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## **An Integration of Self-Conscious Emotion into Public Service Announcement: The Effect of Framing Messages Based on Guilt and Shame-Inducing Strategies on the Intention of Behavior Change**

### **Abstract**

PSAs (Public service announcements) about social issues have become important tools of persuasion that aimed to direct the public regarding attention to those problems that intended to bring attitude and behavior change. Prevailing studies indicated that message framing that links to a different type of emotional experiences has played different roles in changing the perception of individuals. Specifically, fear appeal-inducing techniques and their effectiveness were the main focus of scientific studies in the area. However, a new line of research indicated that, besides fear, other types of emotions might be important for effective message framing that can bring changes through some forms of persuasion. Following this new development, in this paper, it was proposed that the way the message is framed (either behavior-focused or self-focused) elicits different self-conscious emotions (i.e., guilt and shame) that will differently affect intention for behavior change. The core assumption of the proposed model is that messages framed based on guilt-inducing strategies may lead to intention for behavior change due to the absence of suppression, while messages framed on shame-inducing techniques suppress behavioral change due to the activation of suppression. In line with his, an alternative model was proposed which posits that the potential effectiveness of framing messages based on guilt and shame-inducing techniques varies with respect to a cultural orientation that persists in a given society. In the course of enhancing the proposed model, the paper attempts to draw some examples of message framing based on guilt and shame-inducing and concludes with limitation inherent in the current model.

**Keywords:** Public service announcement, Guilt, Shame, Framing

## **Öz-Bilinç Duygularının Kamu Spotu Duyurularına Entegrasyonu: Suçluluk ve Utanç Sağlayan Stratejilere Dayalı Mesaj Çerçevelemenin Davranış Değişikliği Niyeti Üzerindeki Etkisi**

### **Öz**

Toplumsal konulara ilişkin kamu spotu duyuruları (PSA), tutum ve davranış değişikliğini oluşturarak toplumsal sorunlara dikkat çekmeyi amaçlayan önemli ikna araçları haline gelmiştir. Mevcut araştırmalar, farklı türden duygusal deneyimlerle bağlantılı olan mesaj çerçevelemenin, bireylerin algısını değiştirmede farklı roller oynadığını göstermiştir. Özellikle korku uyandıran yöntemler ve bunların etkin bir şekilde kullanımı bu alandaki bilimsel çalışmaların ana odağını oluşturmuştur. Bununla birlikte, bir araştırma dizisi ise korkunun yanı sıra, diğer duygu türlerinin de bazı ikna tekniklerinin mesaj çerçeveleme yöntemi yoluyla davranış değişikliklerinde önemli olduğunu göstermiştir. Bu son gelişmeleri takiben, bu makalede, mesaj çerçeveleme yönteminin (davranış odaklı veya benlik odaklı) farklı öz-bilinç duygularının (yani suçluluk ve utanç) farklı şekillerde kullanılarak davranış değişiklik niyeti ortaya çıkarıldığı öne sürülmüştür. Önerilen modelin temel varsayımı, ikna stratejilerine dayanan mesaj çerçeveleme tekniği kullanılarak mesajlardaki suçluluk uyandıran uyarıcıların bastırılmayı ortadan kaldırması sonucu davranış değişikliği niyetine yol açtığını, mesaj çerçeveleme tekniği ile utanç uyandıran uyarıcıların ise bastırmanın etkinleştirilmesi sonucu davranış değişiklik niyetinin engellendiği yönündedir. Ayrıca bu varsayımı paralel olarak, mesaj çerçeveleme tekniği ile oluşturulan suçluluk ve utanç uyandıran uyarıcıların belirli bir toplumdaki etkinliği yerleşik kültürel yönelime göre değiştiğini öne süren alternatif bir model önerilmiştir. Konu ile ilgili

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önerilen model geliştirme sürecindeki bu çalışmada, suçluluk ve utanç uyandırmaya dayalı mesaj çerçevelemenin bazı örnekleri belirtilmiş ve çalışmanın sınırlılıkları ifade edilmiştir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Kamu spotu duyurusu, Suçluluk, Utanç, Çerçeveleme.

## Introduction

Today, public or non-governmental organizations are broadcasting information in order to increase social awareness on various issues. Public institutions and social assistance organizations are taking various steps to boost public awareness in numerous areas such as protection of cultural heritage, values of education, and health-related issues. PSAs (Public service announcements) were used to promote public awareness in line with a variety of objectives, such as the promotion of health, following of safety measures, promotion of the public to donate for a good cause, promotion of environmental protection, and the promotion of activities to be done in general (Borzekowski & Poussaint, 1999; Cury, 2011). The widespread of mass media, like TV, printing materials, or internet made the process of PSAs more handy and inexpensive. Due to the high number of television viewing rates of society, the institutions have the opportunity to communicate effectively with the public. In recent years, these publications aiming to change social behaviors and to raise awareness have frequently been seen in mass media.

PSAs are defined as informative and educational voices that are prepared by public institutions, organizations, and non-governmental organizations (Radio and Television Supreme Council, 2022). It includes any commercial non-profit advertising type. The main objectives of these announcements are explaining the social problems to the public, presenting the solutions and trying to reduce the negative effects of the problems identified (Dillard & Peck, 2000). In PSAs, people are informed to be aware of important issues and advised to take action. For instance, health institutions might make PSAs about the danger of smoking and encourage people to stop smoking. In order to pull the public towards the targeted direction, accurate and effective use of public announcements is very important. The effectiveness of PSAs that are designed, prepared, evaluated, and published by allocating significant budgets and timeframes are always evaluated based on the extent they serve the acquisition of the targeted objectives. Experts suggested the use of various techniques of PSA to persuade people (Collins & Dockwray, 2017; Nan, 2009). The main objectives of these techniques are to change the attitude and behavior by persuading the public. To this end, studies indicated that, in addition to the contents of the message, the way the message is framed is very important in convincing people. Precise framing of public announcement messages can lead the society in the desired way. Strengthening this idea, Chang (2007) stated that message framing is a vital phenomenon in the construction of social reality because it shapes people's viewpoints. How the message is framed affects the way the audience understands the message. The basic assumption of framing theory is that the media not only determines what we think but also how we think (Scheufele & Tewskbury, 2006). This indicated that message framing requires expertise, finances, and time. Unfortunately, studies however posited that PSAs that are prepared after spending a good number of budget, time, and expertise sometimes produced little effect on bringing behavioral change on the public (Gençoğlu et al., 2017). How far PSAs are effective enough in achieving the intended objectives is still debatable.

In this paper, it was suggested a new bringing intention for behavior change in the intended direction. In order to increase the effectiveness of PSAs, I propose a need for integrating the

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concept of self-conscious emotion with PSA literature. This allows to consider two important points. The first point is how the message is framed (i.e., behavior-focused or whole self-focused). The second one is the type of emotion triggered due to the way the message is framed (i.e., guilt and shame). Previous literature on self-conscious emotions indicated that when messages are behaviorally focused, it elicited intention for behavior change through the activation of guilt emotion. However, when the messages are focusing on the whole self, it prevents behavior change through activating emotion of shame (Tangney, 2002). Hence, benefitting from studies of self-conscious emotions, I suggested that when PSA is behaviorally focused, it triggers guilt emotion, this, in turn, leads to an increment in intention to behavior change. On the contrary, however, when PSA is framed in a way that targets the whole self, it triggers shame emotion which in turn suppresses intention for behavior change. The effects of activating guilt and shame emotion created by the use of message framing on attitude and behavior changes will be explained in detail.

The present paper will initially highlight rudimentary concepts pertain to public service announcement, message framing, and emotion. After going through the literature and studies on message framing using fear appeal-inducing strategies, the paper will address the gap inherent in inducing fear appeal and its effect on intention of behavioral change. Eventually, a new model is proposed as a way of complementing the existing approaches of PSAs by introducing a concept that integrates self-conscious emotions (i.e., guilt and shame) into message framing. Moreover, the proposed model also takes into cognizance the effect of cultural orientation (individualism and collectivism) and framing strategies (prevention and promotion) on framing messages based on guilt and shame-inducing.

### **Public Service Announcement and the Role of Emotion**

Public service announcements, one of the social marketing tools, are formulated as short-term radio and television broadcasts and prepared with the expectation of creating direct thinking and behavioral change in the targeted audience (Cury, 2011). In other words, public service announcements offer public education through national and private channels. Such public service education is meant to benefit from issues of public concern and in effect it compels individuals to comply with a specific recommended behavior (O'Keefe & Reid, 1990). Hence, as it is indicated above, the main purpose of the public service announcements is to inform the society about certain issues and create a positive change of attitude and behavior. As Borzekowski and Poussaint (1999) indicated public service announcements have recently come to the fore as an important tool for educating and persuading people about social issues. In fact, O'Keefe and Reid (1990) posited public service announcements as an important component in communication networks. In recent years, publications aiming to change social behaviors and to raise awareness have frequently been seen as a public service announcement in mass media. These publications include regulations related to many areas of health, environment, family, culture and social life. Public service announcements are primarily carried out by government agencies and non-governmental organizations through TVs and printing media (Radio and Television Supreme Council, n.d). These activities are recently also carried out through social media advertisements. Its main objective of using social media is to convey a message to a particular audience in a fast and accurate way by means of advertisements (Bator & Cialdini, 2000). Hence, public service announcements are important tools to raise awareness and make the world feel changeable in critical issues such as education, health, environment, human

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rights, women's rights, and animal rights (Aytekin, 2016). From this point of view, public service announcements have an informative and educative character whose function is to show the right ethical norms to the public. In a public service announcement, there is an emphasis on persuasion and change about the subject by means of communication in mass media. The idea that the new behavior should be seen to have more value than the current behavior is considered as the path leading to change. All these efforts are designed to influence and support a public behavior, as well as to raise awareness, change beliefs and attitudes (Klimes-Dougan & Lee, 2010). Therefore, we can say that public service announcements are prepared only on issues related to events and developments of public interest. Stimulating public interest is the purpose of public service announcements. This is made possible by marketing ideas and by creating behavioral changes in individuals. Public service announcements are prepared and published with the aim of initiating a positive behavior such as starting sports to prevent heart disease, decreasing a negative behavior like drinking alcohol while driving, or otherwise encouraging a lawful behavior that prohibits smoking in places prohibited by law (Lannon, 2008). Consequently, PSA did not include all kinds of commercial communication such as confidential commercial communication in public places (Becerikli, 2012). Furthermore, the inclusion of a name, brand, logo, image, activities or product of particular persons or legal entities in a public service announcement is directly rejected and not permitted (Radio and Television Supreme Council, n.d.). However, it is important to mention that sometimes paid commercial advertisements also include a message that reflects social problems and awareness on some social issues which do not focus on this review. The reason for this is that public service announcements published in order to raise awareness on issues of public interest have a positive effect in the society rather than commercial announcements, which is based on the positive behavior of individuals (Bator & Cialdini, 2000).

### **Public service announcements in the world and Turkiye**

When we look at public service announcement history in general, it has been seen that it appeared for very long times. However, its presentation as a public demonstration began to be seen in the 20th century. The first public service announcement was broadcast in the USA. It was made by a Council to raise money by selling war bonds to support of World War II. Spot broadcast which was initiated during World War II was first prepared and shown in cinema halls (Ad Council, 2022). Over time, the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) has come to the forefront with its achievements in public service announcement. The leading countries in the public service announcements are the United Kingdom and the United States (Ad Council, 2022). Although the first messages were about survival during world wars, many different areas of life began to be made after the war. Since publishers are not obliged to publish a certain number of public spots, they have focused on public service announcements in order to prove that they are broadcasting for community benefit and to have a reliable image in the society (LaMay, 2002).

As in many countries around the world, Turkiye adopted exactly the same approach regarding the broadcast of public service announcements (Kırık, 2012). The first publication bearing the nature of the public service announcements in Turkiye was published between 1980-1990. Public service announcements in the mentioned period were mainly related to issues of environmental sensitivity, human behavior models, citizenship duties and traffic accidents (Bilis, 2014). A small number of public spot broadcasts started to increase after the 2000s. Public service announcements

in Türkiye in areas relating to the general interests of the society and developments were prepared by associations, public institutions, and organizations. Public service announcement in the Turkish context is defined as the informative and educational films together with sounds that are meant to be of public interest. It is forbidden to include political figures and party logos in public service announcements (Radio and Television Supreme Council, 2022). They are exclusively intended to serve the public, not political parties, power centers or interest groups. Since the 1980s, a number of publications called public service announcements has started to be made in order for the society to adapt to the change in social and economic structure (Aytekin, 2016). When the examples of public service announcements published between 1980-1990 are examined, it is seen that information such as health, environmental awareness, citizenship duties, and other models of human behavior were the main focus. Today it includes different issues such as “Mr wrong and right Ahmet” (Bay yanlış ve doğru Ahmet), “First shopping, then receipt” (Önce alışveriş sonra fiş), “Floods come and leave traces, tourists leave foreign currency” (Sel gelir iz bırakır, Turist döviz bırakır) or “Don't be a traffic monster” (Trafik canavarı olmayın). Today, public service announcements are prepared in order to inform the public about issues such as education, health, traffic, and environment (Bilis, 2014).

The first public service announcement in Türkiye was built by non-governmental organizations. However, it has been observed that public institutions have increased their interest in public service announcements and that a large number of public service announcements have been established by the ministries (Yıldız & Denençli, 2011). The public service announcements built and published by civil society organizations are decreasing day after day. This means that they are increasingly being produced by the government so as to be in line with government policies (Erdoğan & Alemdar, 2010). Although public service announcement is a widely preferred term, the concept has different usage in Türkiye. Basically in 1980s public interest was used as a form of public service announcement (Becerikli, 2012), but today this concept is defined as social advertising (Yaman & Göçkan, 2015), public education campaign (Güllülü & Türk, 2015), and social marketing (Bayraktaroğlu & İlter, 2007). Public service announcements are discussed as a form of social marketing in many types of research in Türkiye today. Social marketing, unlike commercial marketing, is in the need to influence attitudes towards an idea or purpose. The aim of social marketing is to approach a social issue with a solution and to change the target audience towards the desired direction. The main purpose of social advertising in the form of a public spot is to convince the target audience. Persuasion is usually provided through fear, threat and emotional elements (Gençoğlu et al., 2017). In public service announcement, attitude and behavior change are tried to be realized by using the concept of fear appeal. The effects of a scary spot on the instant or long term can be debated, but it is frequently used in social marketing projects for behavior and attitude change (Hastings et al., 2004).

### **Emotion**

Glancing at the literature of emotion, it will be evident that there is no conventional definition of emotion. The questions about the nature of emotion and their emphasis in the distinctive aspects of emotion are among the main reasons for having varied definitions. Whereas some scholars focus on physiological changes (Folz et al., 2022), others pay considerable attention to facial expression (Niedenthal et al., 2000). In addition, some definitions are marked by underlying subjective factors which involve goal and motivation, appraisal patterns, action tendency, and

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adaptive function (Ekman & Friesen, 1986). Nevertheless, virtually scholars share consensual agreement that emotion is distinguished by having six components, namely appraisal component, motor expression component physiological changes, subjective feeling component, action tendency component, and regulation component (Ellsworth & Scherer, 2003; Fontaine et al., 2007).

### **Appraisal theory of emotion**

One of the fundamental tenets shared by most of the scholars is the potential role cognition plays in an emotional state. Scholars posited that elicitation of emotion is contingent on a personal goal, consequently, the experience of emotion will vary in accordance to the extent an individual evaluates the event as being related to his or her goal (Frijda, 1987; Lazarus 1991; Roseman 1984; Scherer, 1982). Moreover, events that are evaluated as compatible with the individual's personal goal will reveal a positive value such as happiness, while events that are evaluated as incompatible with the individual's personal goal will reveal an aversive value such as anger. Appraisal theory refers to cognitive assessment in which an individual evaluates the extent to which a given situation is related with his or her personal goal that spawns to the elicitation of one of the discrete emotions (Roseman & Smith, 2001). In terms of person-environmental relation, Lazarus (1991) categorizes the appraisal process into two main groups. The primary function of the first group of appraisal lies in assessing the extent to which an event is relevant to a personal goal, whereas the second appraisal represents the process of coping potential as a given event perceived to be either harm or benefit. Moreover, the first primary appraisal process presumably constitutes three components including goal relevance, congruence, and incongruence of the appraised event to personal goal and the way the ego is involved in that goal. Parallel to primary appraisal, the second appraisal is encompassed of three components; attribution of blame in the face of appraising an event as harm or attribution of credit in the face of appraising an event as a benefit. The second component refers to coping potential while the third components refer to future expectation regarding the current event (for more detail see Lazarus, 1999).

### **Self-conscious emotions**

Self-conscious emotions discriminate from other emotion in terms of self-being subject and object of evaluation. Thus, elicitation of this kind of emotion requires one to conduct an evaluation of their behavior and then hold himself or herself responsible or otherwise. Moreover, awareness is a *sine qua non* for the experience of any self-conscious emotions opposite to other emotions (Weiner, 1986).

Guilt and shame are vital and most frequently studied example of self-conscious emotions in daily life. That is due to indispensable role attached to this emotion regarding monitoring personal identity (Hultberg, 1988; Scheff, 1988), maintaining and social conventions, and above all, they supply functional mechanism for self-punishment in case of violation and failure (Creighton, 1990). It is hard to imagine that any society can sustain and exist without being supported by guilt and shame that shape the behavior of members in terms of inducing avoidance mechanism to any kind of violations of norms (Creighton, 1990).

Literature and empirical findings of guilt indicated that whenever guilt experienced the feeling of moral violation and taking responsibility for adverse consequences should accompany (DeRivera, 1984; Lindsay-Hartz, 1984). Hence, Bedford (2004) pointed out that for an individual to experience

guilt, he must consciously bear responsibility for the negative outcome of their action that is believed to be in breach of others' rights, regardless of whether that responsibility was held wrongly or rightly. Whereas the premise of feeling guilt lies in accounting a one's action as being vicious, shame derives from accounting the whole self as being bad (Tangney, 1998; Wharton, 1990). Moreover, Niedenthal et al. (1994) argue that guilt primarily denotes to the perception of transgression and violation of internal or social rules that galvanizes actions directed to do justice to the harmed person. The core differentiation between guilt and shame lies in self-image; while shame tends to cast sever aspersion and question credibility of self, guilt doesn't concern about self-image rather on specific deficit self is responsible for (Lindsay-Hartz, 1984). In another front, Lazarus (1991) contends that the core theme of shame is grounded on perception in which an individual construes herself has failed to live up with standards that could be attaining or distancing certain goals. Parallel to guilt, shame emerges in a way that weakens the sense of shame by damaging the individual's self-qualities (Niedenthal et al., 1994). Therefore, the function of shame stems from providing protection for the integrity of self and social convention through ensuring conformity. Empirical findings have listed numbers of self-image assumed to accompany shame which includes alienation (Morrison, 1983) inadequacy (Lindsay-Hartz, 1984; Morrison, 1983) feeling of exposure (Hultberg, 1988), and anger characterized being inward (Lutwak et al., 2001). Overall, the experience of shame appears not quintessentially to require taking responsibility; therefore, although one may not have control over situation yet, he or she could experience shame or inducing shame on others. And this led Babcock and Sabini, (1990), Hultberg (1988) to claim that shame has fewer bases for morality compared to guilt.

Although guilt and shame are being categorized as negative emotions, scholars have cited three critical variables discriminating between them (Tangney et al., 2007). A category of scholars employs eliciting events for differentiating between guilt and shame where shame is assumed to be elicited by moral and non-moral acts while guilt is particularly given rise by moral transgression (Ferguson et al., 1991; Sabini & Silver 1997; Smith et al., 2002). However, findings obtained from studies conducted on the way children and adult experience guilt and shame appeared to weak support for this claim (Keltner, 1996; Tangney, 1994). The second category of scholars tends to view the nature of wrongdoings in terms of being public or private as the basis for distinguishing guilt from shame. Thereby, guilt is presumed to be a kind of emotion elicited by self-focus while shame is most likely to be evoked by exposure and disapproving of others (Lewis, 1997). In that relation Smith et al. (2002) argue that people are prone to feeling shame as they perceive the wrongdoing to portray them as inferior and incompetent, and above all their image has been maligned publicly. Hence, shame is eventually associated with the presence of others when conceiving oneself as wrong even in the case of no surrounded by anyone (Wicker et al., 1983). Likewise, this claim appears to lack empirical support from studies examining he experience of guilt and shame within social context among children and adult (Tangney, 1994). With respect to Tangney (1994), both guilt and shame have an equal probability of being experienced in front of others.

The last category of thought maintains that guilt differentiates on shame in terms of being behavior-focus while shame tends to be the whole self-focus. Thus, in the face of violation of standards people are susceptible to experiencing guilt as they erect their appraisal only on a given behavior as bad; in contrast, people experience shame as a result of appraising the whole self as bad and worthless (Lazarus, 1991; Tangney et al., 2007). Additionally, there is a consensus in the emotion literature that the experience of guilt is associated with the tendency to compensate and repair the

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mistake, while the experience of shame is associated with avoidance. That is, guilt is assumed to be more productive and potent in terms of modifying behavior compared to shame which is remarked by being passive and destructive emotion (Tracy & Robins, 2004).

### **Prevention and promotion strategies**

Regulatory focus theory addresses the strategies that individuals prefer to achieve certain goals and the underlying motivational system of these strategies (Higgins, 1997). The motivational orientations of individuals are based on the promotion and prevention system. The prevention system is based on security and protection, while the promotion system is focused on care and nutrition. Therefore, the prevention system prevents damages and negative consequences, and the promotion system highlights the gains and positive results. According to the theory of regulatory focus, although individuals have both prevention and promotion focus, one of the focuses is more dominant, and this focus determines which goals consumers will find important and how to achieve them (Higgins, 1997).

The prevention system is concerned with ensuring and maintaining security. Therefore, people with high levels of prevention are happy in the absence of negative consequences, while negative consequences and losses are painful. On the other hand, the promotion system is focused on winning prizes. People with a high focus on promotion tend to be happy in the presence of positive results. Higher levels of motivations, such as achievements, earnings, desires, and ideas, encourage promotion focus people to mobilize. In other words, people with dominant focus promotion are more susceptible to positive outcomes, trying to increase positive results, while people with dominant focus prevention are more sensitive to negative consequences and try to minimize negative results (Pham & Higgins, 2005). Furthermore, prevention and promotion focus can affect mood (Higgins et al., 1997), decision-making behavior (Levine et al., 2000) and the persuasion effect of the message (Koenig et al., 2009; Lee & Aaker, 2004). Regulatory focus theory also emphasizes the role goals play in achieving behavior. While the high prevention focused-people exhibit avoidance behavior, the high promotion focused-people exhibit approach behavior. Regulatory focus theory, which examines avoidance and approach behavior, has been sensitive to punishment and reward, governs attention and evaluation systems and, thus it determines approach and avoidance behavior (Cunningham et al., 2005).

### **Message Framing**

Framing has been one of the important concepts used in the field of media research since the 1980s. Although framing paradigm is seen by some influential researchers as part of an agenda-building process in this literature, it is considered as a theory in its own right. Though there is no single definition of framing, the many definitions used show similar characteristics. In the classical analysis of Goffman (1974), framing was defined as a scheme of interpretation used by individuals to identify and arrange events in their interaction with the environment. Being influenced by a social constructivist approach, Goffman (1974) views framing as a fundamental cognitive structure whose functions reside in guiding the way individuals perceive and assimilate social and physical life. For those concerned with the media, framing is assumed to be a process employed through different communicative platforms with the aim of defining an essential social issue for a given audience. Hence, as far as message tailoring is concerned, framing appears to be an indispensable tool for portraying public events and shaping the perception of publics (Nelson et al., 1997).



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According to Chang, framing is a vital phenomenon in the construction of social reality since it shapes people's viewpoints (Chang, 2007). While Tankard further emphasized that framing refers to a process in which people concentrate on a particular aspect while examining and evaluating a matter and not addressing other aspects related to its consequences (Tankard, 2001). According to Entman (1993), who is a prominent writer of the framing theory noted, that framing involves the task of selecting a few elements of a perceived reality and making them more visible in a text. He further added that a framed text or communication serve numerous functions which include describing a specific problem and providing causal interpretation and moral evaluation of the said problem. For instance, framing describes a problem that is the subject to a text and as part of this process causes to the problem are identified and moral evaluations are made. (Entman, 1993). While communicators draw attention to some ideas in the text, they can make others completely invisible, and therefore the duplication of framed ideas can be identified through the connotations of words and visual materials associated with framed ideas. In this way, the categories in the mind of the receiver influence his or her stereotypical thoughts in interpreting the meanings of the message (Entman, 1993). In other words, a point of view on how to understand the subject matter of the text is imposed. In this respect, the framing effect cannot be ignored in the transmission of messages. The framing effect is based on the assumption that it may affect the way the subject is understood by the viewer. The basic assumption of framing theory is that the media not only determines what we think but also how we think (Tewskbury & Scheufele, 2007).

Research on framing effects Iyengar (1994), Valkenburg et al. (1999) generally examined how media framing influences the attitudes, emotions, and decisions of the target audience. Scheufele (2004) indicated four types of framing effects. First; schemas in the minds of the recipients can be activated through media framing (activation effect); interchangeable (conversion effect); non-existent diagrams can be established with media framing (creation effect) and finally existing attitudes can be changed (attitudinal effect). These structures, which Scheufele (2004) calls cognitive framing, are used by individuals to process new information and induce the old ones from memory. The individual evaluates their framed messages with that of others. The framing produced by the media must be complete with an individual's own schemes, plan or design. The framing of the media due to the schemas that individuals use for interpretation and understanding does not have the same effect on the opinions of each target group member (Entman 1993; Scheufele 2004).

According to framing theorists, the way a subject is presented, that is, the framing of messages affects the way that the issue is perceived by the public. Framing a matter as positive or negative in the media both reflects public opinion and reveals its importance in public affairs (Dougal, 2006). Because people are influenced by the content of the media, mass media constitutes an important source of information for the public. Mass media not only reflects various aspects of society but also presents preferred meanings and interpretations of social information. In other words, the mass media provides tools for interpreting the messages in the desired way and this is thus seen as an act of framing (Scheufele, 2004). According to the concept of two-sided symmetrical relations introduced by Grunig et al. (2006), those who give messages about public relations are trying to change the thoughts, attitudes, and behaviors of people and organizations.

An analytical framing technique has been developed by social psychologists in order to explain the role of the media in determining issues of public concern and the need to carry out further research on this subject (Entman, 1993). The concept of framing, which encompasses

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different disciplines such as media, sociology, and psychology, can be considered as a brainwashing mechanism that has been created to enable individuals to perceive issues and events as they wish. It acts as a filter during the perception of the world, causing a selective perception (Entman, 1993).

Tversky and Kahneman (1981) are the pioneer researchers on framing who considered a person as a member of the target audience and the media as the framing receiver. In the Asian Disease experiment conducted by Tversky and Kahneman (1981), it was found that the judgments and evaluations of the individuals faced in a particular situation were affected by the manner in which the problem was framed. Considering the psychological origins of framing, varied ways can be used to present framing techniques in psychology. Psychology has played an important role in the development of research on framing effects. Tversky and Kahneman's Asian Disease experiment was particularly useful to measure the effects of different framing patterns on people and the choices that people make. According to Kahneman and Tversky (2013), if a situation is presented through different framing methods, the reactions of people to the situation will be different depending on the framing method they were subjected to. Given the fact that emotions have a viable impact on changing attitudes and behavior broadly, a huge proportion of studies has embarked on examining the effectiveness of framing messages based on fear appeal in public announcement. For instance, with participants of female college students, Meyerowitz and Chaiken (1987) aimed to probe the potential effect of messages framed based either on negative consequences (fear appeal) or positive consequences on attitudes, intentions, and behavior toward breast-self-examination. The obtained findings showed that participants exposed to negative-based framing message (fear appeal) demonstrated a more positive attitude regarding breast self-examination in contrast to positive and no information-based framing message. However, greater fear arousal appeared to have the opposite effect on messages framed on loss consequences. Similarly, a study conducted by Rhodes (2017), using 108 college students in the realm of safety driving attitude, yielded that exposure to messages tailored on medium sensation values spawns the intention to drive slowly than messages framed on low or high sensation values. The conclusive explanation reached by them was that inducing highly intense fear results to negate the capacity of cognition in processing message contents.

### **The Identified Gap in the Existing Literature of Message Framing-Based on Inducement of Fear Appeal in Public Service Announcement**

The preponderance of this paper resides in corroborating to studies geared to modify attitudes of publics derived from the way messages are framed in public service announcement. Having acknowledged the essence of emotion play in altering the behavior of the people, unfortunately, vast studies conducted in public announcement were predicated on inducing fear appeal in order to change the attitude of people relating to issues of public health, safety and so forth. However, there are two main limitations in the prevailing literature. The first is related to the effectiveness of using fear activation technique in bringing behavioral change. The potent effects of using fear appeal in public announcement seemed to be less pronounced due to focus on self-loss (Rhodes, 2017). Moreover, high or low inducement of fear appeal results in low effectiveness regarding altering attitude in public service announcement (Janssens & De Pelsmacker, 2007). Public service announcements focusing on inducing fear to alter attitudes of the public confined the matters exclusively and directly to the self (to an individual) while ignoring the harm an individual's behavior (such as smoking) could have on others. Due to the aforementioned insufficiency inherent in

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inducing fear and appeal for altering the attitude of public there is a need for proposing a new model that includes other emotions. Hence, guilt and shame, referred to as self-conscious emotion, are proposed for usage in message framing in order to prompt intention of behavior change.

The second limitation is the insensitiveness of the existing approach to the role of cultural orientation in understanding public service announcements. Studies from the past to the present indicated that the functions of emotion could vary depending on the cultural orientations of the society (Benedict, 1947; Kluckhohn, 1960). Hence, in this model, two main concepts are introduced in the literature of public service announcement; integrating self-conscious emotion in PSA and considering the different role of cultural orientations.

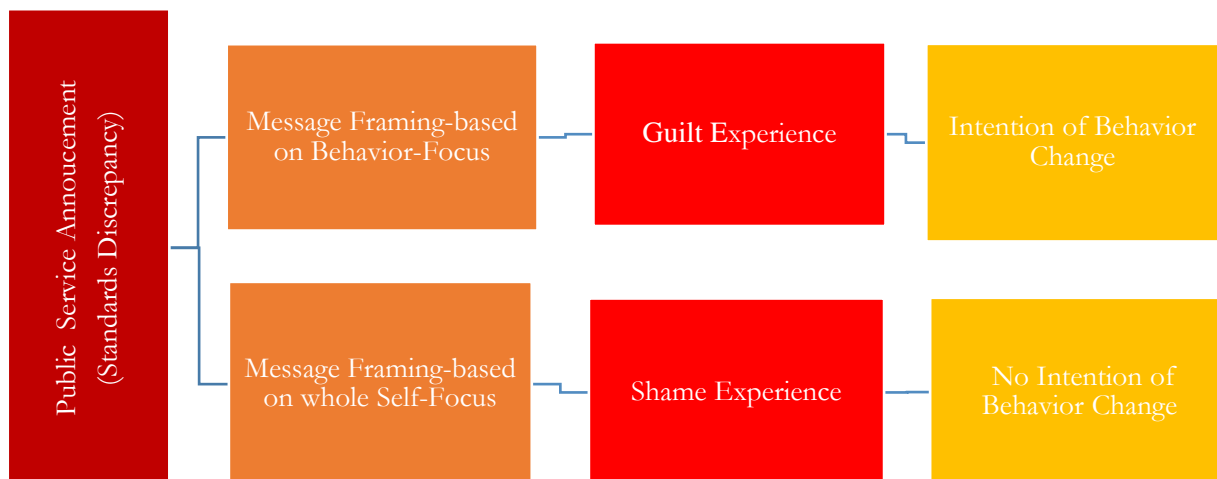
### The proposed model

By focusing guilt and shame among self-conscious emotions, I posit that accentuating intention for behavior change in public service announcement would be significant when message framed based on a discrepancy between self-standard and behavior. A growing body of studies demonstrates that experience of guilt is associated with reparation and need to repair the wrong doing. Hence, *the first proposition* is that framing message based on guilt-inducing strategies in public service announcement will be associated with intention of behavior by virtue of the absence of suppression. On the other hand, a number of studies show that experience of shame is associated with avoidance tendency. Hence, *the second proposition* is that message framed based on shame-inducing strategies in PSA will be prompted to suppress the experienced emotion, thereby suppressing intention for behavior change.

In sum, the following section will display the proposed model in terms of articulating how message framed on inducement of guilt in PSA culminates the intention of behavior change by virtue of being persuaded. On the other hand, the message framed on inducing shame in PSA results in suppression and leading to no intention of behavior change. Following that, the extensive discussion will be drawn on empirical findings derived from prior studies in order to enhance the premise of the proposed model.

**Figure 1**

*Model of message framing-based on guilt and shame-inducing in PSA*



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The employment of fear appeal in altering attitudes of the public is confined in matters related directly to self without regarding the harm that may be invested to others. For instance, a message that draws attention to the harmful effects that a smoker may have on himself causes smokers to worry less about others. However, instead of highlighting selfishness embedded in fear appeal inducing-based message framing, public attention could be drawn to make people accountable of harm they cause to others. Thus, in PSA, framing message with respect to the notion of breaching social standards (causing harm) will probably induce the feeling of guilt, thereby, people will be galvanized to assess their attitude regarding the issue of concern which may culminate in changing their behavior eventually. Note that the model doesn't claim that experience of guilt results directly in behavior change, rather it prompts the intention of behavior that involves not suppressing the experienced emotion, normative and subjective norms, and controllability. For example, holding oneself responsible for harming the health of others due to smoking may lead to feelings of guilt, which may result in reducing smoking, at least in front of others, if not quitting smoking altogether. The underlying tenet is that message in PSA should not only frame on the basis of focusing on self-loss but also on making self responsible for others' concerns.

With respect to shame-inducing, the current model postulates that message framed on accounting the whole self as bad because of not meeting the standard of the ideal self will lead people to experience shame subsequently leading them to use suppression regulatory. This is because people utilize suppression regulatory as a way of circumventing the aversive emotion they go through at that moment and the best way of circumventing shame is to suppress it. Hence, suppression is assumed to lead to no intention of behavior change since persuasion does not take place. Overall, the proposed model envisaged contributing to the literature of the role of the self-conscious emotions in PSAs. Thus, instead of only inducing fear and in message framing, self-conscious emotions (i.e., guilt and shame) could be induced for the galvanizing intention of behavior change. Moreover, self-conscious emotions divert the attention of an individual from focusing on the self toward interpersonal and group relations.

This model (fig. 1) however did not consider the potential effects of variation in cultural orientation in understanding the PSAs. Hence, it is not comprehensive enough to provide a full picture of how to make PSAs more effective. For a PSA to be effective, to activate different emotions is not enough, it requires understanding of the meaning and functions of those emotions with respect to the specific society. The reason behind this is that as literature on emotion indicated, the functions of emotion could vary depending on the cultural orientations of the society (Benedict, 1947; Kluckhohn, 1960). Hence, it will be over simplification to expect a similar outcome by activating a particular emotion across people having different cultural backgrounds. Thus, for a PSA to be effective in bringing the intended behavior change, the importance of activating emotions (fear, guilt, or shame) is contingent on the cultural orientations of the specific community. Therefore, the new model of PSA should be cognizant of the relationship between cultural orientation and emotion. Putting these into consideration a comprehensive model is proposed, a model that puts into account both the role of emotion and cultural orientations.

### **Alternative model based on cultural perspectives**

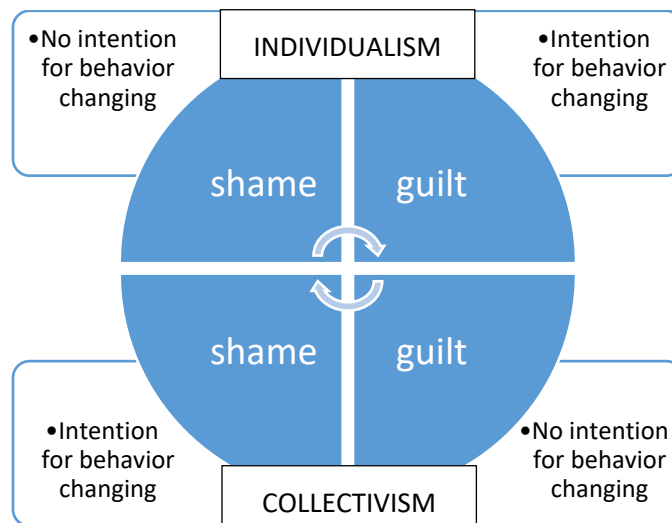
The first proposed model may be considered reflecting the western perspective. In fact, Bedford and Hwang (2003) argued that even though shame and guilt appear to have received

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relatively examination relating to their conceptualization and functions, applying them to nonwestern culture might be problematic due to over one more reasons: (1) According to some anthropologists, functions of shame and guilt vary across cultures (Benedict, 1947; Kluckhohn, 1960). (2) The cultural background of an individual is held to have an influence on the possibility of proneness to guilt or shame. As such Lutwak et al. (1998) found that compared to Caucasian, Asian American were more susceptible to shame. (3) Scholars had identified the existence of some types of guilt and shame which are specific to Japanese like guilt that was experienced in the face of having failed to accomplish positive goal and types of shame that only are recognized in Eastern culture (Bedford, 2004). Studies of cross culture have patently established that self is conceptualized differently in individualistic and collectivistic cultures. Consequently, conceptualization and functions of shame and guilt will relatively be shaped since they are premised to be emotions that are distinguished by being self-evaluation. Hence, in as much as people construe self culturally desperately, the conceptualization of guilt and shame will vary fundamentally accordingly (Abell & Gecas, 1997; Hofstede, 1980; Tangney & Dearing, 2002; Triandis, 1988). (5) Final point is that scholars converge to the linkage between both guilt and shame with morality. However, recent findings have started demonstrating the existence of culture-specific morality where Eastern culture appears to have different morals that are not sharable by western culture. Therefore, differences inherent in moral system will probably result in having divergent manifestations of conceptualization and even function of these emotions.

**Figure 2**

*An alternative model of message framing predicated on guilt and shame-inducing in public service announcement*



Drawing on these, aside from the above classical model, I proposed an alternative model consisting of four components, namely, self-conscious emotions (guilt and shame) and cultural orientation (individualism and collectivism). Moreover, the model also used concepts of promotion and prevention regulatory system from Higgins' regulatory focus theory (1997). That is, as taking

cultural perspective into a recognizance, scholars argued that the potential effectiveness of guilt and shame varies according to cultural orientation persist in a given society (Keltner, 1996). Therefore, I hypothesize that in the individualistic orientation the message is more likely to be framed around incentive-guilt than shame, as the message is designed to be multiple factors in terms of changing behavior. Moreover, message framing in these kinds of society is assumed to take the form of promotion, in which people are encouraged to be involved in desired actions. The message framing is underlined on “DO”. For instance, promotion-based guilt message framing could be tailored this way “doing exercise results to be a useful person to your family and be there for them”. Hence, believing on taking care of others while realizing you are not doing exercise may trigger the experience of guilt that premised to invoke intention for changing of behavior in virtue of the absence of suppressing the experienced emotion. Note that, this is not to say prevention technique (shame-inducing) is not employed in individualistic culture rather it perceived to be destructive and less productive in terms of persuasion and altering behavior.

By contrast, in collectivistic orientation, the message could be framed on shame-inducing because it is assumed to be more profound in terms of inducing desired changes and shaping mass opinion. The core tenet of message framing based on shame-inducing is characterized by shaping messages on the form of “Don’t do”. Thus, given the fact that collectivist society characterized by interdependency others premised to be an indispensable part of self-construal. Therefore, the self-conscious emotion shame posted to be more likely to correspond with cognition structure of collectivism society thereby persuasion and directing mass opinion seemed to be association oneself with the presence of others. The gist of the point is that framing is the message on shame-inducing through prevention technologies such as “don’t be an irresponsible person to your family by not doing exercise. Irresponsible persons are bad people”. Subsequently, once an individual experiences shame due to evaluating herself as bad she would probably be engaged into stages of behavior change. To sum up, the core tenet of the alternative model lies in the potential effectiveness of framing messages based on guilt and shame varies according to cultural orientation. Whereas in individualist culture, guilt premised to be a suitable self-conscious emotion upon which message could be framed using promotion technique in PSA, in collectivist culture shame premised to function otherwise using prevention technique. Note that although the proposed alternative model attempted to explicate that functionality of guilt and shame may differ according to a difference of culture orientation there is scant of empirical studies to supplement the above argument.

### **Conclusion**

The main purpose of the current paper was to complement PSA studies that rely on the use of fear appeal when framing messages. Hence, the proposed model endeavored, broadly, to distinguish between messages framed based on guilt and shame and how each one may lead to intention for behavior change. Following that, an alternative model was proposed where messages framed based on guilt-inducing premised to be more pronounced in societies where individualist cultural orientation prevails. Note that the promotion strategy assumed to be the preferred technique in these kinds of societies where messages framed on “DO”. By contrast, in collectivist societies shame-inducing, the prevention strategy “DON’T DO”, promised to be more pronounced. Therefore, the potential effectiveness of messages tailored on whether on guilt or shame-inducing varies according to the variation of cultural orientation. In other words, while in collectivist societies,

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the intention to change behavior may occur in the message framing technique used for shame, in individualist societies it can be seen as suppressing behavior rather than changing behavior. Likewise, a change in behavioral intention can be seen in both collectivistic and individualistic societies in the guilt-inducing message framing technique.

### Limitation

Given the fact that framing messages in public service announcement based on fear appeal-inducing has not constantly been pronouncing in altering attitudes of the public, the current model introduced guilt and shame as a complementary emotion that can be induced in message framing. However, the current model is limited to explicate how guilt and shame can be induced when framing the message in public announcement and how these induced emotions may yield to the intention of behavior change. Additionally, using only guilt and shame in this study constitutes another limitation. Therefore, studies can be conducted with different emotions or factors that affect behavioral change. However, an elaborate review and extensive discussion pertain to these stages of the intention of behavior changing was preserved to future studies to explore them.

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