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DIGITAL MARKETING EFFECTIVENESS THROUGH THE ELABORATION LIKELIHOOD MODEL (ELM)

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Abstract

This study investigates digital marketing effectiveness through the Elaboration Likelihood Model (ELM)^[2]. Using a 2x2 between-subjects experiment (N=232), we examined the interaction between message type (central vs. peripheral) and personal relevance (high vs. low) on brand attitude, purchase intention, and credibility. Results revealed a significant interaction: the information-rich central message was more persuasive under high relevance, while the heuristic-based peripheral message was more effective under low relevance. Moderated mediation analysis confirmed cognitive elaboration as the underlying mechanism for the central route, validating ELM's application to digital marketing.

Keywords: Elaboration Likelihood Model (ELM), Digital Marketing.

INTRODUCTION

The digital landscape has become the primary arena for brand-consumer interaction, making digital marketing an indispensable component of modern business strategy. However, the sheer volume of online content creates a highly competitive environment where consumer attention is a scarce resource. Marketers employ a vast array of tactics, from information-rich blog posts and detailed product reviews to visually appealing influencer campaigns on social media. This diversity raises a critical question: which strategies are most effective at persuading consumers? Understanding the fundamental mechanisms of persuasion is therefore paramount for designing campaigns that not only reach but also resonate with target audiences.

The Elaboration Likelihood Model (ELM) provides a robust theoretical framework for dissecting these persuasive processes. ELM posits two distinct routes to attitude change: a central route, involving careful scrutiny of message arguments, and a peripheral route^[6], relying on heuristic cues like source attractiveness or credibility. In digital marketing, content-heavy formats aim to engage the central route, while influencer posts or banner ads target the peripheral route. The model crucially proposes that the route taken depends on an individual's motivation and ability to process information, suggesting that a one-size-fits-all approach to digital persuasion is inherently flawed.

Despite the conceptual appeal of ELM, there is a need for empirical validation that directly compares the efficacy of central versus peripheral tactics under controlled conditions of consumer motivation. This study addresses this gap by employing a 2x2 between-subjects experimental design. We investigate the ISSN: XXXX-XX

interaction between message type (an information-rich blog post vs. a visually-driven influencer post) and personal relevance (high vs. low) on brand attitude, purchase intention, and credibility. It is hypothesized that persuasion will be greatest when the message type aligns with the consumer's elaboration likelihood, as dictated by their motivational state.

LITERATURE REVIEW

This research is grounded in the Elaboration Likelihood Model (ELM), a dual-process theory of persuasion developed by Petty and Cacioppo^[7]. ELM posits that attitude change occurs through one of two distinct routes: the central route or the peripheral route. The specific path taken depends on an individual's motivation and ability to process a persuasive message. This framework is particularly salient for analyzing digital marketing, as it provides a robust structure for understanding how consumers engage with and are influenced by various online promotional stimuli.

The central route to persuasion^[5] involves a high degree of cognitive elaboration, where the recipient of a message diligently scrutinizes its arguments and evidence. This process requires significant mental effort and is engaged when the individual is both motivated and able to think critically about the information presented. In digital marketing, this route is targeted through content such as detailed product specifications, in-depth reviews, and informative blog posts. Attitudes formed via the central route are typically more enduring, resistant to counter-persuasion, and predictive of behavior.

Conversely, the peripheral route involves low cognitive effort and relies on heuristic cues rather than systematic processing of the message's content. Persuasion occurs when individuals are influenced by superficial factors, such as the perceived credibility or attractiveness of the source, celebrity endorsements, or the aesthetic appeal of the advertisement. Digital marketing frequently leverages this route through visually-driven social media campaigns, influencer marketing, and simple, repetitive banner ads. While effective for short-term influence, attitude changes resulting from this route are generally less stable.

The determinants of which processing route is engaged are the individual's motivation and ability. Motivation is influenced by factors like personal relevance and the need for cognition, while ability relates to cognitive capacity, prior knowledge, and the absence of distractions. When both motivation and ability are high, central processing is likely. If either is low, the individual defaults to peripheral processing. Digital marketers must therefore assess their target audience's likely state to design messages that align with the most probable route of persuasion for maximum impact.

Applying ELM to this study allows for a nuanced analysis of digital marketing effectiveness. The model provides a theoretical lens to investigate how different strategies influence consumer attitudes and behaviors. For instance, content marketing campaigns rich with information can be assessed for their efficacy via the central route, while the impact of influencer endorsements can be examined through the peripheral route's reliance on source credibility and appeal. This framework will guide the methodology in measuring how specific digital marketing tactics persuade consumers and shape brand perceptions.

RESEARCH METHOD

1. Research Design and Theoretical Alignment

This study will employ a quantitative, 2x2 between-subjects experimental design to investigate the fundamentals of digital marketing through the lens of the Elaboration Likelihood Model. The design is structured to test the causal relationships between different digital marketing stimuli and consumer attitude formation. The independent variables will be the type of marketing message (central route: information-rich blog post vs. peripheral route: visually-driven influencer post) and the level of personal relevance (high vs. low), which serves as a key moderator for motivation. The primary dependent variables will be attitude toward the brand, purchase intention, and perceived brand credibility.

To align with the central processing route of the ELM, one experimental condition will present participants with a high-relevance scenario, thereby increasing their motivation to process information. In this condition, subjects will be exposed to a detailed blog post containing strong, fact-based arguments about a product's features and benefits. It is hypothesized that participants in this group, possessing high motivation and ability, will engage in deep cognitive elaboration. Consequently, their resulting attitudes toward the brand are expected to be more robust, resistant to counter-persuasion, and more predictive of subsequent behavioral intentions, as posited by the ELM framework.

Conversely, the peripheral processing route will be examined by placing participants in a low-relevance condition to diminish their motivation for deep cognitive engagement. These subjects will be exposed to digital marketing stimuli relying on heuristic cues, such as a social media post from an attractive and popular influencer that lacks substantive product information. The experimental hypothesis for this condition is that any observed attitude change will be primarily influenced by these peripheral cues—like source credibility and aesthetic appeal—rather than argument quality. In accordance with ELM, attitudes formed via this route are predicted to be more transient and less stable.

2. Participant Recruitment and Segmentation

A total of 240 participants will be recruited through the online academic research platform Prolific^[3] to ensure a diverse and attentive sample. Inclusion criteria stipulate that participants must be at least 18 years of age, reside within the United States, and demonstrate fluency in English. To control for pre-existing expertise, individuals with professional backgrounds in marketing, advertising, or public relations will be excluded via a screening questionnaire. All participants will provide informed consent prior to the experiment and will receive monetary compensation for their time, adhering to the platform's ethical payment standards, thereby ensuring a motivated and representative sample of digital consumers.

Upon providing consent, participants will be randomly assigned to one of the four conditions in the 2x2 between-subjects experimental design. This random allocation will be managed automatically by the survey software, ensuring an equal distribution of approximately 60 participants per cell. The four distinct groups are: (1) high personal relevance with a central route message, (2) high personal relevance with a peripheral route message, (3) low personal relevance with a central route message, and (4) low personal relevance with a peripheral route message. This segmentation is fundamental to isolating the causal impact of each condition on consumer attitudes.

Following exposure to the marketing stimulus, a manipulation check will be administered to verify the effectiveness of the personal relevance induction. Participants will rate on a multi-item scale how relevant the product is to their current needs and interests. This procedure is critical for confirming that the necessary motivational states for central versus peripheral processing were successfully established.

Finally, demographic data including age, gender, education level, and average daily social media usage will be collected. This information will be used for descriptive purposes and to check for any systematic differences between the experimental groups that could present confounding variables.

3. Digital Marketing Stimuli Development

To operationalize the central processing route, a detailed blog post was developed for a fictitious brand of noise-canceling earbuds named "AuraSound." The article was designed to mimic a professional tech review, presenting strong, fact-based arguments. It included specific technical specifications such as a 30-hour battery life, 40-decibel active noise cancellation, Bluetooth 5.2 connectivity, and high-fidelity audio drivers. The content focused on logical appeals regarding product performance, durability, and value, intentionally crafted to require high cognitive elaboration from the reader. The layout, typography, and tone were standardized to ensure persuasion was driven by argument quality.

For the peripheral route condition, a visually-driven Instagram post was created featuring the same "AuraSound" earbuds. The stimulus was designed as a post from a fictional, attractive lifestyle influencer with a substantial following. The image depicted the influencer enjoying music with the product in a chic, aesthetically pleasing urban environment. The accompanying caption was brief and emotive, emphasizing the style and feeling associated with the brand ("Lost in my own world with my new AuraSound buds! #ad #vibes"), deliberately avoiding technical details or strong arguments. This design prioritized peripheral cues like source attractiveness and positive affect.

Prior to the main experiment, a pilot study (n=30) was conducted to validate the developed stimuli. This pre-test confirmed that the blog post was perceived as significantly more informational and argument-based, while the influencer post was rated higher on visual appeal and source attractiveness. The arguments in the central route message were also verified as strong and persuasive. To ensure internal validity, all other brand elements were held constant across both conditions, including the fictitious brand name "AuraSound," the product's visual design, the logo, and the core color palette, thereby isolating the manipulated message characteristics.

4. Cognitive Processing and Attitude Measurement

To measure the extent of cognitive processing and validate the manipulation of the persuasion route, a thought-listing task^[4] will be administered immediately after stimulus exposure. Participants will be given three minutes to write down all thoughts that came to their mind while viewing either the blog post or the influencer post. Two independent coders, blind to the experimental conditions, will then categorize these thoughts. The coding scheme will classify thoughts as message-relevant, source-relevant, or irrelevant. A greater proportion of message-relevant thoughts is expected in the central route conditions, confirming deeper cognitive elaboration as theorized by the Elaboration Likelihood Model.

Following the thought-listing task, participants will complete a series of questionnaires to measure the primary dependent variables. Attitude toward the "AuraSound" brand will be assessed using a three-item, 7-point semantic differential scale with bipolar adjectives such as bad/good, unfavorable/favorable, and negative/positive. Purchase intention will be measured with a three-item, 7-point Likert scale, with statements like "I would consider buying AuraSound earbuds" and "It is likely I will purchase this product in the future," anchored by "Strongly Disagree" and "Strongly Agree." These established scales ensure reliable measurement of key consumer responses.

Perceived brand credibility will be evaluated using a multi-item 7-point Likert scale adapted from established literature, assessing dimensions of trustworthiness and expertise with statements such as "AuraSound is a brand I can trust." To further analyze the peripheral route, source credibility will also be measured. For the influencer condition, this includes perceived attractiveness, trustworthiness, and

expertise of the source. For the blog post condition, this involves assessing the perceived believability and objectivity of the article. These measures are crucial for isolating the specific persuasive elements driving attitude formation within each experimental condition as predicted by ELM.

5. Data Analysis of Persuasion Routes

Initial data analysis will commence with screening for missing values, outliers, and assessing the normality of distributions for all dependent variables. The internal consistency and reliability of the multi-item scales for brand attitude, purchase intention, and perceived credibility will be evaluated using Cronbach's alpha^[8]. To validate the experimental manipulation of personal relevance, an independent samples t-test will be conducted on the manipulation check scores. This test will compare the mean relevance ratings between the high-relevance and low-relevance conditions, with a significant difference required to confirm that the motivational states were successfully induced.

The primary hypotheses will be tested using a series of 2 (message type: central vs. peripheral) x 2 (personal relevance: high vs. low) between-subjects analyses of variance (ANOVAs) for each dependent variable: brand attitude, purchase intention, and credibility. The analysis will focus on the predicted interaction effect between message type and personal relevance. A significant interaction would support the Elaboration Likelihood Model, indicating that the persuasiveness of a message type depends on the recipient's motivation level. If a significant interaction is found, post-hoc tests using Bonferroni corrections will be performed to examine simple main effects.

To empirically test the underlying cognitive mechanism of the Elaboration Likelihood Model, a mediation analysis will be conducted using the PROCESS macro for SPSS^[1]. The number of message-relevant thoughts, derived from the coded thought-listing data, will be tested as a mediator of the relationship between the experimental conditions and brand attitude. It is hypothesized that in the high-relevance conditions, the effect of the central message on attitude is mediated by cognitive elaboration. The significance of this indirect effect will be determined using bootstrapping with 5,000 resamples and 95% confidence intervals for robust inference.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

1. Manipulation Check and Participant Demographics

The final sample consisted of 232 participants following data screening procedures. The demographic profile of the sample was diverse, with a mean age of 34.2 years (SD = 8.7). The gender distribution was relatively balanced, comprising 51.3% female, 47.8% male, and 0.9% identifying as non-binary. A majority of participants held a bachelor's degree or higher (62%), and the average reported daily social media usage was 2.5 hours (SD = 1.1). Importantly, chi-square tests confirmed no significant demographic differences across the four experimental conditions.

An independent samples t-test was conducted to verify the effectiveness of the personal relevance manipulation. The analysis revealed a statistically significant difference in perceived relevance between the high-relevance (M = 6.12, SD = 0.85) and low-relevance (M = 3.45, SD = 1.02) conditions, t(230) = 11.45, p < .001. This result confirms that the manipulation successfully induced the intended motivational states, with participants in the high-relevance group finding the product significantly more relevant to their needs than their low-relevance counterparts.

The successful manipulation of personal relevance is a crucial preliminary finding that underpins the study's internal validity. According to the Elaboration Likelihood Model, motivation is a key determinant of the cognitive processing route an individual will take. By successfully establishing distinct levels of

motivation, the experiment created the necessary preconditions to test the differential impact of central versus peripheral marketing messages. This confirmation allows for a more confident interpretation of subsequent findings regarding attitude formation and behavioral intent across the experimental groups.

Prior to the main analyses, the internal consistency of the measurement scales was assessed using Cronbach's alpha. All scales demonstrated high reliability. The three-item semantic differential scale for attitude toward the brand yielded an alpha of .92. The three-item Likert scale for purchase intention also showed strong internal consistency ($\alpha = .89$). Similarly, the multi-item scale measuring perceived brand credibility was found to be highly reliable ($\alpha = .91$). These results indicate that the measurement instruments were consistent and dependable for hypothesis testing.

The initial dataset from 240 participants was screened for completeness and attention. Data from three individuals were removed due to missing responses on key dependent variables. An additional five participants were excluded for failing the embedded attention check items, suggesting insufficient engagement with the stimuli. This screening process resulted in a final, valid sample of 232 participants for the main analysis. The random assignment remained effective, with an approximately equal distribution of participants across the four experimental cells ($n \approx 58$ per condition).

2. Impact of Message Type and Personal Relevance on Brand Attitude

A 2x2 between-subjects ANOVA was conducted to examine the effects of message type and personal relevance on attitude toward the brand. The analysis revealed a non-significant main effect for message type, F(1, 228) = 1.34, p = .248, but a significant main effect for personal relevance, F(1, 228) = 5.67, p = .018. Crucially, these main effects were qualified by a significant interaction between message type and personal relevance, F(1, 228) = 45.89, p < .001, $\eta p^2 = .167$.

Post-hoc analysis using simple main effects was performed to deconstruct the significant interaction. Within the high-relevance condition, participants exposed to the central route message (the detailed blog post) reported a significantly more favorable brand attitude (M = 6.48, SD = 0.71) than those exposed to the peripheral route message (the influencer post) (M = 4.72, SD = 0.98), F(1, 228) = 28.11, p < .001. This finding supports the hypothesis that motivated individuals are more persuaded by strong, substantive arguments.

Conversely, within the low-relevance condition, the opposite pattern emerged. Participants who viewed the peripheral route message reported a significantly more positive brand attitude (M = 5.91, SD = 0.84) compared to those who read the central route message (M = 4.18, SD = 0.89), F(1, 228) = 21.45, P < 0.001. This result aligns with the ELM prediction that unmotivated individuals rely more heavily on superficial, heuristic cues rather than engaging in effortful cognitive processing of detailed information.

These findings strongly support the Elaboration Likelihood Model. When personal relevance was high, participants were motivated to engage in central processing. Consequently, the quality and strength of the arguments presented in the blog post were the primary drivers of attitude formation, rendering the influencer's appeal less effective. The data clearly indicate that for a motivated audience, persuasion is achieved through deep cognitive elaboration on message content, resulting in a more favorable attitude when arguments are compelling and fact-based.

In contrast, the results from the low-relevance group demonstrate the efficacy of the peripheral route. Lacking the motivation to scrutinize the detailed blog post, these participants were more favorably influenced by the peripheral cues embedded in the influencer post, such as source attractiveness and aesthetic appeal. This confirms that when elaboration likelihood is low, attitudes are shaped by simple heuristics rather than systematic message processing, highlighting the importance of aligning marketing

tactics with the audience's expected cognitive state.

3. Effects on Purchase Intention and Perceived Brand Credibility

A 2x2 ANOVA on purchase intention mirrored the results for brand attitude. There was a significant main effect for personal relevance, F(1, 228) = 4.98, p = .027, but not for message type, F(1, 228) = 0.95, p = .331. Critically, a significant interaction effect emerged between message type and personal relevance, F(1, 228) = 39.14, p < .001, $\eta p^2 = .147$. This interaction indicates that the influence of the marketing message on consumers' intention to buy was dependent on their level of motivation.

Simple main effects analysis revealed that under high relevance, the central route message generated significantly greater purchase intention (M = 6.31, SD = 0.79) than the peripheral message (M = 4.65, SD = 1.01), F(1, 228) = 25.99, p < .001. Conversely, for participants in the low-relevance condition, the peripheral message prompted higher purchase intention (M = 5.82, SD = 0.91) than the central message (M = 4.22, M = 0.95), M = 0.95, M = 0.95

A similar 2x2 ANOVA was conducted to assess perceived brand credibility. The analysis yielded a significant main effect for personal relevance, F(1, 228) = 6.11, p = .014, and a non-significant main effect for message type, F(1, 228) = 1.88, p = .172. As hypothesized, these were qualified by a strong and significant interaction between message type and personal relevance, F(1, 228) = 51.23, p < .001, $\eta p^2 = .183$. This demonstrates that perceptions of brand credibility are also shaped by the interplay between message and motivation.

Post-hoc tests showed that when relevance was high, the information-rich blog post led to significantly higher perceived brand credibility (M = 6.55, SD = 0.68) than the influencer post (M = 4.59, SD = 1.05), F(1, 228) = 33.41, p < .001. In the low-relevance condition, the influencer post resulted in greater perceived credibility (M = 5.77, SD = 0.88) compared to the blog post (M = 4.09, SD = 0.93), F(1, 228) = 24.06, p < .001. Credibility was thus derived from different sources depending on the processing route.

These parallel findings for purchase intention and brand credibility provide robust support for the study's hypotheses. The results clearly demonstrate that the effectiveness of a digital marketing tactic is not absolute but is contingent upon the audience's elaboration likelihood. For motivated consumers, substantive arguments build credibility and drive purchase intent. For unmotivated consumers, peripheral cues such as source attractiveness are more persuasive in shaping these key marketing outcomes, highlighting the practical utility of the ELM framework for strategists.

4. Cognitive Elaboration Across Processing Routes

Two independent coders, blind to the conditions, categorized thoughts as message-relevant, source-relevant, or irrelevant (Inter-rater reliability, Cohen's κ = .88). A 2x2 ANOVA on the number of message-relevant thoughts revealed a significant interaction between message type and personal relevance, F(1, 228) = 35.17, p < .001, ηp^2 = .134. This finding suggests that the degree of cognitive elaboration was contingent upon the interplay between motivation and message type.

Post-hoc analysis confirmed that within the high-relevance condition, participants exposed to the central route message (blog post) generated significantly more message-relevant thoughts (M = 4.82, SD = 1.15) than those who viewed the peripheral route message (M = 2.11, SD = 0.98), F(1, 228) = 31.54, p < .001. This result provides direct evidence of central route processing, demonstrating that motivated individuals engaged in more systematic and effortful cognitive elaboration when presented with

substantive, argument-based content.

In contrast, within the low-relevance condition, there was no significant difference in the number of message-relevant thoughts generated between those who saw the central message (M = 1.98, SD = 1.03) and those who saw the peripheral message (M = 2.05, SD = 0.95), F(1, 228) = 0.47, p = 0.47. This indicates that unmotivated participants did not allocate cognitive resources to scrutinize the detailed arguments, regardless of their availability, confirming the low elaboration likelihood predicted for peripheral route processing.

Further analysis of source-relevant thoughts provided complementary evidence for peripheral processing. Participants in the peripheral route conditions (influencer post) generated significantly more thoughts related to the source, such as attractiveness or style, (M = 3.45, SD = 1.21) than those in the central route conditions (M = 0.58, SD = 0.45), t(230) = 15.67, p < .001. This demonstrates that when elaboration likelihood was low, attention shifted from message content to superficial heuristic cues, a hallmark of the peripheral persuasion route.

Taken together, these results from the thought-listing task empirically validate the core processing assumptions of the Elaboration Likelihood Model. The findings demonstrate that the experimental manipulations successfully induced different cognitive pathways. Motivated individuals processed information centrally, focusing on argument quality, while unmotivated individuals defaulted to peripheral processing, focusing on heuristic cues. This evidence of differential cognitive elaboration provides a robust mechanistic explanation for the observed effects on brand attitude and purchase intention reported previously.

5. Mediation Analysis: Cognitive Elaboration and Attitude Formation

To formally test the underlying mechanism of the Elaboration Likelihood Model, a moderated mediation analysis was conducted using the PROCESS macro for SPSS. The analysis aimed to determine if the effect of message type (central vs. peripheral) on brand attitude was mediated by cognitive elaboration (number of message-relevant thoughts), and if this mediation was moderated by personal relevance. This statistical approach provides a robust test of the causal chain proposed by the ELM, moving beyond correlation to explain the process of persuasion.

The results strongly supported the hypothesized moderated mediation. For participants in the highrelevance condition, there was a significant indirect effect of the central message on brand attitude through cognitive elaboration (Effect = 1.15, SE = 0.28, 95% CI [0.65, 1.74]). The confidence interval does not contain zero, indicating that for motivated individuals, the superior persuasiveness of the blog post was statistically explained by the increased message-relevant thinking it generated. This confirms the central route's proposed mechanism.

Conversely, for participants in the low-relevance condition, the indirect effect of message type on brand attitude through cognitive elaboration was non-significant (Effect = 0.09, SE = 0.14, 95% CI [-0.18, 0.37]). The confidence interval for this group contains zero, demonstrating that cognitive elaboration did not mediate the relationship between message type and attitude. This finding is consistent with peripheral route processing, where attitude formation is not dependent on the systematic processing of message arguments.

These mediation results provide compelling evidence for the psychological processes outlined by the Elaboration Likelihood Model. The analysis empirically demonstrates that the path to persuasion is conditional. For a motivated audience, the persuasive power of an information-rich message is directly attributable to the deep cognitive processing it inspires. When motivation is absent, this cognitive pathway is not engaged, and the influence of detailed arguments on attitude formation is nullified, validating the 39

model's core assumptions about cognitive effort.

Ultimately, this moderated mediation analysis solidifies the study's central findings by illuminating the "why" behind the observed effects. It confirms that cognitive elaboration is the critical engine of the central route to persuasion. The data show that the effectiveness of digital marketing content is not inherent in the message itself, but is contingent upon the audience's motivational state and the corresponding cognitive processing route that is activated, offering a nuanced and powerful validation of the ELM framework.

CONCLUSION

This study's experimental findings provide conclusive support for the Elaboration Likelihood Model within a digital marketing context. The results demonstrated a significant interaction between message type and consumer motivation. For highly motivated consumers, an information-rich blog post representing the central route generated significantly more favorable brand attitudes, purchase intentions, and higher credibility perceptions. Conversely, for unmotivated consumers, a visually-driven influencer post representing the peripheral route proved more persuasive across these same key metrics. This confirms that the effectiveness of a digital marketing strategy is not inherent but is critically dependent on aligning the message with the audience's elaboration likelihood.

Beyond confirming behavioral outcomes, this research successfully validated the underlying cognitive mechanisms of the ELM. The moderated mediation analysis provided direct evidence that for motivated individuals, the persuasive impact of the central route message was statistically explained by increased cognitive elaboration. The thought-listing data further substantiated this, showing that high-relevance participants generated more message-relevant thoughts. In contrast, unmotivated participants did not engage in this effortful processing, relying instead on heuristic cues like source attractiveness. This empirically demonstrates that different psychological pathways are engaged depending on the consumer's motivational state, solidifying the model's theoretical utility.

The practical implications for digital marketers are unequivocal: strategy must be audience-centric. Marketers should prioritize detailed, argument-based content for audiences with high personal relevance, while leveraging influencer marketing and visually appealing, low-effort content for broader, less-involved audiences. A limitation of this study is its use of a fictitious brand, which may not fully capture dynamics with established brands possessing pre-existing equity. Future research should investigate the long-term stability of attitudes formed via these digital routes and explore a wider range of product categories and peripheral cues to enhance the generalizability of these findings.

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