distant Events

We visualize past and future events in grayscale, so black-and-white colors perform better.

Grayscale ads perform better for future purchases.

In one study, grayscale ads performed better depending on the start date of a charity (Lee, Fujita, Deng, & Unnava, 2017).

- » **In a few years?** Grayscale ads boosted donations.
- » **In a few days?** Color ads boosted donations.

In a follow-up study, people paid a higher price for a hoverboard depending on the launch date:

- » **In a few years?** Grayscale ads boosted payments.
- » **Tomorrow?** Color ads boosted payments.

Why does that happen?

Turns out, we visualize future events in grayscale. Researchers gave people a blank drawing of a housewarming party, and people colored this drawing with more grey if the party was occurring in five years (Lee, Fujita, Deng, & Unnava, 2017).



Always reflect on the timeline of the purchase: Will it occur



in the distant future? Then use gray colors to match the mental imagery of viewers. These ads will “feel right.”

Lee, H., Fujita, K., Deng, X., & Unnava, H. R. (2017). The role of temporal distance on the color of future-directed imagery: A construal-level perspective. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 43(5), 707-725.



Words



Enlarge Emotional Words

Large words trigger stronger emotion.

Across evolution, our ancestors judged threats based on their size:

...in real life, the distance from an object influences its biological relevance for the organism... Aggressors, for example, appear to be more dangerous the closer they get to the individual (Bayer, Sommer, & Shacht, 2012, p. 5)

Words inherited this effect: Larger text intensifies emotion (Bayer, Sommer, & Shacht, 2012).

Same with larger images (De Cesarei & Codispoti, 2006).

Plus, large words capture more attention:

...an increase in text surface size raises attention to this element much more than it simultaneously reduces attention to the brand and pictorial elements...[so] advertisers aiming to maximize attention to the entire advertisement should seriously consider devoting more space to text (Pieters & Wedel, 2004, p. 48).



- Bayer, M., Sommer, W., & Schacht, A. (2012). Font size matters—emotion and attention in cortical responses to written words. *PloS one*, 7(5), e36042.
- De Cesarei, A., & Codispoti, M. (2006). When does size not matter? Effects of stimulus size on affective modulation. *Psychophysiology*, 43(2), 207-215.
- Pieters, R., & Wedel, M. (2004). Attention capture and transfer in advertising: Brand, pictorial, and text-size effects. *Journal of marketing*, 68(2), 36-50.



WANT A TOUR?
VISIT OUR STORE

Rhyme Your Slogan or Call-to-Action

Rhymes feel more accurate and truthful.

A simple rhyme dictated the O.J. Simpson trial: *If the glove doesn't fit, you must acquit.*

Consider these ad frames:

- » What sobriety conceals, alcohol un.masks.
- » What sobriety conceals, alcohol reveals.

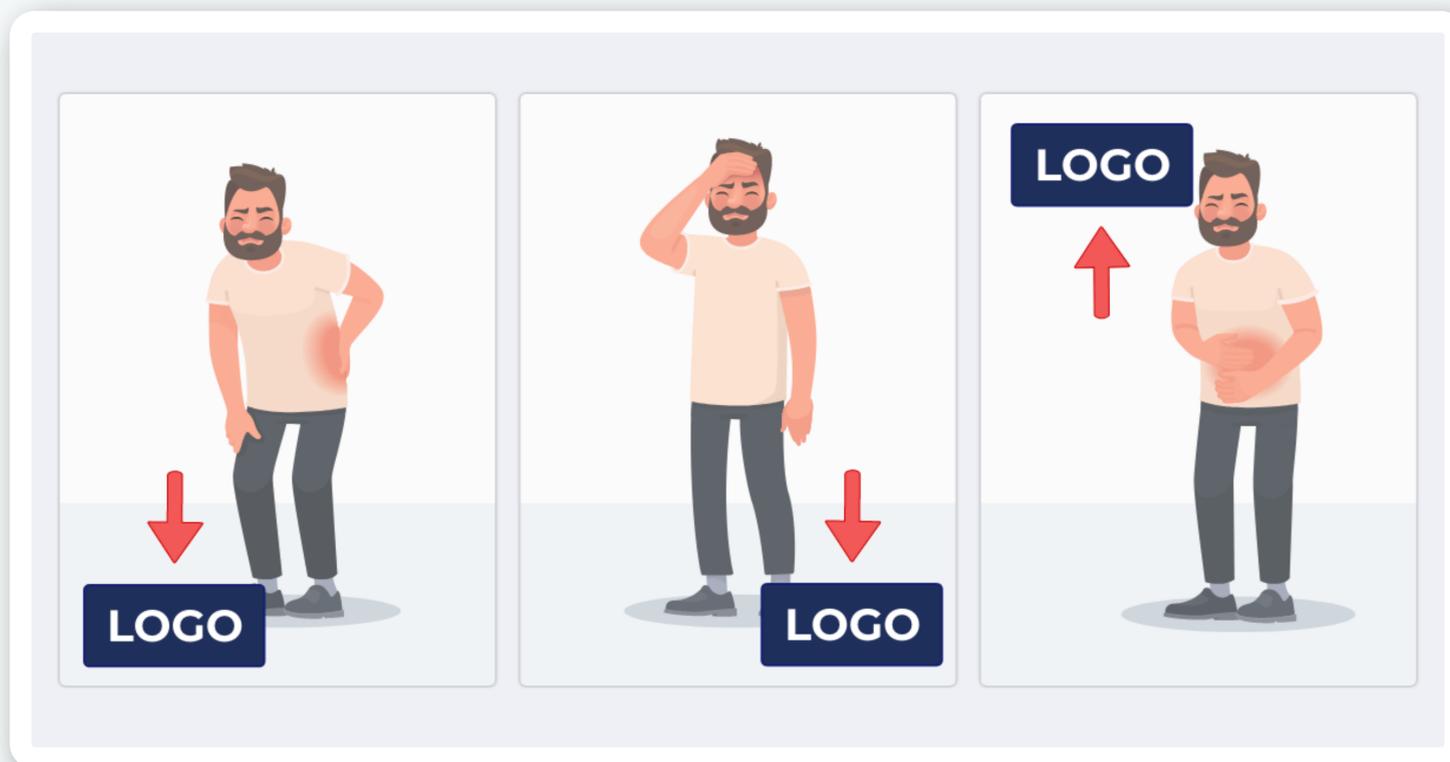
Both statements convey the same information, but the rhyming statement seemed more accurate and truthful (McGlone & Tofighbakhsh, 2000). Students felt a pleasant sensation from the rhyme, and they misattributed this sensation to the information.

So find a rhyme:

- » Be a dove, show some love.
- » Whaddya say, donate today.
- » Want a tour? Visit our store.

McGlone, M. S., & Tofighbakhsh, J. (2000). Birds of a feather flock conjointly (?): Rhyme as reason in aphorisms. *Psychological science*, 11(5), 424-428.





Move Your Logo in Ad Variations

Viewers pay more attention to the ad because something feels different.

Create variations of your ads.

Subsequent exposures will force people to retrieve the original ad from memory. And this retrieval strengthens their memory:

...the act of retrieval is itself a learning event in the sense that the retrieved information becomes more recallable in the future than it would have been without having been retrieved...if P2 encourages retrieval of P1, recall for P1 should be enhanced (Appleton-Knapp, Bjork, & Wickens, 2005, p. 267)

Specifically, consider moving your logo:

...a relatively small visual change from one ad exposure to the next can be detected incidentally...detection of the change likely caused participants to deploy more processing resources to the logos/products, in turn increasing fluency (Shapiro & Nielson, 2013, pp. 1211 – 1212)

Appleton-Knapp, S. L., Bjork, R. A., & Wickens, T. D. (2005). Examining



the spacing effect in advertising: Encoding variability, retrieval processes, and their interaction. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 32(2), 266-276.

Shapiro, S. A., & Nielsen, J. H. (2013). What the blind eye sees: Incidental change detection as a source of perceptual fluency. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 39(6), 1202-1218.



People



Choose Models That Resemble Each Segment

People in ads are more effective when they resemble customers.

Advertising via Facebook? Instead of displaying the same ad to everyone, replace the model with someone who resembles each segment.

...when consumers are exposed to advertising that is consistent with a salient dimension of their self, they spontaneously self-reference the ad. This leads to more favourable thoughts, attitudes and purchase intentions (Lee, Fernandez, & Martin, 2002, p. 374)

You could segment on a broad trait, like gender. Or create tighter segments by focusing on psychological characteristics.

Lee, C. K. C., Fernandez, N., & Martin, B. A. (2002). Using self-referencing to explain the effectiveness of ethnic minority models in advertising. *International Journal of Advertising*, 21(3), 367-379.





Use Direct Eye Gazes for Virtuous Products

Humans perform "good" behaviors when other people are watching.

In one study, people donated more money when they were standing near an image of eyes (vs. flowers; Bateson, Nettle, & Roberts, 2006).

Do you promote virtuous products, like charities? Then orient gazes toward the viewers.

In a commercial for LoveShriners, a young boy breaks the 4th wall by waving to viewers and addressing them directly: “Oh... hi people.”

That’s clever. Viewers feel like this young boy is watching them, and they feel pressured to behave accordingly (e.g., donate).

Bateson, M., Nettle, D., & Roberts, G. (2006). Cues of being watched enhance cooperation in a real-world setting. *Biology letters*, 2(3), 412-414.





Depict Body Movements Without Slow Motion

If somebody is riding a bike in slow motion, your brain will struggle to simulate this action because this body movement is unnatural

Advertisers love slow motion.

Turn on the television, and you'll see a sentimental commercial with a collage of slow motion shots.



But does it really work? Turns out...not really.

In a recent study, slow motion reduced the effectiveness of ads (e.g., clicks, likes, comments, persuasion). But only when it depicted human motion ([Yin, Jia, & Zheng, 2021](#)).

The reason? Slow motion emphasizes the “intentionality” of decisions.

In another study, mock jurors watched surveillance footage of a shooting. If they watched a version in slow motion, they were more likely to convict the defendant with first-degree murder because it seemed like this person had more time to contemplate the decision ([Caruso, Burns, & Converse, 2016](#)).

In advertising, slow motion triggers skepticism because it orients viewers toward the intentionality of these people (i.e., to persuade).

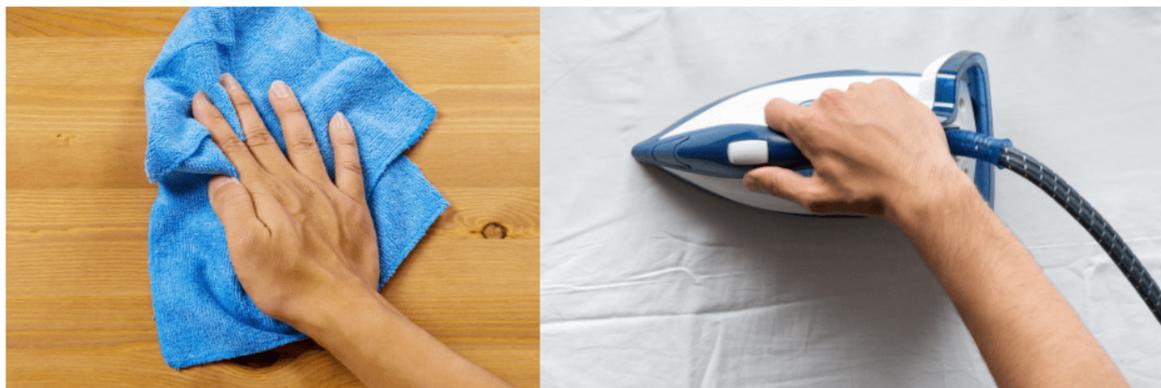


However, I see another culprit.

Humans have *mirror neurons*. If you see somebody eating a cookie, your brain simulates this sensation — as if YOU are eating a cookie.

Slow motion can backfire because it impedes this effect. If somebody is eating a cookie in slow motion, your brain will struggle to simulate this action because your body doesn't move in slow motion. It's unnatural. Real motion is easier to imagine.

A similar effect happened in another study: Males preferred ads with quick and forceful motion, yet females preferred ads with smooth and gentle motion ([Mailk & Sayin, 2021](#)).



You prefer the motion — fast vs. slow — that feels like you. This mimicry strengthens your immersion into the ad.



Takeaways:

- » Humans don't move in slow motion. Neither should actors that portray your customers.
- » Slow motion is still effective for inanimate objects. Just not human motion.
- » Help viewers simulate actions. Did you notice that the previous images were right hands? Since most people are right-handed, this orientation feels more familiar and immersive (see my book [Imagine Reading This Book](#) for more ideas).

Caruso, E. M., Burns, Z. C., & Converse, B. A. (2016). Slow motion increases perceived intent. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 113(33), 9250-9255.

Malik, S., & Sayin, E. (2022). Hand movement speed in advertising elicits gender stereotypes and consumer responses. *Psychology & Marketing*, 39(2), 331-345.

Yin, Y., Jia, J. S., & Zheng, W. (2021). The effect of slow motion video on consumer inference. *Journal of Marketing Research*, 58(5), 1007-1024.



Framing

WEAR A SEATBELT



Use Negative Ads to Grab Attention

Use negative ads if your goal is immediate action or awareness.

Humans are built to avoid pain.

Thus, we notice negative stimuli more easily. In advertisements, negative framing attracts more eye fixations (Ferreira et al., 2011).

...heart rate was slower during exposure to negative messages... participants allocated more attention to the negative advertisements (Bolls, Lang, & Potter, 2001; p. 646 - 647)

Consequently, negative ads can trigger immediate behaviors, like impulse buys (Shiv, Edell, & Payne, 1997).

Want somebody to notice your banner ad? A negative frame might work better.

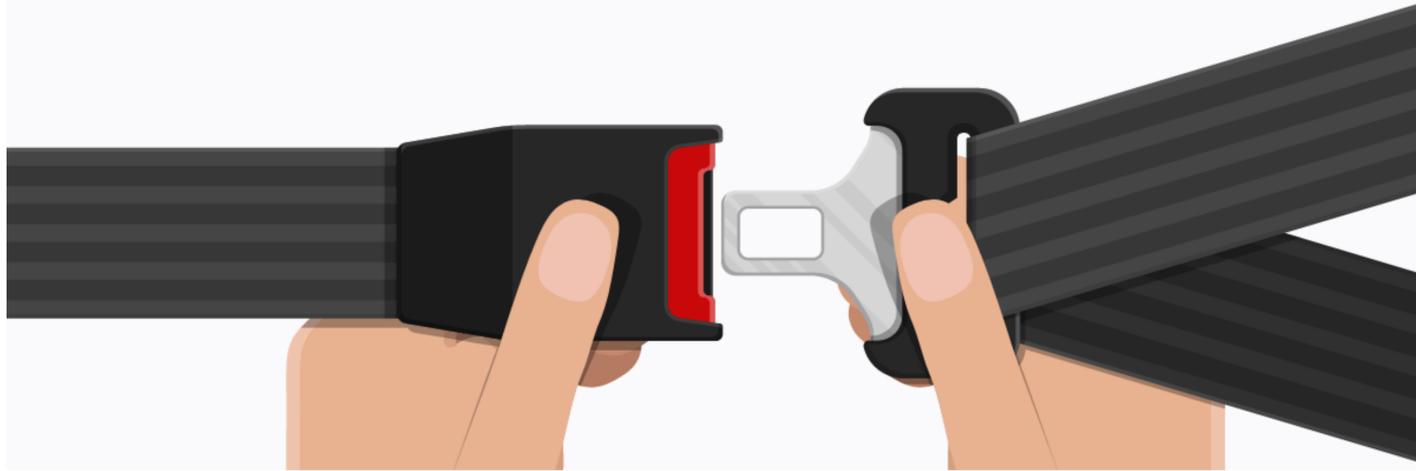
Bolls, P. D., Lang, A., & Potter, R. F. (2001). The effects of message valence and listener arousal on attention, memory, and facial muscular responses to radio advertisements. *Communication research*, 28(5), 627-651.

Ferreira, P., Rita, P., Rosa, P., Oliveira, J., Gamito, P., Santos, N., ... & Sottomayor, C. (2011). Grabbing attention while reading website pages. *Journal of Eye Tracking, Visual Cognition and Emotion*, (1), 64-68.

Shiv, B., Edell, J. A., & Payne, J. W. (1997). Factors affecting the impact of negatively and positively framed ad messages. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 24(3), 285-294.



WEAR A SEATBELT



Use Positive Ads to Be Remembered

Emphasize positive aspects about your brand when you want the message to stick.

Negative ads might grab attention, but positive ads will be remembered:

...positive advertisements were more memorable. We suggest that this seeming contradiction can be explained not by the amount of attention allocated to the advertisements but rather by the levels of arousal experienced by participants during exposure (Bolls, Lang, & Potter, 2001, p. 647)

Consider two political ads:

- » **Negative.** Highlights flaws of their opponent.
- » **Positive.** Highlights accomplishments of the candidate.

The negative ad should perform better if the candidate is struggling to get attention, but the positive ad should perform if the candidate already has sufficient attention. The positive ad will stick more.

Bolls, P. D., Lang, A., & Potter, R. F. (2001). The effects of message valence and listener arousal on attention, memory, and facial muscular responses to radio advertisements. *Communication research*, 28(5), 627-651.



WEAR A SEATBELT



Run Emotional Ads in Traditional Markets

Brands need to do something unique to stand out in traditional markets.

Customers ignore ads when they are familiar with a product. That's why emotional appeals can be more effective:

In older markets, consumers may have gained knowledge, reducing their motivation to engage in extensive ad processing. As such, factors that increase their personal involvement in the ad – like the use of emotion-focused appeals and positively framed messages – may be particularly likely to create a behavioral response (Chandy, Tellis, MacInnis, & Thaivanich, 2001, p. 411)

Emotion creates a fresh perspective – which, in turn, influences behavior.

Chandy, R. K., Tellis, G. J., MacInnis, D. J., & Thaivanich, P. (2001). What to say when: Advertising appeals in evolving markets. *Journal of marketing Research*, 38(4), 399-414.





Add Elements From Their Top-Down Attention

Insert cues that viewers are actively monitoring.

Humans have two types of attention:

- » **Top-Down.** You look for something specific
- » **Bottom-Up.** You monitor what's noticeable.

One day, while waiting for *The Office* to return, I was fiddling with my phone, listening for a cue from the show to know when it returned. When I heard the character Darryl speaking, I looked at the TV. But I realized...it wasn't Darryl...it was the actor, Craig Robinson, in an unrelated commercial.

This advertiser took a cue from *The Office*—the voice of Craig Robinson—and inserted this cue into their commercial. This commercial pierced my attention because my brain was actively searching for this cue.





Attach the Product to an Everyday Trigger

Associate your ad with an everyday occurrence to help customers think of your ad during these occurrences.

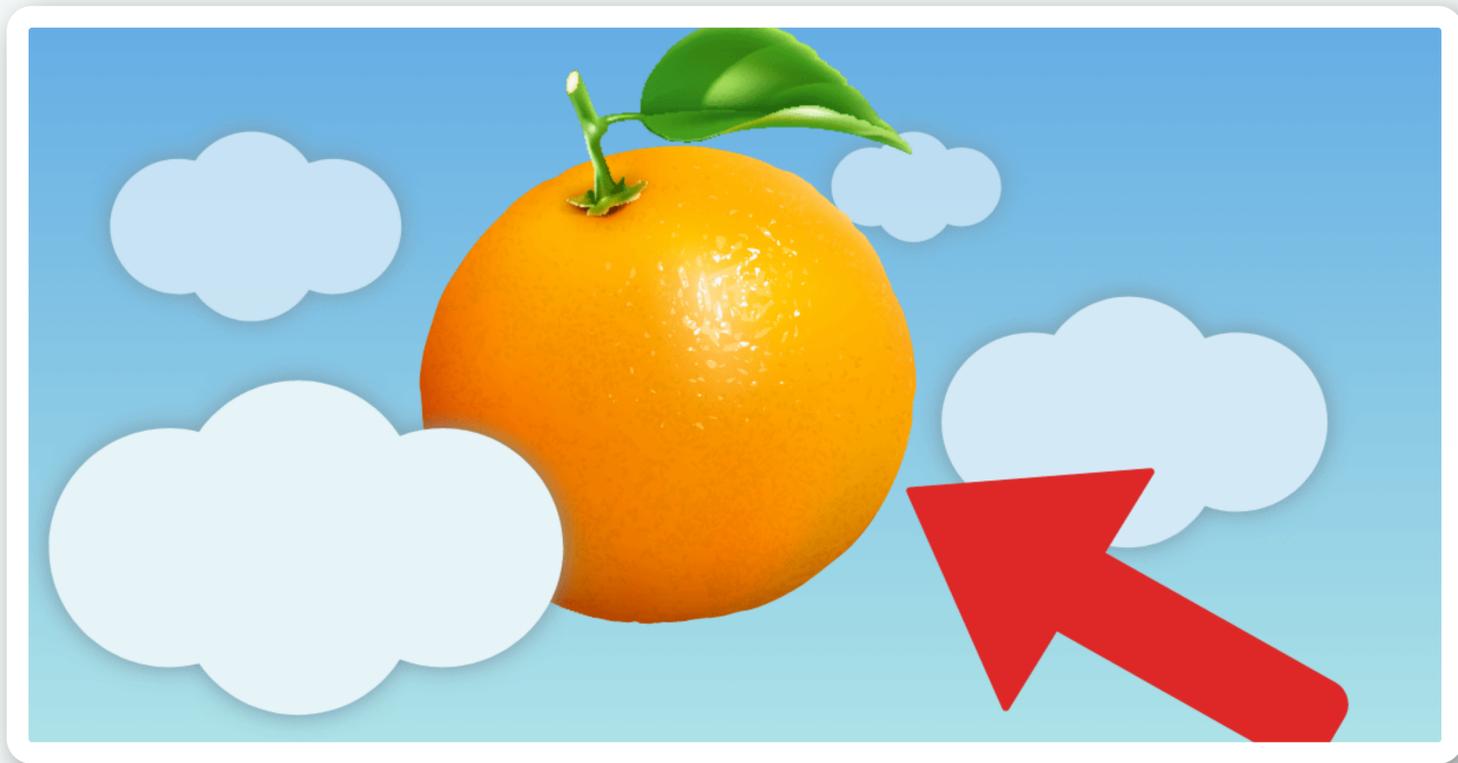
Advertisers want viewers to remember their product later.

How can they do this? They can associate their ad with an everyday experience. When viewers encounter this experience later, they will be reminded of the advertisement.

Peloton could improve their commercial by attaching their product to an everyday experience. For example, many people lie in bed each morning struggling to find the motivation to exercise. They could show someone experiencing this moment before leaving their bed to ride their Peloton. Next time that viewers experience this struggle in bed, they will be prompted to think of Peloton.

See [my YouTube video](#) for another example with Tide.





Inject Something Absurd or Nonsensical

Absurd advertisements capture attention because they disrupt expectations.

Absurd advertisements are effective (Arias-Bolzmann, Chakraborty, & Mowen, 2000).

Selling oranges? Examples:

- » **Surrealism.** Use products unconventionally (e.g., an orange for the sun)
- » **Anthropomorphism.** Give human traits (e.g., an orange with a face)
- » **Metaphor.** Convey benefits indirectly (e.g., dancing oranges to convey liveliness)
- » **Non-sequitur.** Use unrelated images (e.g., a giraffe selling oranges)
- » **Irony.** Use unexpected or opposite meaning (e.g., crowd of people who are jealous of someone eating orange).

Arias-Bolzmann, L., Chakraborty, G., & Mowen, J. C. (2000). Effects of absurdity in advertising: The moderating role of product category attitude and the mediating role of cognitive responses. *Journal of Advertising*, 29(1), 35-49.





End Ads By Illustrating the Next Step

Rather than ask viewers to perform a call-to-action, show a visible example of this action.

People are more likely to perform behaviors if they can imagine themselves doing it (see my book [Imagine Reading This Book](#)).

Therefore, insert this mental imagery into their brain. Want customers to...

- » **...sign up?** Show a cursor clicking the sign-up button.
- » **...leave a review?** Show a review being posted to Yelp.
- » **...share on social media?** Show a message on Facebook.
- » **...visit your site?** Show your URL being typed into a browser.

Viewers misattribute this mental imagery with a desire:
Hmm, how much work will this be? I can see myself doing it, so it shouldn't take long.



Ad Mediums



Advertise in Congruent Modalities

Find people who are performing behaviors similar to your desired behavior. They will be able to imagine buying and using your product more easily.

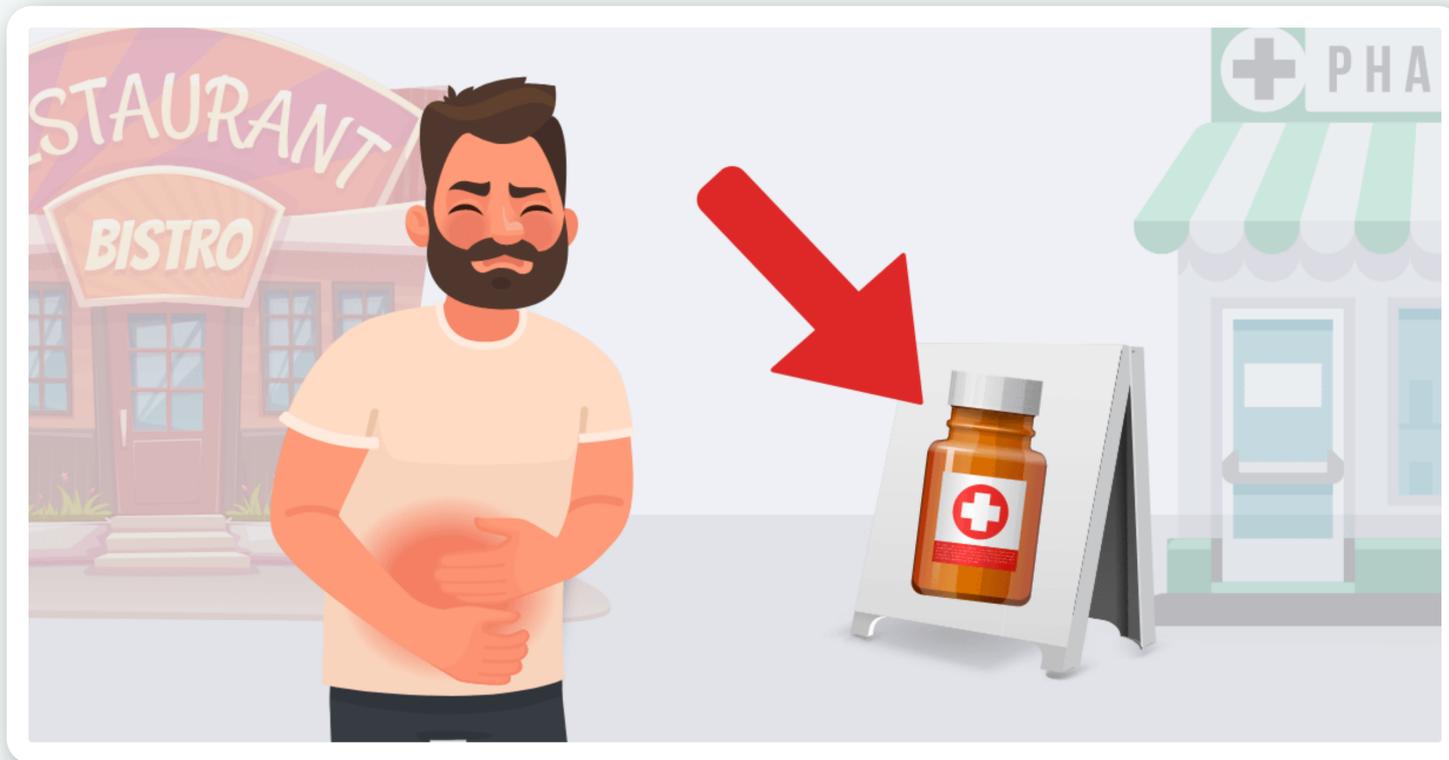
It's hard to imagine exercising while wearing pajamas.

Similar effects happen with ads. You should advertise to viewers who are experiencing a bodily state that matches your product.

Selling an online course? Advertise via video, such as YouTube. These viewers can imagine watching your course because they are already watching video. The modality is congruent.

Selling a book? You need viewers to imagine reading it. Therefore, advertise via written mediums (e.g., magazines, blog posts) because these modalities ease the simulation of reading.





Find Mediums With Congruent Emotions

Find people who are experiencing a helpful emotion, then expose your message to them.

Sparking emotion is hard.

It's much easier to find people who are experiencing an existing emotion.

I noticed that Tums sponsored episodes of Hot Ones, a YouTube show where celebrities eat spicy wings.



That's clever. Humans have mirror neurons – if you watch somebody perform a behavior, like eating spicy food, you simulate this experience. In other words, viewers of Hot Ones are experiencing a body state that can help them simulate the value of antacids.

Alternatively, Tums could advertise around dinnertime (when viewers are more likely to be experiencing heartburn).

The Takeaway: Expose your ads in a time or location in which viewers can simulate the value of your product.





Advertise in the Same Topic Domain

Help viewers imagine using your product by advertising in the same semantic domain.

An ad for ketchup performed better when it appeared after an ad for mayonnaise (Lee & Labroo, 2004).

Mayonnaise activated the domain of condiments, which helped people imagine buying ketchup.

Selling a course on cooking? Advertise your course in cooking domains. The idea of “cooking” will already be activated in those people – thus, they can imagine watching your course.

Lee, A. Y., & Labroo, A. A. (2004). The effect of conceptual and perceptual fluency on brand evaluation. *Journal of Marketing Research*, 41(2), 151-165.



Timing



Advertise Early to Mold Future Simulations

Viewing a commercial can instill plans that will happen weeks later.

Back-to-school commercials start pretty early.

Same with commercials near holidays, right? You typically see Christmas ads in November.

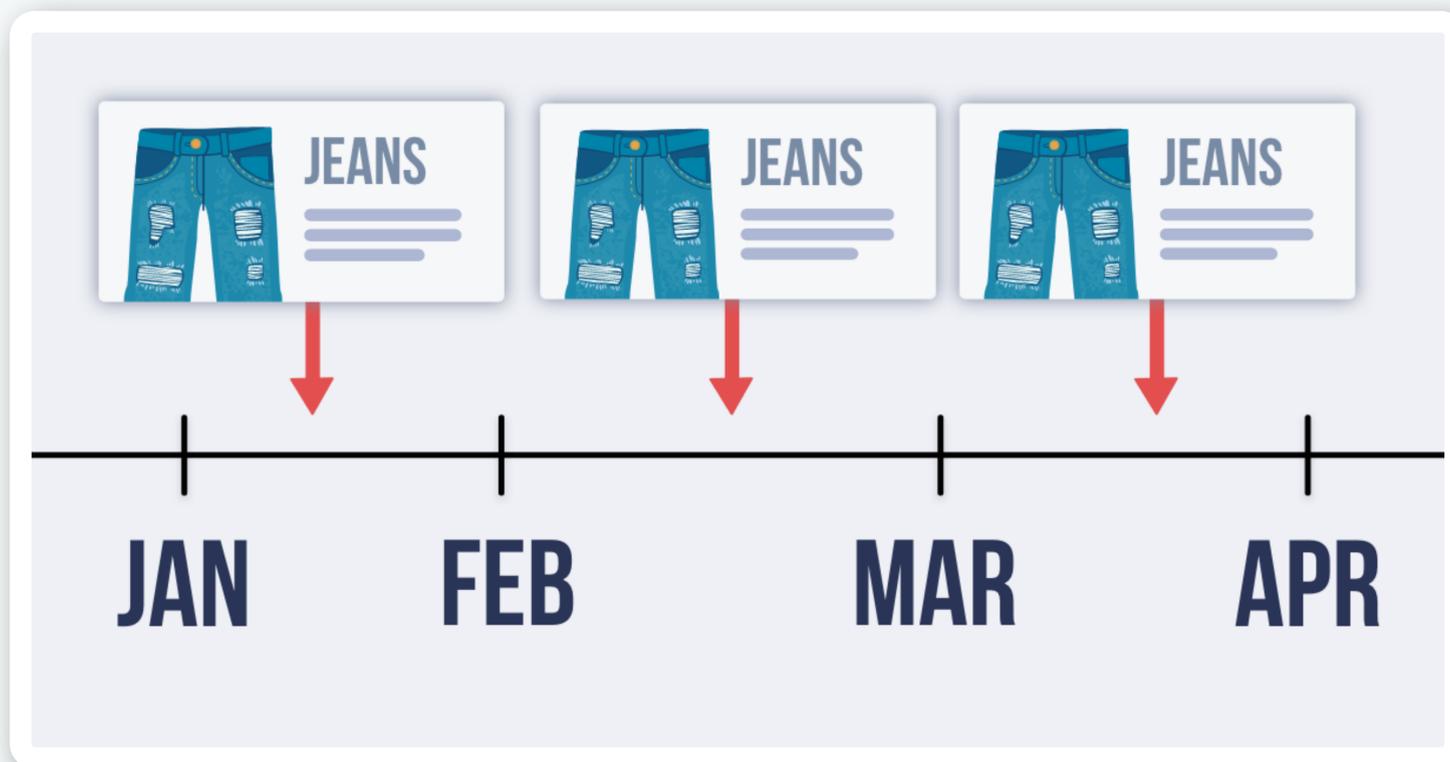
Advertisers aren't necessarily trying to influence your behavior during these early moments. They are inserting a simulation that will dictate your future behavior.

While seeing these commercials, you think: *Ah, that's right. I need to go Christmas shopping. Maybe I'll go to Target in the next few weeks.*

Over the next few weeks, you imagine shopping at Target for Christmas gifts. You might see other ads in the meantime, but your plans have already formed. Target planted their seed before other retailers.

A single commercial could start a snowball effect that influences your behavior weeks later.





Disperse Ads Over Time

Ads perform better when they are spread apart.

Humans learn better with “distributed practice.”

Studying for an exam? You should study in increments over time, rather than cram the night before.

Likewise, ads perform better when they are spread apart, rather than bunched together (Sahni, 2011).

Viewers encode these ads more effectively with less annoyance:

Marketers of unfamiliar brands need to build familiarity to compete better with more familiar brands, but they must be careful in how they use concentrated, high-repetition ad schedules in order to avoid alienating consumers (Campbell & Keller, 2003, pp. 301 – 302)

Campbell, M. C., & Keller, K. L. (2003). Brand familiarity and advertising repetition effects. *Journal of consumer research*, 30(2), 292-304.

Sahni, N. S. (2015). Effect of temporal spacing between advertising exposures: Evidence from online field experiments. *Quantitative Marketing and Economics*, 13(3), 203-247.





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