Image and its declination between identity and memory.
From (Im)perfect advertising to (I'm)perfect advertising

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Abstract. (Im)perfect advertising speaks about normality. The new celebrity image, (re)built on impactful and socially relevant themes, allows the brand to create its own universe of meanings to gain visibility in a context saturated with messages: a scenario in which normality replaces the construction of the perfect image of the beginning of the millennium. A new aesthetic paradigm emerges. This work uses a qualitative methodological approach to investigate the phenomenon from a social and communicative point of view. Focusing on the new testimonials it analyzes a communication strategy that – using emotional storytelling – draws on the values and linguistic codes of social advertising to communicate a commercial product. The focus of the analysis is the unexpected consequences of a communication that, beyond the economic objectives, gives visibility to issues that fuel important discussions. The memorization of the message plays a fundamental role in producing those effects not contemplated in the intentions of the communication strategy: inclusive advertising, through the repetition of the message, removes socially relevant issues from oblivion. It is interesting to observe how the media arena – thanks to its persuasive power and its ability to bring hidden realities to the fore – creates a "new great narrative" that can help to transform "collective identity" through the memorization of a message which speaks about social values.

Keywords: identity, communication, memory, lifestyle.

Introduction

Spot and memory have always been closely connected: remembering the product through the memorization of advertising is a central node in communication strategies, of which the goal is to always leave a mark. The digital age and social media have redefined a scenario that shows a new image: advertising revisits the testimonial (star or common man) in a different way, bringing about a significant change. Ecosystem, biological, ethics become the reference worlds for the new communication codes. Generally, the "star strategy" places celebrity at the center of advertising to elevate the brand and bring the consumer into an aspirational dimension. Today a particularly interesting change is observed: after years of sculpted bodies all the same, normality[1] takes the place of the construction of the perfect image. It is a transversal phenomenon: Gucci, H&M, Dove, Colgate, just to name a few brands. It is interesting to observe how this shift goes beyond "normality" (but

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[1] This work underlines how much the concept of normality is closely related to the concept of inclusion/exclusion which considers different those who are out of the "common", the "unusual" and, more generally, minorities. Intended as a cultural construct, normality is a concept that does not exist in nature: norms, values and rules respected by social actors in their daily actions, which are valid and shared in the reference social context. Since the norm changes in time and space, normality is linked to the meaning attributed by the community to which it belongs; in the same way, diversity is what does not fall within the parameters of normality. Therefore these "external structures" are strictly connected to the subjects who deem them legitimate; so, quoting Bourdieu, we can affirm that the action of individuals is the product of the intertwining of habitus (dispositions), capital (economic, cultural, social, symbolic that determines the placement of individuals in the social space) and fields (dynamic latent models which regulate the different spheres of the social space): «così se l'habitus dà forma alle pratiche "dall'interno", il campo struttura l'azione "da fuori"». (Ghisleni, M., Privitera, W., 2009, p. 93).

what is normality[2]?) and becomes "diversity": (Im)perfect advertising speaks about inclusion in its various forms and becomes (I'm)perfect advertising. If Iris Apfel becomes a 90-year-old model for Citroen in 2016, Gucci is spreading a new concept of beauty: authentic beauty is in imperfection. The brand advertises a lipstick from a "close-up" on an imperfect mouth; an image that emphasizes (exasperates?) this message. The brand fueled debates on beauty standards by choosing Armine Harutyunyan (Armenian model with peculiar somatic features) and Ellie Goldstein (British model with down syndrome) as models. New celebrities subvert the canons of aesthetics and fashion, representing unusual facets of the aesthetic paradigm: fashion (Gucci, Céline, Balenciaga) chooses to be represented, emphasizing it, by what is socially considered an imperfection. The defect, or at least what contemporary Western societies define as such, enters into advertising. After the "curvy" women in the fashion shows and black testimonial with vitiligo, there are overweight models, over 60, with diastema and heterochrome eyes. Today new commercials feature new celebrities.

This work uses qualitative methodological approach to investigate the phenomenon from a social and communication point of view, focusing on the new image of celebrity. It is interesting to note that if the fight against anorexia initially paved the way for curvy fashion shows, probably today other struggles are allowing new openings. So, advertising discovers the "no gender"[3] world: L'Oreal famous for its choral advertisement full of divas and icons of beauty, brings together Lea T (transgender[4] model) and Chiara Ferragni (influencer). The communication strategies use new codes, and new testimonials appear on the scene. Celebrities (new and from the star system) become "new icons": new themes and values acquire visibility.

The work introduces the phenomenon observed through the analysis of some commercials. It is a transversal phenomenon that communicates products of common use and luxury; the advertisements selected are aimed at different targets by gender, age and spending capacity. The choice of the sample allows to highlight the transversality of a phenomenon that communicates different products through a narrative that uses storytelling to emotionally involve the target audience: the "comparison of the most distance cases" give solidity to the common elements.

After introducing the phenomenon that this work aims to investigate, the analysis focuses on the possible "unexpected consequences"[5] by observing how a "rational action oriented to the purpose" – advertising communication and its goals – can reverberate in different contexts.

Subsequently – by relating memory, identity, and media – it tries to identify the communicative mechanisms through which a memory becomes constitutive of collective identity. Starting from Alexander's analysis[6], the work considers advertising (media arena) as a carrier group which, though not intentionally, builds a "spiral of signification". The new commercial advertising, to give greater visibility to brands and to be aligned with new trends, increasingly diminishes the boundary with social advertising. Given the importance of the themes that the new celebrities represent, this work intends to highlight an interesting aspect, a possible unexpected effect: the message that inclusive advertising conveys once it has penetrated the public, could help to modify the collective identity and the self-esteem perception with respect to new themes and values[7].

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[2] Normality is a cultural construct «*La norma infatti è un sistema di realizzazioni obbligatorie, di imposizioni sociali e culturali, e varia a seconda delle comunità* […] *il sistema si offre, ma non si impone al parlante più di quanto la tela e i colori si impongano al pittore*». (Coseriu 1952, p. 108-109 in Migliore, T., 2021, p. 130) Customs and conventions overlap the norm – «*un senso comune culturale, valido per una comunità, non regolamentato ma che ha preso a fissarsi nel tempo, tanto da essere scambiato internamente per la norma e diventare cognitivamente naturale*» (Migliore, T., 2021) – habits – «*l'abitudine è un'idea trasformatasi in realtà e capace di agire come tale*» (Ravaisson in Migliore, T. 2021, p 131) – that once established condition the behaviour of social actors.

[3] In this work "no gender" – 'agender', 'genderless', 'gender free', 'gender neutral', 'gender fluid', – in the sense of avoiding using gender as a principle of differentiation and therefore of discrimination. The new focus is the individual.

[4] The term "transgender" is used to indicates people whose gender identity does not correspond to the gender and/or sex assigned to them at birth.

[5] Cfr. Merton, R.K., 1936.

[6] Cfr. Alexander, J.C, 2012.

[7] Ibidem.

The qualitative investigation method turns out to be the correct approach because the analysis wants to investigate the phenomenon "in depth" and aims to explore the possible consequences of a communication that arises with different purposes. However, some statistics useful to describe the phenomenon and the reference context are reported.

(Im)perfect advertising[8] speaks about normality. The 2008 economic crisis helped shape the new scenario and the pandemic consolidated all of this. In the digital age – but perhaps it is more correct to speak about "biomediatica"[9] age – the new celebrity image (re-)built on impactful and socially relevant themes allows the brand to create its own universe of meaning to gain visibility in a context saturated with messages; but, at the same time, we can observe an interesting "unexpected consequence": the media arena, thanks to its persuasive power, can create a "new great narrative" bringing "hidden" realities to the fore thus helping to transform "collective identity". This work focuses on the role of the media, specifically advertising, in the production of common memories: Media frees the images of the present and the past from the specificity of places and from the constraints posed by oral transmission, they can become resources for the construction of reality. Identity and collective memories emerge transformed by the possibilities offered by the "mediated image": the reification of reality can help to bring forgotten issues out of oblivion.

1. Identity, memory, media

The memorization of the brand (and of the product) represents one of the central nodes of the communication strategy. Today, in a constantly changing context, saturated with images and messages, it is interesting to observe how the importance of memory is amplified: fragmentation and speed of change, which characterize the reference scenario, forces brands to be constantly connected with the target audience and to implement a flexible communication strategy that overlaps with the acceleration that characterizes advanced modernity. With the end of the memory-society[10] that ensured the transmission of values and beliefs, and the birth of recorded memory that delegates to the archive what was spontaneously handed down in the past, social actors feel the need to "fix the past" through its celebration and ritualization[11]. The 'contemporary' tends to standardize the multiplicity of discourses, "digital storage"[12] amplifies the gap existing between the archive and the exercise of memory «*tra la memoria conservativa ed un lavoro che, invece, dispieghi l'uso regolativo del legame con il passato, la sua dimensione bifronte, sempre aperta verso una definizione progettuale del futuro*». (Mengoni, 2009, p.9) A scenario emerges in which the speed of communication – a peculiar characteristic of an advertising spot that generally lasts 30 seconds – and the quantity of messages and images to which the social actor is exposed, give back the photograph of a context that amplifies the importance of memory, not only in the sense of trademark memorization. Durkheim highlighted how the categories of our knowledge have a social origin, that is, they are socially constructed across generations. No memory is possible outside of the spatial and temporal points of reference (norms, beliefs, values) transmitted over the generations, that allow us to reconstruct memories: "les cadres sociaux de la mémoire" to use Maurice Halbwachs[13] definition. The memory process is the result of a reconstruction which – starting from the point of view and interests of the present – does not generate the return of the past, but always different memories. In his analysis emerges the importance of collective memory[14]: since the isolated individual does not exist, individual memories are possible

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[8] Casale, R., 2021.

[9] The term "biomediatica" was coined in the 10th Censis communication report, 2012, I media siamo noi. L'inizio dell'era biomediatica, a cura di Valeri, M., Milano.

[10] Cfr. Nora, P., 2012.

[11] Cfr. Il boom della memoria e l'accelerazione della storia: il contributo di Pierre Nora, in Di Pasquale, C., 2019,

[12] Cfr. Hezel, P., 2016.

[13] Cfr Halbwachs, M, 2012, pp. 7-52.

[14] Namer clarifies the concepts of social and collective memory. Social memory is on both sides of collective memory:

thanks to social frameworks. So individual memory is strictly connected to collective memory, which originates in the communicative practices implemented in social life[15]; it is the present that gives shape to the past, preserves it, interprets it and transmits its representation.

This work focuses on the role of the media, specifically advertising, in the production of common memories. As the media free the images of the past from the specificity of places and from the constraints posed by oral transmission, they can become resources for the construction of reality: collective identities and memories emerge transformed by the possibilities offered by the "mediated past"[16]. The studies highlight the ability of the media to structure the system of meanings that guides the action. Individuals express themselves, interpret each other and interact through symbolic forms, but the media allow people an interesting opportunity: the overcoming of space-time boundaries. An event and its representation can take place in different spaces and times, allowing social actors to compare themselves with other realities and cultures. Media make it possible for people everywhere to witness events as they occur. A central point of communication strategy is the codification of symbolic contents, closely connected with the process of interpretation: this is always the result of an interaction between the encoded message and its interpretation and is based on the cultural resources of the recipient[17]. From the perspective of the "social construction of reality" – which refers to the methodological approaches of the Chicago school and the symbolic interactionism of Mead and Blumer[18] – emerges the importance of the broadcaster in the construction of reality: beyond the objective one (events) and subjective (how the social actors perceive the events), constructed reality represents a central node in the communication strategies. In fact, media coverage of events implies "media reification": when reality becomes the object of media attention (through the framing, theming and visibility given to the topic) a "bias"[19], more or less implied in the creative process takes place. Jedlowski in his essay *Media e memoria. Costruzione sociale del passato e mezzi di comunicazione di massa*, intertwines the sociology of communication, the sociology of memory with the paradigm of the social construction of reality: «Il ricorso al paradigma della costruzione sociale della realtà ha permesso di analizzare i modi con cui i mass media contribuiscono a strutturare l'insieme delle rappresentazioni con cui ciascuno interpreta il mondo, e questo contributo riguarda anche le rappresentazioni del passato».(Jedlowski, 2012, p. 354)

Social actors need the confirmation of the other[20] to stabilize their memories. It is interesting to observe the media from this point of view: they not only represent "the other", a sort of "*altro mnemonico generalizzato*", but they are producers of "pseudo ambienti"[21] images and maps of reality of which we have no direct experience, but which have real effects on our actions that determine our images of reality.

The importance of the media can be observed as suppliers both of cognitive and affective structures within which to place the memories, and of the criteria of relevance and plausibility for their selection. These contribute to the construction of the relevant past, they produce the background knowledge,

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- On this side in the sense of culture, a memory in society that is transmitted by the action of the means of communication that precedes the construction of collective memories, is not structured but in continuous change
- Beyond collective memory refers to its presence in the individual, it is the action of society on our memory (e.g. social frameworks structure individual memory)

Collective memory can gradually become social memory and social memory can become collective, that is, allowing the formation of a new group. (See Namer, G., 2012, 187-214.)

[15] Cfr Jedlowski, P., 2012, p. 352.

[16] Ivi

[17] Cfr Thompson, J.B., 1998.

[18] Cfr Mazzoleni, G., 2012, p.169.

[19] When attention is paid to one part of reality, excluding another, the "structural, situation" or "evaluative" distortion are implicit in the creative process. But the advertising communication strategy, in the process of constructing a message that has commercial purposes, can implement an evaluative and intentional distortion, induced by market needs, which attracts the target audience (Cfr. Mazzoleni, p.171).

[20] It is difficult to keep the memory of what others around us do not remember or remember differently. Jedlowski (2012) cites Caldéron de la Barca *life is a dream.*

[21] Cfr. Jedlowski, 2012, p. 355.

they are "*serbatoi di memorie comuni*"[22] on which social actors can refer. Of course, advertising communication strategies know the role that the public plays in processing the message: the effects produced by the media are closely connected with the consumer's ability to interpret them. In this context lifestyle assumes importance both because it gives information to the "issuer" on the reference target to which the communication addresses the message, and because it is strictly connected to the construction of the consumer's identity and will therefore provide the "receiving" with the parameters evaluative of the message. In post-traditional societies, characterized by the "*pluralizzazione dei mondi di vita*"[23],

«l'individuo è considerato, e si percepisce sempre più, come un progetto in costruzione […] la modernità stessa ha come principio costitutivo il mutamento come regola; mutamento teso ad abbreviare gli spazi dell'esperienza, privandoli della loro stabilità, e in tal modo mettendo continuamente in gioco nuovi elementi ignoti […] il presente si sottrae alla nostra esperienza» (Berzano, L., Genova, C., 2011, p. 101).

Giddens speaks about disembedding and disanchoring: social relations, no longer rooted and anchored, are structured in the ambit of indefinite space-time dimensions. The media experience accentuates the double nature of lifestyles: homogeneity (through imitation) and differentiation (using distant experiences). In fact, the media allows us to be spectators of performances that happen in other places. So, the lifestyles

intesi quali insieme di pratiche di routine finalizzate alla costruzione della propria identità, è correlata con quella di identità e di calendari di pianificazioni della vita, come se l'identità rappresentasse la dimensione statica, gli stili di vita la dimensione dinamica e i calendari e le tappe per organizzare la propria biografia. I calendari, così come gli stili di vita, sono la forma e il contenuto della traiettoria del sé riflessivamente organizzata per costruire la propria biografia» (Berzano, L., Genova, C., 2011, p. 101).

Lifestyles have an important identity function. Starting from the concept of collective memory, where the function is to guarantee the cohesion and identity of a social group, it emerges that in advanced modernity this can be a "conflictual arena": in complex societies, ever-changing, identity is never given for granted. Bauman defines identity as a project, «una volta avviata, nella prima infanzia, la composizione e scomposizione dell'identità diventa un'attività che si autoalimenta e si rafforza». (Bauman, 2007, p.139) Western societies of advanced modernity are permeated by the media, common memory and shared memories also derived from being exposed to the same media messages. Common memories are not collective memories, but they can become so because having shared memories favors the formation of group identity[24]. Being spectators/consumers and therefore users of a media product is an integral part of daily life, it influences lifestyles and the representation of the self; the autobiographical narration is supported by plots that derive from the media repertoires: the media are resources that people draw on to build and strengthen their identity and to build an image of the individual and collective past[25]. We know that the goal of brands is to leave a mark (positioning with respect to competitors, selling, retaining the consumer), but this work focuses on unexpected effects; these are signs not contemplated upstream in the communication strategy but which, in any case, can contribute to changing the context of reference in the perception of new themes. The other side of memory is oblivion, we could start from here: inclusive advertising – although with different objectives with respect to any unexpected consequences – brings to the fore issues that (deliberately?) have been left in oblivion for too long.

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[22] Cfr. Luhmann, N., 2000.

[23] Berger talks about the pluralization of spheres of life and the possibility of individual biographies. Cfr. Berzano, L., Genova, C., 2011, pp. 100-102.

[24] cfr Jedlowski, 2012, p.359.

[25] Ibidem p.361.

2 - From perfect advertising to (Im)perfect advertising to (I'm)perfect advertising: the reference context

Today commercial advertising and social advertising use the same themes and the same linguistic codes. The 2000s communication is characterized by two parables:

• (descending) the references from the world of luxury linked dreams, today are increasingly distant from the photography of the social context.

• (ascending) the new brand image is linked to corporate values ethics bio and environment are the key words.

New celebrities, through the new advertising communication strategy, tell a phenomenon emerged in the last years, but that have only recently been affirmed in our country: commercial advertising becomes inclusive, environment and diversity become key words. But above all emerges a new aesthetic paradigm that goes beyond the concept of perfect body. It's a transversal phenomenon that involves different targets by gender, age and spending capacity. Different products (luxury and low cost) with different targets, tell of the important change taking place: diversity in its variations of gender, race and ability. In the last century Jacques Seguelà influenced advertising with his theory of "the star strategy" that elevate the product like a star, so it becomes more desirable. The biomediatica age[26] and social media have redefined a scenario that shows a new image. In the digital age the new celebrity image (re-)built on impactful and socially relevant topics, allows the brand to create its own universe of meaning to gain visibility in a context saturated with messages. The internet allows the common man to reach fame quickly. Already in 2018, the 15th Censis report on communication[27] says "one is worth one". The identification with the stars projected people towards an aspirational model of life, a dream that allowed us to distance ourselves from the life of the common man. But now one is worth a star: we are all stars.

Italians agree with the following statements Tab.9 (val. %)	Total population	14-29	30-44	45-64	65-80
Today anyone can become famous	49.5	56.1	50.5	49.1	42.5
Popularity in social media is essential for being a celebrity	30.2	42.4	34.7	24.2	21.6
In my life the stars are a model to be inspired by	9.9	16.3	13	5.6	7.3

The media disintermediation allows old stars and new ones (influencers, politicians) establish direct relationships.

The hedonism of the 80s will lead to the perfect physique, but the iconic images of the 2000s are increasingly distant from the real world. "Aspirational, cool, trendy" was the reference words of an advertising strategy that focuses on the perfection of the body (drawn through cosmetic surgery or photoshop): perfect bodies that move in perfect spaces built ad hoc. Cosmetic surgeons, personal trainers and interior designers support people in building the perfect image[28].

These were years in which advertising has chosen famous testimonials such as stars and top models.

The digital world increasingly at the center of everyday life, the economic crisis of 2008 and the current pandemic are changing the references and linguistic codes of advertising. The references of

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[26] Cit. in paragraph 1.
[27] www.censis.it/comunicazione/15%C2%B0-rapporto-censis-sulla-comunicazione
[28] Cfr. Casale, R., 2020, p. 65.

luxury increasingly distant from everyday life can maintain their credibility by referring to "escape and dreams", but at the same time communication begins to tell new scenarios.

The new millennium begins to talk about normality.[29]

At the beginning normality, together with the fight against anorexia, brings curvy women onto the scene alongside perfect bodies to advertise beauty products. But today inclusion advertising speaks about new families, new genders, new ages, new lifestyles.

Ecosystem, biological, ethics become the reference worlds for the new communication codes. So, Leonardo Di Caprio is testimonial in the "Fiat 500 electric" commercial[30]. He has already been protagonist of the documentary *Before the flood* 2016[31]: the communication strategy chooses him not (only) because he is a star, but for his social commitment. This film highlights how commercial and social advertising begin to use the same codes.

In the past these were the themes of "social advertising" and their use in commercial communication strategy has fueled the ethical discussion of exploitation (instrumentalization). In many cases it is difficult to establish the real motivations that push brands to represent their image (and their products) through a storytelling that aims at emotional involvement. Certainly, in a context saturated with messages, this appears to be an effective way to strike. So, the objectives are not changed, but ethics and values become keywords of communication. Today commercial advertising proposes new models and focuses on new protagonists. The new celebrities are real, we recognize ourselves in them not (not anymore) because we aspire to become like them, not because we dream of their golden world; we recognize ourselves in them because they represent our causes and they do it because they are theirs too, because they have the same problems as us. Today the scenario has changed, the number of companies that have implemented social initiative has changed, the sensitivity of the consumer who is more attentive to policies and the environment at work has changed. Today we talk about corporate social responsibility (CSR). A feeling emerges that induces solidarity and inclusion, which promotes social causes. The product would seem to be in the background with respect to the primary social goal. Social commitment can be seen as an opportunity for indispensable visibility. So, inevitably, all this contaminates commercial advertising: commercial and social advertising are increasingly similar. In 2013 Pubblicità Progresso talks about the value of diversity (9th International conference of social advertising). Perhaps today this contamination goes even further. Context photography conveys an interesting image: corporate strategies communicate new realities and new celebrities are born, but the consequence – or perhaps the unexpected effect, as Merton said – is bringing to the fore long-forgotten themes.

The analysis is inspired by some interesting aspects that emerge from the observation of the context, focusing some points:

- The brand reputation, today more than in the past, is closely linked to the values of the brand that cannot ignore the attention to social issues. In this scenario, the social communication strategy merges with social communication not only for themes and values; using the same reference and communication codes, they tell the same stories through a storytelling that focuses on an emotional rhetoric.
- In our country the photograph of the social context shows that the population is aging. Currently the generation that has benefited most from the welfare state (sickness, retirement) is the baby boomer. Just as young people represent an investment for the future, the elderly probably represent today a target with greater economic and time availability.
- Millennial and Z Generation are, in Italy, arguably the first generation to experience a multiethnic reality in daily life. They don't watch TV and don't see commercials, but research shows they believe it's fair to

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[29] In the 1980s, signing a partnership with "the emerging" photographer Oliviero Toscani, Benetton is one of the first Italian companies to represent "diversity" in its communication: with its "United Colors of Benetton" campaign, the brand goes beyond national borders and tells the "colors of the world". the Colors initially represented by different ethnic groups, in the following years include the different social realities. These were mainly photographic campaigns, not commercials, which became famous for the provocative image.

(www.youtube.com/watch?v=tX3pSHHXOpk)

[30] www.youtube.com/watch?v=j9_upuvzDIY

[31] www.youtube.com/watch?v=zbEnOYtsXHA

represent diversity and inclusion in advertising. It's interesting to observe how new generations have made an important contribution in redefining the concept of gender.

Society changes quickly and advertising adapts, maintaining its economic objectives as primary, but drawing on the communication codes in an area that increasingly refers to social advertising.

3. Something has changed(?) The perfect body and the new aesthetic paradigm, the perfect family and new tales, the perfect people and its declination.

New celebrities, through the new advertising communication strategy, tell us a phenomenon has emerged in last years and only recently affirmed in our country: advertising becomes inclusive, environment and diversity became key words. Barbie[32] – the historic and famous doll produced by Mattel that represents the perfect woman – knows the diversity through her friends with disabilities and more: so, Bebe Vio becomes one of the new Barbies[33]. Different brands, for different products – Dior, Toyota, L'Oreal, Nike, Surgenia – choose the Paralympic fencing champion as testimonial. "Aspirational, cool, trendy" were the reference advertising strategy words focusing on a perfect body in a perfect space: "Barbie girl, in Barbie world". So, Victoria Secret's – the brand famous for its perfect models, its "Angel" – change its reference: normality, together with the fight against anorexia, brings curvy women onto the scene alongside perfect bodies to advertise beauty products. So, normality enter in showroom: London Nike stores introduce the mannequins plus size[34]. All this represents the new aesthetic paradigm and its declinations: the focus is on the individual and his characteristics. Focus that extends to individual choices: at the same time some brands start talking about new family composition. The historical claim Barilla "where there is Barilla there is home" and the "Mulino Bianco family" are replaced by new compositions. The nuclear family, increasingly less present, leaves space for blended families, single-parent, same-sex couple, multi-ethnic groups. In 2016, Francesco Favino, in the "traveling towards us" campaign, shows a single-parent eating spaghetti with his daughter on a sofa: an informal image that shows a new situation. In 2014, the Findus[35] commercial "taste your life" tells of a son coming-out to his mother. The spot shows a same-sex couple. Some magazines spoke about "coming out in family" defining "Findus advertising gay friendly". In 2011, an inclusive communication by Ikea[36], begins talking to new family using the claim "we are open to all types of family"; in 2012, "it doesn't take much" campaign says "just be yourself". Recently in 2019 it creates a commercial for the "international day against homophobia". It states «do it in your home» adding that «home is everywhere». A bad sentence used with its opposite meaning, to defend rights LGBT. Vodaphone[37] already in 2014, shows real life pictures, between them there are two women as parents with a newborn. The reference is clear but maybe less explicit than Findus. The testimonial says «you have to have patience, to take one step at a time. Or maybe not. You have to have courage. You have to jump into it. Because, basically, we are not made to wait» (Fabio Volo is the voiceover). Sisley[38] in the 2020 campaign shows the new collection by heterosexual couples and same-sex couples. The claim is "I want you". Zalando[39] 2020, starts from the pandemic to introduce the LGBT rights «we'll never be the same again, but change can be for the

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[32]www.ansa.it/canale_lifestyle/notizie/teen/2020/01/28/barbie-calva-o-con-vitiligine-nuovi-modelli-fashionistas_9fc5baf7-0170-4961-be6f-f13d38bb9003.html

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[38] https://it.sisley.com/world/ss21-campaign.html

[39] www.vogue.it/moda/article/zalando-supporta-ottimismo-inclusione-diversita

better pushes us to try new things» and says that while showing different situations. All this help to understand how advertising relates to changing society and to introduce the body positive concept. Unconventional bodies, until yesterday were ignored or rather ghettoized. Therefore, being overweight and imperfection, represent the different facets of the new aesthetic paradigm. Everyone has his own characteristics: "because we are worth it" – the L'Oreal[40] slogan – signifies not only overcoming the standards of the social construct of "a perfect body redesigned with photoshop". Inclusive advertising goes beyond the physical aspect and tells the diversity of gender, race, age, physical and mental ability: everyone has his own value. In June 2011 Vogue Italia, the fashion and trend magazine for excellence dedicated the cover to curvy models; it's interesting to note that new celebrities are photographed by Helena Cristensen a famous top model from the 80/90s. In 2004, the Dove[41] marketing strategy launched the "Dove Campaign for Real Beauty", whose purpose was to strengthen women's self-confidence. In 2006, the commercial "evolution" shows behind the scenes of an image that – thanks to make up and photoshop – becomes perfect; advertising invites ordinary women to "Take part in the Dove Real Beauty Workshop for Girls": «no wonder, our perception of beauty I distorted». Same business strategy in the 2011 commercials "White screen for women" and in 2013 "Dove Real Beauty Sketches"; in 2013 spot (30 second film) an FBI trained forensic artist realized two identikits drawn through the description made by the woman herself and then by someone that knows her. «Can you recognize your beauty?» is the question. The sketches produce the final slogan "You are more beautiful than you think". The campaign (by Ogilvy Agency) inspired by market research, observing that most women describe themselves as less beautiful than they in realty are. The film which quickly went viral, was called by the media as provocative and powerful, but was still focusing too much on appearance. In 2015 Procter&Gamble[42] commercial fights gender stereotypes with #Like a girl – advertising on girls' self-esteem. Procter&Gamble with Leo Burnet agency face up to a gender issue with young girls, trying to change the meaning of the sentence "like a girl" from negative meaning to something positive. The claim is "Always rewrite the role". In 2020 also Victoria's Secret[43] angels are changed: on the catwalk there is a curvy model (C. Huffine) and a transgender top model (V. Sampaio).

4. Different from who?

Not only does L'Oreal revisit the concept of makeup created to "cover defects". The new millennium makeup is suitable for an "inclusive" philosophy: the new (inclusive) life of the 'foundation'.

So, it doesn't transform all women into a single beauty model but transforms the beauty model by showing it in a different way: it does not make all skins perfect, but it adapts to different peculiarities. Until now we are not far from the world 'Dove': both brands celebrate normality and acceptance.

But l'Oreal goes further and chooses three testimonials that apparently represent three different types of skin, three different types of women, but what emerges are three different types of stories:

- Miriam Leone, cinema and television actress, ex model, she wins Miss Italia in 2008
- Bebe Vio, Paralympic fencing champion, she is famous also for her illness and complicated life.
- Paola Egonu (black volleyball player) fight against racism and discrimination. In an interview, she says «You have to fight for who you are inside, believe me». The probable reference to her coming out: in the sport world homosexuality continues to represent an unsolved taboo.

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[40] www.loreal-paris.it/la-nostra-storia-vale
[41] www.dove.com/it/autostima.html
[42] www.pggoodeveryday.com/good-news/likeagirl-how-it-all-started/
[43] www.elle.com/it/showbiz/celebrities/a36761503/victorias-secret-oggi-testimonial/

Sephora[44] "unlimited power of beauty" photographs different faces in one image, superimposing effect phrases such as: "always beautiful" on the photo of a not so young woman, "my rule: no rules" on a photo of a boy with nail polish and eyeshadow.

The new advertising communication strategy is consecrating new celebrities. These are films that appeal to different targets by gender, age, and spending capacity. They are linked to the lifestyle in two dimensions: luxury and low cost. It emerges that different brands, located at the two opposite poles of luxury/everyday life, use the same references to promote different product to different target groups. The "comparison of the most distant cases" give foundation to the common elements.

After years of sculpted bodies all the same, normality replaces the construction of the perfect image. It is a transversal phenomenon: Gucci, H&M, Dove, Colgate toothpaste, just to cite a few brands. It is interesting to observe how this shift goes beyond "normality" and becomes "diversity".

Two different campaigns can help to observe the transversality of a phenomenon that involves different social contexts: different brands, luxury, and commercial brands, both use similar references to communicate different product to different targets.

Gucci[45] "Be bold. Be bright. Be beautiful"[46] is spreading a new concept of beauty: authentic beauty is in imperfection. The brand advertises a lipstick by a closeup on "an imperfect mouth"; an image that emerges from the crowd of messages and remains impressed more than many perfect lips. the (Im) perfect smile represents a new aesthetic concept: authentic beauty in imperfection. Gucci rewrites the codes of contemporary beauty and of make-up.

Once again brand fueled debates on beauty standards by choosing an Armenian model with peculiar somatic features and a British model with down syndrome. E. Goldstein says: «Down syndrome is just a part of me, not a definition of who I am». The new paradigm subverts the canons of aesthetics and fashion chooses to be represented, emphasizing it, by what is socially considered an imperfection: the new testimonials represent unusual facets of the aesthetic paradigm.

It's interesting to note that also commercial brands begin to use this kind of communication strategy. So, in 2019 Colgate[47] promotes a toothpaste with "smile on" campaign. Physical defect (or what western societies define as such) can give a distinction opportunity, it can be a way to stand out. The communication strategy speaks about the possibility of using a peculiarity to feel unique. The film shows a girl with dental diastema – «it's my peculiarity (luck)» – a boy with heterochrome eyes – «without filters is beautiful» – and a not young woman – «not to stereotypes».

After the "curvy" women in the fashion shows and black testimonials with vitiligo, there are overweight models, over 60, with dental diastema and heterochrome eyes.

Fashion represents normal people, beauty becomes attainable. The new paradigm tells that people have different skin, could be overweight, could have wrinkles and grey hair because they age. It's interesting to note how age products have increasingly youthful testimonials. Aging today is not a phase of decay, but on the contrary it's a phase of life that can (and must) be lived fully. Even more interesting is to observe testimonials more and more over (sixty, seventy, eighty and ninety), but they are alongside with younger models to promote every kind of product. Not products with which they would have been associated until yesterday. «Age diversity: style (and fashion) has no age. The reassuring and serene beauty of models over 50/60/70». (Vogue, December 2019). So famous top models of the past are back on the catwalk: Gucci 2020/2021 chose Benedetta Barzini (76), Vogue dedicates cover to Twiggy (70) and Joan Collins (86) famous actress is photographed by Valentino campaign.

Perhaps the best known and most impactful commercial is Citroen DS (2016) in which a "stylish" 94-year-old lady is chosen not "despite her age" but "for her age". Iris Apfel wasn't famous before

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[44] www.sephora.com/beauty/diversity-and-inclusion
[45] www.gucci.com/it/it/st/stories/article/actions-for-diversity-and-inclusion
[46] www.youtube.com/watch?v=CtbHmed7Jaw
[47] www.colgatepalmolive.com/en-us/who-we-are/our-commitment-to-diversity-equity-inclusion

the spot, she was an interior designer known to insiders for having furnished the White House. In theory, the testimonial does not represent the latest fashion trend or a celebrity, but herself and her timeless style: «you are not beautiful, you never were, but you have style». In real this is precisely what the new trend represents today: inclusive advertising cannot fail to include the new ages.

The 2018 Gucci campaign to communicate the new edition of the Silvie bag[48] – an iconic bag, released in 1969 for the moon landing – chose a star (an icon?) of the past: Faye Dunaway. She is known to an adult audience, but not to a young target. She signs her photos inside a limousine, a girl is sitting next to her. It's hard to define Faye Dunaway as a celebrity today, especially when we're talking about young people. Until now an aged woman and a normal girl represent two unusual testimonials especially for a luxury brand. The advertising tells the sharing of the interests of the two protagonists – walk together, go shopping, play tennis – but above all they love the same bag: a bag of the past handed down to the new generation. The communication strategy seems to have chosen her not (only) for what she was (a diva) but above all for what she is today, for what she represents: an 80-year-old elegant sporty woman. The interesting aspect that emerges from the analysis of the films[49] is the different way of representing "the passing of time". Faye Dunaway and many models over 60 all look much younger, the face seems to be immune to the signs of aging thanks to cosmetic treatments and surgery. On the contrary, the face of Iris Apfel which does not come from the star system, reflects an image that shows the time that has passed, through those signs that change the facial features: wrinkles. In any case, the two ladies who are no longer young, certainly elderly[50], do not represent old age: the third age is narrated as a phase of life in which it is still possible to have many opportunities[51] by relegating the phase of old age to the fourth age.

But inclusive beauty goes further in inclusive commercials[52]. In 2015 Make Up For Ever chose to be represented by Andreja Pejik, Bosnian model and actress, born Andrej.

In 2014 "#Hair Is Genderless" is the Pantene[53] claim. The brand celebrates diversity. The hair, especially in transformation phases, evolution, change, personal growth, can influence the perception and emotional sphere of each one. The testimonial Lea T, a Brazilian transgender top model, together with other transgender advocates each with their own transitioning history. She says: «I think people are starting to change. The fact that I am here, that so many other girls are here…». In 2019 "Oh my gold" Pantene campaign shows the famous influencer Chiara Ferragni alongside Lea T, both new celebrities.

So, Gillette[54] international campaign 2019 "the best a man can get" shows a father helping his son (transgender) shave for the first time: «I always knew I was different. I didn't know there was a term for the kind of person I was» Brown says in the commercial «I made my transition simply by trying to be happy. I'm glad I've gotten to the point where I'll be able to shave». "Whenever, wherever, however it happens your first shave is special": inclusive advertising involves the different face of society.

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[48] www.gucci.com/it/it/st/stories/advertising-campaign/article/pre-fall-2018-new-sylvie-handbags-shoppable

[49] 30/60 second advertising film for TV or in a different format, generally longer, for the web.

[50] The use of terms such as "seniority", "maturity" and "advanced age" instead of "old", seems to highlight values such as experience and knowledge reached over time, the inner and intellectual dimension that the concept of old age does not contemplate. Thus the best-age enters the commercial through the narration of new lifestyles. (Cfr Cosenza, G, p.4)

[51] It is interesting to note how the communication of different products exemplifies this concept: until a few years ago relegated to representing products for the elderly, the new testimonials advertise different products by product category, cost and target. On the contrary, products for the elderly are conveyed by increasingly "youthful" testimonials both in appearance and in lifestyle. A lifestyle that transversely crosses the different age groups and that seems to change less and less over time.

[52] www.ansa.it/canale_lifestyle/notizie/beauty_fitness/2021/02/26/make-up-inclusivo-si-rompono-le-barriere-anche-nel-beauty_e0f86904-7c81-4604-8fd6-2448df552890.html

[53] https://pantene.it/it-it/i-nostri-progetti/hair-has-no-gender

[54] www.brand-news.it/brand/persona/cura-persona/gillette-first-shave-transgender/

All *pret-à-porter* fashion discovers no-gender model. Chanel[55] in 2019 chooses Teddy Quinlivan to promote the beauty line and Luis Vuitton[56] in 2021 sends on the catwalk Kai-Isaiah Jamal, the first black transgender model.

Today "no gender" represents the stylistic code of the latest collections of most luxury brands. So, Valentina Sampaio showed fashion for both men's and woman's collection. We can say: from unisex fashion style to genderless approach. *Unisex revival* is the title of a Vogue magazine story in 2012 March: from perfumes to treatments, the beauty care becomes genderless.

5. Different ability and resilience

In 2019 Amazon[57] Echo Alexa commercial, the presence of a testimonial with disabilities is linked to the product that can help her: while having a coffee a girl, who has just woken up, asks Alexa information her about weather and time. Only at the end, when she goes out with the dog and a stick, do we understand that she is visually impaired. More and more people with disabilities become testimonials of important brands, but – it is interesting to note – they are almost never necessarily linked to the product. Inclusive advertising tells of different (but resilient) ability. Different products tell stories of people who do not give up, who have managed to turn an adversity into a new beginning.

BMW[58] 2020 chooses as testimonial Alex Zanardi[59]. A Voiceover says: «we have created many models in our history, but today the models we are inspired by are more important and we are not talking about cars, but about people, those who have not given up on change but have managed to transform it into a new beginning. Because life goes on and it is the model we choose that show us the way to start again». Zanardi says: «it's a new journey, we can face it». BMW launces: #together to live again.

The new testimonial are the new heroes, they do not let themselves be destroyed by events: unbreakable is the payoff of Toyota adv. More and more often Paralympic champions became celebrities. The brand's website says: «The greatest mission in Toyota's history is to provide freedom of movement to all. We believe it is a fundamental right of humankind. Yet within the confusion and distractions of modern life, it is possible to forget how joyous and beautiful movement can be». The commercial Toyota 2020 shows Olympic and Paralympic athletes that tell of how they have won impossible challenges. The brand has given attention to the environment and to the inclusive strategy for some years.

Bebe Vio is the Unbreakable testimonial: her illness "marked" her life forever. She says: «It's our scars that make us special». The communication strategy draws on the ancient Japanese art of Kintsugi which consists in repairing the fragments of a broken object with gold: «the wound is not hidden but enhanced, transforming itself into its most precious part. And above all in what makes it special because the golden texture is unique for each object»[60].

The same "stop at nothing" Nike[61] commercial 2019. Bebe Vio is together with Olympic and Paralympic athletes. The commercial strategy said: «I was crazy [...] to dream [...] but if you stop at nothing [...] even a crazy dream is possible».

A completely different brand Surgenia[62] – whose communication strategy promotes environmental sustainability – uses the same communication code and shows Bebe Vio in different situations. The slogans are: "tomorrow is cool (2018), leaves a mark of life (2019), this is the time to look away

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[55] www.ilmessaggero.it/moda/news/chanel_modella_trans_beauty_chi_e_teddy_quinlivan-4698796.html

[56] www.elle.com/it/moda/ultime-notizie/a35287744/kai-isaiah-jamal-modello-trans-nero-louis-vuitton/

[57] https://sostenibilita.aboutamazon.it/

[58] www.bmw.com/it/magazine/sustainability/circolarita-in-bmw.html

[59] Commercial shot before June 2019, when the racing driver had a new serious accident.

[60] www.the-unbreakable.it/il-kintsugi

[61] https://purpose.nike.com/diversity-equity-inclusion

[62] www.sorgenia.it/sostenibilita-ambientale-e-alimentazione

www.sorgenia.it/guida-energia/energia-sostenibile

(2020)". In 2019 commercial the communication strategy promotes the brand through a message that adds another bad aspect of the social context. "Energy for woman" shows Bebe Vio together with another testimonial Jessica Notaro: Italian activist and public figure following the acid attack suffered by her ex-boyfriend in 2017 which scarred her face. Still stories of suffering, paths of resilience, beautiful girls forced to start from scratch, but underlines the commercial, in some cases there is a culprit to fight. The commercial shows the faces (the signs) of the two testimonials highlighting:

- (Bebe Vio) the signs of a won battle (the disease). There is no a culprit.
- (Jessica Notaro) the signs of violence against women. There is a culprit.

With the pandemic the Surgenia message is "This is the time to look away". The brand chooses a celebrity with disabilities to talk about environmental, sustainability and territory. So, in the last commercial Bebe Vio says: «Yesterday was a time when those who were different did not exist, even in sports […] tomorrow is cool what counts is the energy you put into it».

Bebe Vio is also Gucci testimonial: after the new inclusive Barbie, the luxury brands introduce models in wheelchairs and with prostheses. Adaptative fashion is fashion for all people, ethical fashion is inclusive fashion. So, on the catwalk the brands are represented by new models that, like the new advertising testimonial, are different from the past because they are normal: they represent all the facets of society. In Miss Italia 2018 Chiara Bordi is the first beauty queen with a prothesis.

"Start your impossible" is the Toyota pay off, the brand tells «Because if everyone has complete freedom to move in daily life to pursue their dreams, the whole of humanity can take a step forward».

6. Memory and commercials

Commercials and memory have always been closely connected: remembering the product through the memorization of advertising is a central node in communication strategies. It is often said that it does not matter if a commercial is good or bad, the important thing is that it leaves a mark. This sign can be translated into the memorization of the product: it would be a communication failure, in fact, to remember a commercial but not the product. However, this is not the only sign that the advertising message leaves.

Advertising and the social context have always been circularly linked by a relationship of mutual influence:

Advertising/Attitudes/Behaviors ⇄ Behaviors/Attitudes/Advertising[63]

It is possible to observe a circular advertising / attitudes / purchase relationship, a communication flow that flows in both directions:

«Infatti così come gli atteggiamenti in molti casi influenzano, e a volte determinano, i comportamenti può verificarsi anche l'inverso […] Anche i comportamenti cioè possono esercitare un'influenza sugli atteggiamenti: a seconda del tipo di esperienza con il prodotto reclamizzato può generarsi quindi un processo circolare reso possibile appunto dall'insorgere di un *feedback* dei comportamenti sugli atteggiamenti. […] Gli atteggiamenti rappresentano un filtro potente all'azione della pubblicità che è profondamente influenzata dagli atteggiamenti del soggetto sia nei confronti del prodotto che del messaggio» (Fabris, 2015, p. 155).

The new aesthetic paradigm has its roots in a social context whose image begins to clash with the representations of luxury at the beginning of the millennium[64]. Research[65] shows how the new

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[63] Cfr. Fabris, 2015, pp. 154-155.
[64] Cfr. Casale, R., 2020, Conclusioni.
[65] Global Survey Women & Diversity Nielsen (July 2017) People 31.000, Country 63. In Italy about 50% of the statistic sample (55% millennial, 46% baby boomers). The Nielsen's research shows that almost 40% of Italians share inclusive advertising (gender, ethnicity, sexuality, disability). Particularly interesting is the transgenerational dimension: where baby boomers (mid 40s/mid60s) are more sensitive to the aspect of senility and disability, generation Z (late 90s) more than millennial (late 80s) appreciates diversity (families, sexual identities, ethnic groups, etc.). Overall, it seems that

generations are aligned with the representations of normality and how the highest income bracket are the baby boomers: the new celebrities therefore perfectly represent the target audience in a scenario that is beginning to be "sensitive" to new issues. But it is equally important to underline how advertising has allowed a greater diffusion of this phenomenon – entering everyone's homes through TV – telling emotional stories to communicate brands that belong to different product categories and that involve different consumers across the board. The new communication strategy, beyond the economic objectives of the brand, allows greater visibility to themes and values left in oblivion. These are issues that today fuel discussions because they overlap with a cultural context that is only partially open to the concept of inclusion. Therefore, it can be hypothesized that advertising – reaching the consumer in a space (his home) where generally the defense mechanisms are low – through the repetition of the message can help to change the context.

The advertising narrative speaks of new heroes: the perfection of bodies and spaces opens to normality. Today commercial advertising is expressed through a narrative structure whose boundaries with social advertising are increasingly fluid; storytelling tells new testimonials, new stories, new values. The advertising film in 30", through new codes and new languages, creates a narrative that touches the emotional chords with colors, lights, sounds declined ad hoc: in fact, individuals tend to memorize what is superimposable on their own experience. Thus, a new content contributes to the strengthening of a pre-existing opinion, but hardly leads to the birth of a new opinion. In fact, the consumer can put in place defense mechanisms with respect to the message, including memorization.

The current communication strategies, overlapping with a change in the social context that sees the concept of sustainability in its various forms (economic, social, ecological environmental) brought to the fore draws on the social context and proposes new models: communicating sustainability is certainly the trend that currently characterizes the communication of numerous brands.

The cultural context of reference is therefore the point of departure and arrival of communication, the language must be easily decoded by the target and must not create cognitive dissonances.

Advertising was born with specific commercial objectives, but this work also aims to observe some "unexpected consequences" or at least not contemplated by the corporate objectives: in social interaction men create new conditions that were not part of their intentions[66].

«In other words, "chance consequences" are those which are occasioned by the interplay of forces and circumstances which are so complex and numerous that prediction of them is quite beyond our reach. […] Thus, situations which demand (or what is for our purposes tantamount to the same thing, appear to the actor to demand) immediate action of some sort, will usually involve ignorance of certain aspects of the situation and will bring about unexpected results» (Merton, 1936, p. 900).

The independence between intention and effect, between objective and result emerges.

« […] the "imperious immediacy of interest", refers to instances where the actor's paramount concern with the foreseen immediate consequences excludes the consideration of further or other consequences of the same act. The most prominent elements in such immediacy of interest may range from physiological needs to basic cultural values» (Merton, 1936, pp 901-902).

Since the action of social actors does not take place in a "social vacuum", it will be possible to observe its effects (not contemplated upstream) even in different areas. In Merton's analysis it emerges that even an action motivated by the achievement of a specific interest can reverberate in different contexts with unforeseen consequences; how, therefore, an action "rationally oriented" to the achievement of a goal, can at the same time be "irrational" in the achievement of values which are not necessarily an integral part of the scale of values of the actor who perform the action:

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around 50% of the statistical sample (55% millennial, 46% baby boomers) believe that inclusive advertising, in its various forms, has positive impact.

[66] Cfr. Merton, 1936.

«Moreover, action in which this element of immediacy of interest is involved may be rational in terms of the values basic to that interest but irrational in terms of the life organization of the individual. Rational, in the sense that it is an action which may be expected to lead to the attainment of the specific goal; irrational, in the sense that it may defeat the pursuit or attainment of other value which are not, at the moment paramount but which none the less form an integral part of the individual's scale of values. Thus, precisely because a particular action is not carried out in a psychological or social vacuum, its effects will ramify into other spheres of value and interest» (Merton, 1936, p 902).

Certainly, the goal of advertising is to stimulate the propensity to buy, but in this case the message used by the narrative is aimed at a more aware consumer. It seems plausible to think that this can reinforce what is already present in some actors, but also that - thanks to the repetitiveness of communication - it can generate new behaviors: the stories told today propose different models, which were unthinkable in advertising communication until a few years ago, especially in the luxury sector.

The digital age has changed the way of relating to the surrounding reality. As evidenced by the 16° Censis report the ways in which the processes of identity construction are implemented, the acquisition of a sense of belonging to one's community, the formation of political convictions, the generation of expectations towards the future, are extremely complex and articulated. The Censis report highlights the role of the media in the construction of individual and collective identity. Personal media and social networks have a superior ability to create virtual worlds that can actually operate in the real world, confusing the ability to distinguish between one and the other[67].

Therefore advertising[68] – and the aesthetic dimension through which it is expressed – seems to be an important "institutional arena" in which a new "narrative" is developed. Identity is closely relate to memory «sia nel senso che la memoria è ciò che permette a un soggetto di riconoscersi 'lo stesso' nel corso del tempo, sia nel senso che l'identità è il selettore che fa privilegiare al soggetto certi ricordi piuttosto che altri» (Jedlosky, 2002, p 52).

Memory plays a fundamental role for unexpected consequences, those effects not contemplated in the intentions, to take place. The result obtained, regardless of the economic objectives, is that issues and values that still fuel important discussions today have gained greater visibility through a channel (an arena) that reaches the consumer at home – a space in which the defense mechanism is generally lowered – telling a story that provokes emotions. Culture is the set of a plurality of narrative and discursive plots which make it possible for social actors to understand reality and which are produced, reproduced, and modified from time to time in daily life. It is a set of norms, values, beliefs, knowledge and makes social processes visible as processes of construction of meanings. Alexander[69] analyzes the relationship between memory, identity and public discourse and highlights the institutional and communicative mechanisms through which, from time to time, a memory becomes constitutive for collective and national identity. A (traumatic) instance, through the narration of a group that undertakes to transmit it to the public, is accepted by the community by penetrating its identity. It is a long process that requires mediation and representation: a "cultural trauma" must be explained to the understood through reflection and public discourse. An importance emerges of the institutional arena in which the narration develops, among these Alexander identifies the mass media. The aesthetic sphere can help to produce identification and emotional catharsis: the media arena thanks to its persuasive power «permette ai traumi di essere drammatizzati in modo espressivo e ad alcune delle varie e divergenti interpretazioni di ottenere un enorme potere persuasivo sulle altre […] infine esiste anche la competizione per il numero dei lettori […] alla base della produzione di informazioni talvolta esagerate e distorte» (Alexander, 2006, pp. 231-232). This concept can be superimposed on the world of communication strategies.

So, paraphrasing Alexander and transposing these concepts into today's advertising communication we could say that: the language of the film, through the elements that make it up, helps to produce identification and emotional catharsis. Recent communication strategies use social

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[67] Cfr. Censis, 2020, I media e la costruzione dell'identità, 16° rapporto sulla comunicazione.
[68] The media in general.
[69] Cfr. Alexander, J.C, 2012, pp. 220-243.

themes to communicate a product. The new testimonials are no longer perfect models, but normal people and normality has many facets. The new beauty is in imperfection. The commercials at the time of the pandemic speaks about new families and new realities. Of course, the novelty is in the communication of the same because the stories he tells have always been part of our lives. The new communication strategies, probably unconsciously - or in any case without having planned this aspect upstream - become the "bearer groups" through which the "production of meaning" takes place.

«I gruppi portatori hanno interessi sia ideali che materiali […] hanno un talento discorsivo particolare nell'articolare […] ciò che potrebbe essere chiamata "produzione di significato" – nella sfera pubblica. I gruppi portatori possono essere élite, ma anche classi marginali e denigrate» (Alexander, 2006, p. 222). The carrier groups have the role of reclaiming the "spiral of signification" that Alexander identifies as a first step for the "cultural construction of trauma", a grievance against social reality. Trauma understood as the result of a process whereby an «acuto disagio penetra nel senso di identità della collettività» (Alexander, 2006, p.220).

The new advertisements propose new testimonials who, with their image, fight a "war" that is not only theirs; they tell different but the same stories; they can help people to co-live with (im)perfection and diversity (but what diversity is), to accept themselves and to be accepted. This is not the cultural trauma Alexander talks about, but above all the carrier group in this case was not formed to build a spiral of meaning with the aim of creating a new identity. Unknowingly, and probably only as an unexpected consequence, the "bearer groups" commercials – in a "historical and cultural context" that forced brands to confront a (partially) mature "audience" – created a "new great narrative" bringing "hidden" realities to the fore, helping to transform "collective identity". «Questa revisione dell'identità implica che ci sarà una ricerca nella memoria del passato collettivo, poiché la memoria non è soltanto sociale e fluida ma anche profondamente connessa alla percezione attuale del Sé» (Alexander, 2006, p.236).

The communication strategy of a product always pursues commercial objectives, but this work wants to highlight how – through a communication that wanted to emerge in a context saturated with messages – it is contributing to an important cultural change (still in progress).

The "great narrative", the "spiral of significance" draws on stories of deep suffering, individual biographies that become representative of a group. The new testimonials, the new stars, the new heroes have a past – but also a present and probably a future – difficult, made of suffering. The new advertising communication identifies in scars (physical and otherwise) a distinctive trait, in diversity a peculiarity, in imperfection the new beauty. Different abilities, different sexualities, different ethnicities, different family compositions, different ages tell the different facets of the individual through the commercials. The institutional media arena, through inclusive advertising, is probably contributing – perhaps unwittingly – to the formation of a new collective identity; the repetition of the messages allowed the elaboration of what could initially be dissonant with the culture of belonging. The scars, the defects, the diversity are no longer to be hidden, but must be proudly displayed as peculiar traits. «Alla fine emergerà un periodo di calma. La spirale di significazione si appiattisce, le emozioni si raffreddano […] il carisma diventa ordinario, l'effervescenza evapora e la fase liminale fa spazio alla riaggregazione» (Alexander, 2006 p.236).

Conclusions

The use of these topics in advertising fueled ethical discussion. Brand reputation today is closely linked to brand values so, the boundaries between advertising and social communication are increasingly fluid. The two ways are increasingly blended. The 2030 objectives of the ONU agenda influence advertising. The economic crisis and the pandemic changed the keywords: environment, social, inclusion and ethics are used to build the brand image.

So now testimonials aren't symbols that identify with a dream anymore. We are far from the aspirational sets of the beginning of the millennium in which perfect celebrities (stars and models) represented the world of a dreams and luxury.

New tools and channels establish a direct relationship with the consumer. Internet allows people to reach fame quickly. Research[70] shows that about 50% of the sample group believe that inclusive advertising has a positive impact:

- In our country millennial and z generation probably are the first generation to live a multi-ethnic reality. The new generations have played an important role in redefining the concept of gender.
- The baby boom generation is close to 70. It represents an interesting target for money and time expenditure.

The rapidity of change that characterizes the societies of advanced modernity, forces the different generations constantly compare expectations a generation is not only made up of a set of experiences and memories: it elaborates its own horizon of expectations and develops itself in the perceived gap with the horizon of the expectations of the previous generation[71].

Thus, the "media arena" allows for a more rapid diffusion of new values and new cultural codes that prefigure aspirations that challenge hegemonic ones and can then spread throughout the entire social fabric[72].

The advertising communication strategy cannot ignore all these aspects if it wants to gain visibility.

So, in a context saturated with messages, the brand represents its image through emotional storytelling: it uses values to engage their consumers and build its brand image. The celebrity is no longer a symbol to identify with a dream. Social commitment could be read as:

- a need for an image
- a need for profit
- a need to emerge
- but also, maybe, some brands believe in a need for the social.

It is difficult to establish the real involvement, but even if the social action of brands was oriented towards purpose (sales, loyalty, positioning) rather than value (environment, inclusion, ethics) the presence of new topics new celebrities in a lot of advertising fuels discussions, inclusion, and acceptance[73]. So, the representation of resilient disabilities can help people to live with these realities in the dual meaning: social and individual. Sociology speaks about unexpected effects:

«Furthermore, unforeseen consequences should not be identified with consequences which are necessarily undesirable (from the standpoint of the actor). For though these results are unintended, they are not upon their

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[70] Cfr. Par. 5.

[71] Cfr. Jedloski, 2018, p. 63.

[72] Cfr. Melucci, 1984, in Jedlowski, 2018, p. 64.

[73] While I'm concluding this work, Sanremo the Italian song festival 2022 is on air. I would like to mention the most followed event on Italian TV and underline how the choice of co-hosts, who alternated in the 5 evenings, overlaps the theme of this research.

Ornella Muti, very famous actress (diva of the past?) opens the first evening, she is a beautiful woman over 60.

Lorena Cesarini, lesser-known actress (known to the youngest for the Suburra tv series), born in Dakar and lived in Rome, represents the first black co-host on the stage of the Ariston teatre.

Drusilla Foer, born Gianluca Gori is an actor and theater director known for the "Drusilla character", his alter ego.

Maria Chiara Giannetta, actress known for her role as a blind girl in the TV series "Bianca", is the spokesperson for the theme of disability.

Sabrina Ferilli is probably one of the most "pop" actresses in our country (famous, but above all "popular"), in hers monologue she wants to bring lightness to the festival and quotes Italo Calvino, she says she doesn't want to talk about social issues because everyone has to talk about own skills. The festival ends with the "normality" of an actress over 55 - popular and outspoken, who speaks with a Roman accent never lost, a "diva della porta accanto" - who says she hasn't eaten for 5 days to put on the dress wearing. The festival talks about "normality" in its various forms: over 60, black girl, no gender, different abilities, a diva "next door" ... the new aesthetic paradigm (and more) which can be observed in advertising strategies in recent years, it arrives in Sanremo highlighting the role of the media arena in spreading a new paradigm and how this, through the memorization of the message, is penetrating the collective identity.

occurrence always deemed axiologically negative. In short, undesired effects are no always undesirable effects» (Merton, 1936, p 895).

Merton highlights how these consequences may be differentiated into consequences to the actor, consequences to other persons mediated through the social structure, the culture and civilization[74]. So, whatever was the reason, the result is a new visibility of social problems. New celebrities are discovered (or rediscovered) for new values that are represented. They can have a very important role in raising awareness of new and old generations (above all) about social issues. The (im)perfect advertising speaks about normality by building a "spiral of signification" which once penetrated the audience could help change the collective identity and perception of the self. The new celebrities are no more perfect, are no more a symbol to identify with to dream, because they are from the real world... and the real world is not perfect, the real beauty is not perfect: the new celebrities represent themselves, their stories, their characteristics. "Because we are worth it" says the famous L'Oreal slogan. But always and above all, new celebrities in advertising represents the brand image.

The work observes an ongoing social change through analysis of advertising films. Advertising and social context – in a circular exchange – influence each other. Media arena becomes the space and advertising turns into the carrier group capable of constructing the "spiral of meaning" on forgotten themes and values. If the opposite of memory is oblivion, through the memorization of the advertising communication the concept of inclusiveness, long forgotten, becomes more and more familiar. The message through emotional storytelling reaches the social actors in their homes, when the protection mechanisms are not put in place. (Im)perfect advertising talks about normality, but normality is a cultural construct and the norm changes in time and space. The close correlation between normality and the concept of inclusion/exclusion is observed, which defines diversity as everything that comes out of the common peoples' mental patterns. So, normality is linked to the meaning attributed by people and depends on the reference context; similarly, diversity is what comes out of parameters of normality in the culture of belonging of the social actors. A communication strategy emerges which, through the new aesthetic paradigm, is able to obtain greater visibility. The representation of diversity, of what does not overlap with our cultural codes, manages to emerge in a context saturated with messages and is more incisive. Initially this can create a cognitive dissonance but, through the reiteration of the message, this can turn into overcoming the limits of the concept of normality, where boundaries are defined by society. Paraphrasing Alexander: an instance that, through the construction of the "spiral of signification", can turn into collective memory. Another point of interest to focus attention on is the diversity potential. Most of the commercials analyzed make it possible to highlight how communication strategies – in inclusive advertising – begin from this aspect, from the added value that can be derived from it, and the opportunities that could be created. (Im)perfect advertising speaks about a new scenario and a constantly evolving social context; however, what emerges is a particularly interesting aspect: through a storytelling that provokes emotion, it can contribute to "normalize" what for a long time has been considered diversity by becoming (I'm)perfect advertising.

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[74] Cfr. Merton, 1936, p. 895.

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