

Game Advertising: A Systematic Literature Review

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Abstract

This paper presents a synthesis of doctoral research conducted within the area of Game Advertising. Utilising a Systematic Literature Review with thematic analysis based upon the principles of meta-ethnography, we were able to identify, appraise, select and synthesise all the high quality academic research evidence related to Game Advertising which resulted in 181 accessible documents, published between 2001 and 2013, an average of just under 14 documents per year. Of these, 106 related to Advergames, 71 to In-Game Advertising and 4 to Around-Game Advertising. We were able to show that seven main research methods were utilised, with survey/questionnaires dominating (120, 66%). Of these 101, (84%), were blended with some form of game exposure experiment. Although the average exposure time was found to be 11.5 minutes, the most popular was one to ten minutes (62%). Moreover, nearly 95% of experiments tested instantly. We argue that this creates a credibility gap between ideology and reality as the average gaming sessions have been found to last between 30-160 minutes and gamers are not instantly exposed to products being advertised. This was particularly the case with Advergame research which has been the foundation for government legislation to tackle childhood obesity. The suggestion was that the use of games to promote confectionary and sugary breakfast cereals to children is partly responsible for this happening in Western children. However, in the vast majority of these studies, children were tested instantly after gameplay and as these children choose the product being promoted, assumptions were made that these games unduly influenced product choice. In real life, children who play Advergames are not usually exposed to the products being promoted at the time of playing the game and therefore no clear causality can be established between playing these games and the rise in obesity.

Keywords:

Game Advertising, Systematic Literature Review, Video Games, Meta-Ethnography

1.0 Introduction

According to Sinclair (2015), it was estimated that over 1.9 billion people would be playing video and computer games on a regular basis worldwide in 2015, generating an estimated industry revenue of approximately \$91.4 billion. It is little wonder then that companies have looked towards Game Advertising as a way of communicating brand messages to gaming consumers, with some industry forecasters estimating that In-Game Advertising alone could be worth an estimated \$7.2 billion by 2016 (ESA, 2014), although more cautious estimates put this in the region of \$1.1 billion (Silverman, 2016). No matter which estimate is closer to the actual revenue generated, it is clear to see that the concept of associating marketing messages with games offers potential for both games developers and advertisers alike.

This paper aims to provide an insight into academic research conducted within the area of Game Advertising by providing exploratory results from a Systematic Literature Review (SLR), building upon previous publications from the authors which examined In-Game Advertising (Smith, Sun and Mackie, 2014) and the use of Around-Game Advertising (Smith et al., 2014a). A brief insight into the concept of Game Advertising and its associated concepts will be initially provided before offering an overview of the methodology and research design adopted. Some indicative findings will then be outlined before final conclusions are offered from both an academic and industry perspective.

1.1 What is Game Advertising?

According to Smith, et al., (2014b, p. 97), Game Advertising can be defined as “The association of marketing communications messages with video & computer games to target consumers through Advergames, Around-Game Advertising or In-Game Advertising activities”. From this definition, it is clear that three distinct facets of Game Advertising exist (see Table 1.1), within which different forms of advertising and promotion are present (see Figure 1.2).

Table 1.1: Game Advertising Facets and Definitions

FACTET	DEFINITION
Advergame	“A digital game specifically designed for the primary purpose of advertising and promotion of an organisations product, service or brand played via the Internet or on a compatible medium via a games disc or digital download” (Smith et al., 2014b, p. 98)
Around-Game Advertising	Advertising and promotion linked to video and computer games through non-intrusive around game displays or licensing of game branding with associated third-party products” (Smith et al., 2014b, p. 101)
In-Game Advertising	“The integration of non-fictional products and brands within the playing environment of video & computer games through simulated real life marketing communications mechanisms” (Smith et al., 2014b, p. 99)

At this point it is worth noting that the definitions and framework provided here have been developed within the context of video and computer game advertising associations and do not relate to marketing messages associated with mobile gaming. Moreover, although some authors believe that using fake brands are a permissible form of Game Advertising (Nieborg, 2007; Chaney, Lin and Chaney, 2004; Nelson, Keum and Yaros, 2004), we do not as we fundamentally believe that advertising has to be considered as being “Any paid form of nonpersonal presentation and promotion of ideas, goods, or services by an identified sponsor” (Kotler et al. 2009, p. 861).

Figure 1.2: Game Advertising Framework



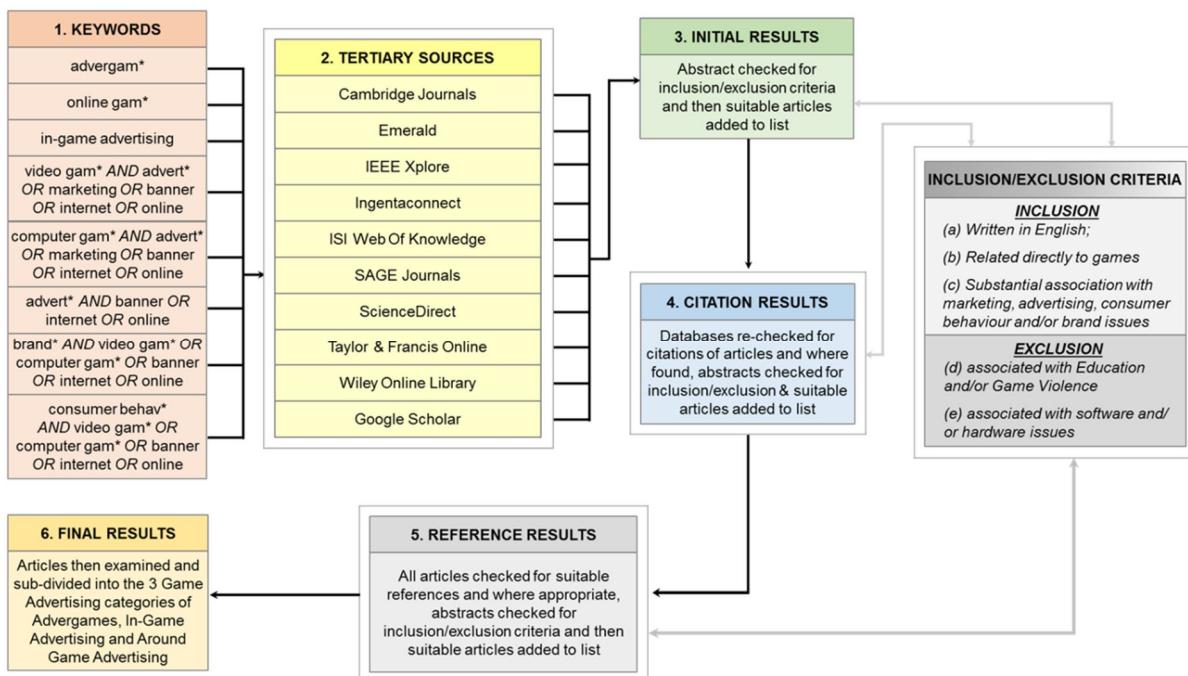
(Smith et al., 2014b, p. 97)

2.0 Methodology and Research Design

The research outlined in this paper links to the first stage of a PhD project entitled ‘Fantasy Game-Product Congruence: An Exploration of Game Advertising and UK Gamer Attitudes towards Around-game Advertising through Promotional Merchandise’ (Smith, 2015). This initial phase was an SLR which is defined as being “...a transparent, comprehensive and replicable process for identifying and synthesising accessible academic research”, (Smith, Sun and Mackie, 2014, p. 104). Although SLRs have been heavily used within medicine, they are a relatively new concept within business and management studies and are proving to be popular within fields such as marketing, economics and tourism (Biraghi and Gambetti, 2013; Coombes and Nicolson, 2013; Gross, Gao and Huang, 2013; Delbufalo, 2012; Tsang and Hsu, 2011; Kong and Cheung, 2009). These reviews differ from traditional literature reviews as they look to establish a replicable, transparent and rigorous search process. This not only helps the researcher to identify the majority of available literature, providing best evidence but also allow identification of unseen relationships or issues which would be difficult to establish through the more traditional review (Lettieri, Masella and Radaelli, 2009; Pittaway et al., 2004; Cook, Muldrow and Haynes, 1997).

The aim of this particular review was to identify, appraise, select and synthesise all the high quality academic research evidence related to Game Advertising within academic journals, textbooks or conference papers (see Figure 2.1) and was undertaken to facilitate a response to the research question ‘How pervasive is published research in the area of Game Advertising in terms of its frequency, facet, topic and framing?’ The keywords as well as the inclusion/exclusion criteria was designed by a review team of two computing and marketing academic and two industry experts within the area of Game Advertising. The search process was originally conducted in January 2011 and then repeated in January 2014. All identifiable and accessible documents were uploaded into Nvivo, encoded and thematically analysed based upon the principles of meta-ethnography which is a qualitative method which ‘...seeks to explicate relationships between and within individual studies through metaphor’ (Aguirre and Bolton, 2013, p. 4). However, within this research metaphors are not strictly examined, rather facets, concepts and topics of Game Advertising were identified to provide a more reciprocal synthesis.

Figure 2.1: Systematic Literature Review Search Strategy and Criteria



3.0 Findings

In total, 181 documents were discovered and include within the review process. However, it would be impractical to try and examine each of these in any detail. As such this paper will provide some general highlights in terms of the frequency, facet, topic and framing of these documents. In addition, it will provide basic insights into participant demographics and research design, before finally focusing upon Advergame and In-Game Advertising influencing factors:

3.1 General Findings

In terms of frequency, facet, topic and framing it was found that 134 (74%) documents were sourced directly from the keyword search and 47 through examining references and citations. The most productive search term was found to be 'advergam*' which generated 34% of documents found, with references and citations (CitRef's) being the next most productive with 26% (see Appendix 1). Research into the facet of Advergames (58.56%) proved to be the most popular with In-Game Advertising accounting for 39.23% and Around-Game Advertising only 2.21% (see Appendix 2a). In terms of the return from tertiary databases, ISI Web of Knowledge provided the highest return of documents with 52, followed by CitRef's with 47, Google Scholar with 37, and then Taylor & Francis Online (Taylor & Francis) with 22 (see Appendix 2b). Unsurprisingly Journal Articles proved to be the most popular publishing source with 132 articles (72.93%), followed by Conference Papers with 41 (22.65%) and then Edited Book with 8 (4.42%) as outlined in Appendix 2c.

Looking at areas associated with participant demographics it was found that of the 123 documents which indicated participants, 61 (49.6%) indicated students followed by 26 (21.1%) using children, 20 (16.3%) indicating the generic term 'gamer' and 16 (13%) indicating adults. Sample sizes varied from 7 to 2,748 with the most popular being 51 to 100 participants which was used by 29 studies (23.6%), then 101 to 150 participants by 25 (20.3%) and <=50 participants by 21 (17.1%). Unsurprisingly sports and racing games dominate the genres used with 29 (23.6%) and 28 (22.8%) studies respectively. This is probably due to these games lending themselves to advertising associations in a similar way as they do in real life. Finally in terms of demographics, the most popular nationality of the 118 studies which indicated this for participants was the United States which accounted for 52 (44.1%) followed by the Netherlands with 10 (8.5%) and then Australia, Austria and Germany with 6 (5.1%) each.

From a research design perspective it was found that the most popular method was survey with 120 (66%). Of these, 101 (84%) blended their examination with some form of game exposure experiments. Content analysis proved to be the next accounting for 24 occurrences (13%), then narrative analysis with 17 (9%), case studies with 10 (5%), interviews with 5 (3%) and only 3 (2%) appear to have used focus groups or non-game based experiments, with observation only being used once. Of the 101 documents which exposed participants to game based experiments, 77 indicated the exposure time in terms of minutes as well as indicating the length of time after exposure when participants were tested. Although it was found that the average exposure time was a little over 11.5 minutes, on closer examination the range of one to five minutes proved to be the most popular within 34 studies (44%). This was followed by 6 to 10 minutes in 14 studies (18%) and then 11 to 12 minutes in 12 (16%). The next most popular was 26 to 30 minutes which was the range used by 8 studies (10%) and then 15 to 20 minutes in 6 (8%). Moreover, 21 to 25 minutes was used twice (3%), with 56 to 60 minutes being used only once (1%). Finally, examining when participants were tested after exposure in more detail, 73 (94%) did so instantly, with two (3%) providing a break of between 3 and 5 minutes, and two (3%) providing a break of between 6 and 10 minutes. Interestingly, only five studies decided to do any follow-up testing with two doing this after one week, one testing after two weeks and two after five months.

3.2 Meta-Ethnography Findings

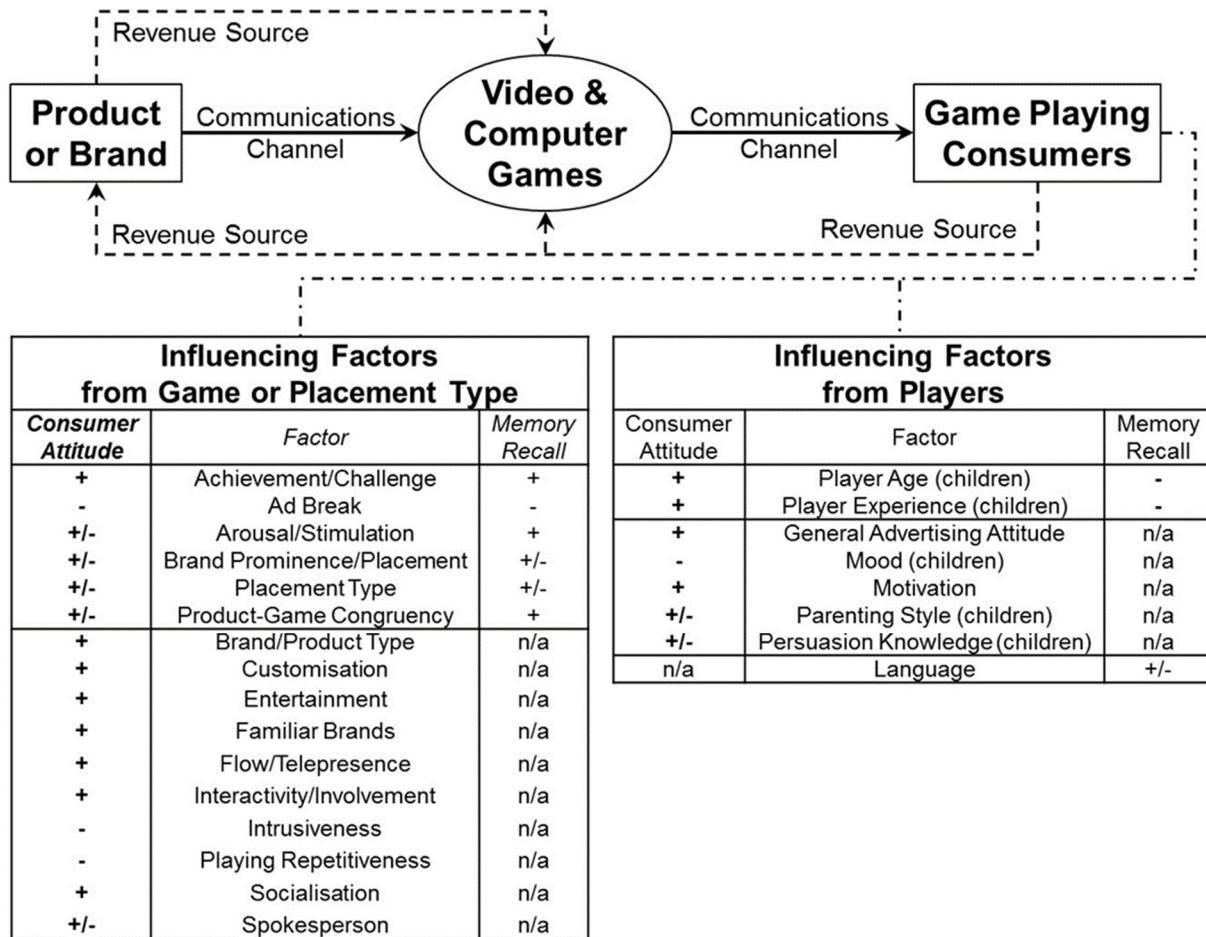
As previously outlined, the meta-ethnography process is based around a framework which guides the synthesis of information into a manageable form. In terms of this review, these steps were undertaken during the search process with Appendix 3 providing an overview of the identified documents relating to their different Game Advertising facets, research concepts and research themes/topics. Due to the interpretative nature of meta-ethnography, it is worth noting that these classifications were based on interpretations of occurring concepts and topics which could be readily identified. As such, some studies which looked at both attitudinal and memory recall issues were categorised based upon which proved to be the most dominant discussion of the results undertaken by their author(s).

3.2.1 Advergame Influencing Factors

It was indicated previously (see Section 3.1) that a total of 106 documents investigated the facet of Advergames. In general, Advergames offer companies either a potential revenue source, a significant tool for information gathering or more predominantly, as a promotional mechanism. They provide immersive brand integrations, designed as associative, illustrative and/or demonstrative placements, with the ultimate goal of being targeted at specific customer demographics and geographical locations, within the business-to-consumer marketplace. Moreover, they use a variety of different elements as a means of communication including brand logos, packaging, branded products and branded cartoon characters. Overall, many different factors have been found to impact the effectiveness of Advergames in terms of both consumer attitude and memory recall as well as from the perspective of the game design and the players (see Figure 3.1).

However, although Advergames can foster high memory recall and can help to form positive brand attitudes that influence brand choice, there is little evidence to suggest that this influences future purchase intention. This assertion is supported by Kinard and Hartman (2013) who found that Advergames are more effective as a reinforcement tool than as a persuasion mechanism. Unlike other facets of Game Advertising, many investigations into Advergames were specifically related to how these are being targeted at young children. Findings have shown that a high persuasion knowledge level is required for children to recognise these games as being advertisements, especially when compared to other advertising mediums such as television. Other results show that children are more inclined to choose the product being promoted within the game, which can lead to contradictory messaging where unhealthy food is used as a reward item to boost health and that caloric intake is higher for children who positively perceive Advergames which promoted unhealthy food. That being said, Advergames may also offer an opportunity to promote healthy food as children appear to be more inclined to choose health food after playing a healthy game, than unhealthy food after playing an unhealthy game. Interestingly, monetisation appears to impact which type of food is promoted with the majority of non-profit games found to convey healthy eating messages whereas the majority of for-profit games promoted unhealthy products. Nevertheless, Advergames commercial nature does not appear to concern parents, although in general this may be due to a lack of knowledge and understanding. Allowing children to play Advergames may be linked to parenting style as it was found that authoritative parents were more inclined to have a negative attitude towards these, than their more indulgent and liberal counterparts.

Figure 3.1: Advergame Influencing Factors

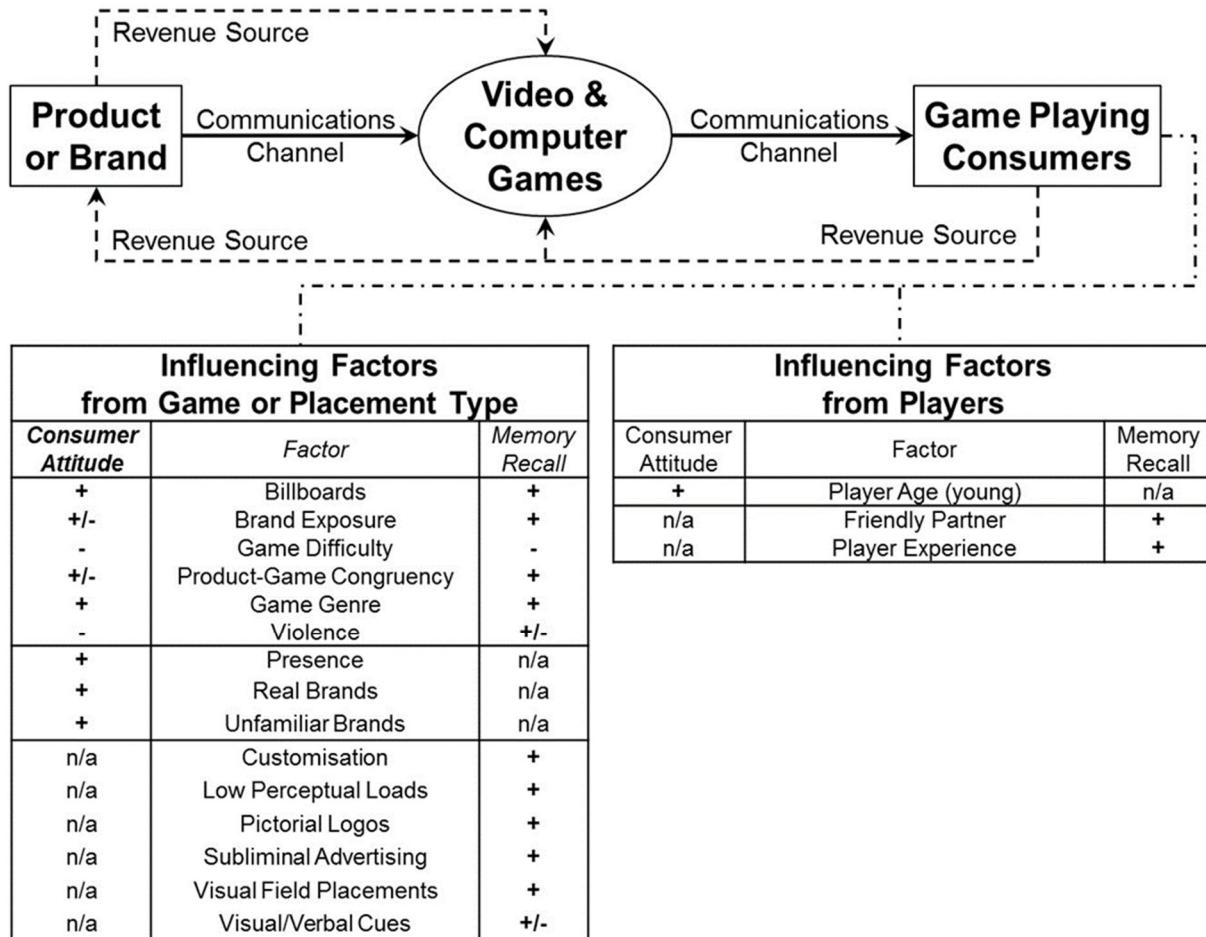


3.2.2 In-Game Advertising Influencing Factors

It was previously highlighted that 71 documents were found which focused upon the facet of In-Game Advertising. Overall this form of Game Advertising has been indicated as being a cost effective way to reach consumers who play games but must be done so carefully, taking into account the games setting, how the advertising is undertaken and what product or brand is being advertised. Similar to Advergames, many different elements have been found to impact the effectiveness of In-Game Advertising in terms of consumer attitude and memory recall as well as from the perspective of game design and the player (see Figure 3.2).

Overall it would appear that this form of Game Advertising can have a positive impact on memory recall of brands, although in some instances this is higher in implicit rather than explicit recall and much lower in unaided compared to aided recall. One of the most popular ways to place brands in games through In-Game Advertising is that of billboards, even though this appeared to have limited recall effects. Alternatively, product placement has been found to have higher impact in terms of recall. Interestingly, using real brands within a game has been shown to have a positive impact on gamer's consumer attitudes as does the inclusion of unfamiliar brands. Moreover, game difficulty has been shown to have a negative impact on both consumer attitudes and memory recall. More details concerning the influencing factors associated with In-Game Advertising can be found within Smith, Sun and Mackie, (2014).

Figure 3.2: In-Game Advertising Influencing Factors



4.0 Conclusions

Through this SLR we believe that we have emphasised the power of using this method for undertaking an examination of previous research within a field of study. Our findings outlined in section 3.1 highlight what we feel is a credibility gap in terms of research ideology and reality within the field of Game Advertising research. This assertion is due to our research showing that previous research into this area is dominated by (1) student participants who are mainly male and aged 18-25 whereas 44% of gamers are indicated as being female and the average age of a gamer being 35 (ESA, 2015); (b) the average game exposure session being 11.5 minutes, with the most popular being 1 to 5 minutes (34%) when the average gaming session has been shown to be anywhere between 20-160 minutes (Vajda et al., 2011; Kihl, Aurelius and Lagerstedt, 2010) and (c) instant testing of participants after brand exposure in game (95% of all studies) when in real life gamers of any age would not normally be exposed to brand purchase or choice opportunities at the time they play the game. Although we accept that it is not always possible to reflect real life conditions within research ‘experiments’, concerns have to be raised when the research being conducted is being used to influence government policies on the issues such as the rise of obesity, especially in children which is being partly blamed on the use of Advergames to promote unhealthy food, (Green, 2014). However, it is worth noting that both Advergames and In-Game Advertising can only expose consumers to product promotional messages when they interact with the game itself and although previous studies have examined purchase intention, none offer definitive evidence that they actually stimulate a consumer to make a purchase.

Moreover, although the Game Advertising industry is viewed as “...the fastest growing and most exciting category of mass media” (Marchand and Hennig-Thurau, 2013, p. 141) this SLR has shown that there is still limited research being conducted which offers any clear conclusive evidence of its direct impact on sales.

This is especially true in connection with the facet of Around-Game Advertising as despite this being shown as being the least intrusive form of Game Advertising which can have a positive impact on consumer attitudes (Smith et al., 2014a) and is the only form of Game Advertising which provides gamers with an instant purchase opportunity at the time of exposure (Smith, 2015) remains relatively unexplored in terms of academic research.

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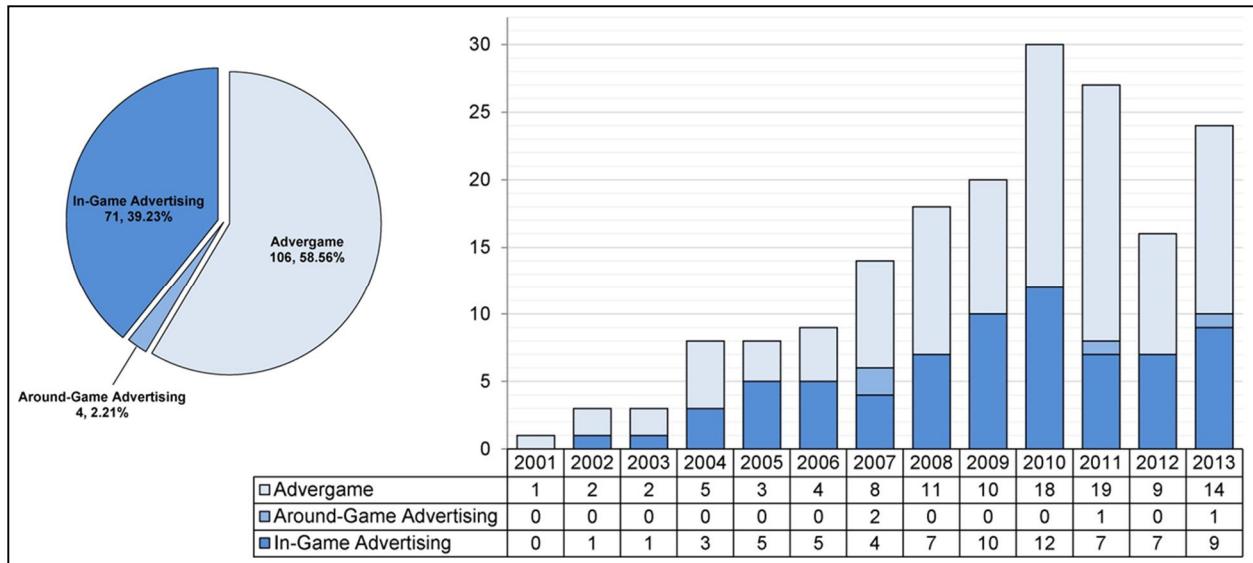
Appendices

Appendix 1: SLR Search Results

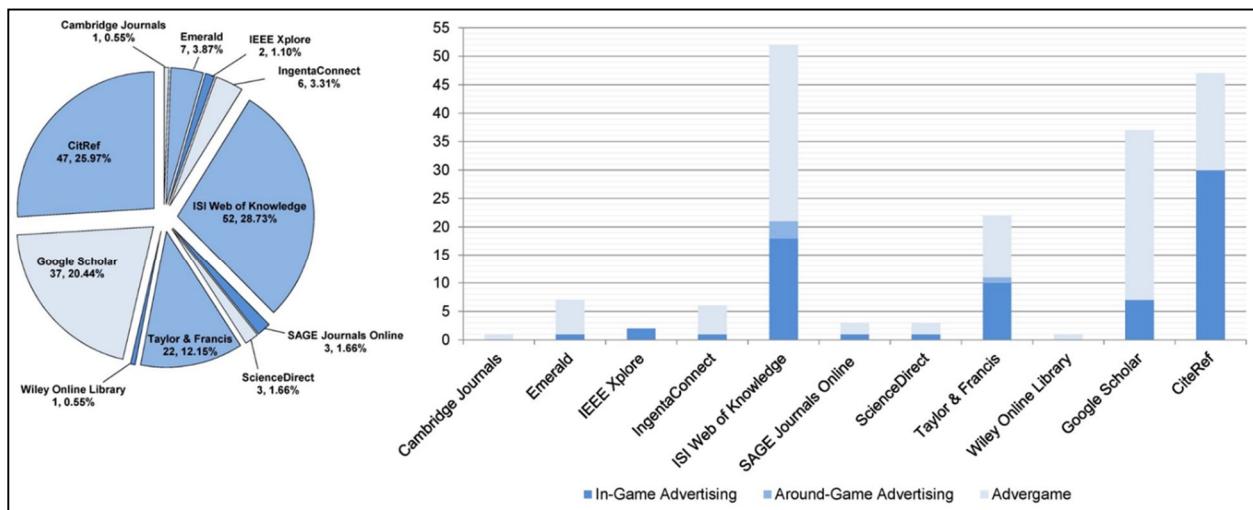
LEVEL 1 SEARCH	FOUND	LEVEL 2 SEARCH	FOUND	ABSTRACTS VIEWED	DUPPLICATES	ACCEPTED
video gam*	3,414	<i>advert*</i> <i>marketing</i> <i>banner</i> <i>cross promotion</i> <i>Interstitial</i> <i>sponsorship</i>	143 276 16 5 2 9	12 8 3 0 0 2	1 2 3 2	11 11
advergam*	343			100	39	61
computer gam*	1,983	<i>advert*</i> <i>marketing</i> <i>banner</i> <i>cross promotion</i> <i>Interstitial</i> <i>sponsorship</i>	76 124 7 3 4 8	8 1 0 0 0 0	1 1	7 7
online gam*	910	<i>advert*</i> <i>marketing</i> <i>banner</i> <i>cross promotion</i> <i>Interstitial</i> <i>sponsorship</i>	83 182 10 2 4 6	7 7 2 0 0 0	7 2	
in-game advertising	117			34	23	11
advert*	77,000	<i>video gam* or computer gam*</i> <i>banner</i> <i>cross promotion</i> <i>Interstitial</i> <i>sponsorship</i>	314 477 21 31 332	30 14 0 0 4	29 12 4	3 1 2
brand*	78,251	<i>video gam* or computer gam*</i> <i>banner</i> <i>cross promotion</i> <i>Interstitial</i> <i>sponsorship</i>	281 205 39 14 463	23 5 0 0 4	20 5 3	4 3 1
consumer behav*	51,135	<i>video gam* or computer gam*</i> <i>banner</i> <i>cross promotion</i> <i>Interstitial</i> <i>sponsorship</i>	290 150 25 4 174	2 4 0 0 0	2 4	
product placement	291	<i>video gam* or computer gam*</i>	33	11	11	
advergame	21	(Google Scholar Title Only)		9	6	3
advergames	81	(Google Scholar Title Only)		59	39	20
advergaming	25	(Google Scholar Title Only)		12	5	7
in-game advertising	39	(Google Scholar Title Only)		21	14	7
					TOTAL	134
References and/or Citations	47					47
				OVERALL TOTAL	181	

Appendix 2: SLR Results Overview

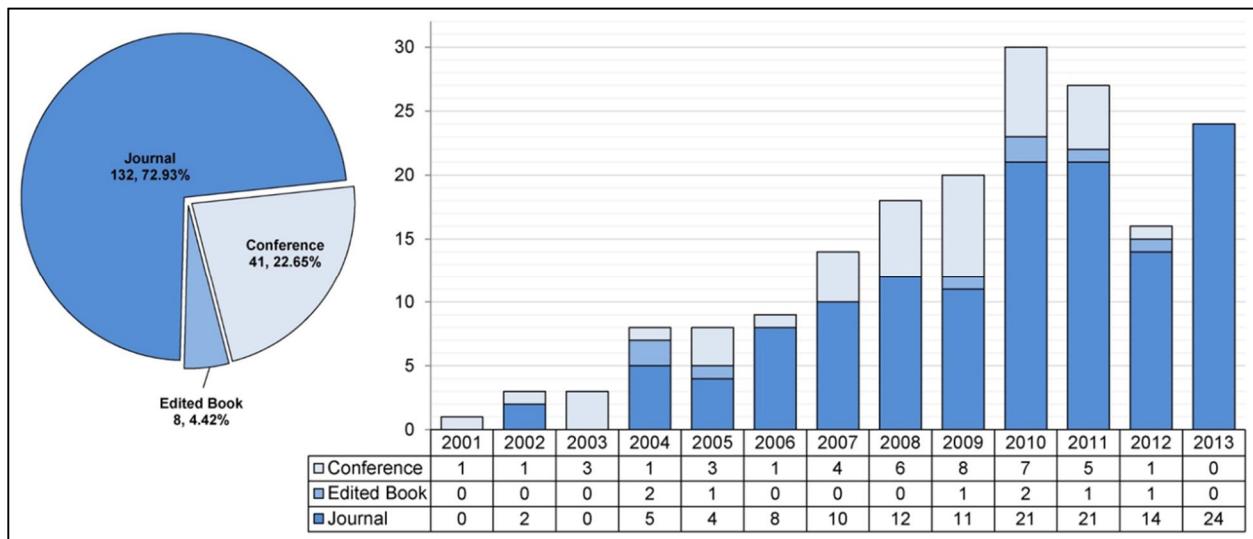
Appendix 2a: SLR by Game Advertising Format



Appendix 2b: SLR by Tertiary Database



Appendix 2c: SLR by Publishing Source



Appendix 3: Meta-Ethnography Synthesis Overview

	Attitudinal (70)	Content Analysis (26)	General Studies (18)	Memory Recall (64)	Other Research (8)
Advergame	<p>Effectiveness (25): Youn and Lee, (2003); Hernandez et al., (2004a); Youn and Lee, (2004); Wise et al., (2006; 2008); Mallinckrodt and Mizersk, (2007); Hernandez, (2008); Bati and Atci, (2010); Waiguny and Terlutter, (2010; 2011); Jung, Min and Kellaris, (2011); Waiguny, Terlutter and Zaglia (2011); Choi and Lee, (2012); Falkvord (2012); Martí-Parrero et al., (2012); Redondo, (2012); Adis and Hyung, (2013a; 2013b); Choi, Yoon and Lacey (2013); Falkvord et al., (2013); Kinard and Hartman, (2013); Panic, Cauberghe and De Peismacker, (2013); Steffen, Mau and Schramm-Klein, (2013); Waiguny, Nelson and Terlutter, (2013); Waiguny, Nelson and Marco, (2013)</p> <p>Content Utilisation (14): Youn and Larson, (2002); Water Story and Harnack, (2008); Alvy and Calvert, (2008); Kelly et al., (2008); Lee and Youn, (2008); Dahl, Eagle, and Baetz, (2009); Henry and Stoy, (2009); Lee et al., (2009); Brady et al., (2010); Culp, Bell and Cassady, (2010); Flowers, Lustrik and Gulyás, (2010); Buyc, Kim and Park, (2011); Hofmeister-Töth and Nagy, (2011); Cheyne et al., (2013)</p> <p>Consumer Targeting (10): Moore and Rideout, (2007); Trumppseed and Rask, (2008); Guimes, (2008a); Sever, (2009); Theodorou and Sirmakesiss, (2009); Thomson, (2010; 2011); Zhang, (2010); Cicchirillo and Lin, (2011); Dias and Agante, (2011)</p> <p>Interactivity (10): Bailey, Wise and Bots, (2008); Bailey, et al., (2009); Jin, (2010); Ping, Goh and Teo, (2010); Hernandez, (2011); Sukoco and Wu, (2011); van Reijmersdal, Rozenblaad and Buijzen, (2012a); Waiguny, Nelson and Terlutter, (2012); Lee Park and Wise, (2013); Tufts and Ashley, (2013)</p> <p>Parental Attitude (4): Bakir and Vitell, (2010); Lewis, (2010); Evans, (2011); Evans, Carlson and Hoy, (2013)</p>	<p>Overview (7): Fattah and Paul, (2002); Kretschmer, (2004); Santos, Gonzalo and Gibert, (2007); Smith, (2007); Smith and Just, (2009); Purswani, (2010); de la Hera Conde-Pimpido (2012)</p> <p>Game Design (3): Chen and Ringel, (2001); Williford, (2009); Gurau, (2010)</p> <p>Data Collection (2): Mráček and Mucha, (2011a and 2011b)</p>	<p>Game Interaction & Design (12): Gurau, (2008); Hernandez and Chapa, (2008); Ho and Yang, (2008); Yang and Wang, (2008); Peters, et al., (2009); Cauberghe and Peismacker, (2010); Gross, (2010); Hussein, Wahid and Saad, (2010); Hernandez and Minor, (2011); Ho, Tang and Lin, (2011); Okazaki and Yague, (2012); Peters and Leschner, (2013)</p> <p>Product Awareness (1): Hernandez, et al., (2004a); Deal, (2005); Winkler and Buckner, (2006); Hang and Auty, (2007); Pempel and Calvert, (2009); Stern and An, (2009); Hernandez and Chapa, (2010); An and Stern, (2011); Harris, et al., (2011); van Reijmersdal, Rozendaal and Buijzen, (2011; 2012b)</p>	<p>Brand Awareness (5): van der Graaf and Nieborg, (2003); Nieborg, (2004); Scatteia, (2005); Kitchin, (2006) & Scherer, (2007)</p>	<p>van der Graaf and Nieborg, (2003); Nieborg, (2004); Scatteia, (2005); Kitchin, (2006) & Scherer, (2007)</p>
Around Game Advertising	<p>Banners - Effectiveness (2): Acar, (2007) & Robinson; Wysocka and Hand, (2007)</p> <p>Interstitials - Effectiveness (1): Acquisti and Spiekermann, (2011)</p>		<p>Banners - Effectiveness (1): Yeu et al., (2013)</p>		<p>Interactivity (17): Nelson, (2002; 2005); Grigorovici and Constanttin, (2004); Nelson, Yaros, and Keum, (2006); Yang, et al., (2006); Matzler, Bushman and Hofmann, (2008); Jeong, Biocca, and Hoffman, (2009; 2011); Kureshi and Sood, (2008); Mackay, et al., (2009); Bernhard, Zhang and Wimmer, (2011); Grace and Coyne, (2011); Hang and Auty, (2011); Jeong and Biocca, (2011); Yoo and Peña, (2011); Dardis, Schmierbach and Limperos, (2012); Bestharai et al., (2013)</p> <p>Context & Format (18): Chaney, Lin and Chaney, (2004); Schneider and Connell, (2005); Dixit and Youngblood, (2007); Kuhn, Pope and Voges, (2007); Lee and Faber, (2007); Bartlett, Griffiths and Badian, (2008); Walsh Kim and Ross, (2008); Barmentinger et al., (2009); Leng Quan and Zainuddin, (2010); Lewis and Porter, (2010); Nijhien, Peillengah and De Byl, (2010); Nijhien, de Regt and Calvi, (2010); Dardis and Schmierbach, (2012); Huang and Yang, (2012); Choi, Lee and Li, (2013); Nijhien et al., (2013); Walsh, Kim and Ross, (2013); Yoon and Vargas, (2013)</p>
In-Game Advertising	<p>Effectiveness (24): Molesworth, (2003; 2006); Nelson, Keum and Yaros, (2004); Sung and de Gregorio, (2005; 2006); Glass, (2007); Cianfrone, et al., (2008); Mau, Silberer and Constiten, (2008); Mau and Silberer, (2008); Ip, (2008); Myung and Willey, (2009); Breen and Hayes, (2010); Chang, Lou and Yan, (2010); Chang, et al., (2010); Kim and McClung, (2010); Mau, Silberer and Godecke, (2010); van Reijmersdal, et al., (2010a; 2010b); Gautam and Davis, (2011); Lorenzon and Russell, (2012); Cianfrone and Zhang, (2013); Gangadhara, Bradley and Wise, (2013); Herrewijn and Poels, (2013); Poels, Janssens and Herrewijn, (2013)</p> <p>Interactivity (4): Nicovich, (2005; 2010); Bambauer, (2006); Kuhn and Pope, (2010);</p>	<p>Brand Development (1): Clavio, Kraft and Pedersen, (2009)</p> <p>Game Design (1): Turner, Scheller-Wolf and Tayur, (2011)</p>	<p>Game Design (6): Chambers, (2009); Cianfrone and Zhang (2009); Raatikainen, (2012); Schulzke, (2012)</p>		