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The expression of certainty and uncertainty in social communication campaigns

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Abstract

This study represents the final step in a wide research intended to compare the print, television and radio advertising campaigns on issues of racism and immigration, launched in Italy since 1990s. Verifying whether the communicative process, the linguistic and extra-linguistic features expressing the status of the foreigners, the kind of relationship between natives and non natives and the social roles assigned to immigrants in the social communication campaigns vary in accordance to the kind of the advertising agency (governmental/ non governmental/ private bodies), and to the Italian political context (left wing/ right wing) we determine the way the advertising agencies express the degree of certainty and uncertainty towards the message they are conveying to Italian hearers and readers.

Keywords: Social communication, political context and representation of foreigners, prosodic features

1. Introduction

The term social communication refers to those forms of public communication that share the following key features: they do not produce commercial profit, are politically super-partes and attempt to inform, persuade and motivate changes in behavior for the sake of societal benefit (Kotler and Lee 2009). In the last decades, the importance of this kind of communication for shaping citizens’ behaviour and knowledge towards desirable social outcomes has caused the launch of numerous advertising initiatives addressing health and environmental issues, social development, instruction and religion.

In Italy, the use of social communication as a vehicle for promoting behavior and knowledge changes dates back to the early Seventies, with the experience of the *Foundation Pubblicità Progresso* (Contri 2005). Since then, private bodies, governmental agencies and Non Governmental

Organizations (NGOs) have relied on this kind of communication to encourage individuals' awareness of important social questions (Gadotti 2001, 2005). In particular, the early Nineties marked the launch of various advertising campaigns designed to build in the Italians' mind the certainty that social cohesion, xenophile and collaborative behaviour towards foreigners were the only and most effective ways of overcoming the human and organizational problems related to the growing immigration phenomenon.

2. The Study

This study represents the final step of a multi-phase descriptive study intended to compare the print, television and radio advertising campaigns on the issues of racism and immigration, launched in Italy from the Nineties to nowadays (Pellegrino et al. 2011, 2012, 2013). The guiding thread of the different stages of research was to verify whether the communicative process, the linguistic and extra-linguistic features expressing the status of the foreigners, the kind of relationship between natives and non-native Italians and the social roles assigned to immigrants in the social campaigns varied in accordance to the kind of the advertising agency (governmental/non-governmental/ private bodies), and to the Italian political context (left wing/ right wing). On the basis of these considerations, in this study we aim to determine the way the advertising agencies express the degree of certainty towards the message they were conveying to Italian audience.

3. Materials and Methods

The corpus of social communication campaigns under study is drawn from the web gallery of Fondazione Pubblicità Progresso and the web archive of the Osservatorio delle Campagne di Comunicazioni Sociale. Querying the two databases by Country, Topic and Category, fifteen advertising campaigns dedicated to racism, immigration and refugees resulted.

However, most of the campaigns above mentioned consisted either of printed materials or of music videos and radio ads that deliver the campaign message without displaying any kind of interaction between Italians and foreigners. Consequently we analyzed print, radio and TV advertisings that permit to verify whether the political context and the nature of the advertising institution might have influenced the representation of the foreigners and the kind of relationship between Italians and immigrants. The campaigns that fulfill this requirement are five:

1. “Say not to racism, Say yes to tolerance”. The campaign was promoted by the Foundation Pubblicità Progresso in 1990-1991.
2. “Integration Project”. The campaign on social inclusion for immigrants, was launched by the Ministry of Labour, Health and Welfare, in 2008-2009.
3. “Dostal!” The campaign against prejudice towards Roma was launched by UNAR - the National Office for the fight against Racial Discrimination of the Ministry for Equal Opportunities, in collaboration with the NGO *Immigrazione Oggi* in 2008.
4. “Do not be afraid!” The campaign against racism, indifference and “the fear of the Other” was promoted by many national and international NGOs, both religious and lay, in 2009.
5. “Made in Italy!” It was an awareness-raising campaign against discrimination, launched in June 2012 by UNAR, in collaboration with the Observatory of the Ministry of the Internal Affairs for the protection against discriminatory acts and the Ministry for Equal Opportunities.

3.1 Method

In reference to the components characterizing linguistic interactions (Hymes 1974) for each campaign, settings, participants, ends of speech, act sequence and the overall tone of interactions were considered.

For printed advertising the focus was on the structure of the body copy, the use of visuals and the characteristics of headline and pay-off between spoken and written advertising campaign.

Relevant studies on the effects of spokesperson’s speech on advertising outcomes have pointed out that the quality of voice, the modulation of the rhythmic and prosodic parameters and the segmental accuracy of the testimonials can affect the processing and interpretation of the Ad itself (Lambert et al. 1960, Ryan and Sebastian 1980; Brown et al. 1985). Consequently, following a consolidated methodology adopted in experimental phonetics an acoustic analysis was carried out on the dialogues between the native and non-native Italian speakers presented in the radio and TV ads (Giannini and Pettorino 1998; Giannini 2005; Pettorino and Giannini 2005, 2010).

By means of a software for speech analysis, i.e. Wavesurfer 1.8.8, for each speaker the following measures were made:

- a. the number of speech chains, that is the portion of speech between two silences;
- b. the number of syllables and duration of each speech chain,
- c. the duration of silent pauses (SP) and disfluences,
- d. the maximum and the minimum f_0 value for each speech chain.

Furthermore, some calculations were carried out in terms of:

- a. articulation rate AR, i.e. the ratio between the number of syllables and the speech chain duration (syll/s),
- b. speech rate SR, i.e. the ratio between the number of syllables and the utterance time (syll/s),
- c. the silence and disfluency duration percentages,
- d. the mean duration of silent pauses (s),
- e. fluency (F), i.e. the ratio between the number of syllables and the number of speech chains (syll/SC),
- f. the tonal range (TR), i.e. the difference between the maximum and minimum f_0 value in an utterance, calculated in semitones (st).

4. Analysis

4.1 *Say not to racism. Say yes to tolerance*

The campaign entitled translation “Say No to racism. Say Yes to tolerance” by *Fondazione Pubblicità Progresso* dates back to 1990 and 1991, when the Italian government was led by the Christian Democratic Party and during which time the immigration boom was underway. The campaign consisted of three phases (Spring '90 – Summer '90 – Winter '91). The materials were a radio advertising campaign, one black and white and one color TV ad, five black and white posters and eleven color posters.

4.1.1 Print Campaign

In a context flooded by messages of all kinds, the certainty towards the campaign message was achieved by means of a body-copy that strikes the reader's attention, can be easily memorized and produces a particular behavioral choice as a final effect. Five posters highlights the absence of color and the combination of black and white images, strongly emphasizing the lack of warmth, affection and love. The campaign uses two textual versions, one with images, one without. The first version focuses on the black and white contrast, the font size and the spatial location of the body copy (See Figures 1-2).



Figure 6



Figure 7

The text is a single justified block, differing clearly from the headline and consisting of two nominal sentences, one affirmative and one negative centered at the top (“No al razzismo. Si alla tolleranza” equivalent to “Say No to racism. Say Yes to tolerance”). The black background with white lettering is made to impact the reader, instead the white background with the black lettering is more conventional. The headline centrally positioned and written on two lines with very large letters immediately strikes the reader, who may choose not to read all the text below.

The second version of the print campaign focuses, instead, on the combination of a written text and a provocative image of a black Christ on the Cross gazing the reader, making him/her feel guilty (see Figure 3).



Figure 8

The poster wanted to evoke a series of associations related to the collective imagination of a society still heavily imbued in Catholicism. The image of Christ in Italian popular culture has typically Nordic physical traits. In this campaign, instead, he is transformed into a black man with typical African traits. The headline is placed on top without further explanation.

The third phase of the campaign introduces colors and its approach is not as disturbing as the previous. The protagonists were all minors. In one poster there is an African child teaching white child how to write. Their eyes are on the notebook and their hands are touching lightly (see Figure 4)



Figure 9

In another poster two happy and smiling children are cycling, the white boy is sitting behind and holding on to his black friend (see Figure 5).



Figure 10

The headline changes from “No al razzismo. Sì alla tolleranza” to “Saranno amici per la pelle” (“They will be bosom friends”). The previous slogan becomes the pay-off and it is placed near the mark of the advertising agency. The new slogan plays with a very common expression in Italian, “to be skin-friends” which literally means “to be inseparable”. The tense is the future that is used to evoke the certainty, the hope that younger people can succeed in building a better world. The slogan is adjacent to the image

of the two boys, one white and one black, embracing each other or are very close to each other. The black boy has a leading role and the text is realized by the alternation of black and white. “They will be friends” is written in black on a white background and overlaps the image, while “Skin” is written in white on a black background and appears as an appendix to the original message. It uses the metaphorical and literal meaning of the term: skin will not be a problem for most young people because they will be friends.

4.1.2 TV campaign

The TV campaign is based on two ads, one corresponding to the campaign with the Black Christ, the other similar to the print campaign “They will be bosom friends”. The first advertising reutilizes the image of Christ on the Cross and the technique of using black and white. Unlike the posters which focuses on the figure and the eyes of the Christ, the TV campaign emphasizes all the stages of the actual Crucifixion, making the viewer feel as guilty as the executioner. The black Christ is pictured in an isolated place, lying on his back, with his hands and ankles tied to the cross with ropes and fixed with nails. The man, as silent as the Christ in front of his executioners, raises his eyes and directs them to the public-executioner. His disconsolate expression and dismay are intended to blame and induce the public to avoid xenophobic behaviors. The feeling of bewilderment and anxiety of the spectator, the dramatic intensity of the scene is accentuated by the use of black and white image and by some undistinguished overlapping and repetition of multilingual utterances external to the scene. It is not casual that the only clearly understandable speech sequences are “love” and “I am not a racist”. Similarly to the radio ad, the slogan is recited at the end, so that it can be easily remembered and imprinted in the listener’s mind. In the radio ad, the listener's attention is directed towards the end of the message, while in the print campaign the attention is directed to the initial part or on the text written in larger fonts. On the contrary, in the TV campaign, the visual and the acoustic channels overlap, the one enhancing the communicative effectiveness of the other. In the final frame of the campaign the public can read and listen to the slogan, written on two lines and pronounced with a silent pause between the first and second nominal sentence. This adds to the fact that the slogan “Say yes to tolerance” appearing with the mark of the advertising agency, reveals its aspiration both to promote tolerance in a society undergoing deep transformation and to guide the public opinion, indicating which elements to consider (tolerance) and which to refuse (racism).

The second advertising campaign is completely different from the previous. Like the 1991 posters, it uses colors and adopts a more encouraging approach towards the public. The campaign is softened with images of hope, picturing children, youth and adults of all races

acknowledging each other in simple and spontaneous gestures (being under the same umbrella in the rain, shaking hands to greet each other) and moments of sharing (playing football in the street, cards at the bar, quitting school, dancing). Cafés, restaurants, streets, concerts become places for people to meet and to coexist peacefully. Both in the pay-off of the print campaign and in the slogan of the TV campaign there is an explicit reference to a world still to be built. In the first case, this message is expressed linguistically by using the future tense "they will be bosom friends". In the second one, it is emphasized by the use of the imperative with an exhortative function "Let's prepare to live in a multiracial society" In both cases, the receivers of the messages appear to be the younger generations, and, indeed, in the print campaign the head-line appears next to the image of the two boys. In the TV campaign, the slogan is recited when two girls, one white and one black, appear under the same multi-colored umbrella. Both in the print and TV campaigns different social groups establish ordinary symmetrical interactions and none of the two is socially or discursively dominant.

4.1.3 The Radio campaign

The radio campaign is based on a single ad, whose text corresponds exactly to the body-copy of the press campaign in black and white with no pictures. The ad is characterized by the presence of two voices: one male, which reads the text of the campaign, the second one female, which concludes the campaign by providing technical information about the communication campaign, with reference to its targets and its promoter institution.

The ad lasts 30 seconds, where the percentage of silence is about 28%. The male voice has an AR of 4.8 syll/s, so it is very slow, professional, listener-oriented speech. In fact, compared to average conversational speech, with an AR of 5-6 syll/s (Giannini 2000), this speech is much closer to the characteristics of baby talk or speech addressed to deaf people (4 syll/s). The analysis of the TR also shows the presence of a monotone speech which is quite low compared to conversational speech, that is to say 80 Hz compared to 100 Hz (for male voice). The fluency is also very low, with an average value of 7.5 syll/SC, which confirms our considerations mentioned above. Moreover, the very low value of SR average of 3.4 syll/s shows the presence of many silent pauses, which do not correspond to syntactic pauses, but they are purely emphatic. The analysis of examined radio speech shows dominance of the speaker rather than the listener, against whom he feels superior. The message is transmitted from top to bottom with a clear didactic purpose: the speaker seems to be addressing to racist listeners or potentially racist ones, so his voice will deliberately be intimidating and cause anxiety. The slogan "No to racism. Yes to tolerance" closes the advertising text, as in the TV ad, but differently the print campaign.

4.2 Campaign: Integration Project

Integration Project is a print, television and radio advertising campaign about immigrant integration, sponsored by the Ministry of Labour, Health and Welfare. The campaign is divided into two phases. The first one started in October 2008, the second one in October 2009, funded by the European Fund for Integration of non-European countries. In this period, Italy was governed by a right-wing political coalition which dealt with the intensification of migration with severe restrictive policies designed to penalize illegal immigration.

The campaign is officially intended to foster intercultural dialogue between foreigners and Italians and to support peaceful cohabitation and coexistence between regular immigrants and Italians. It is addressed both to immigrants and Italians, because it aims officially to inform the former of their rights and duties, and to promote in the latter the knowledge of the migratory phenomenon itself. Nevertheless, what emerges from the campaign is not as noble: the objective is to communicate the certainty to Italian and foreign audience that social integration of immigrants is achievable through work and knowledge of language. However the jobs and language varieties associated with the immigrants are questionable. Since the campaign is launched by the Italian Ministry of Labour, Health and Welfare, and is expected to mirror the government position towards immigrants, it is very significant to note:

- the way social integration was carried out in the advertising campaign;
- the nature of the relationship between Italians and Foreigners displayed in the television and radio advertisements;
- the social roles assigned to immigrants in the campaign.

The campaign consists of three press posters distributed in 2008, a television advertisement campaign and two radio advertisement campaigns broadcast in 2008 and 2009.

4.2.1 Print Campaign

The campaign is addressed to immigrants and focuses on reassuring images of foreign people, smiling and engaged in low-profile jobs Italians are not interested in (see Figures 6,7,8).



Figure 11



Figure 12



Figure 13

Thus, there is a maid, a worker and a pizza chef, whose language knowledge is represented by dialect. The TV and press campaign are very similar in structure, contents and actors who are involved. In fact, in both cases there is a sentence in dialect and the immigrants are not introduced as Italians, but with name of their home country first, followed by the name of the inhabitants of the cities where they live and the years spent there. As for the textual part of printed campaign, it consists of a sentence in typical dialect from Milan, Roman and Neapolitan, written in italics, to resemble speech, and some information written in bubbles with a smaller font. The main feature of the campaign is colors. The colors blue and orange, recall serenity and radiance.

4.2.2 Television Campaign

The video advertisement campaign is characterized by four consecutive sequences, whose main characters are the same three immigrants present in the print advertisement campaign and a new fourth immigrant, Andrij, a Ukrainian, who has been living in Palermo for 1 year.

Each scene opens with an immigrant who is working and singing in dialect the most popular song of the city where he/she works. A voice-over draws attention to the complexity of being integrated in a foreign country, but it also underlines awareness and respect for the law as a vehicle for successful integration into the Italian society. These advertisements, officially targeted towards foreigners, reveal the uncertainty of advertising agency of how they have to deal with integration. The spot indeed are very difficult to understand, due to both the choice of dialects and the very high value of AR, SR and F (AR 7.34 syll./s; SR 7.04 syll./s, Fluency 20.25 syll./speech chain). Additionally, the choice of dialect for immigrants supports the validity of a model of integration/assimilation to the host culture which would prevent them from obtaining the Italian national identity.

4.2.3 Radio Campaign

The radio campaign consists of two advertisements that share the same textual structure but differs in some respects. Both ads last thirty seconds, of which about 5.4% is silence. They are based upon a conversation between an Italian speaker and a foreigner. The Italian with a strong regional accent tries to teach the foreigner a popular expression in his/her own dialect and the foreigner attempts to repeat it. When the conversation ends, the voice of the institutional speaker gives technical information about the campaign. The differences between the ads are the gender of the Italian speakers, the home country of the immigrants and the content of the advertisement text. In the first ad, a woman from Northern Italy tries to explain to Aziz, a worker from Senegal, that he is in Italy to work. In the second a Neapolitan man tried to teach Wassef, a pizza chef from Egypt, that no one is born with the knowledge of how to do everything.

Analyzing the exchanges between Italians and immigrants and the values of the suprasegmental features of speech, some important inference about the social roles assigned to Italians and to immigrants and the nature of the relationship between the speakers can be drawn. The conversations reveal the strong political and ideological connotation of the campaign. Reflecting the governmental policies towards immigrants, the ad presents the Italian speakers and the foreign immigrants involved in an institutional speech where asymmetrical relationships among participants were established. The conversational rights and duties as well as the social roles are not equally assigned to both groups of speakers. In both ads, the Italian speakers represent the discursively and socially dominant figures. They act like teachers, who offer the foreigners pearls of wisdom in Milanese and Neapolitan. Conversely, the immigrants play the subordinate role of the pupils who repeat the teacher's input until they receive their teacher's approval. Like the speakers representing the institution, the Neapolitan man and the Milanese woman exercise quantitative, interactive and semantic

dominance in the dialogues (Linell and Luckmann 1991). The percentage of phonation time per speaker is not equally distributed. In both radio advertisement the foreigners occupied the least amount of ad space compared to the length of speech uttered by the Italian and Institutional speaker reciting the pay-off (see Table 1).

1st Ad			2nd Ad		
Aziz	Milanese speaker	Institutional speaker	Wassef	Neapolitan speaker	Institutional speaker
9%	29%	62%	14%	22%	64%

Table 1. Percentages of phonation time per speaker and per radio ad.

Aziz speaks for only about 3 seconds out of 30, Wassef for 4. In addition, the dialogical turn is never started by immigrants, in other words it is always the Italian speaker that directs the interaction, chooses the topic of conversation and controls the sequence organization. The reference to the institutional speech of the class is more openly displayed by the use of synonyms; expansion of the topic; starters, like “allora”; and the occurrence of sequences of direct repair “no, no” started by the native and accomplished by the foreigners (Piazza 1995; Boulima 1999).

The certainty of the dominance of the Italian speakers over the immigrants and the pedagogical purposes of their discourse is also supported by the very low AR and SR values of the speech produced by the natives (Tusing and Dillard 2000; Dunbar and Burgoon 2005).

Generally speaking, the Italian speakers have an average AR of about 4.4 syll/s, which is typical of a hyper-articulated, listener-oriented speech. Moreover, the female speaker’s articulatory movements are even more accurate than those produced by the Neapolitan man (see Table 2).

	AR (syll/s)	SR (syll/s)	F (syll/SC)
Milanese speaker	4.3	3.6	6.7
Neapolitan speaker	4.7	4.5	7.5

Table 2. Prosodic features for Italian speaker.

Her message “Mi sun chi per laurà”, that is “immigrants can stay in Italy only if they have a job” indeed, is much more politically oriented than the

more neutral and encouraging “Nisciun’ nasce ‘mparato”, therefore it deserves more accuracy when uttered. Indeed, her speech is much closer to baby talk, and teacher talk or speech addressed to deaf people (4 syll/s) than to the average conversational speech, which has an AR of 5-6 syll/s [33].

The third male voice which gives useful information for immigrant integration is characterized by accelerated and speaker-oriented speech (AR=7.4 syll/s; SR=7.1 syll/s; F=21.8 syll/SC), which is very difficult for foreign people to understand. This datum is in direct contrast to the official target of the campaign which is the promotion of integration for immigrants.

These considerations linked to social roles assigned to the immigrants in the television advertisement lead to the certain conclusion that, according to the Italian government, immigrants are destined to occupy only the lowest position in Italian society. In fact they are not taught Italian, but a regional dialect unintelligible in other parts of Italy and they are presented while doing the jobs that Italians often do not want themselves: pizza chef, waiter, workman, domestic. The Italian speakers dominate the foreign listeners, who are never introduced as Italians, but with name of their home country first, followed by the name of the inhabitants of the cities where they live and the years spent there (i.e. Patricia / Philippines, Romana for two years). Immigrants are placed in the context of a dialectal and socially low subculture that locks them into a low social niche.

4.3 Dosta! Campaign to Eliminate Prejudice against Roma

The Campaign to eliminate prejudice against Roma was launched in 2008 by the National Department against Racial Discrimination, part of the Ministry for Equal Opportunities and the NGO Immigrazione Oggi. While it is a part of the international Campaign Dosta! - a Romani word meaning “enough” - promoted by the Council of Europe, the Italian version is specifically aimed to sponsor the Old Roma Tailor’s Shop, a social cooperative founded by Roma women in Rome. The campaign consists of a television advertisement which represents Roma and Sinti community members in their daily lives with the aim of reducing the level of prejudice and discrimination.

The protagonists of the spot are a child – even if only his voice is heard – , a female Roma tailor, a young Roma man, who is studying at the Music Academy Santa Cecilia in Rome and, finally, another Roma man, who is a gardener. The narrator is the child who repeats all the stereotypes his father has told him about the Roma while the images and the words uttered are in direct contrast.

On the textual level, the first stereotype uttered by the child is: “My father says that Roma women only steal and beg”. Soon after, there is the image of a Roma tailor who says: “We steal the colors of the rainbow to make your clothes”. In the second scene, when the child says: “My father

says that Roma men only steal”, there is a Roma young man with an accordion who says: “I’m studying at Santa Cecilia. Is that stealing?”. Finally, the child claims: “My father says that Roma make their children steal and beg”. A scene with children going to school immediately follows.

In the second part of the television advertisement, there is a sudden reversal of the above stereotypes. A soundtrack of Balkan music begins and the child says: “My father met them (Roma people) and says that they are not all the same and that it is possible to live together”. Therefore, the initial goals of the campaign – the elimination of social prejudice and the promotion of integration – are reached through a reversal of all the stereotypes which are refuted by the reality represented. Although one of the purposes was to promote the social cooperative The Old Roma Tailor’s Shop, it never actually appears in the spot.

The analysis of this discrepancy between the words and images shows that the advertisement develops on two tiers. On the one hand, the chiasm “images vs. words” seems to be effective if we relate it to the initial goal of the advertisement. Yet, Roma people are not represented as they really are, but as they are expected to be: the woman is represented as a worker, not as an entrepreneur; the young man seems more like a street musician, rather than a student of a music academy; and the man is a rather innocuous quiet gardener.

On a prosodic level, the spot develops through an indirect dialogue, where characters deliver short monologues addressed to television watchers. However, through their monologues, characters seem to reply to each other. Indeed, speech analysis reveals a twofold structure of the ad as well. The AR, SR and F are quite uniform, not only in terms of the relationship among Italians and foreigners, but also in terms of utterances for each speaker (see Table 3).

	AR (syll/s)	SR (syll/s)	F (syll/SC)
Italian child	4.9	2.3	13.9
Female Roma tailor	6.8	6.0	21
Roma student at music academy	7.2	3.0	9.2
Roma man	5.0	2.6	8

Table 3. Prosodic features for each speaker.

However, if we consider the percentage of phonation time for each character during 1 minute and 12 seconds - 64.5 child, 8.43 the woman and about 13% the two men - the phonation time is totally imbalanced in favor of the

child. In particular, the time dedicated to the woman, who is one of the members of the above-mentioned social cooperative, is the shortest, while it should have been one of the largest.

In conclusion, we note that in this campaign there is a superficial level, characterized by a social message that appears quite effective, and a deep level, characterized by a less enthusiastic governmental message Italian television watchers want to listen to.

4.4 Campaign: *Do not Be Afraid*

The campaign entitled “Do not be afraid”, organized by 26 secular and religious organizations, is not politically oriented. The campaign is designed to promote mutual understanding and dialogue between natives and the “Other” and to break down prejudices and stereotypes that often result in discrimination and violence. The campaign consists of a print campaign, a television campaign and a radio one.

4.4.1 Print campaign

The print campaign is based on a poster that strikes for its visuals, since it uses the image of a smiling child whose features resemble a Southern Italian, or a North-African, or Romanian boy (see Figure 9).



Figure 14

He comes out of a white net that traps a man and a woman, in a blurred background. The verbal text labels the white net of the image as a "cage" and specifies its nature: prejudices (“Exit cage of prejudices”).

4.4.2 Television Campaign

The television advertisement campaign uses the image of the net of prejudices from the print campaign and take it a step further.

Five people are trapped in it, two Italians (one woman from Northern Italy and a man from Southern Italy), along with two foreigners, a man and a woman, and a child from Romania. Similarly to the radio campaign, the television campaign consists of several communicative exchanges in two

voices, where participants, with an attitude of both suspicion and fake solidarity with their interlocutor accuse each other. The woman from the North stigmatizes the man from the South, who in turn blames Arab man, who in turn accuses the African woman. The African woman blames gypsies for the evils of society while the woman from Northern Italy glares at the Neapolitan. This would seem to start the vicious circle of stereotypes which is broken by the Romanian child who distances himself from all this and with his candour and smile symbolically breaks the chains of intolerance and leaves the cage built by prejudices.

Unlike “Integration project” and the campaign “Dosta!” against prejudice towards Roma, the spot is designed to widespread the certainty that there is no difference between Italians and foreigners in terms of social status, working position or dominance in the interaction. The “Other”, referring either to the foreigner, or to inhabitants from Southern Italy is depersonalized and becomes an extremely generalized representative of ethnic groups (Arabs, Africans, Gypsies, Southern Italians, Romanians) and identity is rebuilt through the reallocation of prejudice and stereotypes. In fact, the Southerners are Mafiosi, all the Arabs are terrorists, the Africans are lazy, Gypsies are thieves.

4.4.3 Radio Campaign

The radio advertisement lasts 60 seconds. Voices alternate equally and even music has a significant part, not just as background but also to cover silences between one interlocutor and another. The total duration of speech is about 74.8%. There are two females and two males. In addition, there is a male voice that says the slogan, and a woman who indicates the website promoting the advertising campaign. In detail, these voices, taking into account gender differences, present an average conversational speech, with an AR of 6.5 syll/s.

This is a talk that reflects normal conversation because the aim is precisely the reproduction of daily speech where prejudices and clichés often arise. This finding is confirmed by an SR average of about 5 syllables per second in all voices. Excluding the woman from Northern Italy who opens and closes the chain of stereotypes, the impression is that there is no dominant voice.

4.5 Campaign: *Made in Italy*

Made in Italy is the title of a communication campaign broadcast in Italy in July 2012 under a right-wing government. It was promoted by UNAR, in collaboration with the Observatory of the Ministry of the Internal Affairs for the protection against discriminatory acts and the Ministry for Equal Opportunities. One TV spots represent its promotional material. The campaign, co-financed by the Ministry of Interior and the European Fund

for the Integration of non-UE Countries, aims to give the real picture of the presence of Italians and immigrants in Italy and to foster among the former anti-discriminatory attitudes towards foreign citizens. The campaign, therefore, addresses two kinds of receivers: on the one hand, the foreign national who is a victim of racism; on the other hand, the Italian citizen who wants to report racist or xenophobic acts.

The TV spot lasts 36 seconds and focuses on the work done by foreign workers in Italy. Indeed, the spot is set in a tailor. The camera captures some brief moments and the facial expressions of workers of different ethnic groups demonstrating satisfaction with their jobs since they are allowed to create new products. Finally, after some finishes, the suit is ready and on shirt hem and on collar there is the label 'Made in Italy' that, rather than listing the fiber content, it presents the percentages of the ethnic groups living in Italy. The certainty of the message is conveyed through meaningful sentences going directly to the heart of the matter and where the present tense leaves no room for doubt or misunderstanding: "A strong country is based on sharing and equality", "People who discriminate prevent themselves and their country from moving forward, working and developing", "Real Italy knows how to integrate" (the claim closing the spot). The male speaker utters these sentences calmly (TR=11.4 st) - expressing confidence and control - and emphatically, producing very long silent pauses (mean duration =0.5 seconds) that allow listener to metabolize each step of the spot. Despite AR (7.3 syll/s) and SR (6.3 syll/s) exceed the attested average for standard Italian (respectively 5-6 and 4-5 syll/s), the message is clearly understandable even by foreigners, not only for the high number of pauses (F=20 syll/SC) and their duration, but also because the contact details to report a crime also appear on video while they are being uttered by the spokesperson.

5. Conclusions

Data from the survey have highlighted that if the communicative channel changes there are linguistic and extra-linguistic differences in expressing the certainty towards the advertising message.

In the campaign "Say no to racism. Say yes to tolerance" of the '90s, when the Italian government was led by the Christian Democratic Party, the foreigner was a person to protect. On the one hand, there is a threatening campaign, aimed at teaching Italians tolerance. On the other hand, it uses the image of children as the symbol of hope for a future of peaceful coexistence, a typical New Testament stereotype.

In the campaign "Integration Projects" launched between 2008 and 2009 by a right-wing government, which implemented severe restrictive policies designed to penalize illegal immigration, foreigners seem destined to

integrate and interact only within the lowest working sectors in the country. Accordingly, this advertising influences the creation of specific social representations of minority groups, legitimates the belief that there are differences in status between the natives and immigrants and supports the validity of a model of integration/assimilation to the host culture which would lead immigrants to abandon their cultural identity.

The campaign “Do not be afraid” that was promoted only by NGOs is not politically oriented. It tries to distance itself from this discriminating attitude towards immigrants. The most important certainty is that Italians and foreigners are on the same level and both are objects and bearers of stereotypes. The Otherness, referring either to the foreigners, or to inhabitants from Southern Italy is depersonalized and his/her identity is rebuilt through the reallocation of prejudices and stereotypes. Nevertheless, in this campaign there is probable unintentional discrimination between Italian southerners and northerners. The North is only the bearer of prejudice, and never the object of stereotypes.

The campaign against prejudice towards Roma “Dosta!” lies in the middle, perhaps because it is promoted by both a governmental institution and an NGO. Roma are objects of stereotypes, and are accused of being thieves, beggars and child-exploiter, but at the same there is the attempt, partially carried out, to launch the certainty that they are not the same.

In the 2012 campaign “Made in Italy” the official purpose is to provide the foreigners constituting the Italian social fabric with the certainty that their safety and protection is defended by political institutions. Nevertheless, this certainty is susceptible to a subtler interpretation: foreign people safeguarding is not granted primarily because it is a right of the immigrant or for a philanthropic defensive attitude towards whoever lives in Italy. On the contrary, as stated at the beginning of the spot, sharing and equality between natives and non natives are to be fostered because they are the only and certain distinctive features of all developed countries. Discriminations, instead, represent an obstacle to the progress of the countries.

To sum up, the advertising initiatives examined in this paper reveal that the social and political contexts as well as the institutional or non-profit nature of the advertising institution are influential variables in determining the degree of certainty towards the message they are conveying to Italian hearers and readers. In addition, they show how social communication is not politically super partes, but rather it reflects specific ideological values related to the universe of promotion and acceptance.

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