

Advertising in Greek Media during the Covid-19 Pandemic

Panagiotis Tzavaras^{1*}, Aria Angeliki Bousoulegka², Spyridon Stelios³

¹ Adjunct Lecturer, European University Cyprus, Nicosia, Cyprus

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ABSTRACT

This paper investigates social advertising both in social media and mass media during the first lockdown of the Covid-19 pandemic in Greece. It presents a qualitative analysis of the advertisements that were part of the coronavirus campaigns "Stay at home" and "Stay safe", from March to June 2020. The analysis is based on semiotic and communication models. The aim of the research is to find out to what extend those advertising spots shaped the new daily life of the citizens, acting either informatively or instructively. Findings indicate that the campaign adapted to the needs of an already tired public. Furthermore, those specific social ads neither did they meet the expectations, nor resulted as expected, reproducing mostly stereotypes. They eventually did not innovate, express better ideas nor effectively communicate the intended message without provoking, distracting from the central objective or raising debate for all the wrong reasons.

1. Advertising and the Covid-19 Pandemic

When at the beginning of March 2020, the World Health Organization (WHO) officially declared Covid-19 a pandemic, governments all over the world used social advertisements to instruct citizens on how to adapt their everyday life and routines to this new reality. Although at first there was concern that the government directives will not be heard, it was proved in action that they were not considered excessive. Moreover, soon enough serious considerations were expressed on how people would manage to overcome the restrictions accepting that it would be safe again to come out of their homes. In Great Britain a new term "coronaphobia" was invented while studies showed that more than 60% of the citizens felt uncomfortable to move on with their habits and social life, i.e. going to restaurants and bars, using the public means of transportation etc. (Smith & Kabele, 2021).

The question that arises is what has contributed to the initial "triumph" of the communication strategy on public health during the first period of the pandemic. The assumption that authority or expertise could have resulted on that (the triumph) was proved ungrounded. After all, within the context of previous "upcoming disasters" such as SARS or H5N1, experts' predictions were

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² Researcher, Department of Humanities, Social Sciences and Law, School of Applied Mathematical and Physical Sciences, National Technical University of Athens, Zographos Campus, Athens, Greece

³ Teaching and Research Associate, Department of Humanities, Social Sciences and Law, School of Applied Mathematical and Physical Sciences, National Technical University of Athens, Zographos Campus, Athens, Greece

^{*}Corresponding author E-mail address: ptzavaras@gmail.com

not confirmed (Figuié, 2018:78). On the contrary, the reason that was considered of major importance was the absolute saturation of the agenda of news and social media by the one and only current issue, that of Covid-19. People were exposed to an excessive amount of information about coronavirus, not just by government agencies, but also by mass media of both national and international range, local authorities, social interactions and of course by social media.

Nevertheless, the research's interest should not focus on the quantitative expansion/range of the communication strategy. This is because it is taken for granted that people and groups in need to be informed, while under danger and uncertainty, choose sources they consider either as expressing their beliefs or as telling them the truth (Paton et al., 2008). So, it is appropriate to investigate the reasons that made them receptive to messages from "competing" sources. Under that scope the success of the advertising campaigns "Stay at home" and "Stay safe" in Greece should not be considered as a simple result of the quantitative intensification of the official social messages, but more as the outcome of an advertising strategy socially oriented that pushed/forced the citizens, in their majority, to act contrary to the usual. The social advertisements that were reproduced during the first lockdown of the coronavirus pandemic in the media and in social media introduced a chain of supporting or judgmental reactions through a network of interactions. A network that produces images and speeches that address certain issues of concern. The specific network literally determines the quality of content which provides the power to motivate people to act even beyond normality (Krieg-Planque, 2010; Leudar & Nekvapil, 2004). The social advertising campaigns "Stay at home" and "Stay safe" were not restricted to just informing citizens about the dangers of transmitting the virus but extended to the imposition of new social and individual behaviors and attitudes.

2. Covid-19 in Greece

The coronavirus is an infectious disease caused by the SARS-CoV-2 virus. The symptoms vary from mild to serious capable of causing respiratory infections. Aged people and people with underlying medical problems are at risk of developing a serious illness.

The existence of the virus was announced in December 2019 with the Chinese city of Wuhan being considered as its outbreak. On January 30th, 2020, the WHO characterized Covid-19 an emergency public health situation of worldwide concern, declaring a pandemic on March 11th of the same year. The virus started spreading gradually from China to the rest of the world with France announcing the first cases in Europe. Since then, more and more European countries announced the spread of the virus (WHO, 2021; 2020a; 2020b; 2020c). Greece confirmed its first case on 26th February 2020. The Greek government reacted immediately by making decisions to control the spread of the disease, something which proved to be effective (Pappas, 2020).

Greece was faced with the fact that as a country it had to confront and manage the pandemic with the national healthcare system weakened and vulnerable due to the ten-year financial crisis. This fact potentially jeopardized the health of citizens (WHO, 2019; Simou & Koutsogeorgou, 2014). The Greek government took immediately protection measures that were intensified when cases were escalating; patients were put to quarantine or hospitalized, people close to them were isolated and regarded as possible positive infections, the Ministry of Health informed the public on a daily basis about the course of the pandemic, advertising campaigns were designed and produced for the promotion of a sense of individual responsibility focusing on the basic rules of self-hygiene and recognition of symptoms on time. All leaves of medical employees were recalled, mass entertainment performances were cancelled, the operation of educational institutions of all levels was suspended, visits to nursing

homes was forbidden, all sports events were cancelled, visits to hospitals and care units was limited, the operation of all kinds of stores was held as well as of all recreation areas, museums, libraries, churches etc., Non-EU citizens were not allowed to enter Greece, distance working and distance learning were promoted, movement was strongly restricted with the exemption of moving by sending SMS and demonstrating necessary supporting documents (id, work certificates, etc.), fines were imposed in cases of measures' violation, police surveillance was intensified. In addition, the Ministry of Finance announced supporting economic measures to businesses and to employees that were refrained from working. All governmental decisions urged the citizens to follow the instructions and stay at home. Emergency measures were gradually suspended after May 6th, 2020 (Kousi et al., 2021).

3. Social Advertising

Advertising plays a prominent role in social reality. It is an important aspect of modern culture and a common component of everyday life (Wharton, 2013). It is considered as a specific means of communication that provides information, raises awareness and intrigues in a product, service or situation (Vakratsas & Ambler, 1999). Today it is regarded as the most influential and convincing commercial message that ensures and sets the basis for the best perspective with minimum possible cost. After all, it is hard not to be noticed: from cell phones to television, from radio to internet, from daily printed press, magazines and cinema, advertising is a great part of peoples' everyday life and an integral part of modern society and culture (Wharton, 2013).

The term "advertisement" involves the publicity-promotion of a situation's traits (and not only) for meeting certain needs and goals and for ensuring individual and collective benefits. It is a wide multidimensional activity that contributes to the spread of information to a big or small group of people, aiming at influencing them to alter their perceptions and behavior. Advertising as an impersonal means of communicating information, informs and indicates. Furthermore, it influences consciences, imposes standards, changes needs and directs towards certain behaviors. Its mechanism to convince is extremely effective to public service as far as the promotion of social messages is concerned. This is because it attracts peoples' interest, regardless of whether it consists of a wide variety of receivers or not.

The social advertising that served the Greek government's strategy during the first period of the Covid-19 pandemic was a non-personalized means of communication sponsored by the Hellenic Republic (the Greek national emblem dominates the audiovisual advertising messages) and more specifically by the Secretary General for Civil Protection (the Secretary's emblem dominates the audiovisual advertising campaign). The campaigns "Stay at home" and "Stay safe" were state-funded by the Government. A sponsorship of around 20.000.000 euros was given to a number of conventional and electronic media (see The Daily Post.gr, 2020). Two campaign signs were produced. In the "Stay at home' image there was a drawing of a house surrounded by trees. It is worth mentioning that the house was painted in soft color pink and the trees with a dark color in a kind of pointed shape.

Implemented for controlling the spread of coronavirus, both campaigns' aim was to familiarize the citizens with the imposing governmental restrictions and the (implied) changes in their daily life in order to achieve a change in individual and social conduct. The whole advertising campaign was reproduced by the total of media in every way at a high frequency to activate immediately and quickly the mechanisms of persuasion on the largest possible number of citizens.

The Greek government's goal was to use the convincing dimension of these advertisements to prevail over the ability of citizens to make autonomous decisions regarding the individual and

collective management of the pandemic. Basically, the "Stay at home" and "Stay safe" campaigns aimed to convince citizens to comply with the social distancing measures imposed by the government, to accept or tolerate the state's "interference" in their everyday lives and to be motivated to act for the benefit of the common good.

Those advertisements added non- material value in the main goal through the highlighting of the positive and negative aspects that arise from personal experiences regarding that goal (Loewenstein et al., 2014; Alexander et al., 2011). And this is because both their goal and their results were exclusively qualitative: the promotion of common behaviors and attitudes in people with different conceptions and backgrounds through an audiovisual, semiotics-based arrangement capable of convincing, forming attitudes and directing towards the "common good".

4. Research and Methodology

The main subject of research is the social advertisements funded by the Greek government and reproduced from March to June 2020 by conventional and internet media, social media included. Their objective was to familiarize citizens with the new reality imposed by the Covid-19 pandemic and convince them on the importance of the social distancing measures imposed by the government.

Those advertisements consist of eight (8) spots that are part of the campaigns "Stay at home" and "Stay safe". More specifically:

- 1. "Stay at home and stay healthy" [first reproduction (aired) 14/03/2020] (Greek Government [1], 2020),
- 2. "How we delay the virus' spread" (first reproduction 19/03/2020) (MediaGovGR [1], 2020),
- 3. "While the virus is out there" (first reproduction 19/03/2020) (MediaGovGR [2], 2020),
- 4. "We don't get scared-we get informed" (first reproduction 19/03/2020) (MediaGovGR [3], 2020),
- 5. "Stay at home. Be a winner" [1] (first reproduction 8/04/2020) (Greek Government [2], 2020),
- 6. "Stay at home, be a winner" [2] (first reproduction 15/04/2020) (Ministry for Climate Change and Civil Protection Greece [1], 2020),
- 7. "Stay safe- don't crowd" [1] (first reproduction 09/05/2020 withdrawn) (Neocleous, 2020), and
- 8. "Stay safe- don't crowd" [2] (first reproduction 10/05/2020) (Ministry for Climate Change and Civil Protection Greece [2], 2020.

All eight (8) are audiovisual spots, while three of them are also presented in sign language (i.e. #2, #3, #4). Their analysis is interdisciplinary, as advertising itself uses a 'language' based on semiotic and communication models introduced by Charles Sanders Peirce (1832-1917) and Ferdinand de Saussure (1857-1913).

Both thinkers were pioneers in the field of Semiotics. For Peirce (1868) representations generate further interpretants in one of three possible ways: a) an icon, b) an index and c) a symbol. If we come to interpret a sign as standing for its object in virtue of some shared quality (likenesses), then it can be characterized as an icon (see for example portraits and noted similarities between the letters p and b). If we come to interpret in virtue of an existential fact, then the sign is an index (see for example the weathercock and the relationship between the victim and his/her murderer). If we make an interpretant in virtue of some observed

conventional connection between sign and object, then the sign can be characterized as a symbol (see for example the words "homme" and "man" sharing a reference) (Atkin, 2022).

de Saussure (1959: 65-70) underlined the social aspect of Semiotics and classified it in social psychology. He made a distinction between two inseparable components of a sign: a) the signifier, which linguistically is a set of marks or speech sounds (sound-image), and b) the signified, that is the concept/idea behind the sign. For de Saussure, both components are purely psychological.

A sign is anything that creates meaning. It is anything that can be used to represent something else. Those social advertisements were seen/approached as media of creating meanings where signs of oral and written speech are deployed and at the same time they carry the signifier, the form as sound and vision, and the signified, which is the notion-idea, the concept that is represented. In our case, the signifier refers to the form of the signs of the two campaigns and the signified to the ideas behind the campaign signs. As already mentioned, signs can be also classified as icon, index and symbol. An analysis of the signs is presented below in terms of the above categorization. For practical reasons, the recording of the advertising spots is not included in the present research.

5. Analysis

In the first advertisement of the campaign «Stay at home», the well-known actor and presenter Spyros Papadopoulos addresses mainly the citizens of the 60+ age group prompting them to «stay in to be healthy». The spot conveys a message referring to the popular show that he himself hosts whose audience literally is the same age group. His image and behavior do not differentiate from his habits a fact that by itself contributes to the creation of the expected feeling of intimacy-trust, which is crucial for effectively convincing the public. The message "Stay at home" remains permanently on screen and is particularly clear, while it is intensified by the narrative of the protagonist who addresses "grandmothers", "grandfathers" and "grandchildren". The subject of the advertisement is of keynote importance of the spot. It is the government's main goal as it turns "health" into a symbol. The actor gathers around it all the positive elements that "confirm" that self-restraint at home is "good" and confesses his personal commitment by stating that «he does not wash his hands» (is not indifferent to) of his responsibility. The importance of the main character is highlighted with the lack of soundtrack as well as with the preference to natural sounds that are caused by his targeted actions, such as his over precise and necessary according to medical orders hand washing. In the present spot the actor-presenter mediates between receiver and transmitter being at the same time the medium and the message.

In the next three social ads that are part of the same campaign and were played on the same day (19/03/2020), the message is visual, in sign language and audio. In the foreground stands the woman who conveys the message with sign language, on the left back side cards that carry text messages and images swap, while on the right back side the sign and the verbal depiction of the campaign "Stay at home" remain consistently visible. In general, the graphic designs that are used refer to a house, therefore they create to the receiver a subconscious visual relation between the ideas of security and home.

In the first spot "How we delay the virus' spread", twelve (12) cards swap and so do the messages/instructions supported by corresponding visual representations and animated color patterns. The messages/instructions are announced by a female voice. Moreover, the coronavirus is symbolized by the red color, the need of vulnerable groups and aged people for protection relates to the sign "Stay at home", the references are associated with the stereotype of a male physician and mild symptomatology is described with visual references to a cold. In

the final cards the voice emphasizes that "the more we isolate ourselves and stay at home the less we spread the virus" and presents the call center and website where people could get informed. The spot finishes with the Hellenic emblem and reference to the Hellenic Republic.

In the second audiovisual spot - supported by sign language "While the virus is out there", the same female figure is framed once again by the sign of the campaign. In the third and last spot «We don't get scared-we get informed», the woman who conveys the meaning in sign language stands in front of a brick wall and at the edge of that wall some cards carrying messages/instructions swap. Those messages are also announced by a female voice. The same, as in the first advertisement, messages are supported by corresponding visual representations and animated color patterns. The spot finishes with the Hellenic emblem and reference to the Hellenic Republic, while the sign of the campaign remains consistently visible at the top left side of the screen. Those three similar socio/educational advertisements clearly indicate the government's intention to convey in every direction instructions "of salvation" for managing the pandemic in the best possible way. With the combination of written text, image/, sign language and speaking they make citizens visualize and color the "invisible enemy" (red=danger) when at the same time they symbolize "home" as the safest place on earth for everyone. They introduce a distinction between vulnerable and non-vulnerable citizens, they personalize the need to act and take responsibility, "socialize" distancing and define in terms of time the duration of the pandemic. The governments' pursuit to reproduce "light" messages aiming at convincing directly and fast undoubtedly urged the producers of the spots to step on stereotypes and commonly accepted concepts: male doctor, grandfather with walking stick, vulnerable aged people etc.

As part of the same campaign, on 15/04/2020 two spots "Stay at home -be a winner" were also reproduced. They are Greek-centered social advertisements that focus on landmarks of Athens (and not only). They aim at provoking to the audience emotional involvement, showing (national) unanimity and focusing on the common goal against the pandemic. The aim of the producer of the message, and so of the government, is to remind the Greeks of the obstacles they had already overcome with common effort and discipline (i.e. recession) but at the same time of the reward of their efforts. They place Greece among the countries that best coped with the first wave of the pandemic. The simple "heroes". Heroes that contributed with their sense of responsibility to the positive image of the country to the rest of the world, as well as to the Greek society. They form a chain of donation to achieve a higher common goal. The «heroes» workers look straight at the camera, «look» in the eyes of all those to whom they offer their services, waiting from them to do the same: "Stay at home". People of the state (of the Civil Protection) are not just "heroes", but "fighters", set in an exaggerating and Greek-centered narration that aims at convincing through the creation of intense emotions. These specific advertisements encourage the audience to feel proud of their accomplishments, to comply with the instructions and show discipline, to self-protect and protect the vulnerable, to distance themselves and «stay at home». During the first lockdown a "hero" is consider whoever choses isolation and social withdrawal. The goal of making someone feel like a "hero" is facilitated using "unanimous" and "Greek-centered" music composed by Dionisis Savopoulos, where images and meanings are «bound together» artistically in the second spot.

The invocation to the audience's recollection is more powerful/intense than any other advertisement. The core-traditional Greek family that celebrates at home is "heroic", heroes have become the workers in business sectors still in operation. The linguistic elements of signifier and signified enforce the visual ones. They «step on» commonly accepted patterns and are easily received by the receivers who are used to them. The decoding of words and images in those "Stay at home" social advertisements reveal intentions, prejudices, and mentalities of the Greek society where "tradition" and "patriarchy" seem to prevail. In both

"Stay at home" spots the advertiser demonstrates the *hero* Greece who comes out unharmed from the «battle» with the coronavirus, unwilling to fight the past and everything that goes against the modern.

The last two social advertisements refer to the campaign «Stay Safe». They mark the passage from the time of social distancing to that of managing social encounters and crowding. For the promotional needs of the specific campaign two advertising spots were broadcasted with the main message/instruction "Stay safe- don't crowd": one with leading actress Katerina Lechou and the second with leading actor Christos Loulis which was eventually withdrawn as found sexist. They both carry common ground and are individual-centered, as they are exclusively based on the motive "Famous People" and use speech skills as medium. The spots lack secondary images, written messages and music. They only focus on combinations of sounds/pauses which emphasize specific phrases, such as "alone" or "all together". The leading roles are presented by actors with ideal female and male physical analogies while they comply with the requirements of modern fashion. These elements intensify the plausibility of the supposedly experiential language they use and so of the supposedly personal narration. The advertiser undoubtedly identifies the real public image of the actors with the «persona» presented in the spot. This way the procedure of persuasion is facilitated and so is the positive reception of the message/instruction conveyed. The dramatic/theatrical monologue refers to a friendly conversation, therefore it is in the simple, flowing, lively, familiar and often "slang" everyday language. Nevertheless, it «steps on» a text carefully composed, coherent and easy to be understood and memorized.

The two «personae» of the spots appear to express the voice of reason in contrast to their "friends" who are unaware of the seriousness of the situation as they point out that the risk of coronavirus not only has it not passed, but it remains in places of intense overcrowding. In the same way they stress that avoiding overcrowding reduce the possibility of "returning to where we were yesterday", i.e. "at home". Therefore, whoever still goes to places of intense overcrowding should be "mustered" ("rounded up"), a word that refers also to sheep that need to be guided to get back on track (see spot #8). Those references intent to cause feelings of fear and guilt and create a kind of social polarization between "responsible" and "irresponsible" people, "intelligent and idiots". The leading roles of the advertisements add value to the social message, connect the receiver to the transmitter and the form with the content. In the case of actor K. Lechou the receiver is possibly convinced that she herself symbolizes the message of the social advertisement. Regarding the withdrawn spot # 7, the advertiser's concept was similar, but blatantly and stereotypically sexist. Table 1 presents the key point of the eight spots and some findings of the Semiotics analysis.

Table 1. *A review of the main points of the spots under investigation*

Spot aired	Spot name	Key points	Semiotics analysis
14/03/2020	# 1 Stay at home and stay healthy	 Turning «health» into a symbol Emphasis on "grandmothers", "grandfathers" and "grandchildren" Self-restraint at home is "good" 	 Signifier: "grandmothers", "grandfathers" / Signified: Vulnerable population Index for health: Washing of hands, interior of house
19/03/2020	# 2 How we delay the virus' spread	Use of sign languageFemale narration	 Signifier: Hellenic emblem / Signified:
19/03/2020	# 3 While the virus is out there	Red color coronavirusSecurity and home	Greek government

19/03/2020	# 4 We don't get scared-we get informed	 Symptomatology "Stay at home" sign constantly visible Emphasis on isolation Emphasis on the Greek government 	 Icon for home/security: the light colored house of the "Stay at home" sign"
8/04/2020	# 5 Stay at home. Be a winner [1]	Landmarks of Athens"Heroes" – A national fight	• Signifier: Greek workers and Greek music /
15/04/2020	#6 Stay at home, be a winner [2]	Pride and disciplineGreek-centered musicEmphasis on Greece	Signified: GreeceSymbol of pride and discipline: The Tomb of the Unknown Soldier
09/05/2020	# 7 Stay safe- don't crowd [1]	Individual-centeredFamous people – theatrical	 Signifier: People overcrowding «mustered»
10/05/2020	#8 Stay safe- don't crowd [2]	monologues Everyday language "Responsible" and "irresponsible" people	/ Signified: Being obligatoryIndex for "responsible people": Famous people:

Based on Table 1, findings indicate, among others, that for the Hellenic emblem signifier, the signified is the Hellenic government. For the Greek workers and Greek music signifier (see spot #5), the signified is Greece. In addition, for most of the spots, the signified refer to the ideas of security/safety and home. Graphic designs create a subconscious visual relation between the ideas of security and home (hometown, home country). As already mentioned, signs can be classified as one of three types. Within this context, an icon can be associated with images of workers, an index with the connection between the emblem and the government and a symbol could be «health» as well as other signs, such as "The Tomb of the Unknown Soldier", a war memorial, in the center of Athens, outside the Hellenic Parliament (see "Stay at homebe a winner" [1]).

Furthermore, it has to be noted that the effectiveness of the advertising campaigns "Stay at home" and "Stay safe", has not been measured statistically yet by any public or private body, not until the time of the present research. Through a particularly extensive internet search no statistical data measuring the social acceptability of these messages were found. On the contrary there are numerous articles that link the campaigns in question to "suspicious" media funding from the government.

This hypothesis was investigated by a Committee of the Hellenic Parliament in 2022. Its main objective was to check if there was a political campaign of manipulation of the public opinion and a waste of public money. In its conclusion it stated that the realization of the plan of the communication campaign against the coronavirus was an absolute success as it was allocated to a leading advertising agency (Initiative Media), while the procedure that was followed for the production of the spots was totally transparent and legal (Hellenic Parliament, 2022:18-20).

From the government's point of view the advertising campaign proved to be «lifesaving and legal» (see Newsroom [1], 2020; Newsroom [2], 2021) while the opposition considered it illegitimate, non-transparent and unspecified effective (see Vouliwatch, 2020). The only facts that can be noted at this moment is that none of the advertisements have been favorably evaluated at an international level to be included in the list of the forty (40) successful spots of the Eurozone (Wyld, 2020). Also, their production coincide with intense emotional twists and turns of twitter users: while at first the users' feelings were negative later they turned to neutral and finally they became positive. Of course, any correlations between changing moods and the broadcasting of the "Stay at Home", "Stay Safe" campaign ads are uncertain and not documented and can only be seen as hypothesis.

6. Conclusion-Discussion

Social advertising, through conventional and internet-based media, during the first lockdown of the Covid-19 pandemic in Greece dominated the public sphere with both quantitative (under the scope of frequency of reproduction) and qualitative (as regards the volume of information-directions-orders) communication, updates, and relevant information. It served the goals of the Greek government by praising at first the special features of Greek people by criticizing phobias and then by condemning carelessness. The "advertiser" gained the citizens' acceptance of the imposed restrictions either by leading them or by praising them for their obedience and discipline, even by "finger-wagging". With the campaigns "Stay at home" and "Stay safe", social distancing, loneliness and social withdrawal were idealized, when at the same time sociability was demonized. Citizens were polarized/divided to those with «right» and «wrong» political attitude, those who put or not the vulnerable in danger. The seriousness of the pandemic, gave the "divine right" to advertisers to prefer and "excuse" insulting expressions, stereotypical sexist, and racist speech, patriarchal and class narratives, socially divisive and polarizing discourses. Under that scope, the process of persuasion was often confused with rudeness, insult, covered threat.

In a general framework, the whole campaign is considered a rather successful one. One reason for that is because it changed its focus in time. As shown by the above analysis, a typical example of this "smart" adaptation is the change of the signified. While in the beginning, through the use of the Hellenic emblem the signified was the Greek government, then it became the country itself. It became every one of us. This had the effect of boosting the morale of the citizens so that the demanding effort could continue. The campaign adapted to the needs of a public already tired of the imposed measures.

The dynamics of those social advertising campaigns is yet unquestionable as it combines vision, sound, written and sign language, and most importantly, accessibility to mainstream conventional and online media. Their failure, however, lies in that they eventually did not innovate, express better ideas nor effectively communicate the intended message without distracting from the central objective or raising debate for all the wrong reasons.

This may be attributed to the superficial approach of government officials and campaign managers, who have not adequately responded to their role as responsible modern leaders (see Tzavaras & Stelios, 2022). They chose a direct award process rather than a competitive one, probably due to lack of time. This «easy» and «convenient» way led to the employment of famous people to achieve symbolisms that would work as reinforcements in the process of persuasion. However, in a technologically advanced society, a case like that ends up being obsolete, particularly when combined with a stereotypical rhetoric. In that framework, the immediate need to share the message of protection remained past-oriented. It served only those with a stereotypical type of thinking. In the end, it seems that the only thing these ads eventually managed to do was to promote a dialogue about correctness, freedom and tolerance.

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