

Between elaboration and dismissal. An analysis of documentaries broadcast by public Italian television on terrorist violence and ideology during the *Anni di piombo*.

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The paper's aim

In our paper we want to describe a specific kind of communication that could be seen as going “over the top”. We refer to documentaries recently broadcast by the Italian public television broadcaster (Rai), asking victims of the massive social violence that occurred in Italy during the Seventies to recall their sufferings in order to help their audience – especially young people born after the end of these events – to have a representation of this difficult period of the Italian past. We observed in-depth these communicative acts of victims, paying special attention not only to the verbal contents of their bearing witness but also to their body communication. Using a mixed methodology, based on a multimodal analysis of communication (Poggi, 2007) as well as on the analysis of facial expressions of emotions (FACS, cfr. Ekman & Friesen, 1978), we detected some significant differences in the communicative acts of victims recalling the past massive violence that occurred in Italian society. Two different kinds of stances (Goffman, 1981; Du Bois, 2007; Jaffe, 2009) emerged from an initial analysis of these communicative acts: victims either judged that by now the time had come to allow former perpetrators to be reinserted into social life, or continued to express their resentment against them. Although journalists authoring documentaries clearly showed, through several communicative signals, that they preferred the forgiving stance to the resentful one, the aim of our paper is to describe how, using an in-depth analysis, not only the expression of resentment but both these communications of victims seem somehow to go “over the top”. At the end of this in-depth description, we propose an interpretation of the functions fulfilled by these different kinds of communication by framing them in an overall hypothesis on the more general societal processes that are expected to be used in order to arrive at elaborating a traumatic collective past (Nadler, 2001). The final point that we will try to make is that the broadcasting of the polemic dialogue between the forgiving victims and the victims sticking to their resentment may perhaps be an effective way to enhance societal elaboration of this past violence. We think in fact that, without the

harsh debate between victims sticking to their resentment and victims distancing themselves from it, the memory of these difficult years risks somehow being dismissed from contemporary social discourse.

However, stepping back from the case analyzed to general methodological issues, our results seem to suggest that not only the verbal contents of victims' communication, but also nuances of their body signals have to be taken into account. In our opinion, it is the joint action of all these different modalities of communication that conveys to the audience when and how this debate, by going "over the top", powerfully stresses how much these old memories are still alive and meaningful in contemporary social life. At the end of this paper, we hope to show that the mixed methodology that we used, combining both an in-depth multimodal analysis of communication (Poggi, 2007) and analysis of facial expression of emotion (FACS cfr. Ekman & Friesen, 1978), could be a useful tool for grasping some of the intriguing complexities that sometimes make a communication that goes "over the top" a socially meaningful one.

General background

The present paper is inserted into a more general study, aimed at exploring the social construction of collective memory of the period known in Italy as *Anni di piombo* or years of lead. During this chapter of Italian history -- ranging from the Seventies to the beginning of the Eighties -- a severe clash of opposing ideologies (oriented to the extreme Left and to the extreme Right) generated different kinds of social violence. This violence disrupted the very important advances that Italian society was acquiring during this same period, especially in the field of civil rights, somehow freezing this highly positive social development (G. Moro, 2007).

On the one hand, a widespread political violence targeted all those who tried, because of their social role, to reform the democratic institutions rather than agreeing on the need for their massive and "revolutionary" change. Victims of this kind of violence were journalists, university professors of law or economics, judges, trade-union leaders, etc. But of course the most targeted were political leaders – the Prime Minister Aldo Moro being the most famous and best remembered among these victims. Side by side with this political violence, carried out by small clandestine groups (the "Red Brigades" were the most famous), many dramatic terroristic attacks killed ordinary people, caught in everyday situations of their lives such as getting on a train or a plane, attending a public speech in a square, visiting their bank, etc.

While the perpetrators of the political violence claimed their responsibilities, unsuccessfully asking people to join their struggle, the perpetrators of the terrorist violence were anonymous – and in spite of the many efforts made to this day to find them, some seem bound to remain anonymous. However, a general and well-proven knowledge was ascertained that, while not detecting the actual names of these perpetrators, allowed historians and judges to attribute this kind of violence to terrorist groups inspired by

Fascist ideology and sometimes supported by sections of the Italian secret services that betrayed the democratic Italian Constitution established after the end of Fascist regime. Due to the crucial geographical position of Italy during the Cold War years, the further influence of foreign secret services on some of this terrorist violence cannot be ruled out.

In the study that we are presenting today, we focus our attention only on the communication of victims of the political violence perpetrated by the Red Brigades. We refer therefore to a situation where perpetrators were generally detected and punished for their crimes. Among them some decided, as time went by, to dissociate themselves from the violent political ideology that motivated their crimes; others declared themselves political fighters, recognizing their defeat but still maintaining the stance that violence was the only means to achieve a revolutionary change of the Italian institutions, which they still judge to be the best political choice to pursue. When bearing witness about the violence that smashed their lives, the victims that we consider in this study had therefore to cope with either of two kinds of perpetrators of political violence: either people who were punished but arrived to change their minds and to recognize that their crimes were linked to pointless violence, or people who accepted the punishment but never changed their opinion about the need for the violence they carried out against their victims. Their personal choice to consider that the time is eventually come to insert again perpetrators into the civil society, or on the contrary to continue to express resentment against them, may be understood taking also into account the lack of acknowledgment characterizing until today some of these past crimes (Brudholm, 2008).

1. Procedure

1.1. Corpus

For the research undertaken, our group initially collected, from the archives of the national broadcasting company Rai, 132 documentaries and journalistic inquiries on the *Anni di Piombo* which, between the Seventies and the present day, have attempted a historical reconstruction of that period.

The contents of this material was carefully analyzed, through the elaboration of a record sheet within which were recorded the main information: day and year of production, time of broadcast and TV station, makers, director, main theme and protagonists.

From this analysis there emerges:

- a media representation of the Seventies linked almost exclusively to violence and disregarding the social advances of those years;
- a prevalence of documentaries devoted to the political violence, especially to the armed organization of the so-called Red Brigades (*Brigate Rosse*)
- and recently, starting from 2000 until now, an increased focus on the narratives of victims and of their family members (Leone, Roseti, Del Conte, *submitted*).

This longitudinal analysis of documentaries confirmed the ‘turn to the victims’ in the Italian culture when new generations came to their adult age, i.e. a shift to victims-centered narratives that occurred since the start of the new millennium. This same shift was already observed in other researches recently conducted on Italian books and cinema referred to this historical period (cfr. Glynn, 2013). Our analysis of documentaries broadcast by the Italian public television broadcaster Rai showed in fact that recent documentaries finally allowed victims and their relatives to witness, and that this trend to insert the victims’ narratives in the social discourse on past massive violence occurred in Italy during the Seventies was confirmed from 2000 until now.

At a face value, this ‘turn to the victims’ could be seen, according with the socio-emotional model of reconciliation proposed by Shnabel and Nadler (2008), as a way to meet the basic need of empowering of the victims, after their experience of helplessness.

On the one hand, it could be seen as a sign that victims were finally allowed to speech to the public Italian television, making it possible for the audience to confront their sufferings. The long period when they voices were silenced may be interpreted as typical of the avoidance period that usually follows a massive social trauma (Nadler, 2001). According to this theoretical framework, based on the observations of different examples of societal reactions to massive social traumas, the social elaboration of this difficult past usually develops in three main stages: 1. Avoidance, when the trauma is avoided in the social discourse and the societal copying focus on getting on with everyday routines, as if the trauma did not disrupt the social life of the group; 2. Confront, when the social discourse arrives at last to cope directly with the trauma and its disruptive consequences; 3. Integration, when the trauma becomes a factual evidence of the past and the society turns finally the page, letting to the work of the historians the responsibility to integrate these traumatic events in the overall narrative of the past of the group. According to this theoretical frame, therefore, the “turn to the victims” of the Italian documentaries from 2000 until now could be seen as a sign of the passage from the first period of avoidance to the second period of confront with past trauma.

On the other hand, however, many features of the documentaries collected have to be added to this first theoretical interpretation of the current turn to the victims. Confronted with the documentaries shown before this 'turn to the victim' shift, the broadcasting time of recent documentaries allowing victims to speak changed from prime time to morning or night and their audience obviously decreased. Moreover, the focus of documentaries' narrative became more focused on violent episodes and less devoted to a broader understanding of the entire period (Leone, Roseti & Del Conte, *submitted*). Summing all it up, this 'turn to the victims' could therefore be interpreted in an ambivalent way: either as a deeper societal elaboration of this past trauma or as a simple dismissal of this difficult historical period reduced to the private experience of suffering expressed by the victims and their relatives without paying due attention to a more general understanding of its unresolved historical issues (De Luna, 2011).

As regards this, it seemed therefore appropriate to further whittle down the material gathered.

Referring exclusively to the documentaries dedicated to terrorism, in which the protagonists are the victims and their family members, the research corpus was therefore reduced to n. 56 documentaries and journalistic inquiries, produced between 1979 and 2013. According to the above mentioned idea of the "turn to the victims", among these 56 documentaries 27 were broadcast in the decade ranging from 2003 to 2013. We decided therefore to analyze more in depth these last programmes. We noticed, as already shown from the first general study on all documentaries on the *Anni di piombo*, that also in this reduced corpus the focus was mainly centered on the victims of the Red Brigades. Due also to the relevant differences in the violent episodes occurred in Italy in this period, already discussed, we decided to concentrate our attention in this first step only to the most represented ones, i.e. episodes perpetrated by the Red Brigades.

Therefore, we chose to analyse in-depth – through multimodal analysis of communication (Poggi, 2007) and analysis of facial microexpressions of emotion, F.A.C.S. (Ekman, Friesen 1978) – a special edition of the Rai 2 TV news broadcast in April 2011, in which the two opposing present-day stances that the family members of the victims of the Red Brigades clearly emerged: to forgive the perpetrators that accepted their punishment or to stick to resentment?

1.2. Methodology

Victims narratives broadcast in the special edition of the Rai 2 TV news broadcast in April 2011 were studied combining multimodal analysis of communication (Poggi, 2007) and analysis of facial expression and emotions conducted through the use of FACS (Ekman & Friesen, 1978).

The coding of the facial expressions through FACS begins from the assumption, originally proposed by Darwin, of the regularity of muscular movements of the face in emotional reaction, which would be linked to the idea that the communication of emotions is innate and universal. This analysis permits, then, the detection of the expression of emotions through the recognition of a typical configuration of movements of the facial muscles, present in the atlas of possible facial expressions given by FACS.

Multimodal analysis of communication begins instead from the assumption that, in the same way that a set of rules exists that, acting together, create a language, so communication is created by the joint action of the rules that underlie facial expressions, modulation of the voice, gestures and body movements.

This technique of analysis proposes then to consider jointly *five principal modalities* of transmission of communicative signals:

- *Verbal modality*: based on the analysis of the words
- *Prosodic-intonative modality*: based on the analysis of the voice, with attention to the temporal aspects of the speech, the rhythm, pauses, length of the vowels and accents, intensity and tone;
- *Gestural modality*: analysis of the gestures based on the movements of the hands, the arms and the shoulders;
- *Facial modality*: analysis of the gaze, the movements of the head, smiles and laughs, facial expressions, movements of the mouth (analysis in our case integrated by FACS analysis);
- *Corporeal modality*: analysis of the posture, the movements of the chest and legs, of orientation in relation to the interlocutors and movement of the body in space.

All the productive modalities are used simultaneously and synchronized with the speech, each one offering a precise semantic contribution with different ends. In fact, with the sender pronounces the verbal contents of their discourse, giving the information at their disposal to the world, they communicate at the same time through the other modalities the purposes of their communication, the thoughts and feelings that they feel about that specific message (2007). The addressee, furthermore, observing the body of the speaker while they listen to their words, in a few seconds perceptively acquires or infers specific knowledge on the sex, age, ethnic and cultural roots and personality of the sender. This information is often communicated by the sender against their own will. This information, deduced by the recipient through observation of the speaker's body, interact with the effects of the strategies of self-presentation of the speaker (Goffman, 1961), that is with the image that the one speaking wishes to give of themselves, consciously producing some signals or monitoring them during their speech, to induce a type of specific perception of themselves in the recipient.

Describing the speech as a sort of “communicative symphony”, Poggi (2007) proposes the score of multimodal communication as the best instrument to transcribe, analyze and classify the joint action of several signals transmitted in the different modalities present in a communicative fragment.

In the score, the five modalities cited above are written and analyzed on parallel lines like in the musical score of an orchestra. Thus for each signal of each modality, five levels of analysis are effected:

- DS is the description of the signal to describe the physical characteristic of movement, gestures, gaze, posture and vocal elements in terms of: length, intensity, fundamental frequency and pauses for prosodic-intonative signals.
- Ts is the type of signal. Each signal may be classified. For instance: baton-like gesture, deictic gaze, iconic gesture. The gestures for instance can be: *deictic*, when they point to an object or person with the index finger or open hand; *iconic*, when they draw in the air the form or imitate the typical movements of an object, animal or person; *symbolic*, when a gesture in a cultural moment has a meaning easily translatable into words or phrases. Lastly the *baton-like* gesture, when the hands go from up to down to emphasize what is spoken; baton-like gestures are often unconscious.

- S is the meaning of each signal, its verbal translation.
- TS is the type of meaning. Each signal is classified as information on the world (Imo), identity (IIM) or the mind (IMM) of the sender.
- F is the function. The semantic relation between the signal being analyzed and the concomitant verbal signal or another signal taken as a point of reference and that may be *repetitive* when the two signals have the same meaning; *additional*, when a signal adds a meaning congruent with that of the other signal; *contradictory*, when the meaning of the signal in question contrasts with that of a concomitant signal; *independent*, when the signal in question is not in relation with another signal produced simultaneously because they are part of two independent plans of action.

In multimodal communication the signals expressed in the various modalities combine and are integrated with coherence. Sometimes, however, the signals manifest discordant, clashing or contradictory meanings. These are cases of error, ambivalence and deception in the communication. Contradictory communicative behaviours, for instance, are a sign of deception. In the hypothesis in which deception is expressed in relation to the emotions truly felt, they seep out through an imperfect simulation given by micromovements not belonging to the expressive category typical of the emotion that the sender desires to convey, or certain time lags in the expression. When instead the content of what is being said is false, the deception is revealed by the filtering through of emotions set off by the very act of deceiving and there is contradiction between meanings expressed in different modalities. For this reason the task of the score is to establish whether there is correspondence between the perceivable behavior of the speaker and their thinking.

Through further analysis carried out with the FACS (Facial Action Coding System) system it was possible to classify the muscle movements of the face. This classification was developed by a Swedish anatomist, Carl-Herman Hjortsjo and then recodified by Paul Ekman and Wallace V. Friesen in 1978, with updates made by Ekman and Friesen together with Joseph C. Hager in 2002. Through this technique of analysis of facial microexpressions it is possible to identify the inner emotional state of the person, obtaining indications on the subject's hidden thoughts and feelings.

The technique attributes a combination of corresponding codes to determinate facial micromovements (called action units) affected by the person. The combination of these movements may lead to a further decodification or "translation" of the code into a prevalently emotional and generally unconscious meaning.

1.3. Selected broadcast: Tg2 Punto di vista “Ancora un Bierre in libertà” (Rai 2 TV news Viewpoint “Another Red Brigade Member Freed”)

The section of the Rai 2 TV news, presented by Maurizio Martinelli, broadcast in the late evening on the second channel of the national network every Tuesday, is a clear informative window lasting 15 minutes in total, on the most topical events, personalities and issues of the national and international scenes.

The edition of the programme in question was made on the occasion of the release from prison of Vincenzo Guagliardo, one of the three Red Brigade members who killed Guido Rossa, a worker and trade unionist of Italsider in Genoa, in 1979. This, then, is the news story which was the cue for the reflection and the conversation between Sabina Rossa, Guido’s daughter and an in-studio guest, and Giovanni Berardi, in video connection, whose father Rosario was killed by the Red Brigades in Turin in 1978.

The programme was selected for its particular organization and structuring. A brief introductory picture of the event in question, the release from prison and the killings committed, forms a preamble to the discussion. There follows a triangulation of the debate, managed by the journalist and oriented prevalently towards a double vision: forgiveness for the perpetrators on the part of the victims’ family members, and their still-powerful resentment.

In the course of the special edition, then, two different voices are set in opposition, exemplifying two different communicative modalities: one, that of Sabina Rossa, who believes in the possibility of the men’s change and amelioration, and who fought so that Guagliardo (her father’s murderer) could obtain conditional freedom; the other, instead, that of Giovanni Berardi, who wants to hear nothing of understanding, strongly disconcerted and indignant at the various judicial decisions taken in recent years.

2. Results

Two independent judges divided the video of the programme into small fragments, analyzing them through a multimodal analysis grid, as shown in the methodological section. This first analysis allowed to choose from among these fragments the most meaningful, in which the antithetical positions of the guests and the particular management of the discussion on the part of the journalist, prevalently oriented towards giving space to the Honourable Rossa, are evident.

The fragments selected are demonstrative of a tendency of a communication used to defend the stance towards emotional reconciliation on the one hand, and the stance of resentment on the other on the part of those who, like Giovanni Berardi, are not disposed to forgive.

In Berardi’s words there emerge, indeed, a powerful resentment and persisting anger towards the terrorists. He concentrates predominantly on the error they committed, he doesn’t consider them capable of change and can’t see why still today the State helps these people to make new lives for themselves. According to a multimodal analysis of communication, this moment of Berardi’s communication clearly goes “over the top”. His verbal communication describes his father’s murderers dehumanizing them (Volpato *et al.*, 2010): *These are the characters that we still have in circulation, as I said earlier, they live almost like vampires of the blood spilt in the past.* Moreover these words expressed a clear embayage (Greimas, Courtés, 1979) that represents the past terroristic threaten as if still inserted into current social life, since “*we still have in circulation*” these “*characters*”. The intensity and the tone of Berardi’s voice when pronouncing the words “*characters*” and “*still*” are high; the prosody is quick and interrupted by frequent inspirations; the posture is oriented backwards, as distancing himself from his interlocutors; gestures are blocked by his grip on the book he is pressing on his chest, book that he is somehow showing to the camera but that the journalist will not mention when speaking to him during all the programme. Finally, shortly after this sentence he is interrupted by the journalist that turns to Sabina Rossa without looking at him anymore. Interestingly, these multimodal analysis is completed by the facial expressions made evident by the FACS. During all this sentence, in fact, Berardi’s face is clearly expressing his anger, shown without any regulatory act (Frjida, 2009).

Berardi (n.1)		
<i>“These are the characters that we still have in circulation, as I said earlier, they live almost like vampires of the blood spilt in the past.”</i>		
Coding AUs	Decoding	
AUs 4+10+50+56	Anger	

Figure 1. First example of resentment with FACS Analysis

During all the programme, Berardi keep on showing how his anger towards the members of Red Brigades is still alive after all these years. Often, this emotion is followed by the expression of contempt, as in the next example. Here, requested by the journalist to narrate to young generations about the period of the so-called Anni di piombo, he replies: *“It was a period where the absence of the State gave space to a lobby of crazies who plunged our country in bloodshed, lying shamelessly about their intentions.”* As before, his verbal contents are characterized by an overtly insulting representation of the terrorists (*a lobby of crazies... lying shamelessly about their intentions*). The tone and intensity of his voice are more controlled than before, but the prosody is uncertain and interrupted, especially after the words *lying shamelessly* when he quickly repeat three times the words *about their*: *“lying shamelessly about their... about their... about their intentions”*. Also now his posture is oriented backwards, as before, but this time his disease is more evident, since he is rocking back and forth in his chair while talking. Together with these multimodal signals of communication, his facial expression is showing once again his anger, that not only is expressed without regulation, but is immediately followed by a clear expression of contempt.

Berardi (n.2)		
<i>“It was a period where the absence of the State gave space to a lobby of crazies who plunged our country in bloodshed, lying shamelessly about their intentions.”</i>		
Coding AUs	Decoding	
AUs 4+50+53	Anger	
AUs 15+17+56	Contempt	

Figure 2. Second example of resentment with FACS Analysis

During all the programme Sabina Rossa, instead, argues that she is convinced that a person can change and that Guagliardo (her father's murderer) is truly aware of the evil he caused and repentant; she claims, furthermore, that *"the years of jail that the guilty are sentenced to cannot and must not constitute our compensation"*. These words embody a long and difficult journey, both personal and social, towards the reconciliation that led Rossa to overcome those feelings of hatred and incomprehension towards the murderers of her father, to wish to understand their motives and to trust to their change, to open herself to the possibility of real repentance and to grant her public communication enhance. Apparently, she is much more in control of her communication than Berardi. She sits in a proud, dignified posture (Poggi, D'Errico, 2012); the prosody of her speech is calm and fluent; she replies always during her turn without interrupting the other ones and she is never interrupted in her speaking. However, at a closer look her disease is evident in many excerpts from the programme. Although less openly, many signals suggest in fact that every now and then she is too "going over the top".

Mostly, her difficulties are made evident by her will to explain her stance, so showing that she considers implicitly that her position is less understandable than the stance of Berardi. She tries therefore to stress both the points that she shares with Berardi, and the points that differentiate her from him.

She agrees with him on the need to search for the factual truth, sometimes still hidden. In this case, she repeats during her turn this same idea of a lack of truth on the past violence that was proposed before by Berardi, immediately interrupted by the journalist. Thanks to her repetition, this concept is stressed again in the conversation, in spite of the fact that the journalist dropped it when it was proposed by Berardi, in a highly vehement way.

However, she strongly disagrees with Berardi when defining the justice that is still deserved to victims of the past violence. She says in fact: *"Justice is not just prosecuting the ones responsible for a crime, rightly sentencing them to jail, but also recognizing at a distance of many years, we're talking about thirty years of jail, that a person can also change."*

Before pronouncing these words, her face express a deep sadness. However, she quickly regulates this expression, closing her eyes and breathing deeply, as if preparing herself to the effort of arguing on this difficult topic.

In her sentence, she makes the point that *"a person can also change."* Calling her father's murderer "a person" she re-humanizes him (Volpato et al., 2010) and she put a distance between her and this past violence, using a debrayage (Greimas, Courtés, 1979) opposite to the idea of Berardi that *"we still have in circulation"* these *"characters"*. During all the sentence, her prosody is slow. The voice raises when pronouncing the words *"Justice"*, *"rightly"*, *"thirty years"* *"can."* She refrains from any gestures,

but nods (looking directly to the journalist’s eyes) when she says “*rightly*” and nods again when claiming that “*a person can also change.*” Her body posture is oriented towards the journalist and clearly signals that she is proud of her stance (Poggi, D’Errico, 2012).

Rossa (n.3)		
<i>“Justice is not just prosecuting the ones responsible for a crime, rightly sentencing them to jail, but also recognizing at a distance of many years, we’re talking about thirty years of jail, that a person can also change.”</i>		
Coding AUs	Decoding	
AUs 1+50+56	Sadness (opening her speech, at what she is about to say)	
AUs 1+20+21+53+56 AUs 43+50+56	Regulation of the sadness (breathes in and closes her eyes)	
AUs 4+50	Anger (“prosecuting the ones responsible”)	
AUs 2+50+54 AUs 53+56+61+80 AUs 43+50	Regulation of the anger (swallowing, gaze downwards and to the left, immediately after pronouncing	

	the word “rightly”)	
AUs 1+2+4+5+50+53	Fright (“we’re talking about thirty years of jail”, to give emphasis to her empathy with those in jail)	
AU 80	Regulation of the fright (swallowin g)	

Figure 3. Example of reconciliation with FACS Analysis

Conclusive remarks

It’s possible to observe, through multimodal analysis of communication and facial microexpressions of emotion, a different regulation of emotions on the part of the two victims’ family members. The analyses show, in fact, that if well regulated emotions can constitute the motivational drive (Frijda, 2009) to act and to constructively communicate what happened.

In the case of Sabina Rossa (Figure 3) , indeed, emotions such as sadness regarding what has been and fear and fright at what will be are correctly regulated, constituting anything but a barrier – the basis, rather, from which to begin to acquire power: an accretion of capacities allowing the

recognition of responsibilities, one's own and others', and giving access to previously undreamed-of opportunities. In this sense, the attention is directed towards people's positive qualities and resources, rather than towards what is mistaken or lacking in them.

In the case of Berardi, instead, anger and contempt towards the perpetrators are still strong and, in a certain sense, blinding; in this case emotion doesn't permit a different articulation of thinking but expresses itself in speech oriented towards a social closure: resentment (Figures 1 & 2).

In both cases, nonetheless, we feel we can assert that the attention today given to the victims, through the voices of their family members, represents an acquisition of power that allows them to choose whether or not to forgive the perpetrators (Shanabel & Nadler, 2008). Granting them a space in a public broadcast, in fact, means according them the chance to express themselves and to be able to choose.

In spite of this, the space granted to the two guests within the programme is considerably different, allowing an inferral of greater attention, on the part of the journalist, to the reconciliatory vision of victims' family members. Berardi is in fact often interrupted while he is speaking and urged to be brief, to leave more space for Rossa.

In this sense, a limitation of our observations derives from the social and political role that both guests perform within the programme: on the one hand a Member of Parliament (Rossa) and on the other a representative of the association of the victims of terrorism (Berardi).

It is possible to wonder how much communication based on the regulation of emotions is also influenced by the role of M.P., which Sabina Rossa performs, and how much this might have influenced the amount of space reserved for her on the programme.

However, although several communicative signals of the journalists authoring this documentary clearly show their preference for the forgiving stance, our in-depth analysis suggests that not only the expression of resentment of Berardi, but also Rossa's communications of victims seem somehow to go "over the top". In spite of his lack of regulation when expressing his emotions, Berardi's resentful stance may in fact be seen – according to the lesson of Jean Améry – as a highly moral one, since still searching for a social acknowledgment of these awful crimes (Brudholm, 2008).. On the contrary, Sabina Rossa seems to be keenly aware of the difficulty to understand the deep reasons of her stance. Therefore, she commit herself –in a sad and effortful way – to explain her mind, also if no one overtly urges her to do it. In so doing, she implicitly recognizes how easily her stance could be misunderstood. The difference between her emotions during these unrequested justifications and the emotions expressed by Berardi during his resentful communications are startling, and somehow deserves more theoretical discussion. In this paper, we only want to stress the subtleties of the harsh debate between the resentful and unregulated stance of Berardi, based on anger and contempt, and the more complex stance of Rossa (combining

sadness about the past, unrequested efforts to explain her mind, empathy for the long years of prison of “the person” that killed her father, regulation of her anger when asking for justice and truth siding Berardi’s arguments). We think that it is important to notice that this debate spontaneously arises from the confrontation of Rossa and Berardi. While the journalist simply tries to stop it, giving more room to Rossa and silencing Berardi, the two of them go on debating, attracting the attention on crucial issues totally underestimated by the programme’s script: as the dilemma between retributive justice and justice meant for socially reinsert people that arrive to change; the lack of truth on these past crimes; their belonging to a page that it is now time to turn, or to a threat that continues until today. We think that only the debate about these issues spontaneously proposed by Rossa and Berardi and the emotions’ regulation characterizing it (Frijda, 2009) may convey to the audience (especially to young people born after the end of these events) the importance of this past period of our national history, and the desire to better understand what happened. However, we are aware that, starting from this first contribution, further reflections and much more research work is needed, to better grasp all the different nuances of the multimodal communication of terrorism victims and to explore their effects on audience (Giles & Shaw, 2009) .

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