The Persuasive Effectiveness of Fear Appeals in Prohibited Driving under Intoxication: A comparison of Chinese young adults' perception towards Western and Chinese conventional anti-drunken driving billboard

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Table of Contents

Abstract

The upsurge in the economic development in China is witnessing an increasing number of personal motor vehicles on the roads in the urban areas, especially in Beijing, the capital city. More and more young people can now afford a car for their personal transportation. But this in turn has led to the increase in other factors, such as in the number of car accidents and fatal consequences caused by drunken driving by these young drivers. As the passive counter measures against anti-drunken driving (fine, driving agent, etc) are more difficult to implement effectively, the method of communication has been chosen in order to influence drivers and shape a non-drinking-driving behavior. The common and conventional Chinese billboards which were placed on the roadsides for this purpose seem to have an insufficient effect. In the Western countries, fear appeals are widely used for anti-drunken driving campaigns. This research is an analysis of the effectiveness of fear appeals in comparison to the Chinese conventional billboards in persuading Chinese young adulthood against drunken driving.

Key words: Fear appeals, Drinking and driving, Billboard, Persuasive effectiveness, McGuire's information-processing model, Theory of planned behavior

1. Introduction

1.1 Problem Description

Traffic accidents and the consequent fatalities are one of the most serious issues in China because they affect the whole society in an alarming manner. China's rapid economic development has given a great boost to the number of motor vehicles. The increasing tendency towards the use of motor vehicles is an incidental factor in the causing traffic accident. According to the Xinhua News Agency, China's death toll, as a result of traffic accidents, has ranked first in the world for more than ten years consecutively and drunken driving is one of the main culprits. China holds 3% of the world's car ownership, but the traffic death toll accounts for 16% of the world's total. Young people of ages from 16 to 40 who mainly have only less than 3 years driving experience are responsible for half the traffic fatalities. China's mortality rate is 9 per million vehicles, with the daily averages of two to three hundred people killed in car accidents. This is much higher than in the United States where car ownership comprises 30% of the world's total number of cars (China.com.cn, 2008).

"Driving under an inebriated state increases the possibility of accidents to 16 times more than driving without drinking." says Professor Ding of People's University of China, faculty of traffic management and engineering (China Youth Newspaper, 2009). The jural definition of drinking mentioned here is "drink alcoholic beverages", namely the consumption of liquor, beer, wine, sparkling wine, champagne, etc. (Beijing traffic management cadre institute law department, 2006).

Beijing public security traffic administration announced the implementation of inspecting the vehicle driving personnel's blood and breathing alcohol content in 2004. Notice in regulation, if driving personnel's blood or expiration was tested to contain alcohol, it would be a drinking and driving behavior in flagrante delicto. Precisely, the breathalyzer test has defined: drinking and driving behavior refers to a driving personnel's blood-alcohol level higher than or equal to 20mg / 100 ml and less than 80mg / 100 ml; A blood-alcohol level which greater than or equal to 80mg / 100 ml is judged as drunk driving (News.Sohu.com, 2004). In simple terms, a bottle of

beer in 640ml and 3% alcohol content signified drinking, draining three bottles of beer could be considered as drunk.

According to statistics, up to 100 million people were punished in 2004 for drinking and driving by the China's National Traffic Management Department. In 2008, a total of 11,959 accidents caused by intoxicated driving left 4,658 people dead and 12,854 injured. The China Road Traffic Safety Association claims that drinking and driving has become one of the major causes of domestic traffic accidents (SoSo.com, 2009).

Drunken driving has now become common in China. In August 2009, the Social Survey Center of the China Youth Daily carried out a survey of 1,792 respondents through public network and 3G portals. The results revealed that 96.6% of the respondents admitted to the existence of drinking and driving incidents around them, of which 44.4% confessed to "many" such incidents while only 3.4% of the people were convinced that there were "no" occurrences of drunken driving. The survey also brought out the reasons that were seen as the factors causing drunken driving: 64.1% of total respondents considered the limitations of public security awareness and legal consciousness as the causes of drunken driving, 59.2% of them selected the lack of respect for life in the consciousness as the primary reason (China Youth Newspaper, 2009).

Although the increase of drinking and driving issue is due to the inevitable arrival of "automobile society", there is a deep-rooted tradition of "drinking culture" in China which it has been trying to solve (Zhang, 2009). Whatever the occasion (whether they are weddings, funerals, entertainments or other social activities), liquor fills up every family and every corner of Chinese Society. Therefore, drinking and driving can hardly be avoided as long as the aspects of traffic management, safety awareness, ethics and law cannot harmonize the social trend with the prevalence of Chinese "drinking culture".

1.2 Research Objective

There are several reasons for drinking and driving and some counter-measures have been proposed or already implemented: for example, strengthening the intensity of legal penalties and the enforcement of monitoring; providing humanitarian measures such as agent driving and so on. However, these methods are not strong enough in their efficiency and flexibility because of insufficient police personnel, agent drivers and also the prohibitory costs.

As far as the Chinese drivers are concerned, an initiative non-drinking and driving behavior is to be favored over drunken driving. In other words, the drivers should be made aware of their behavior and also urged to shape a non-drinking and driving habit by themselves. One way to increase driver's awareness is to use educational campaigns. Among the established anti-drunken driving campaigns in China, several communication methods have been adopted as potential design concepts besides fear appeals. Conversely, fear appeals have been widely used in advertising for battling drug use, alcohol abuse, AIDS and other social problems in the Western countries. In the wake of China's development is more approaching to Western countries, increasingly western eidos invade into China especially attracting young adult's attention. Besides, it is assumed that fear appeals ads are more acceptable by young people than elderly.

This paper seeks to get a deeper insight into the role of fear appeals in influencing drinking and driving behavior, and to monitor the persuasive effectiveness of the Western fear appeals campaign in influencing Chinese young adults against the conventional drunken driving warning billboards in China. It is also proposed to generate recommendations for the future researchers and campaign designers of anti-drunken driving promotions through the findings of this research.

1.3 General research question

How effective is the method of the western fear appeals campaign in influencing the behavior of the Chinese young adults with regard to drinking and driving compared to the Chinese conventional billboard?

1.4 Specific research questions

1. What are the factors on drinking and driving behavior in China?
2. What are the characteristics of the Chinese conventional billboard with regard to persuading people not to drive after drinking?
3. What are the characteristics of the Western fear appeals billboard about anti-drunken driving?
4. What is the comparative persuasive effectiveness of both billboards towards Chinese young adults?

1.5 Research Units

1. The Western fear appeals billboard against drunken driving. This billboard was designed to evoke serious feeling of fear in the targeted audiences by showing portrayals or pictures of the terrifying consequences of drunken driving: for example, the car crash. (Appendix 1)
2. Conventional Chinese anti-drunken driving billboard. This billboard is focused more on using social responsibility to persuade drivers not to drive after drinking: the example is one using the concept of family ties. (Appendix 2)

1.6 Research Methods

A literature study will be conducted focusing on two themes: firstly, general attitude change theories about how to influence people's behavior including: The Yale Approach (Hovland, Janis & Kelly, 1953), Theory of reasoned action (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1981) and the theory of planned behavior (Ajzen, 1991). The purpose of this is to

8

create an overview of the whole process of attitude-behavior change by persuasion. Then, a specific literature study will be conducted on McGuire's (1976, 1985) information-processing model and fear appeals theory as the theoretical foundation of this research. Secondly, extant research reports about possible reasons for the persistent drunken driving behavior in China even after repeated prohibition will be studied and discussed. This research examines persuasive effectiveness of communication through billboards for which a good understanding of drinking and driving behavior is crucial.

After literature view, the emphasis will be laid on carrying out of in-depth interviews to collect the information needed for this research. Purposive sampling has been preferred to select the research target participants: Chinese young adulthoods that frequently drive after consuming alcohol.

15 research target participants will be recruited and interviewed using a pre-designed questionnaire, after they have observed the two types of billboards and transcripts will be made from their responses. As this research is an explorative study, the use of semi-structured questions is preferred.

Data collection through questionnaire and personnel interview would make available the desired information. The various steps required for this purpose are editing, coding and tabulating. Tabulating refers to bringing together similar data and compiling them in an accurate and meaningful manner. The knowledge of the literature study will be used as an essential part of the analysis of the data. Furthermore, the minister of Beijing Traffic Security Propaganda Department will be consulted about the current communication plan of the local government.

2. Literature study on the Chinese situation

2.1 Understanding the behavior of alcohol overindulgence

The relationship between drunken driving behavior and alcohol overindulgence is consanguineous. With the rapid development of the economy in China, people's living standards have reached a higher level. Driving a motor car to a treat, as a guest, or to attend a collective activity occurs on a more continual probability, as a result of which the number of accidents caused by driving after drinking are also growing.

A Chinese research report published by the Beijing Traffic Management Bureau has stated several reasons for indulgent drinking behavior in China (Beijing Traffic Management Bureau, 2009):

1. Traditional "drinking culture"

Drinking – a deep-rooted and enduring traditional culture occurs everywhere in the daily life of the people. Liquor was an appropriate accompaniment originally; however, the continuation of culture has misinterpreted the manner of drinking but gave rise to a distorted evolution. Chinese people value feelings, such as friendship, very much and this also reflects on the amount of alcohol drinking. In most cases, the higher alcohol intake is seen as leading to a deeper intimacy. Furthermore, urging the guests to drink more, as a special cultural phenomenon, is a common code of hospitality. If someone still keeps his nose clean, he would be considered impolite. In general, the popular culture of drinking offers people a more altisonant justification of alcohol intake, thus drinking is unavoidable.

The chief of Provincial Public Traffic Bureau Chun Yang Wang claims: "There are many reasons for drinking and driving, both the concept of legal system, and more closely, the social atmosphere." Some drivers are reluctant to drink, but the influence of social morality is hard to reject (Dayoo.com, 2009). This drinking culture places the

driver in a dilemma: drinking violates the regulations; not-to-drink offends friends. One government servant said that if his superior or friends persuade him to drink, it is difficult to refuse: because by doing so, his future career may be influenced or he may be hurting his friends' feelings. After weighing the advantages and disadvantages, he thought the loss of not drinking to be greater than the loss of drinking and then he agreed to drink (Dayoo.com, 2009).

2. Economic factors

By reason of the high profits in the wine industry, there is fierce market competition. This leads to the increase in the wine production and new brands keep emerging endlessly. The varieties of wine in China can be divided by alcohol degree, grade and package. Almost everyone in each level of economic income is able to afford some wine and with manufacturers' marketing methods, the sale of wine is increasing leading to the drunken driving behavior.

3. Lifestyle

In the new era, the younger generation believes that pursuing pleasure is normal, regardless of whether their living conditions allowed it. Just as the prevalence of going to the bar and nightclub, drinking is also considered a necessary activity. This kind of environment makes it easier for the young people to drink. Thus drinking and driving behavior is proportional to this lifestyle.

4. Psychological pressure

In keeping with the fast-paced society in China, the market competition is also intense. People are stressed under the high-speed rhythm of life, especially the businessmen. The negative emotions such as anxiety, sadness force people to drown their sorrows in drink. Moreover, people also tend to go on a drunken binge when they get depressed by various social factors such as family discords.

2.2 Reasons for Risky Driving After Alcohol Intake in China

In order to comprehend the attitude towards drinking and driving that constitute risk factors for alcohol-related crashes, a psycho-social understanding of the Chinese young adulthood's drunken driving behavior is necessary. According to the survey data in alcohol-related traffic accidents, of 100 people, 40 drivers with overlarge confidence have drunken driving to show their driving skills, 27 of them are short of the danger perception of driving after drinking, 19 drunken driving experienced people think there is always a chance to be safe in risky driving (Beijing Traffic Management Bureau, 2009). The above three different situations, alert us that getting a deep understanding of drinking and driving is essential.

1. Overlarge Confidence

Ethanol (alcohol) in the role of the central nervous system, bring in excitement, mood swings, anger, aggressive aspects. A skilled driver would be influenced by alcohol to performance drunken driving due to his overlarge confidence, and then may cause accidents. As Richard Jessor (1992) indicated that drinking and driving can be instrumental in serving important social and personal functions such as gaining peers' acceptance and respect or showing autonomy after drinking, young adults would overestimate their capacity for liquor and insist on driving after drinking to avoid cowardly reputation from friends.

2. Scarcity of knowledge about the dangers of drinking and driving

Information about the dangers of drunken driving and traffic safety is rarely seen in newspapers and magazines. The drivers' lack of knowledge of alcohol makes them blind to the effects of alcohol on driving ability also. They think that a small amount of alcohol intake can be ignored. In China, drivers would drink before setting out and others even offer a toast for the drivers' "courage" showing that neither of them has the basic risk perception of drinking and driving.

3. Fluky Psychology

Research has stated there is an absence of risk awareness but a high level of fluky psychology among the modern Chinese (Beijing Traffic Management Bureau, 2009). Under the influence of the fluky psychology, drunk drivers would turn a blind eye to the damage of drunken driving. That is to say hardly any Individual would not think car accidents or legal monitoring of drunken driving can just hit on him/her, especially the drivers who have "safe" drunken driving experiences before. However, risks are unpredictable in time and place, and happen independently of one's control.

2.3 Impeditive elements from the environment

However, as mentioned in the introduction part, most counter measures of drinking and driving would be ineffective due to diverse factors from the environment, for instance, lack of police force impediment in the enforcement of monitoring drinking and driving behavior of drivers; insufficient of agent driving services; excessive cost for car owners in using such services. Although there are enough numbers of taxis in the research area, the additional expense is considered unnecessary by the people who have cars.

The peculiar 'drinking culture' that encourages rather than impedes the drinking habit, and the non-interfering attitude of the society, gives a freedom that is also characteristic of China. Stringent anti-drunk driving laws are not given much publicity by the actual enforcers. If the message came from the law enforcement agencies themselves, it would have more weight and act as obstacles to this behavior.

2.4 Anti-drinking and driving public-interest advertisements in Chinese media

Public-interest advertisements differ from commercial advertising that aim to stimulate consumers' intentions in buying and bring about the required consumer behavior. Public-interest ads are created in support of the interests of the majority of people and focus on arousing public social awareness in order to promote pro-social behavior (Wang, 2007). In the modern commercial society, people are often concerned about the benefits-related business advertisements but pay less attention to the public-interest ads. In the modern developed countries, the emergence of global or societal issues such as war, lack of resources, population explosion, AIDS, etc. are quite rapid. Public-interest ads shoulder the responsibility in raising the awareness of these problems and enhancing a common concern for human survival. Fundamentally, public-interest ads subject to the commercial advertising and disseminate positive propositions of culture and life, where the representations are also the symbols of the progress of human civilization by exhibiting an introspective consciousness.

Public-interest ads have existed in China for nearly three decades with distinct Chinese characteristics. The spirit of traditional Chinese culture is based on the support of ethics. Public-interest ads are the externalization of the spirit of traditional culture and hence convey these ethics in an accurate manner. When the public-interest ads over the past few years in China are studied, it is apparent that the majority of them were created on the structure of moral and ethical elements. China's public-interest ads are mainly designed for these following domains: 1) Coexistence between human and nature; 2) Harmony of family; 3) The common development of human and collective; 4) Human progress and social development (Wang, 2007).

The relatively young and promising Chinese public-interest ads have been gradually formed into a good shape in just thirty years and are attracting more and more attention with its wider dissemination of the content (Wang, 2007). However,

public-interest ads reveal a great deal of contrast when compared to commercial advertising and this gap is more prominent especially in China. The volume of public-interest ads in developed countries account for above and beyond 10% of total advertisements, while the proportion of China's public-interest ads is far lower than that in Western countries. In addition, Wang (2007) deemed "the theme of public-interest ads in developed countries is rich, full of originality, beautifully produced and produces a far-reaching effect. In contrast, the Chinese public-interest ads are less perceived; possess poor producing levels and imperfect way of operating."
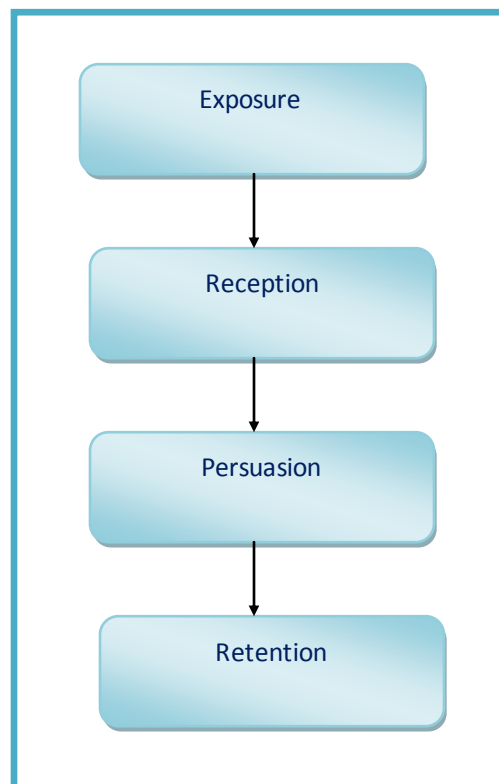
Specific to anti-drunken driving campaign as public-interest advertisement in China, there is little literature regards the history and the development of such topic. The counseling interview with the minister of Beijing Traffic Security Propaganda Department would be the only data source for this matter. He stated that the whole Chinese public-interest ad industry was run by the government, including designing, manufacturing and placing. There were few supports neither from creativity nor from finance, as a result of economic growth was far more valued than moral development in China. The drunken driving issue was taken seriously by the whole community only from 2003 and the first series of anti-drunken driving campaign launched by cooperation between China association of road traffic safety, firms (i.e. Pernod Ricard) and non-governmental organizations was initiated late in April, 2005. Since then, they dedicated to carrying out anti-drunken driving educational activities to massive public in major cities.

The minister of Beijing Traffic Security Propaganda Department informed the original roadside billboard regards against drunken driving in China was only textual "please do not drive after drinking" and the Chinese conventional billboard (Appendix 2) which added a family factor "for the right to your family happiness" was considered as the most appropriate one (personal interview, 2010).

3. General Conceptual framework

In order to effectively communicate certain messages that are aimed at bringing about a certain change in the behavior of the target group of people, the conception of the message, its intended target, the way in which they process this information and how their behavior changes (or not) has to be studied. It is also necessary to evaluate the effect of the type of message, fear appeals, on the intended target audience. To achieve these three objectives, three theories have been selected as the basis of this research: 1) McGuire's information processing model; 2) Theory of Planned Behavior advocated by Ajzen, and 3) Fear Appeals theories

3.1McGuire's information-processing model

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│     │   Exposure    │     │
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│             ▼             │
│     ┌───────────────┐     │
│     │   Reception   │     │
│     └───────┬───────┘     │
│             ▼             │
│     ┌───────────────┐     │
│     │  Persuasion   │     │
│     └───────┬───────┘     │
│             ▼             │
│     ┌───────────────┐     │
│     │   Retention   │     │
│     └───────────────┘     │
└─────────────────────────┘
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The flow chart below is based on the Information-Processing Model developed by McGuire at the Yale University. This is also called the Yale model and serves to explain

how attitudinal and behavioral changes occur in response to persuasive communication. But he also warns that the change can be effected if and only if the following points are present:

1. the message must be presented (raising the problem of agenda control)
2. the message must be attended to (raising the problem of inattention and selective exposure)
3. the message must be comprehended (raising the problem of selective perception)
4. the message must be accepted
5. the message must be retained
6. the message must lead to behavior change

(Source: http://www.clas.ufl.edu/users/kenwald/pos3233/mcguide.htm)

This model was prepared from the Yale University studies on persuasion during the 1940-50 periods. Because each of the above steps is important for effective persuasion, variations in the sources of communication that are employed, the content of the messages, the channels that are utilized to disseminate this message, the receivers or the audience of the message as well as the target behaviors that are expected to result consequently have a deep impact on the process of persuasion since they influence the attention, comprehension, and the acceptance of the message.

It is therefore essential and vital that one has to investigate the way in which each of these variables shape the attention, comprehension and message acceptance, if one wants to comprehend variables such as the trustworthiness of the communicator, fear appeals and the intelligence of the receiver.

Once the message has been accepted by the receiver, he must also learn how to acquire the skills that are taught by the message, change his attitude, place the message content in his attitudinal memory, and also retrieve and make use of that

stored memory to decide on his behavior, behave accordingly for which he receives positive reinforcement and finally integrate this new attitude into his habit patterns and cognitive structures. The model also behooves that the receiver will in turn proselytize others into behaving likewise (McGuire, 2001). But it is seen that if any one of these steps fail, the campaign will also not succeed in making the desired impact on the attitudinal and behavioral change. This envisages McGuire's model as a chain whose every link must be strong enough to sustain for its successful completion (Alcalay & Bell, 2003).

How can the campaign designer maneuver the source, message and channel mechanisms so that they are effective in attracting the attention, performing persuasion and also help in the retention? The messenger who actually delivers the message as well as the organization that sponsors such messages are both of much importance. Their demographics (such as age, sex, and socio-economic status), their credibility (expertise as well as trustworthiness), and the attractiveness of the message have to be considered as significant elements. For instance, the message could be endorsed by some celebrity. This may attract the attention of the viewers, but some may not consider the celebrity's credentials good enough for attesting that particular message and thus fail in its mission of persuading the viewer to change his behavior. In the same way, the volume of the message, its prominence of placement as well as its scheduling must also be reflected on. For example, for a message intended for the drivers of vehicles, billboards placed on the roadsides with short messages and more attractive visual elements would be more eye-catching and attention-getting than long, wordy content.

The content of the message can be an argument that can persuade people to change their attitude. One way of such persuasion is by the use of fear appeal messages that are aimed at arousing the fear in the audience to stimulate the attitude change (Severin & Tankard, 2001) ultimately leading to the change in the behavior. For instance, a fear appeals message towards drunken driving could be a cruel picture or video of bloody traffic accidents. The communication of the message can be provided through impersonal communication media such as newspapers, magazines,

billboards, radio, television and transit media. Among these, billboards are rated higher because of their affordable cost factor, high exposure frequency to commuters, twenty-four hour presence and visual impact (Taylor, Franke, & Bang, 2006). When there is such a large volume of advertisement offered to consumers, they must decide which of them need to be processed for its information. Those that satisfy at least the parameters of attention and retention will have more possibility of being selected for processing. Billboards have more chances of getting noticed because they are seen in places where there is less competition for people's attention. Another important aspect is the geographical location of the medium in the situation where is it is most effective (Taylor, Franke, & Bang, 2006). For example, a message against drunken driving, displayed on a roadside billboard is more visible and effective than one that is placed on other media such as the print, television or radio because of the relevance of that message in that particular location. The billboard would thus attract the immediate attention of the drivers and have more impact on the retention of the message too. The billboard message being short and more visual is able to get processed more quickly and efficiently than those on the other media. Finally, since the campaign is meant for a particular audience, it must be remembered that the background abilities, attributes and predispositions of the individuals affect the effectiveness of the campaign (Atkin & Freimuth, 2001)

The anti-drunken driving campaign must therefore consider these variables very carefully in order to construct and implement an efficient program. The socio-cultural and knowledge awareness of the receiver must be taken into consideration along with the data on his past behavior. And through communication intervention bring in the intended change in the attitude, subjective norms and the perceived behavioral control.

3.2 Theory of planned behavior

The Theory of Planned Behavior (TPB) followed as a logical succession to the Theory of Reasoned Action that was propounded by Ajzen and Fishbein in 1975. Icek Ajzen who authored the Theory of Planned Behavior (1988), explains how we can unpuzzle the behavior of people. This is especially useful to predict deliberate behavior, because such behavior can be planned or changed. Behavior is not completely voluntary or under control of the person. Hence, this theory adds the part of perceived behavioral control.

To perform a particular behavior, it is necessary that it should be preceded by the intention to carry out that behavior. When a particular behavior is intentional, the occurrence of the behavior can be predicted. Three variables have been identified in order to predict the intention to execute a particular behavior: Attitudes that are products of behavioral beliefs and evaluation of outcomes; Subjective norms that are products of normative beliefs and motivation to comply; and Perceived behavioral controls that are products of control beliefs and influence of control beliefs (Ajzen, 1991).

To simplify further: in order to predict whether a person intends to behave in a particular manner, we have to know whether he is in favor of doing it (attitude), how much of the social pressure he feels to carry it out (subjective norm) and whether he feels in control of the behavior that is envisaged (perceived behavioral control). By modifying all or any of these predictors, we can increase the chances of the person actually carrying it out (Francis, et al., 2004)

Since the main purpose of this research is to analyze the persuasive effectiveness of anti-drunken driving campaign on the target group with an aim to change such behavior eventually into a non-drinking and driving performance, a good understanding of the behavior, its antecedents and consequences of the Chinese driver is necessary. Theory of planned behavior is selected to predict such behavior.
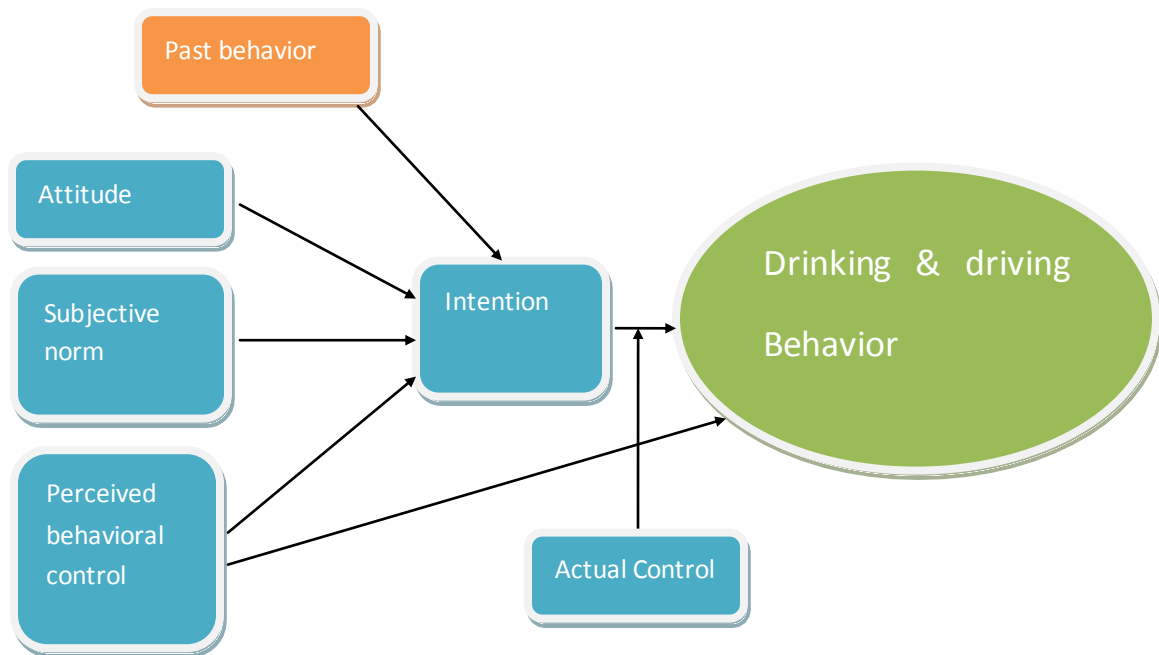
Figure 1. Extended models of planned behavior with past behavior based on Fishbein and Ajzen, 2010

3.2.1 Drinking and driving as a past behavior

Drinking and driving is part of a more general lifestyle involving behavior and psycho-social aberration (Donovan, 1993). Because prior driving behavior and drinking habit are intimately related to drunken driving, it is essential to take into account the targets' habitual nature of the drinking and driving behavior. When people set out daily for events such as work or social activities, using the car as their transportation device will most likely become a habit. Habits are automatic because they operate outside our conscious awareness (Verplanken & Faes, 1999). A person does not think elaborately to decide on the mode of transport to go to the drinking events or whether one should drive home after drinking. Habits are also indicated as past behavior. Past behavior is a good indicator of future behavior (Ajzen, 1991). Because people use their cars everyday for traveling (past behavior), this indicates that they will do the same in the future too. The past driving behavior after drinking could guide the drivers to continue such behavior. Because, previously, the driver had experienced only episodes of driving after drinking without any untoward incidents,

they would influence his future intention to unhesitatingly repeat the drinking and driving behavior.

Research has shown that habits can influence behavior independent of the attitude of the person (Ajzen, 2001). According to the theory of planned behavior, behavior is caused by attitude, subjective norm and perceived behavioral control (Ajzen, 1991). A habit goes outside the theory of planned behavior and can influence behavior on its own. Habits are a stable type of behavior, this makes it very hard to change them (Brug, et al, 2006). When a habit is strong, which is the case when people are drinking and driving often, cognitive efforts may be reduced to a minimum. Incoming informational cues that are relevant for the decision to take other transportation devices instead of the car after drinking, is less addressed before individuals make a decision (Aarts, et al, 1997). Because of this, just persuading people with a supply of a placid form of information might not be the most effective method.

In China drinking and driving is becoming very common and leading to terrible accidents that are being reported in the media almost every day. As a result of the increased prosperity among the young Chinese, both alcohol and cars have become more accessible to them. These young people automatically select their car as the transportation device and the influence of alcohol adds to their judgmental abilities. Thus drinking and driving has become a habit to some of them and they base their future behavior on this past habit.

3.2.2 Attitude

According to the TPB model, human behavior is determined by three aspects: attitude, subjective norms and perceived behavioral control (Ajzen, 1991). These three aspects are used as the independent variables to predict the adolescents' intentions to find alternatives instead of drive after drinking and establish which antecedents were significant in the formation to intentions to stopping drunken driving. Intentions are seen as the motivational factors that influence behavior and

they are indicators of how hard people are willing to try to perform that certain behavior. The general rule in the TPB-model is: the stronger the intention for a certain behavior, the more likely is its performance (Ajzen, 1991).

Researchers (Johnson, et al, 2005) suggest that the attitude component is usually the most important, and that attitudes are significant predictors of behavioral intentions and future behavior even when controlling for other sources of variance. Attitude is an aspect which can be influenced by the use of communication (Ajzen, 1991). Attitude can be defined as someone's opinions or feelings about something, especially as seen by their behavior. The previous knowledge of a person in a particular field has a strong influence on the formation of his attitude towards that field, and as a result, different people have different attitudes in consonance with their previous knowledge (Rathus & Nevid, 1987). Past experiences or knowledge are often used as the basis for one's perception that in turn contributes to one's attitude (Bill, 2003). In other words, even the drivers had a previous knowledge that drinking and driving can lead to dangerous consequences, their own past experiences of having driven safely in spite of having imbibed alcohol, leads them to the attitude that drinking and driving is not dangerous for them.

Chinese drivers in young adulthood may have a unique attitude towards drinking and driving individually; to catch them accurately will lead to the success of persuasion. Research has shown that most Chinese young adults indicate the private car is the most attractive means of transportation. The attitude towards cars can be described as being convenient, comfortable, flexible, enjoyment of driving pleasure and social security. In contrast, the attitude towards other alternatives of going to drinking events using public transport or taxi is not very positive, especially for the social activities (auto.china.com, 2010). A private car would work as a symbol of social status.

Along with the development of modern medical, research has found that many diseases have close relationship with the environment and people's mental state. People would easily get sick if they are long time lonely and in tension. Moderate alcohol can make people to have a happy spirit and the euphoria that liquor provides,

which could alleviate the effect of anxiety and tension. Due to that matter, Chinese youth consider drinking as an instrument for enjoyment, pizzazz, relaxation and divertingness since a pressure of social competition (Xu & Xian, 2003). Moderate alcohol consumption benefits people psychosomatic well, hence, there is no anti-alcohol attitude in their minds.

Moreover, they have a favorable attitude to drinking and driving due to their irrational beliefs of invulnerability (Chan, 2009). This type of attitude involves their skill as well as chance (Lopes, 1987). Even they are aware of the dangers of drunken driving, some people perceive themselves over-optimistically as less vulnerable than others to dangers (e.g., Greene et al., 1995). Elkind (1967) and other developmental psychologists regard this type of invulnerability as an expression of adolescent egocentrism. Thus, the belief of invulnerability together with past practice is the formative factor of drive even under the influence of alcohol is all right. There are also other factors responsible for this attitude such as lack of awareness of what exactly drinking and driving means in legal terms (Yuan, 2009).

3.2.3 Subjective norm

According to Ajzen (1988) subjective norms are an individual's "perception of social pressure to perform or not to perform the behavior under consideration" (Ajzen, 1988). Thus, if a person believes that significant others think they should execute a particular behavior, it will contribute to an intention to do so.

In order to predict Chinese adolescents' drinking and driving behavior, subject norms work conspicuously due to the reason that drunken driving has a very harmful effect on traffic safety, on the driver himself and on others' lives and property. Thus drunken driving is considered as an amoral and hazardous behavior. China is a country that values moral consciousness and so a behavior that can cause damage to the surroundings is not to be allowed. However, the choice of a car as the means of transportation to go to drinking events in China is perceived as a private matter and as having nothing to do with others. In other words, people do not pay much

attention to others' persuasion that driving after drinking is risky.

The society in China has its own culture of wine and drinking. Social drinking is considered inevitable and compulsory part of life. Because of the traditional 'drinking culture', Chinese young adults are encouraged to rather than cautioned against drinking more alcohol both in their working as well as in their private social lives. On most occasions, liquor is not considered as a negative issue but has been treated as the best tool for social. Except those who love drinking, some Chinese youth as addiction liberators do not drink for the thrill that it provides but to show their uprightness and trustworthiness to their friends and colleagues. Their attitude towards drinking can be illustrated by a saying that, "the body can collapse but the dignity cannot" (Zhu, 2010). Sometimes it is seen as a compulsory and unavoidable adjunct to their business and official duties.

In fact, there are elaborate drinking rituals in every facet of Chinese life, both joyous and sorrowful events. Marriages, births, birthdays and also special festivals like the Spring Festival are all celebrated with special drinking rites that observe specific rules of etiquettes. The host must always keep the guests' glasses full to show their respect towards them. If a guest is unable to drink himself, then he has to find someone else to drink on his behalf in order to 'save face'. The guest should also invert his cup and show that it has been emptied (Alcohol as as Aspect of Chinese Culture, 2010). Hence, wherever he goes, a Chinese cannot avoid or forego drinking because of the expectations of proper behavior in the society and cannot also escape over-drinking, especially on such social gatherings and occasions. The working environment also encourages drinking and business networking and job prospects are sometimes built more on the ability to imbibe alcohol rather on one's actual business acumen or skills (Zhu, 2010). The subjective norms on drinking make it imperative that they cultivate this habit as a normal part of their lives and do not connect it to what would result from this behavior.

3.2.4 Perceived behavioral control

According Ajzen (1988) perceived behavioral control is "the perceived ease or difficulty of performing the behavior, in question successfully, and it is assumed to reflect past experience as well as anticipated impediments and obstacles" (Ajzen, 1988). In other words, it means People's beliefs about whether they can successfully perform the behavior in question.

When the Theory of Planned Behavior is used to study the perceived behavioral controls of the young Chinese in their behavior to drinking and driving, it is found that there are very few controls offered against the behavior. Firstly, drunken driving cost low in legal in China. In the United States and other western developed countries, drunken driving is considered as a crime, so sending the offender to prison for a drunken driving is not rare. Conversely, in China drunken driving is still be treated as an rules broker, according to the provisions of the road traffic safety, even drunk driving can only be fined by three to six months detention of driving license and a small amount of forfeit. Secondly, law enforcement on investigating drunken driving is inefficient in China. The reported number of drunken driving behavior was in a very low ratio compared with actual numbers every year, the reason could be the shortage of police and inefficiency of operations. When the illegal behavior could not be punished, it will only make it more rampant. Thirdly, agent driving service has not been extended in a large scale. Designated driver is insufficient and work under restrictions of time, that is to say calling a agent driving service could come to nothing (Zhang, 2009).

3.2.5 Actual Control

Based on the rational chain model of TPB, intention is viewed as one direct antecedent and immediate predictor of actual behavior. However, whether people actually perform a certain behavior is not only based on one's desire or intention but also on the non-motivational factors as availability of requisite opportunities and resources (e.g. time, money, skills, etc.) Collectively, these factors represent people's

actual control over the behavior (Pratkanis, et al., 1989). Different from perceived behavioral control, actual control could barrier the performance of actual behavior after the formation of intention. For instance, an insensible condition influenced by excessive alcohol intake could be an actual control on driving behavior if a drinker intended to drive.

3.3 Fear Appeals

Fear appeals theories have had a long evolutional history. Among these the most discussed ones are the drive models put forward by Hovland et al (1953) , Janis (1967) and McGuire (1968, 1969). According to Janis, in order to stimulate tension and obtain a motivational drive state, some fear arousal was necessary. At the same time, he said that if too much fear was used, then the unpleasant tension caused by it would induce the audience to negate the fear. So, a high fear appeals message against drunk driving would not be effective if it is perceived as too scary.

McGuire's theory (1968, 1969) on the other hand was based on two factors: drives and cues. He opined that when fear acted as a drive (the striving to reduce the unpleasantness caused by the fear), the audience was motivated to accept the suggestions in the message in a positive manner (that the danger in driving after drinking could happen to the viewer and he decides not to drive after drinking); but when fear acted as a cue (or an external symbol of what could happen), it interfered with the positive acceptance and instead elicited the habitual responses (and he ignores the message and continues with his behavior of drinking and driving). Thus, these two factors combined to produce an overall inverted-U relationship between the arousal of fear and the change in attitude and illustrate the fact that a moderate amount of fear would cause the highest amount of attitude change.

But these theories were later rejected by other theorists like Beck and Frenkel (1981) and Rogers (1983) who put forward their own theories. Rogers' theory is the

Protection Motivation Theory that says that the fear appeals message will be more effective when the recipient is convinced that there would be severe or undesirable consequences if he does not follow the recommended behavior. Moreover, the theory also stresses on the fact that the recipient should also be convinced that the negative consequence can be avoided if the recommended behavior is followed (1983) and that he has the necessary skills to follow the recommended action (Beck & Frankel, 1981). Three important factors on which the response of fear appeals depended were delinated by Rogers: the sensitivity to the severity of the danger; the chances of its occurrence; and the belief in the respondent's ability to cope with the danger. Beck and Frankel, on the other hand, labelled these factors as: the seriousness of the threat (the level of danger perceived from the message); the susceptibility of the threat (the probability of the occurrence of the threat); and the effectiveness of the threat (how controllable the threat is percieved to be). "Self-efficacy" was the term given to the respondent's expectation that he can cope with the perceived danger with the resources at hand and he then has no need to fear the consequences.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION	COGNITIVE MEDIATING PROCESSES	INTERMEDIATE STATE	COPING MODE

Verbal Persuasion

Severity of Threat

Threat Appraisal

Probability of Occurrence

Observed Learning

Fear

PROTECTION MOTIVATION

Behavior (adaptive or maladaptive)

Coping Response Efficacy

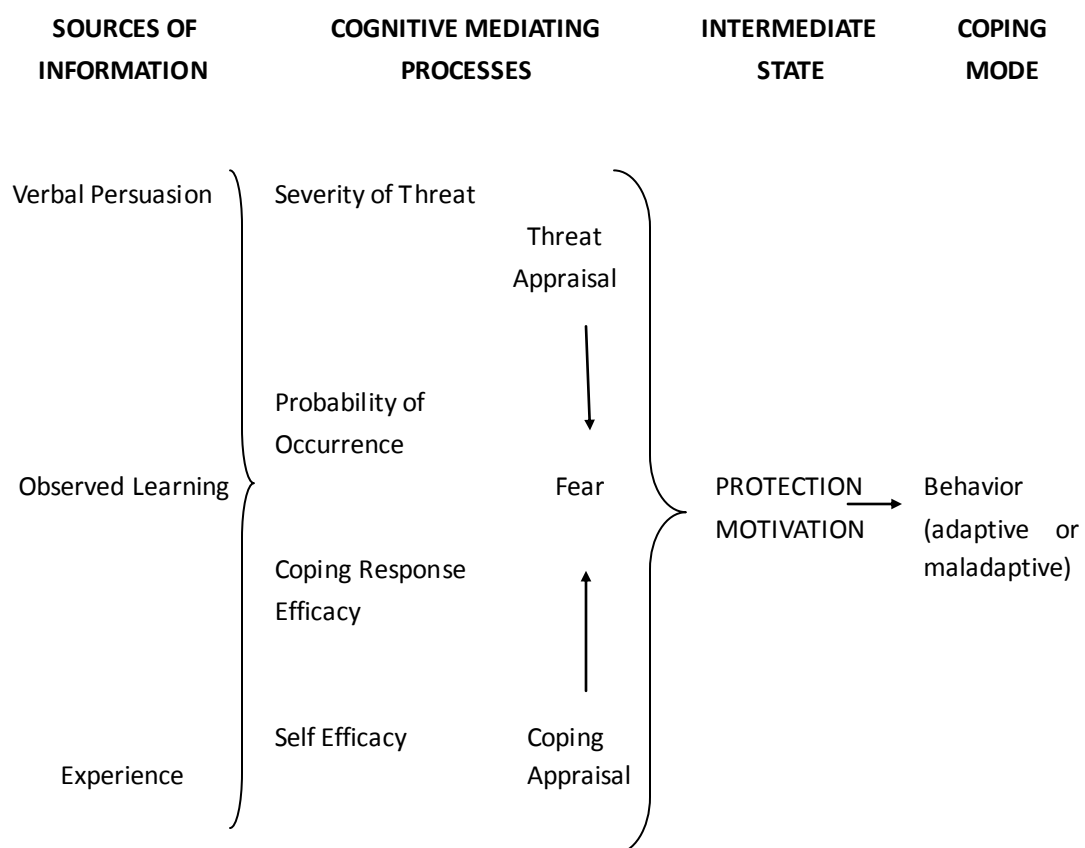Self Efficacy

Coping Appraisal

Experience

Figure 2. Protection Motivation Model (Source: Tanner, Day, & Crask, 1989, p. 269)

Kim Witte (1992) put forward his theory about fear appeals called the Extended Parallel Process Model (EPPM) that enlarged and integrated the previous fear appeals theories put forward by Janis (1967), Levanthal (1970) and Rogers (1975,1985) in three ways: explaining why fear appeals fail, re-incorporating fear as a central variable and identifying the correlation between threat and efficacy in suggestive formats. The earlier Parallel Process Model explained that respondents could react to fear appeal messages in two ways, either by taking some form of action to forestall the danger or minimize its effect or by trying to reduce the fear by means of igoring it or rationalizing it. It follows therefore that according to this theory, danger control leads to action and fear control leads only to the handling the fear and not the danger. The Extended Parallel Process Model adds that the dispositional charateristics like self-esteem can affect the estimation of the threat or the efficacy and initiate the danger control or fear control processes. For instance, a person with a low self-esteem would more likely tackle the situation by fear control because they perceive the high threat and their own low efficacy.

Fear appeal messages against drunken driving can be:
1. Informational type, providing statistical information of the accidents/deaths caused by drunken driving and evoking the fear that one could become part of the numbers (for instance a celebrity reading out fatality rates due to drunken driving on the television);
2. Social Modelling type where the societal norms are used to bring in the threat (for example warning against a particular behavior that is condoned by the society);
3. Empathy type in which the threat is indirectly pointed out through the experiences of other persons (the picture of a family with a missing member outlined who died in a drunken driving accident).

According to a meta-analysis towards fear appeals, the negative consequences about health and death provided by fear appeal message is only effective to elders because young people frequently have the illusion of invulnerability, videlicet that youth in general think they are immune to sickness and death (Irwin & Millstein, 1986). However, some negative social consequences such like fine, family crisis, etc. could be the focal point of fear appeals (Reardon, 1989). When young people contemplate deviant behaviors that are not normally sanctioned by their society, negative social sanctions can influence them to avoid such behaviors. This is because they would feel excluded from the conventional society or become stigmatized by such sanctions. Negative feedback from such people as the parents, friends, teachers, and the law enforcement agencies makes them re-evaluate their identity as a deviant and they make an effort to conform to the normal behavior (Siegel & Welsh, 2008)

Fear appeal ads have long been used by the Western countries for persuading the viewer against social and health detrimental issues such as smoking, drinking, drugs, AIDS and so on. Research on the effectiveness of fear appeal ads has revealed that fear is capable of persuading only up to a certain level above which it becomes ineffective according to the curvilinear model of fear appeal ads. The parallel-response model explains that the mind and feelings act independently and decide the emotional value of the threat and rationalizing and rejecting the threat (Hastings, Stead, & Webb, 2004). However, Rogers asserts that fear as an emotion has no direct role in the fear appeal communication but only serves in the magnification of the threat (1983).

Given below are a few examples of fear appeal ads against smoking in the Western media:
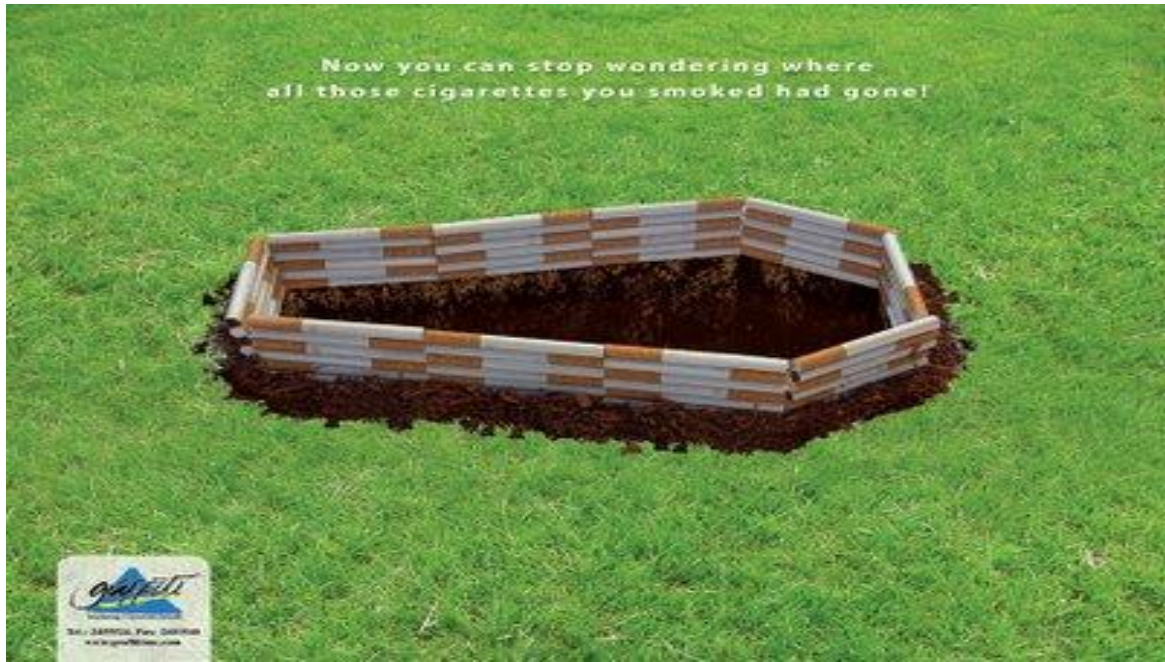
The picture above appeals directly to the fear of early death from smoking and has all the elements of a well thought out pictorial campaign, especially targeting the young smokers. This is a high level fear appeals message.

The picture below is a picture-graph that depicts the shortening of life expectancy due to cigarettes. Both the pictures use death as the fear appeal and not cancer, heart attack etc. These may not work after the first few glances as no one believes that the ad is meant for them and try to turn a blind eye to the message.

EVERY BREATH YOU TAKE WILL EVENTUALLY SHORTEN YOUR LIFE.

(Source: http://www.coolpicturegallery.net/2010/06/cool-anti-smoking-ads.html)

The third billboard below is about secondhand smoke that is not directly aimed at the smokers but others who are near them like family members or friends, including children. In this way the ad poses the threat not on the smoker's life but on their relatives and friends and indirectly making them responsible for others' ill-health or even death.

Rat poison is in secondhand smoke.

www.WhiteLies.tv

(Source: http://www.coolpicturegallery.net/2010/06/cool-anti-smoking-ads.html)

Finally, in the above ad, the cigarettes are shown as active killers and to be seen as a warning against them.

Hastings, Stead, & Webb, (2004) posit that smokers become inured to such warnings and tend to screen out the threats due to the repetition of such ads that cause annoyance rather than fear. Death is always seen as something happening to others and people blindly disregard their own mortality.

It has also been proved through research that fear appeals are effective when the communicator is seen to be highly credible and trustworthy and only on certain types of audiences (Sternthal & Craig, 1974). To go a step further, fear appeal ads against speeding have shown that is the ads that have only the elements of "shock" with no relief increases speed choice of the drivers initially unlike the ads with elements of fear-relief included. But on heavy repetition, there is a decrease in the speed choice as the viewers become inured to such ads (Rossiter & Thornton, 2004).

China is known to be the largest country of collectivism. The two main points of stress in such collectivist cultures are family and personal relationships. The well-being of the family and each member in it is important as is their happiness. The weaker members of the family (like the young, the old and the ill), are taken care of both physically as well as relieving them of other material worries. In the same way, the relationships that derive from the family are considered as the basis of Chinese society. The care provided to each other in the family arises from mutual obligations and concerns.

The Chinese people with their collectivist background are shown to be more susceptible to threats to family than to those that to self. This is because culture has been shown to have influence on communication (Murray-Johnson, Witte, Liu, Hubbel, Sampson, & Morrison, 2001). Family well-being and relationships are known to be the basic structure of the Chinese culture. As such, the Chinese billboards and other ads orient their messages to these values. The loss or illness of a family member, loss of "face" (or leading to shame in front of society), financial burden, relationship damage, family disharmony and so on are some of the threat themes that are more effective in collectivist cultures (Sheer & Chen, 2008). The Chinese billboard message that was selected for this study was a typical one with these elements. It is more empathy-based than the Western fear appeals messages.

3.4 Theory of Cognitive Dissonance and the use of fear appeals

Cognitive consistency is based on the idea that people want to have internal psychological consistency of their cognitions as beliefs and attitudes. People try to avoid cognitive inconsistency, as it is seen as an uncomfortable state. A theory that is based on this state is the cognitive dissonance theory. This theory is about the relations between cognitions. When cognitive dissonance is present, two cognitive elements are inconsistent with each other. Because people want to avoid experiencing cognitive dissonance, they will try to reduce dissonance. A way to

reduce dissonance is changing the relative proportions of the elements or by altering the importance of the elements or the issue (O'Keefe, 2002).

In order to reach an effective cognitive dissonance situation, fear appeal is frequently used. Fear appeals are advertising messages that attempt to create anxiety in the targeted audiences to adopt a recommended response to the threat (Sheer & Chen, 2008). If individuals of a collective culture could be more susceptible to threats to family than those to self, the former are likely to cause a greater alarm in China, a country of collectivistic culture (Sheer & Chen, 2008). So a fear appeals message that threatens these values, like showing death or harm befalling a family member could be considered as being more effective in causing cognitive dissonance in China than in individualistic cultures such as in the U.S.

The Western fear appeal billboard presents a ghastly sight of the serious consequences of drunken driving. When the audiences see the billboard, there is a dissonance between their cognition that they are driving after drinking and their cognition that drunken driving causes fatal car accidents. This state is uncomfortable because they know that their drinking and driving behavior is causing problems and that they should stop drunken driving in order to remove the dissonance.

But there is also another element at work here. Instead of producing the intended effect, usually such fear appeals messages tend to produce the opposite effect too. According to the theory of cognitive dissonance, the state of discomfort experienced by the situation would force the person to change the relative proportions of the elements or alter the importance of the elements or the issue. When the audience views the fear appeals message, it may produce a state of cognitive dissonance in the first instance. But this does not last long. In order to bring back the balance from this dissonance, the audience changes the degree of importance of the elements in it, such as: danger, fear, harmfulness and distress into having almost no effect by screening it out of his conscious mind by the reasoning that these things may be true only for others and not for himself (Hastings, Stead, & Webb, 2004). This brings back

the balance in his mind and negates the dissonance.

Moreover, fear appeals messages have also had different results on different types of audiences. What could cause one person to change his intended behavior as a result of his exposure to the message could leave others apathetic to its effects. Like the anti-smoking campaigns conducted in the United States, it could lead the viewers to become insensitive to such messages. In a study conducted on the effects of anti-smoking fear appeals ads placed on television, Beaudoin (2002) found that most adults were influenced by ads that showed long term health consequences but the young people reacted more favorably to fear appeals that had elements of humor and short-term and social consequences such as being 'dirty' and 'uncool'. The long-term health effects did not bother them much as young people tend to live in the present and do not worry much about the future consequences of their present actions.

Another reason pointed out by researchers is that repeated messages of fear appeals tend to lose their element of threat and fear as the audience becomes inured to such intimidations after sometime (Sternthal & Craig, 1974; Rossiter & Thornton, 2004).

4. Research Design

Since the subject 'comparing the persuasive effectiveness of Chinese conventional and Western fear appeals billboards against drinking and driving' has not been studied before, there is little relevant literature on this specific topic. Therefore, an explorative study is essential.

As mentioned above, the main objective of this research is to investigate the persuasive effectiveness of both the Chinese conventional billboard and the Western fear appeal billboard related to against drinking and driving behavior. To achieve this objective, conducting a research using qualitative interview is primary. Interviews with open-ended questions were used to gather the information needed for this study. In this research, fifteen respondents were interviewed by means of a semi-structured questionnaire (Appendix 3). Interviewees were selected by the researcher based on several criteria: All of them belong to the ages of young adulthood; use private cars and are non-abstainers. Pre-designed questions in the questionnaire work as a guide and can be extended to other useful forms.

The interview with fifteen young adults contained questions about their driving behavior before drinking, their behavior of taking alcohol when drive to drinking events, their behavior of driving after drinking and their preference between the two billboards with their reasons.

The whole interview process was conducted in a relaxed, comfortable environment and the researcher did not apply any sort of pressure on the interviewees. As gaining a deep insight is crucial, all the respondents were required to provide not only superficial reasons for making a certain answer but also the intrinsic cause for that behavior. Furthermore, the minister of Beijing Traffic Security Propaganda Department was consulted about the current communication plan of the local government. This interview was to generate further ideas for the recommendations from an expert's point of view.

The transcript of the researcher was integrated into the analysis of the young adults' responses after the interviews were conducted. The analysis of the interviews was done firstly by filtering the relevant questions out of the questionnaire, and secondly by clustering these questions into categories. After clustering the categories, the information from the interviews for a same result was analyzed.

Based on the conceptual framework, the interview questions were specified in four stages:

1. Understanding the driving behavior before drinking
   - What is your main transportation device to go out?
   - What is the frequency of usage of that transport to go out?
   - What kind of activity do you go to by car?
   - Why do you choose the car as your transportation device?
   - What kind of activity do you go to by other transportation devices? (Taxi)
   - Which transportation device do you choose to go to drinking events? Why? (If the respondent do not mention car, ask will he/she drive there)
   - Why do you sometimes choose the car to go to drinking events and sometimes the taxi?

2. Investigate the drinking behavior if drive to drinking events.
   - (If answered: no drinking at all) What is the reason for your not drinking at all?
   - (if answered: will drink more or less) Why do you to take alcohol?
   - Why do you drink sometimes more and sometimes less?
   - What would others think about if you do not drink at all when you have driven there?
   - What do you think if others not limiting their drinking behavior because of they have driven there?
   - What do others think about your drinking and driving behavior?
   - Is there any discussion about drinking and driving behavior among the people at your table?
   - If yes, what are the points they discussed and in what ways?

3. Understanding the (none) drinking and driving behavior.
   - If you intend to drive after drinking, what would the others think (do)?
   - Have you ever driven after drinking? (If yes, how many times? Why you do that?)

- What is the basic reason for your drinking and driving behavior?

- Do you think you can drive home safely after drinking?

- Do you think that drinking only a small amount of alcohol is fine?

- Do you think that it is all right to drive after drinking a small amount of alcohol?

4. Compare the persuasive effectiveness of the two billboards and explore the effective characteristics.

- Which is the channel from where you can get information about drunken driving?

- (Showing the two billboards one after another to the interviewees): What is your first impression on seeing Chinese conventional billboard against drunken driving?

- What is your first impression on seeing the Western anti-drunken driving billboard?

- (If you are a driver that always drives after drinking): which of these two billboards may persuade you to stop drinking & driving behavior?

- Compare the effectiveness of two billboards as a communication intervention in the way of Exposure, Reception, Persuasion and Retention. (5-scaled measurement)

- Do you think people like you will see it if it is set on the road side? Why?

- Do you think people like you would see it intensely? Why?

- Do you think people like you would see the content clearly when they drive? Why?

- Do you think people like you would be mindful the billboard? Why?

- Do you think people like you would stop drinking and driving behavior after seeing the billboards? Which one of them affects your feelings more and why?

- Do you think people like you would never drink and drive and why?

5. How do Chinese young adults interpret drinking & driving behavior and the persuasive effectiveness of two billboards

5.1 Driving behavior before drinking

According to the results of questionnaires, all fifteen respondents indicated their private car as their main transportation device for going out. They used the car frequently to drive between their work place and home. They also made use of the car a lot after work to go shopping and to go to places of entertainment. Some of the respondents confessed that they had become so used to using the car that getting out of the house and starting the car was an automatic part of their routine. Their bodies were habituated to this event and responded automatically to the necessary functions.

Most of the respondents perceived private car as a benefit and to being faster and more comfortable compared to other transportation modes. These drivers thought that public transportation such as subways and buses were crowded and inconvenient due to their inflexible time schedules. They do not like to stand on the roadsides and wait for the bus or sweat in a crowded carriage, especially in bad weathers. Taking taxi was perceived a better way of transport than bus and subway but still not as convenient as private cars, plus unnecessary expenditure.

Public transport would be certainly used instead of cars for outdoor activities only if the private cars were unavailable to drive, such as the sudden breakdown of private cars. Respondents also stated other factors could promote the use of public transport, for instance when they felt difficult in parking at destination. Moreover, from among the total fifteen interviewees, most of them mentioned that they would drop the car and use public transport to go out if they knew that there was going to be a drinking event in advance.

A few of respondents answered they would drive to a drinking event anyway. These

people indicated that public transportation was inconvenient to them because few bus stations or subways were located near their houses and buses came with an unpunctual timetable at night. So driving is the only way for egress. These respondents also expressed their feeling that driving after imbibing some liquor would not be a problem for them on the drive back.

Analysis of data

Driving for drinking provide the antecede requirement for possible drinking and driving behavior later. In other words, if people did not drive out to drink, there would not be any drinking and driving at all.

As a result of interviews, the rate of utilization of private cars was high. Using cars to go out was considered as a habitual behavior. Since habit operate outside consciousness (Verplanken &Faes, 1999), it makes persuasive messages hardly effective for not driving out at the first place. Nonetheless, dropping the car and use public transports could be achieved when there were some actual controls, such like unavailability of private cars. Perceived behavioral controls on the driving behavior would also against the intention of driving. Without any actual control or perceived behavioral control, driving was much preferred due to respondents' positive perception about private cars and the negative attitude towards using public transport. A young man or woman does not like to travel by public transport when they are the proud owners of their own car. He or she feels that using public transport when he has his own car is undignified. Once they have reached the position in life of being car-owners, they feel it demeaning to make use of the public transport, ignoring the problems that could arise later by this decision. Moreover, their perceived behavior controls on taking public transport, for instance, "hard to reach the stations", "waiting for bus takes time", "it has own time schedule", "taxis are expensive" can be seen as lame excuses to justify their behavior in taking the car out even though they know that there will be drinking involved at the venue. They make an illogical choice in using their car after drinking.

Most of respondents agreed with taking public transport for drinking, but this seems to be their socially desired answer, they may perform drinking and driving behavior in practice. Meanwhile, it is too hasty to judge whether a proper awareness or attitude towards drinking and driving was hold by these interviewees, there will be more exploration for this matter in the later paragraph. What can be seen currently is there could be an intention to use alternatives instead of car if drinking and driving was brought in.

5.2 Drinking Behavior after driving

Although most respondents declared of not using their private cars if they knew beforehand that they would be consuming alcohol, they however admitted to the fact that sometimes these drinking events take place without any previous information, such as business wassails or a compotation between friends. If they had driven there, then their drinking behavior could be generally classified into two different types based on which kind of drinking event they attended. If it was an event with close friends, drinking can be avoided altogether or stopped after taking just a little bit, for example a glass of beer, but except sometimes on a pure stag party. At official events, may be with business partners, the respondents were persuaded to drink as much as possible to show their sincerity in their attitude towards the clients and the carrying out of the business.

Questioned whether their close friends would dissuade them when the interviewees intended to drink or drink without limitation, they responded that their friends would usually suggest to them not to drink at all or drink a certain amount which was quite below their capacity for liquor. Friends, especially female perceived non-drinking and driving as the proper behavior and advocated that drinking and driving should be eliminated completely. Discussions about drinking and driving behavior among friends usually ensue with the harmful consequences of drinking

and driving, such as people dying in car accidents, being discussed in depth with a lot of seriousness.

Business contacts would persuade the respondents to take alcohol no matter whether the respondents had driven there or not. The interviewees were obligated to drink in order to achieve a good network and relationship, especially when the person who advises them to drink occupies a higher social status than themselves, or older in age, or a woman. Some of the respondents said: "A social drink with business partners seems running in a very happy atmosphere, but I can feel an intense requirement of drinking in the air." Besides, some male respondents indicated they were more easily persuaded to drink not only as a part of the social activities, but also when the persuader said: "Men will drink."

Over half of all interviewees said: "It does not matter if one were to drink more or less with close friends, but for building up the business contacts I have to drink. Drinking is indispensable if you want to do business in China." Discussions about drinking and driving behavior are not among the preferred topics of conversation among the table of social contacts. The consequences of drunken driving are not referred to at all, even though all the people at the table are well aware of the detrimental effects of driving after drinking. In general, the priority of them was to maintain a bright atmosphere for attaining business purpose; any harmful action has to be avoided.

The minority of respondents out of the fifteen would like to drink under any situation. They were not like the other most interviewees who were kind of forced to drink for social purpose. These small group of respondents perceived liquor as a medium that makes them feel good and they believed in the idea that: "drink first and do not mind the rest, such as how can we return home." Moreover, they claimed that to them, the concept of drinking does not mean getting drunk. They said they could control their intake of alcohol and maintain themselves sober enough to be able to drive.

Analysis of data

Most respondents' drinking behavior were totally different depends on which kind of event they went to. If people did not have an initiative of taking alcohol, then whether to drink could be quite depended on the environment. Within a circle of friends, there is hardly any social pressure to force drivers to drink as much as possible and friends were not resistant to inform each other with fear appeal messages, because there was a negative perception towards drinking and driving among the table of friends. More importantly, friends, especially female intended to persuade their tootsy to be far away from drinking and driving, as a result of friendship is valued in the collectivistic culture (Sheer & Chen, 2008) which has been exalted in China.

In general, care for friend's safety of driving was the underlying factor that controls drinking behavior. However, drinking behavior on an all man's party can be considered as a special case. Drinking was hardly avoided or limited on an all man's party, because pursuit of pleasure at present was much preferential rather than how friends could safely leave afterwards. Therefore, alcohol was considered as the necessary catalyst as it can make people excited. At the same time, male were less aware of risks but there was no one (female participant) to remind them.

Dinking events for social purpose offered a more complex situation for the respondents deciding whether to drink. In her blog posting, Jenny Zhu says that one of her friends kept drinking until he collapsed, after announcing proudly that his body can collapse but his dignity cannot. This attitude, she states, illustrates China's drinking culture. The Chinese do not drink for the thrill of getting drunk but to show that they are trustworthy and upright in their relationship with their friends and colleagues. She ends her post with the words that, "it is not uncommon to find people in China whose entire career is built on their ability to drink" (Zhu, 2010). The 'Gan Bei' business drinking rituals are elaborate and have their own etiquettes of do's and don'ts. So, it is imperative and inevitable that a young man wishing to scale the ladder of his career graph to an ambitious height in China must drink at the social

gatherings and banquets. Such confirmation of drinking culture could be framed as the attitude towards doing business in China; people believed the more you drink, shows the more desired of you want to do business and then more probability of building a social network. People hold this attitude would be weak of limiting drink amount in social activities.

Additionally, the prevalence of drinking culture became a subject norm on drinking behavior; individual would have an intention to take alcohol if others thought he or she should drink (Ajzen, 1988). It is feasible to explain why the respondents admitted to drink without a limitation on amount. The social pressure from business table pushed respondents to knock over a drink and this pressure would be stronger if the persuader was higher in social status or elder. Reason to that is youth's obedient attitude towards authority. Moreover, the male respondents were concerned that their macho image may be damaged if they refused to consume alcohol due to the attitude of sexism, so men drink more to protect or project their masculinity in front of others in their social circle, especially when the persuader was female.

The rare discussion about drinking and driving among business tables (even participants were aware the harm of drunken driving) indicated that fearful information was rejected, because carrying out such criticism while drinking brought a cognitive dissonance (O'Keefe, 2002) to people who intended to drink. Due to alcohol was indispensable, people just chose to protect themselves from receiving fearful messages.

When compared to the other interviewees, a small group of respondents who were addicted to alcohol performed a drinking behavior on their own desire, no matter there were influence from environment or not. First of all, the drinking itself is something that is a part of the person's life and very few people in China make the rational choice of avoiding drinking. Secondly, research has found that one's own self-control is the basis of making a rational choice in all matters. But when that self-control is weak, the chance of making rational choices also proportionately decreases. The person's low self-control will influence his intention to commit

negative behaviors, like being addicted to alcohol (Piquero & Tibbetts, 1996). Hence the young man will not limit their drinking even with a car because of the lack of self-control that inhibits his ability to make a sensible decision. Besides, they were quite confident of their capacity for liquor as well as their driving skills. Where such confidence came from will be investigated afterwards.

5.3 (None) Driving behavior after drinking

Twelve of the fifteen respondents mentioned they could use the following ways to leave the venue after drinking:

➢ Took a taxi and left the car to be picked up the next day

➢ Called an agent driving service

➢ Called a family member or friend to drive him/her home

➢ Drove the car themselves without getting drunk

➢ Drove the car themselves but asked a friend to accompany them

➢ Business partners provided drivers to drive him/her home safely

During the interviews, the researcher found that all the female interviewees indicated that they would be more willing to use one of the alternatives to leave after drinking, even if they had taken only a small amount of alcohol. It has been shown by research that women consume less alcohol than men in China. In fact, a study shows that 95 per cent of all the alcohol consumed in China is imbibed by men (Ahlstrom & Osterberg, 2004/2005).

But most of the male respondents chose their mode of leaving based on the amount of liquor they have taken or on the state of their physical condition influenced by alcohol. When they imbibed too much of alcohol and got drunk, all the respondents responded that they chose not to drive in their condition and the people around

them would also prevent the inebriate from driving with making use of any of the alternative measures mentioned above. However, if they had consumed only a small amount of alcohol or they thought that they could still depend on their ability to drive safely, they would drive their car.

All the respondents had the experience of driving after drinking, and more than half of them said they had done that more than once. They used the words "many times" and "often" to describe their frequency of driving after drinking. They emphasized their notion that driving after drinking a small amount of alcohol is all right, and it would not impair their ability to drive safely. Because they had been lucky enough to survive without any untoward consequences from their previous experiences, they were encouraged by their overconfidence to repeat the same behavior.

Analysis of data

Previous experiences of drinking and driving as past behavior made respondents confident of their capacity for liquor, and they considered that a small amount of alcohol intake would not affect their driving ability. They tend to ignore the fact that alcohol stimulates people's deviation both psychologically and physiologically. In other words, alcohol can make a person excited (less aware of risks) and affect the non-abstainers' cognitive function (less steering capacity and slow reaction). Therefore, the drinker could be wrong to assess their driving ability in an objective and logical manner. It is clear from the analysis of these responses that the behavior of driving after drinking occurred in a larger proportion of the population of those who consume alcohol very frequently and in larger amounts. This seems to be a dangerous situation.

When the driver does not drink at all or drink very little there is not much danger involved. But when the amount of alcohol imbibed increases, the ability to drive becomes much riskier and inadvisable, even then the people around do not tend to interfere in the driver's desire to drive. It is only when the person becomes inebriated

and unable to drive (actual control exist) that the others obstruct the driver's inclination to drive and suggest or offer alternative modes of transport for going home.

It can be seen that women are more careful and refuse to drive after consuming alcohol, because Chinese women are more uphold collective culture and family conscious and avoid taking unnecessary risks, like drunk driving, that could harm them or their family. In the other hands, Chinese men are predisposed in taking up more responsibilities and are weighed down due to stress factors. Therefore they have a tendency to visit the wine sale outlets more often than women.

Above all, drivers adopted the risky behavior of driving under the influence of alcohol although they were aware of the dangers of drunken driving because they also have the previous experience of driving without incidents even after drinking. The latter knowledge, being based on past practice and not just theory, strengthens their belief in their ability to drive even under the influence of alcohol. As experienced more drinking and driving instance without any untoward consequences, as possessed longer time of driving license, drivers have more confidence in their ability to drive safely even after drinking. Their minds were influenced very strongly by the run of luck or fluke. Driver's attitude to drinking and driving was boosted by the fluky psychology that their streak of luck would last them forever. Thus, their attitude towards drinking and driving is that it is all right to do so.

This attitude has been studied by psychologist as the psychology of risk. The meaning of the word risk indicates a particular situation in which a decision is undertaken knowing full well that the consequences hinge on the effects of future events. It is like taking a bet or gambling. The risk takers' tasks are usually tied to their everyday experiences and involve two important elements: that of chance and skill (Lopes, 1987). Playing the market, gambling for high stakes, or even paying insurance is full of risks. The risk taker believes that such behavior will always end successfully for him, although it may not do so in the case of others.

These young drivers take the risk of driving after consuming alcohol on a gamble that

the consequences will be on the positive side and not on the negative. They take this chance with their lives, vehicles, the lives of others like pedestrians or riders in the car. As they had come through previous experiences successfully, they have a false belief that these successes were due to their skill in driving under the influence of alcohol and not on mere luck.

This type of risk taking is seen in all walks of life every day, from making an investment to conducting scientific experiments. They ignore the fact that driving skill is different from driving style: The skills include practice, reaction time, and tracking that place the maximum value on the best possible performance. On the other hand, driving style includes the habits, attitudes, beliefs and personality characteristics of the driver. Thus the risk takers are prone to committing traffic violations based on their driving style rather than on their skill, as they erroneously believe (Zimbardo, Keogh, & Boyd, 1997).

In general, the self-assurance of the male interviewees' is a result of their risk taking behavior as well their fluky mental state. They have undergone previous episodes of driving under the influence of alcohol without any unpleasant problems and that also adds to the confidence. When the alcohol also adds to this buoyancy by giving them a false sense of bravado, then the tendency to drive after drinking even larger amounts of alcohol also increases proportionately. It makes them bolder and encourages them to repeat the experience, while ignoring or blocking out their rationality and safety consciousness.

5.4 Comparison and analysis of the persuasive effectiveness of the two billboards

The respondents had mentioned that they had viewed the educational campaign against drinking and driving through the Newspapers, public interest advertisements,

and roadside billboards or heard about drunken driving incidents from the personal experiences of their friends. This shows that awareness in the drinking is quite widespread regarding this problem. Notably, their deep impression about drinking and driving was not created by such educational campaign but from the accident reports on TV News and a series of criticism, but respondents expressed they had never processed those information elaborately.

When shown the two billboards, one Chinese and the other from the Western countries. The Western fear appeal billboard depicts a photographic picture of a two car crash with a chalk outline drawing of a bottle with the words: "Absolute Stupidity" printed as the message below (Appendix 1). The Chinese billboard features the colored cartoonish drawing of a big wine bottle with a car crashed into it and some printed Chinese characters (Appendix 2). All the respondents naturally found the Chinese one was more familiar to them but their first impression of it was sporadic, in contrast, respondents' eyes were caught by the image of crash at the first place.

From the responses of the interviewees it was clear that upshot of placing these billboards on the roadside in China would be as follows: The conventional Chinese billboard would attract only a little attention from the motorists and the degree of the attention would be "neutral", whereas the Western fear appeals board would attract their attention "a lot more" and the degree of their attention would be "full".

The majority of the respondents felt that the contents of the Western fear appeals ad was better at influencing them to change their behavior of drunk driving. They felt that this would happen as the effect of viewing the Western billboard would persist longer in their memory due to its horrific effect. But the other small group of respondents stated that neither of these billboards could influence them to change their behavior. On further examining the reasons for this lack of persuasive effect on this small group of people, it was seen that the Chinese billboard was not very

effective or efficient as a persuasive message medium due to the presence of too many Chinese characters represented in three different styles of writing. Moreover, the cartoonish car crashing on the wine bottle hardly expressed the fatal consequences of drunk driving.

Analysis of data

The publicity given to drunken driving incidents through the TV News report is condemned as sadistic or voyeuristic by certain critics. But such warnings are necessary to bring about a change in the society through such shock tactics. These warnings remain in the subconscious level even long after the incidents are shown or seen or heard. Their subliminal message is what controls the risky behavior from getting out of hand. However, it is known that the risk takers prefer to keep these warnings from controlling their conscious minds and this is it that results in the tragedy. Society has seen that the harmful consequences of such inconsiderate behavior are given adequate coverage and dissemination through the media, but the actual targeted audience choose to ignore the admonition.

In this research, commuters who drive around from home to work place are hard to catch because of the movement of the driver. There is little time to stop and look the billboard advertisement. To catch the audience and to be more effective, billboard advertisements' visual and design criteria should be formed with perception criteria view. They should gather and attract audiences' interest and attention. Namely, there should be only one focal point in billboard for audience to focus, avoiding confusion; the advertisements text's language have to be legible and easily readable by using appropriate letter size and types; the color of visual and text elements should be bright, saturated, contrast and high and attractive (Elif Eda Balkafl, et al. 2005).

As the respondents were already familiar with the Chinese billboard, they were neither paid much attention to it nor affected by it. Moreover, too many texts with

different letter size and types made the audience even harder to read, even when the words were clearly seen, the Chinese writing in the picture translated as, "Life is more precious than anything else" and "You are important to your family. For the sake of their happiness, please do not drive after drinking". This did not have much relationship to the picture and also had little effect on their feelings as it did not evoke any strong emotions. The cartoonish image on the Chinese billboard displayed a sense of car hitting with wine bottle, it was assumed to be able to evoke audience's feeling, drinking and driving could cause accident. However, it was not as fearsome as the Western fear appeal ad that showed the remains of an actual crash. The bottle chalk drawing recalled the body outlines drawn at homicide sites by the police. Other than the two horribly crashed cars shown, the message indicated the actual cause of the accident was drinking and driving.

The initial impressions of the western fear appeal board created many feelings in the minds of the viewers like sadness, horror as well as fear. Fear appeal ads are used in the Western media as a means of persuasion and influencing people through fear. The messages threaten or arouse fear in order to stimulate the required change in the attitude (Severin & Tankard, 2001). But these fear appeals have different effects on differently sensitized people. For instance, high sensation seekers feel more threatened and fearful by the high appeal ads than the low sensation seekers (Mayfield, 2006). As the respondents were all non-abstainers and drivers, all of them felt the fear aroused by the Western billboard showing that their sensation seeking nature was on the higher level because of their risky behavior of consuming alcohol after driving their car to the venue.

Initially, the respondents felt that the visual elements in the Western fear appeal billboard was more effective in persuading them in relation to the dangers of drunk driving. They were afraid that they could also be involved in a crash like the one shown in the photograph. This left them with an uncomfortable feeling that served somewhat decrease their confidence and made inroads into their mind-set of being

immortal or invulnerable to dangers by removing the cloak of bluster by which they had hidden their vulnerability and opened their minds to reality.

To explain those several respondents' non-preference of persuasive effectiveness of either billboard, the Chinese billboard was of the low appeal type that did not directly indicate drastic events like death or pain but focused to the finer feelings of family, happiness, affection and so on. Then the adopted empathy approach by forwarding your drunken driving behavior may cause family tragedy was not so much effective to young adults because they were single and quite independent form parents.

The Western billboard was an elaborate image with many elements that need to be interpreted; the respondents felt that they would not have enough time when they saw this on the roadside to interpret the full message. And even if they full message was received, it would not have that much of effect later, as a result of death was considered as a unreachable matter by young, health and energetic life. In addition, the fear appeal billboard was more attractive partly due to its infrequent content and merely exposure, once it has been displayed more often to educate and persuade people against drunken driving, it would be treated as so many other campaigns. Since the respondents or any other people for that matter are already well aware of the consequences of drunk driving, they would not be much affected by this billboard after sometime. So its effect would be short-lived.

Moreover, it has been shown by research that when anxiety was used as a stimulus in fear appeals ads, they could trigger uneasiness that would in turn have a cascading effect of triggering a variety of negative reactions that can reduce the efficacy of the advertisement and its message. As stated in Motivation Protection theory, the horrific picture would be shut out by withdrawing of the attention, or by developing a hostile attitude towards the source of the message, or by generating defensive thoughts like "it could never happen to me". Such negative reactions hamper the ability of the viewer to fully process the message and reduce its effectiveness in

persuasion (Carducci, 2009)

On further investigation, these several respondents without any preference indicated that they would be persuaded more easily by the bottom part of the Chinese billboard (shown below): a caricature of a policeman and a short sentence: "Please do not drink and drive".

The respondents seemed more worried about getting caught and fined by the law enforcement officers than crashing their cars and probably losing their lives. The known and customary deterrents seem to have more effect than the unknown and unexpected consequences that they shut out of their minds. Besides, due to these people were quite weak in their own initiatives of changing drinking and driving behavior, it seemed to be more efficient when adding authoritative symbol to the advertisement. That is to say, these several respondents are more willing to changing drinking and driving behavior because they are obedient to authority (police power) as ordinary citizens and this attitude would be stronger if the legal punishment for drunken driving was stricter.

Similar with the bottom part of the Chinese billboard, western media also produced billboard that warning audiences by juristic instruments. Like showing below, this billboard displayed an actual police man checking driving license with texts: "How much have you had to drink tonight?" This image evokes audiences' misgivings of a cancellation of license.

EXCUSE ME SIR, HOW MUCH HAVE YOU HAD TO DRINK TONIGHT?

(Source: http://www.tundraheadquarters.com/blog/2008/04/28/should-in-car-alcohol-detection-systems-be-mandatory/)

Thus we see that both these billboards fail in their objective in persuasion if hanging on roadside as there is a weak link in the information processing chain, as shown in the McGuire model. The attention paid to the messages is not adequate enough for them to be retained, recalled and processed to produce the required change in the behavior of the respondents. The perception levels of the respondents are varied and this could also cause problems in the comprehension as well as the internalization the message.

Finally, the minister of Beijing Traffic Security Propaganda Department recommended a heavy or serious fear appeals communication campaign like western billboard is unbefitting for Chinese drivers because its intense impact would lead to a reactance psychology, reasons could be the Chinese culture is implied, a sharp and direct fear message is not very acceptable in public, people would avoid to look at it especially elders and females. Besides, Chinese drivers would be regularized driving behavior by economic punishment in comparison to death. The "core philosophy" of designing an anti-drunken driving ad towards Chinese drivers is accompanying the communication intervention with financial instrument by arousing a mental of anxiety of fine.

6. Conclusion

It is clear from this research that fear appeals messages of the Western and Chinese fear appeals billboards are both ineffective in changing the intended behavior of the young Chinese men and women of drinking and driving. The Western billboard causes cognitive dissonance that makes them take refuge in their coping capability. The habitual past experiences of successful drunken driving serves to enhance this coping belief in accordance with the protection motivation theory (Rogers, 1983; Beck & Frankel, 1981). The Chinese billboard, on the other hand, becomes ineffective by being a low appeal type that is already familiar to the respondents. The composition of the ad with text-heavy messages and cartoon drawing does not serve to attract the attention or to retain it. Because of its low appeal, it is easily forgotten. The Western fear appeals message fails because its very horror impels the viewer to shut it out of his mind, and the Chinese one fails because of the confusion of the written messages and the unsuitable cartoon visuals.

It is seen that behavioral change in young Chinese men and women cannot be brought about by fear appeals persuasion, either of the low appeal with an empathy-based approach as in the Chinese billboard or the high appeal types as in the Western billboard. Fear as a means of persuasion also fails because different people react to it in different ways and what causes the emotion of fear in one person may me ignored by others (Reardon, 1991). Although the Chinese billboard features elements of the family and care that the collectivist culture is based on, it did not work on some respondents who often drink and drive because high sensation seekers are less influenced by such messages (Santa & Cochran, 2008).

In order to carry out a more successful campaign, the messages must be designed with high effectiveness and threat being prominently apparent (as in the policeman picture section), as such messages are most efficient in the retention and recall of attitudes toward the adaptive behavior. The messages are of low effectiveness with a

high-threat (like the Western billboard) only result in shaping negative attitudes (Roskos-Ewoldsen, Yu, & Rhodes, 2004).

It is evident that there is a dearth of research in this subject. Recommendations as to what types of persuasive messages are more effective to eliminate the behavior of drunken driving can be made only after more elaborate and varied studies are conducted on a larger scale.

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Appendixes

1. Western anti-drunken driving billboard

2. Chinese conventional anti-drunken driving billboard

On the left part, the message means: "**You** are important to your family." On the right part, the message can be understood as: "Life is the most precious thing, safeness is the best of all." The one character on the bottle is "wine" in Chinese.

The Chinese messages at bottom can be translated as: "You are important to your family. For the sake of their happiness, please do not drive after drinking".

3. Interview Questionnaire

Name:
Occupation:
Year of driving license:

MSc Thesis on "Anti-Drunken Driving Communication Intervention"
Aim: to explore the effective factors of Fear appeals

1. Questions about driving behavior before drinking.

a)   What is your main transportation device to go out?

b)   What is your frequency that drive car to go out?

c)   What kind of activity do you go for by car?

d)   Why you choose car as your transportation device?

e)   What kind of activity do you go for by other transportation device? (Taxi)

f)   Which transportation device do you choose for drinking events? Why?
   (If the respondent do not mention car, ask will he/she drive to there)

g)   Why sometimes you choose go to drinking events by car and sometimes by taxi?

2. What is your drinking behavior if you drive there? (Will you drink or not)

a)   (If answered not drinking at all) What is the reason for not drinking at all?

b)   (if answered will drink more or less) Why do you to take alcohol?

c)   Why do you drink sometimes more and sometime less?

d)   What would others think about you if you do not drink at all when you have drive n there?

e)   What do you think if others do not limit their drinking behavior because of driving there?

f)   What would others think about your drinking and driving behavior?

g) Is there any discussion about drinking and driving behavior among your table?

h) If yes, what is the way they discussed?

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3. How do you depart after drinking and why?

If you intend to drive after drinking, what would others think (do)?

4. Have you ever drive after drinking?
If yes, how many times? Why you do that?

5. What is your potentially reason for your drinking and driving behavior?

a) Do you think you can drive to home after drinking safely?

b) Do you think if only drink small amount of alcohol is fine?

6. Which channel you can get drunken driving information?

7. Showing the two billboards one after another to the interviewees. What is your first impression of seeing Chinese conventional billboard regards against drunken driving?

8. What is your first impression of seeing the Western anti-drunken driving billboard?

9. (If you are a driver that always drives after drinking) which of these two billboards may persuade you to stop drinking & driving behavior?

10. Why it has that function? Always ask why the make such choice.

a) Whether can attract your attention if hang this billboard on roadside?
Chinese conventional billboard

Totally not	A little bit	Neutrally	A lot	Fully attention

Totally not	A little bit	Neutrally	A lot	Fully attention

Western Fear Appeal billboard

b) Do you accept the content of the billboards?

Chinese conventional billboard

Totally not	A little bit	Neutrally	A lot	Totally yes

Western Fear Appeal billboard

Totally not	A little bit	Neutrally	A lot	Totally yes

c) Could the billboard persuade you to change your drinking & driving behavior?

Chinese conventional billboard

Totally not	A little bit	Neutrally	A lot	Fully persuade

Western Fear Appeal billboard

Totally not	A little bit	Neutrally	A lot	Fully persuade

d) Will the effect of the billboard remain in your mind?

Chinese conventional billboard

Totally not	Short time	For a while	Long time	Life long

Totally not	Short time	For a while	Long time	Life long

Western Fear Appeal billboard

1. **Do you think people like you will see it if it is set on the road side?**
2. **Do you think people like you would see it intensely?**
3. **Do you think people like you would see the content clearly when they drive?**
4. **Do you think people like you would be mindful the billboard?**
5. **Do you think people like you would stop drinking and driving behavior after seeing the billboards? Which one make you has more such feeling and why?**
6. **Do you think people like you would never drinking and driving and why?**