

Collective identity and the role of emotions in discourse framing by social movement organisations: the Taranto case study



Photography by ANSA.

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ABSTRACT

Social movements and the drive for social justice have been on the rise for decades. Social movement studies are accustomed to separate rationality from emotion, and relegate feelings in a subordinate position. The frame alignment approach, theorised by Robert Benford, David Snow and associates, has gained a prominent place in the sociological study of social movements. However, a new approach to social movement studies wants to subvert this dichotomy, and use emotions as a proper analytical tool to better understand a social movement. An exponent of the emotional approach is James Jasper, who believes it is impossible to study social movement without considering the emotions, the collective identity and the culture that come with it.

This study thus examines the social movement of Taranto, a town in South of Italy strongly affected by the environmental and health issues of a steel manufacturing plant, the Ilva factory. To illustrate how the movement is composed, takes collective action and engages the bystanders, I will combine frame alignment approach and emotional approach to analyse in-depth interviews conducted on the field, and media content such as slogans and billboards, used during the protest. The paper aims at investigating the collective identity of the Taranto social movement through emotions and to use feelings as an analytical tool to understand the framing process.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. INTRODUCTION	5
1.1 Statement of purpose	7
1.2 Research questions	7
2. LITERATURE REVIEW	7
2.1 Environmental communication	8
2.2 Social movement organisations	10
2.3 Advocacy campaigns	11
2.4 Social movements media practices	13
2.5 Social movement studies and theories	14
2.6 A human-centred approach on social movement studies	17
3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	19
3.1 Frame analysis by Benford and Snow	19
3.2 The Emotional approach by James Jasper	21
3.3 Collective identity	22
4. METHODS AND MATERIALS	23
5. THE TARANTO CASE	25
5.1 The beginnings	25
5.2 The start of the environmental protest	26
5.3 The AIA authorisation for Ilva	29
5.4 The European Union infringement proceedings	31
6. THE SOCIAL MOVEMENT ORGANISATIONS	33
6.1 PeaceLink	35
6.2 Legambiente and WWF	36
6.3 AltaMarea	37
6.4 Giustizia per Taranto	38
6.5 Genitori Tarantini	39
Picture by inchiostroverde.it	40
6.6 Taranto Futura and ISDE Taranto	40
7. EMOTION ANALYSIS	41
7.1 Emotions throughout the Ilva protest	41
7.2 Internal Emotions	42
7.3 Collective Identity	45
7.4 External Emotions	50

8. FRAME ANALYSIS OF THE SOCIAL MOVEMENT DISCOURSE IN TARANTO	54
8.1 The master frame	54
8.2 Diagnostic framing in the Taranto case	56
8.3 Social Justice master frame	58
8.4 Prognostic framing and frame dispute in the protest	60
8.5 Motivational framing in the Taranto case	63
8.6 Frame resonance	65
9. LIMITATIONS OF THE THESIS	66
10. CONCLUSION	67
11. REFERENCES	69
12. APPENDIX	71

1. INTRODUCTION

Social movements have different purposes, different conformation and different grades of success. The expansion of the internet, the increased use of media and mobile technology and thus the narrowing distance between the sources and public of news and events, and the public have all contributed at improving the reach of global activism. While local activism still struggles to get acknowledged by mainstream media, some fortunate cases like the “Stand with Standing Rock” protest about a pipeline that was to be built on the indigenous reserve of Standing Rock, or the Black Lives Matter demonstrations reach the public frequently thanks to news and social media coverage. While local and global activism uses media technologies and social media platforms to raise awareness in the public sphere, they must nevertheless still strongly rely on day to day activities, internal relationships and bystanders engagement in order to build a strong social movement. A durable protest in fact, needs to be fostered by a cohesive group of activists, with a strong collective identity and a precise goal in mind in order to fulfil its goals.

For instance, the environmental, health, justice and workers’ union activism in Taranto (Italy), which occurs in a local context, is nowadays various and prolific. It took though almost twenty years of protests, advocacy campaigns and political battles (still ongoing) to make the citizens realise the danger they were all facing. Their white whale is a steel factory, owned until 2012 by the Ilva Group, that is polluting the environment, and sickening the herds and the citizens of Taranto by releasing dioxins, benzodiazepine, lead among others onto the town.

Many grassroots and institutional social movement organisations (SMOs) in Taranto are fighting daily to close the Ilva steel factory or to make it comply with the more advanced environmental law established by the European Union. These SMOs use both offline and online tools to make their voices heard by the Italian and European institutions, to recruit new activists, to engage bystanders and to organise collective action.

The Ilva case has been portrayed by the media as a conflictual relation between citizens worried about serious health issues caused by the toxic emission of the manufacturing plant, and the Ilva workers and local businesses depending on the factory, who are worried about losing their jobs. This binary dilemma has characterised one of the most complex environmental protests Italy has seen in years.

The study of social movements has evolved in the field of sociology taking on different points of view and research methods. There are different schools of thought focused on the study of social

movements, such as the crowd theory, the resource mobilisation theory, the political process theory and a more cultural-bound stream of studies. In the cultural framework, I choose to combine two perspectives: the frame alignment approach developed by David A. Snow and Robert D. Benford and their associates and the emotional approach developed by James Jasper.

On one hand, Snow and Benford (1986, 1988, 2000) use master frames, frame extension, frame amplification and frame transformation within the concept of frame alignment as means to study the mobilisation and insurgence of social movement organisations. The thesis thus, studies the framing of advocacy communication of SMOs in Taranto as expressed by the activists themselves, during private conversations conducted as part of fieldwork in the month of March 2018.

On the other hand, James Jasper suggests a study of social movements more focused on human beings, and their feelings as a propelling mobilisation force as much as the framing processes (1997, 2014). The use of emotions in the SMOs crisis communication to their audience is of utter importance, as activists work hard to arouse emotion of anger and outrage “to provide a target against which these can be vented” (Jasper, 1997, p.107). Mobilisation in fact is first constructed by a sense of threat built out of anger, fear or grief and a subsequent blaming process to establish the offender and creator of such blame.

Hence, I will integrate two analytical approaches applied to the analysis of in-depth interviews, slogans and billboards. Thus I will use: i) a frame analysis to discover which frames are used to communicate the social movement’s narrative, what kind of diagnostic, prognostic and motivational framing we encounter and ii) a text analysis which means to extrapolate, from the same conversations, the emotions related to the Ilva case’s crisis communication by the social movement.

I believe, adopting and combining these two perspectives will shed new light on the research of social movements - the ways they pursue mobilisation through framing efforts and the way identity shapes their grievances and means of protest. As a matter of fact, I argue that in this particular social movement, emotions and the construction of collective identity through emotions define the frames the activists adopt in the advocacy campaigns and their methods of demonstrating.

The case study is worth investigating because of its complexity, its longevity and the implications arising by the opposition of the judiciary power and the governative power in Italy. The case is complex because it involves not only environmental but also health issues, and thus is portrayed by different narrative frames. Moreover, the high number of organisations involved in this local social movement has to be given consideration, as it could both ruin or help the "Taranto protest". To illustrate the advocacy communication of the social movement, I have mapped all the actors involved, and built their collective identity from interviews and studying the story of the protest. Finally, the

case has not been investigated before from within the communication studies and sociology field, and this thesis could enrich the literature on Italian social movements and their peculiarity in relation to international advocacy methods. It would thus be enriching to analyse the identity of such movement using both the frame alignment approach by the frame theorists Benford and Snow and the emotional protest approach by Jasper.

The thesis research is based on data collected during a fieldwork in Taranto in March 2018, consisting of interviews with the spokesperson of 21 SMOs active in the Ilva case. The analysis of the case study will be undertaken via qualitative analysis of interviews, meant to understand how the activists perceive their identity, if they consciously adopt strategies in relation to discourse framing and on the contrary how much is left to unconscious feelings driving the communication practices. As a result, this decoding of the in-depth interviews will allow me to describe each group of activists, their objectives, their relationships in relation to the other groups and thus their dynamics of protest.

1.1 Statement of purpose

The thesis will study the environmental social movement organisations active in Taranto fighting for the closure of the Ilva steel factory. Through the lenses of frame analysis and the role emotions have in the work of social movements, I will analyse the advocacy campaigns surrounding the Ilva case study, identifying master frames, triggered emotions and trying to get a full understanding of the movement identity and methods. Finally, analysing the relationships between the organisations, I will see how emotions and collective identity shape the framing efforts of the social movement.

1.2 Research questions

1. What is the Ilva protest in Taranto, Italy? Who are the actors involved?
2. What is the collective identity of the Taranto social movement and how does the relationship between the different organisations shapes their narrative discourse?
3. How do the activists frame the protest and how do identity and emotions affect the framing processes in the Taranto social movement?

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Environmental communication

The field of Environmental Communication is vast and various, but to talk about environmental communication is to talk about the work Robert Cox and Phaedra Pezzullo did through the years and that resulted in 8 editions of *Environmental Communication and the Public Sphere*.

In the comprehensive manual, Cox & Pezzullo trace the key moments of historical transformation in our perceptions of the environment, from an American point of view. Starting from the birth of two movements: preservationism and conservationism, which valued nature as something more than something to be conquered and exploited. Besides, they brought a new ecological sensibility in the society, which was translated into a challenge against urban pollution. The heavy industrialisation of 20th century, resulting in increasing pollution issues, gave an impulse to a renewed commitment to public health.

After this historical excursus scholars moved onto the definition of environmental communication as both pragmatic and constitutive. Firstly, it is pragmatic because it serves to educate, persuade, and alert the citizens about environmental concepts and issues. Secondly, it is constitutive as it helps us to construct and compose representations of nature and environmental problems as subjects for our understanding. As any other communication, there is not a single meaning and sense of a message, but everything can be said and interpreted in various ways.

For the scholars, the core of environmental theories lies in the relationship between humans and nature, and we can generally say that environmental communication is any kind of communication that has the environment as its focus (Cox & Pezzullo, 2016). This description seems quite simple, instead it congregates many different areas to be analysed. As a matter of fact, environmental communication includes itself several major fields, for example the “environmental rhetoric and the social-symbolic “construction” of nature, ...media and environmental journalism, representations of nature in corporate advertising and popular culture, advocacy campaigns and message construction, and science and risk communication.” (p. 27)

There are three core principles I wish to use in this thesis. First, human communication is a form of symbolic action, because communication is a means to make sense about the world, it orients us toward events, people, wildlife, and choices that we encounter. Secondly, our beliefs, attitudes and behaviours relating to nature and environmental problems are mediated or influenced by communication. Third, the public sphere emerges as a discursive space in which diverse voices engage in the attention of others about environmental concerns. The realm of influence that is created when individuals engage others in communication -through conversation, argument, debate, or questioning

about subjects of shared concern or topics that affect a wider community (Cox & Pezzullo, 2016, p. 28).

To communicate nature one must go through various process to engage the public. It becomes even more difficult when communicating an ideology of nature that is not the dominant one, like utilitarianism, preservationism or conservationism. It is clear activists and social movements are frequently found between progressive and transformative ideologies, but have to fight constantly to get their beliefs heard through a block of more conservatives attitudes towards the natural system.

Another vital contribution to the field is the work of Julia Corbett in *Communicating nature* (2006). Corbett outlines the difference between the various ideologies about environment; conservationism and preservationism are what we would call status quo ideologies, where the mankind is still superior to nature and sees the wild as other that themselves. More progressive are the ethics and value-driven ideologies like the animal rights movements. Finally the last end of the spectrum is represented by transformative ideologies like ecofeminism, the oriental traditions and deep and social ecology. These ideologies state that mankind is sharing the world with non-human communities, and thus should respect and share the environment in an equal manner. They are no more human-centred as conservationism and preservationism, but apply moral and ethics to the actions of humans and their surroundings.

The book then tackles the relationship between mainstream media and the environmental news stories, their birth, their construction and their broadcasting to the general public. This process has many different layers and constitutes an issue for social movements all over the world, as it is often said that it is hard for environmental issues to have a place in the mass media coverage. However news regarding nature and ecology have had a steady growth in mainstream media coverage since the 1970s thanks to a rise in environmental awareness in the public as well (Corbett, Cox & Pezzullo). Journalists will get these stories via state agency or private companies conferences or news releases, and official proceedings. That is because journalists frequently do not have the abilities to built a story without the help of experts in the field. While this reinforces the perspective that environmental messages in the media are biased, it is easier for journalists to rely on serious and reliable source of information instead of seeking the environment news themselves. Thus, there has been various scholar works (Lewin 1947, Hovland et al. 1953, Lazarsfeld and Kats 1955, Shoemaker 1991) on the role of the media as gatekeepers and agenda setting agencies, and the reality is that social movements find it hard to push their agenda forward via the mainstream media, for all the reasons just mentioned (Corbett 2006, p.225).

It is clear to Corbett that “journalists will rely on traditional news values to judge the merits of environmental stories, but they also rely on powerful entities within the social system (whether respected government officials, industry spokespersons, or politicians) for cues as to the importance of environmental news.” (p.226) Moreover, we have to take into consideration the news value of a story that is of utter importance to journalists, as the story has to be considered news and should have a resonance on the impact it makes.

We can move onto the construction of some environment news. In fact, as much objective as journalist will be, anyone provided with information or assisting to an event will need to make sense of and will do so in his own perspective. The same event, or protest, could have different themes highlighted in the narration, this is what is called a framing process. However, it is not the sole responsibility of the journalist as how the event is framed, there is a whole set of values and belief, which comes together during the conscious and unconscious framing of an event (and the consequent news story) (Corbett 2006, p.238).

Corbett concludes “the truth is that media are pretty conservative institutions” (p.245), that is why they are not the best tool to push for social change, that is because they are guards of the status quo and will only follow other proponent of social change when such call is made. For this reasons, social movements will always try to get the media’s attention, but will always as well provide their own account of the unfolding of event to the public. There are too many variables to this relationships for social movements to rely on mainstream media to get recognition, and even more difficult is for them to be portrayed in the best light possible.

2.2 Social movement organisations

While communication about the environment has many facets, there are also diverse actors in the public sphere, communicating, alerting and persuading about the environment. We can distinguish for example: citizens and community groups, environmental groups, scientists, corporations and lobbyist, anti-environmentalists and climate change critics, news media and environmental journalists, public and private institutions and politicians.

In the 1970s, grassroots movements for environmental justice arose that challenged mainstream views of nature as something other than mankind and the place we spend our lives. Finally, in the the late 1980s, the global movement for sustainability and climate justice began to challenge business-as-usual carbon economy models and make connections between social justice and environmental equality from our backyards to our atmosphere (Cox & Pezzullo, 2016).

Corbett proposes as well a description of social movements as constituted by individuals or groups of activists that come together in a collective action to change the status quo. Jasper adds to this description the fact that social movements are constituted by common people, citizens and not institutions, corporates and alike (1997, p.5) The drive for any social change comes from discontent in the way things are handled at that moment or support in a social cause, the former is embodied by the environmental movements or the social justice movement, the latter comes to life when a particular fatal event has happened, like a hurricane, and there are people in serious need of care or when a cause like persons with disabilities, education in underdeveloped countries or racism, is brought to the public attention and fundraiser or events are organised. In general we can say that these movements have little social power and seek to challenge existing powerful institutions like state agencies, politics, corporations and alike.

From this general definition we can then differentiate between grassroots/informal movements and institutional/formal movements: the former arise from the bottom and include common citizens assembling for a heartfelt cause, while the latter are structured and well-oiled organisations with ongoing goals in a long time frame (Corbett 2006, McCarthy 1996).

Informal or grassroots groups surge for a specific need felt by a small group of individual in a local community, they thus lack money, expertise and operate on a voluntary basis. All social movement organisations are born as informal ones, then, if these succeed in attracting the right kind of advertisement, funds and influence they can move on to become institutional organisations. They acquire an office, a constitution (change to carta, bill..), a paid staff and will increase the causes they support, moving onto a more global social problem that needs change (Green Peace, WWF, Amnesty International for example).

Finally it is important to note for this thesis, that an institutional or formal group (as the name says) is less inclined to operate outside the state institutions, to firmly fight them, but will move into these institutions and seek support to influence decision making from the inside. They will be more cautious in their campaign and approach to protests, because they will seek change with different strategies, more lobbyist like than hard core protest manifestations (Corbett, 2006, p.286-290).

2.3 Advocacy campaigns

Let us focus now on the environmental communication as produced by the activists perspective: the advocacy campaigns.

While a critical rhetoric questions a policy or something that needs to be changed, an advocacy is the step forward, an initiative to bring to “concrete outcome” (Cox and Pezzullo, 2016). Communi-

cation, as in the case of mass media communication about advocacy, will be mostly about maintaining the status quo (Corbett, 2006), on the other hand an advocacy campaign is always about change. An advocacy campaign is an action to support, or push forward, a social cause that is strategically done via communication. A campaign is not about complaining, but it is about taking action to stop something that endangers nature or wildlife, take a stand against some wrongful action or propose a solution to a social issue. A campaign is not about changing practices but changing policies, that is why it is a plan of tactical action with a strategic framework situated in the public sphere. A campaign has a purpose thus, and has a large audience, a time frame and a specific message to address.

The biologist Rachel Carson can be considered the founder of the modern environmental movement as we know it. Her book *Silent Spring*, published in 1962, is voicing the first recognised public challenge to business practices that affect the environment. In particular the science book was openly criticising the usage of pesticides and DDT in the farms and in nature and it is said to have inspired the deep ecology and ecofeminists' movements (Cox & Pezzullo, 2016, chapter 2). However, this work is criticised to showcase an apocalyptic rhetoric or "rhetoric of gloom" to urge the audience to emotions of emergency and guilt. While this kind of rhetoric has been frequently used by social movement organisations, these messages based on powerful emotion of guilt, fear, urgency or moral concern are supposed to make the individual take action for a social cause, but are feared not to be useful for the long run and could actually be detrimental to the retention of members in Julia Corbett's opinion (2006, p296).. There is in fact an ongoing debate about the "guilt action" messages some activists groups use to convince potential members or volunteers to join the movement and to engage existing members. Many scholars are critical and debate that activists should use another way to convince society to take action, via more positive, propositive and future-driven messages (Foust & O'Shannon Murphy 2009).

Whereas fighting for social change, like women rights, basic income or the closing of a steel factory will appear as people acting on changing physical things, there is a battle of meaning going on at the core of the protest. Environmental activists are in fact fighting to change the meaning society gives to a certain thing, and a change in the "values attached to it" (Corbett, 2006, p.280). This battle translates to a communication one, where social movement organisation will use persuasion and rhetoric to change the people's perception over a precise matter.

Environmental social movement organisations have thus the difficult job of communicating something that usually goes against our “dominant social paradigm” or status quo vision of the environment. This paradigm refers to a subordinate role of nature to the need of the human, where nature is considered as “other” and is exploited at different levels to sustain human industrial progress. In contrast with this anthropocentric ideology of the environment, social movements organisations try, one way or the other, to push forward an environmental paradigm which proposes a non hierarchical relationship with nature based on interdependence and respect. It is even difficult to define how the new paradigm should look like given how much the dominant one is embedded in our society. This is the first difficult step, then we have to consider that a message will be different in relation to the individual that crafted it (and their beliefs and relationship with nature) the medium in which the message is sent through, and finally the receiver. The same message about the environment will have a different form, a different meaning and different outcomes depending on the variable mentioned above.

Having considered this, another obstacle comes from having to communicate to different targets: for example an environmental organisation will need to interact with members, social institutions, public or private institutions who need to be changed, and motivate potential members, volunteers and bystanders that what the group is doing is worth spending time and energy with.

2.4 Social movements media practices

In the last decade, social media has changed the landscape for environmental advocacy and communication. Citizens, researchers, and environmental groups are using mobile apps, digital cameras, smartphones, iPads, and online registries to document their observations of the natural world or report environmental problems to others. As a matter of fact, Facebook serves as a bridge for social movement organisations to connect to communities and citizens to be always informed on what is happening, the social causes and campaign going on (Lester & Hutchins, 2009). Nonetheless, with Facebook, Twitter, YouTube and alike, the reach of public scrutiny and criticism has accelerated as well. Social media finally, are also regularly used to mobilise supporters and the general public to help various environmental causes. Today, environmental, climate, and social justice activists are using social media in their organising efforts.

Clearly the advocacy campaign has changed, and has brought both success and challenge to activist groups all over the world. I will myself investigate the advocacy campaigns of the social movement organisations in Taranto, via in depth interviews with spokespersons from the NGOs and investigating slogans and billboards I could find online.

Lester and Hutchins (2009) studied the efforts groups of environmental activists made in Australia to be heard by the mainstream media during a protest involving tree cutting in the Tasmania region. Their study of two different actions, taken one by a single individual, the electrical engineer Neil Smith, and the other by GreenPeace and the Wilderness Society, both institutional environmental organisations, both regarding tree-sitting with the power of internet connection a telephone or “going online up a tree in a forest”(p.587). Their conclusions note that, while both groups succeeded through the internet in gaining mainstream media attention and influencing their agenda, their power over the discourses and frames adopted was little. Thus, instead of relying on the mass media to give them the approval and accreditation they should have created another media discourse via an alternative medium in order to get their story and demands to reach the public. (p.580) This paper shows us that activists are “failing to effect genuine transformation in the structural distribution of media and political power” (p.591) and subvert the gate-keeper logic to a new paradigm that would increase their chances at social change.

2.5 Social movement studies and theories

Social movement research was firstly influenced by the research about collective behaviour, which in the nineteenth century took inspiration from the work of social psychologist and sociologist Gustave LeBon. The scholar describes social movements as crowds completely under the influence of emotions, thus irrational and dangerous. LeBon narrates as well of how people in a crowd have the ability to transmit emotions to one another, and especially the exaggerated and passionate ones could spread like microbes (Gould, 2013). The neat separation between reason and feelings is what characterises the collective behaviour tradition, and it is at the center of their explanations.

This tradition, fully developed in the middle of the twentieth century, believes that, when a disruptive event occurs, such as the surge of unemployment or an economic crisis, people become very concerned. This upsetting of the natural routine makes citizens anxious, fearsome and motivates a frenzies that translates into a social movement (Gould, 2013). A protest is thus understood as a dangerous behaviour of the population that could put in jeopardy the solidity and rationality of the political and the administrative power.

Finally, scholars viewed “collective protest not as struggles over power but rather as the emotionally driven working out of participants’ psychic distress....The psychic, in this rendering, is always pathological and passion always seems to interfere with and preclude reason” (Gould, 2013, p.3). It

is clear hence, that since its beginnings, the study of social movements has tried to separate emotions from rational action.

In the 1970s a new wave of social movement literature was developed by scholars, contrasting the collective behaviour theories and as consequence having the spotlight on the logic of protesters. With this line of investigation, the phenomenon of social movements upgraded from being seen as a disorganised and driven by emotion, instead they would be acknowledged to be structured and functioning organisations with precise goals and strategies.

McCarthy and Zald (1977), in particular, advocate for a resource mobilisation theory where the participants in protests are regular citizens involved in the political system which decide to engage in demonstrations when the regular political process blocks, for some reason, their demands. They strategically choose to opt out of polity to have their demands heard by the governmental sphere and constitute social movements based on goal-oriented mobilisation.

Resource mobilisation theory, when determining the success of a social movement organisation, poses the accent on the availability of resources the activists could count on. Meaning that the more funds, the more time, the more media attention, the more strategic political alliances and the more skilful the participants had the more the movement would gain visibility and traction.

Next comes, the political process theory, which is a more political sociology approach to the resource mobilisation theory. Strongly advocated of this tradition are Charles Tilly, Sidney Tarrow and Doug McAdam, who view the insurgence of a social movement as a direct consequence of an opposition to a polity or regulation power. First, as the resource mobilisation theory, the accent is put on the external resource the social movement can access to, and this defines its probability of success. Second, social movements are the result of a social and political context, and thus will be different from state model to state model. In fact, if a government is vulnerable, the social movement leadership could see an opportunity to step in and finalise the social change they wish for. This political opportunity is the core of this tradition (McAdam, McCarthy, Zald, 1996).

As the reader will see, these theories have little consideration for the individual in the social movement, and solely concentrate on protest as a strategic, abstract concepts to validate the insurgence and consequent collective action of social movements.

In the 1980s though, a clear cultural turn happens and various scholars concentrate their studies on the movement itself rather than the assets they held. Humanities and sociological studies thus started emphasising the cultural and psychological processes that went on, in order to get a better understanding of what social movements were. The most known of this line of studies is the framing perspective, which takes inspiration from Goffman's work on frames of 1974, *Frame Analysis*. The

scholar sees frames as cognitive maps or patterns of interpretation that people use to organise their understanding of reality, thus a frame is constitutive and persuasive at the same time because it gives a story of events, but at the same time has necessarily a subjectivity to its narrative, based on who is telling the story. So, the process of framing is the interpretation by the individual of an event occurring in his/her presence, meaning the sense we give to a scene, an event, a story that we come across (Goffman, 1974). The framing perspective uses semiotic and linguistic to study social movement organisation via their communication to the public. (Gamson et al., 1982; Gamson 1992; Snow et al., 1986; Snow & Benford, 1988, Benford & Snow, 2000)

Sociology and communication have adopted the notion of frame to various degrees of study, this has though led to a confusion of terms that is still ongoing. There are two meaning to frames in the study of social movements: on the one hand SMOs elaborate on already existent frames, as views of the world, to engage and mobilise the public sharing the same beliefs and values, those are the master frames for Benford and Snow; on the other hand there are communication processes that need to be implemented in order to give a message an interpretation, those are the framing processes for Benford and Snow. A frame is thus constitutive, because it helps the human to make sense of what they see, while framing is persuasive because its goal is to steer the receiver of the message towards a clear point of view. Framing processes are the reason why the audience decides to become an active participant in the movement, because it is clearly given a call to action against a problem, a responsibility for this problem and a possible solution.

The framing of the discourse while debating environmental messages, as “frames can organise the facts in ways that provide a narrative structure - what is the problem, who is responsible, what is the solution, and so on” (Snow & Benford, p.108-9), is widely used in environmental campaigns by the mainstream media, the advocacy campaigns from both institutions and social movements, the public and the scientists. Everyone of these stakeholders will use frames to foster their goals and to achieve strategic objective.

Relating frames to the environmental discourse was Christina R. Foust (Foust & O’Shannon Murphy 2009). In her paper about how newspapers are using different tools and semantic structures to bias and direct people’s decoding of the information when talking about climate change, she theorised the use of an “apocalyptic rhetoric” that places events out of human control, as catastrophic and inevitable. Apocalyptic rhetoric moreover, prophesies a new world order, often accompanied by strong images of destruction while focusing on the evil of the world and the human race who is doomed but not responsible. On the contrary, Foust argues, scientists, journalists, and activists should change their framing of environmental issues with a more positive, factual and future-driven

discourse. We should use metaphors that place the blame on the human action, but that establish as well how humans can invert the direction and change behaviours in order to ameliorate climate change. This paper is useful to understand how much frames can impact the vision of the world and the ways the people will perceive and react to determinate events or problems. It is of utter importance to acknowledge that frames should be used by scientists and activists to provide their own agenda setting for the media and convincing people to act in different time and places.

2.6 A human-centred approach on social movement studies

While the framing perspective in social movement research has gained traction, other scholars, and in particular James Jasper, Alberto Melucci, Deborah B. Gould and Robert Entman, set of to criticise the shortcomings it entails and to propose other frameworks in the cultural approach.

In Entman's opinion, in *Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm*, there is a clear lack of bridges connecting together the researches in communication studies, sociological studies and semiotic studies. There is no "general statement of framing theory that shows exactly how frames become embedded within and make themselves manifest in a text, or how framing influences thinking." (Entman, 1993 p.51) This lack of analytical structure makes it difficult to relate empirical studies with one another, and to judge the success of social movements in relation to the frames they used and in comparison to different studies using different frameworks and methods.

Alberto Melucci is part of the New Social Movements approach, which sees modern social movements different from the previous one because their goals are radically different. In his work *The Symbolic Challenge of Contemporary Movements* (1985) for example, he states that the majority of social movements before were demanding economic advantages, while now most social movement ask to non-material advantages, such as human and animal rights. Moreover, and more importantly for the present thesis, Melucci focuses on the creation of collective identity related to the goal of the social movement.

Deborah B. Gould is part of an independent track that focuses on the emotional analysis of social movements. In *Emotions and Social movements*, part of *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social and Political Movements*, she states in particular, that the majority of our actions and thoughts are impossible to untangle from emotions (2013). She criticises previous tradition because undermining the power emotion have in protest, in fact "opening political opportunities, for example, might be an important factor in the emergence of a social movement but only to the extent that an emotional charge attaches to those openings; a collective action frame successfully mobilizes only when emotionally resonant." (2013, p.3).

In *The Art of Moral Protest* (1997), after giving a synthesis of the previous theories of social movements, defining what ideas are useful and what perspective presents flaws and limitations, James Jasper proposes a way to include both theory and empirical cases into the field. In particular, Jasper brings to the table the integration of cultural theories in sociological study of social movements with resource mobilisation theory which will help me to better understand how the social movement in the city of Taranto works.

A critic to the frame alignment perspective by Snow, Benford and their associates is that, given its role of new cultural set of theories, the expectations were too much on a single theory. Thus, scholars forced the action of culture as related to the framing process, making it overreaching and excluding the impact of previous cultural symbols in the heads of the prospective volunteers. To reduce the study of social movements to the frames used during the recruitment process is to see “culture as not having much autonomy from strategic action” (Jasper, 1997, p.77). Furthermore, the author explains that even if the framing alignment theory employs the concepts of motivational framing and identity, both are cognitive processes with no space left to emotion and morality. His goal is to bring back culture into the analysis of social movements, without falling into a theory of the irrational.

As a matter of fact, it is David Snow himself, in *Framing and Social Movements* (2013) in The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social and Political Movements, that admits that “A second cluster of issues that have not been sufficiently explored concerns the relationship between collective action frames and framing processes and relevant cultural and social psychological factors such as narrative, ideology, collective identity, and emotion” (p.5).

In Jasper’s view, the drive of emotions as anger, fear, indignation and hope is as much a propulsion movement supporting the organisation as a framing strategy could be. In fact, the moral shock one experiences after learning about some upsetting event or information can move the person to join a movement.

The scholar moves on to defining what he calls “basic dimensions of protest”: *culture*, *strategies*, *biography* and *resources*. Jasper states that these concepts can be a better way to study social movement than the theories that preceded his book *The art of moral protest, Culture, Biography and Creativity in Social Movements* (1997).

With the first dimension of protest, resources, the author connects to the resource mobilisation theories, as resources are the “physical technologies” (p.44) and what can be achieved with the means an organisation has. It thus includes money, people, influence and ability for example. Strategies then are “the choices made by individuals and organisations in their interaction with other players” (p.44), another way of saying this is to say that strategies are the application of the resour-

ces in order to achieve a goal by the social movement organisation. Another concept Jasper employs is culture, which embodies the cognitive and moral intelligence of the activist group, what Habermas calls “communicative action”. Culture is the shared components of a community, and while the term has been widely discussed and has various meaning and application, Jasper wishes to talk of culture as a duality, “culture links individuals with institutionalised symbols.. events, artefacts and documents of society. ... In addition... culture is also something we carry around in our heads. Culture consists of knowledge, process, and product, as thoughts lead to activities.” (p.50) Finally biography, which relates closely to culture, is “the idiosyncratic experiences an individual has lived through, including the interpersonal dynamics, originally rooted in the family, that lead to unconscious mental states and to what is commonly called a personality, a kind of filter that encourages certain ways of feeling, judging, and thinking while discouraging others.” (p.54) The author calls these “basic dimensions of protest” and states that by clearly defining them as separate entities will allow him to better use them in the study of social movements and to see how they influence each other.

Culture and resources can be united in structure, and social movements can be studied looking at the relationships in between these dimensions that form “agency”, thus the whole social movement unfolding. Finally, in Jasper’s findings, moral is a great part of what constitutes a social movement success, more than the practical result they can achieve. In fact, modern society provides few chances of accomplishing moral duties and acts in the possibility of creating a better, fairer world. Social movements are moments in history when human beings most do their duties as moral citizens in society (Jasper, 1997).

3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Frame analysis by Benford and Snow

In such a vast study field, the thesis will focus on the advocacy environmental and health campaigns social movements create to engage their audience, the media and the institutions. Social movement organisations (SMOs), as much as the other actors engaging in environmental communication, must craft their messages in order to engage a specific audience for a specific action. That is the reason why their media practices reflect the communication strategies, the targets and goal the organisation would like to achieve with their online and offline mobilisation. My prediction is that the texts I will encounter will have a common thread, a clear discourse finalised to a specific result.

A discourse “focuses on purposeful and consequential efforts to influence society’s attitudes and behaviour through communication, including public debates, protests, advertising, and other modes of symbolic action.” (Cox and Pezzullo, 2016, p.55) It is clear in fact, that all activists groups use a specific rhetorical discourse, as for example the difference between naming global warming or climate change the shifting in climate happening now, as the former is clearly negative, while the latter is neutral.

There are three types of framing processes Benford & Snow believe that the SMOs uses to construct a master frame: diagnostic, prognostic and motivational frame. The diagnostic frame is used for the identification of a problematic event in society and who is to blame for it. Prognostic frame is the articulation to a proposed solution to the problem, it is one of the “primary ways in which movements as SMOs differ from one another” (Benford and Snow, 2000, p.617) Finally, motivational frames are the call to arms to the audience, engaging citizens in collective actions to support the cause.

Another interesting aspect of the framing perspective comes in the form of frame alignment process, that the scholars define as “the linkage of individual and SMO interpretive orientations, such that some set of individual interests, values and beliefs and SMO activities, goals, and ideology are congruent and complementary.” (Snow et al., 1986, p. 464)

First alignment process is *frame bridging*, as “the linkage of two or more ideologically congruent but structurally unconnected frames regarding a particular issue or problem” (p.467). Bridging has evolved with new media technologies, such as media campaigns and mass mailing campaigns.

Then *frame amplification* as “the clarification and invigoration of an interpretive frame that bears on a particular issue, problem or set of events.” (p.469) Values are normally arrayed in a hierarchy where some are more important than others, SMOs engage in *value amplification* thus to “generate mobilisable sentiment pools” counting on the most relatable and cherished values in the scale.

Frame extension happens because sometimes the “programs and values promoted by SMOs may not be rooted in existing sentiment or adherent pools.. SMO may have to extend the boundaries of its primary framework” to be able to reach possible adherents.

Goffman refers to *frame transformation* as “keying”, a process that “redefines activities, events.. in terms of another framework, such that they are now “seen by the participants to be something quite else.” (1974) Given the heterogeneity of the activists groups in Taranto, my thesis is that I will find different discourses and different framing processes in relation to the SMO and its area of action. In Taranto in fact, it is possible to come across various social movements fighting against the Ilva steel

factory. The components come from different social background, are from different generations, have distinct professional occupations and sometimes opposite political affiliations.

Establishing the framing processes will help social movement studies to understand why certain movements are more successful than others. And this is when frame resonance comes in the argumentation. In Benford and Snow's opinions "one of the key determinants of the differential success of framing efforts is variation in the degree of frame resonance, so that the higher the degree of frame resonance, the greater the probability that the framing effort will be relatively successful, all else being equal." (Snow et al., 1986, p.477) The more a social movement adopts master frames and framing processes that resonate with a bigger audience, the more their efforts will be rewarded.

3.2 The Emotional approach by James Jasper

"To understand what people are doing when they protest, we need to know a lot about their lives outside the protest, and what meanings they carry with them" (Jasper, 2010, p.88) The role of cultural meanings citizens live with are of the utmost importance to interpret how and why they react to certain framing processes and subsequent call to action. Moreover, emotion and culture, while they have always been treated separately from strategic action in the study of social movement, can actually be a point of departure for such strategic activity. As a matter of fact Jasper states that culture has lots to do with the way social movement decide rationally what to do to mobilise the community, meaning "*culture not only bounds rationality but defines it. It provides the context and criteria for recognising and judging rationality, which cannot exist in a pure form outside social contexts.*" (italics in the text, Jasper, 1997, p.83)

The rational strategies an activist group acts upon are more influenced by culture than we think, and in the recruitment framing processes we can find cultural processes as well. As a matter of fact, culture has to be "mediated by and constituted by symbols and language" either in society or in an activist group and so culture needs to be translated into communication to be understood by us. This means that culture is a "repertoire of action and a tool kit" for social movement organisations, and culture is translated and shared with advocacy campaigns, communication and frames.

"Contemporary framing of injustice or of political goals almost always draw upon the larger societal definitions of relationships, of rights and of responsibilities" that would be useless without a cultural context to build the framing onto (Zald, 1996, p.267). At the same time not only social movements draw on the cultural stock to use slogans, meaning, ways of protesting and organising; but they can add to the culture if successful. In fact, other social movement could adopt their frames

and campaigns, and winning movements “become exemplars providing training grounds and models.” (Zald, p.271)

Using both frame analysis and in-depth interviews enabled me to both relate people’s *biography* as Jasper defines, and the *strategies* social movement organisations apply to foster collective action.

3.3 Collective identity

James Jasper criticises the frame theory, depicting it as giving a too harsh picture of SMOs as strategically manipulating discourses and events to their gains. Nevertheless they are not even lost souls in an identity crisis caused by post-industrialisation economy. Jasper’s work is helpful to compare the framing theory with a more emotion centred way of analysing the messages of the SMOs in Tarranto as the focus is put more on humans such peculiar context as social movements can be.

Identity is mentioned by Gamson (1992) as the “we” in opposition to the “they”, as a first way to separate the moment from the perpetrator of the injustice. It is thus, a first step into defining the identity of the group, which will then move forward to take action against the injustice with agency (a term that is picked up by Jasper).

Alberto Melucci instead states, in *The Process of Collective Identity* that "collective identity is an interactive and shared definition produced by several individuals (or groups at a more complex level) and concerned with the orientation of action and the field of opportunities and constraints in which the action takes place" (1995, p.44). Melucci is less diplomatic than Gould or Jasper when describing collective identity as a result of emotion: “to understand this part of collective action as "irrational," as opposed to the "rational" (which in this case means good!) part, is simply a nonsense. There is no cognition without feeling and no meaning without emotion.” (p. 45)

When studying a social movement we are studying humans after all. We have all noticed the strong feelings of community and power we experience during a manifestation, be it for the cuts made to school budget or to protest the pollution of a steel factory. When humans act together they feel together, and even more importantly so they feel together so they act together. Jasper goes as long as to say that the human being is fully themselves and the most accomplished when performing their moral duties and protesting for a social cause, a policy or the state institutions.

In fact, the answer to “Who are we?” Can be different from a noun or a quality, but it can also be we are “people who act together in a particular way.” (Clemens, 1996, p.206), meaning that the identity of a group can clearly be shaped by their actions and how they decide to react to certain events. Moreover, we can consider the framing alignment processes Snow and Benford describe as tools to build the identity of a social movement. By building on beliefs, values and other identities with

frame bridging, frame extension and frame transformation, a social movement adapts and shapes its identity.

The concept of identity is vital to the study of social movements because they are made of people, with a life, histories, values and beliefs (what we call cultural background). And all of this culture is not lost when joining an activist group, on the contrary social movements are shaped by identity and culture more than we are able to investigate.

4. METHODS AND MATERIALS

One of the limitations of social movement research is the fragmentation of methods of analysis used throughout the years by different scholars in various locations and time frames (Entman, 1993). No theoretical framework can alone suffice to a complete analysis, that is why researchers use more than one analytical framework in their studies.

Firstly, I started by doing a scoping study of the stakeholders of the case study in Taranto and in Italy. I researched the factory owners, the political institutions, the local institutions, and the activists groups and leaders. I conducted this study via the Internet, looking at newspapers articles, press releases, social media pages and profiles and blogs and websites of the activist groups. I thus collected information about sixty persons/organisations I judged involved in the case during the last twenty years. This information was stored into an Excel sheet where I divided them among categories and in what part of the barricade they were. I noted down personal and political alliances, the kind of organisations, the role in the protest and the date of establishment when known or relevant. I proceeded to skim those to find the most important and influential stakeholders, in order to prepare for the field study. I also collected Emails, addresses and phone numbers in order both to contact them easily and to organise best my movements during the fieldwork. I contacted 35 people or institutions, among mostly activists and then politicians, local administrative agencies and the Ilva Group PR office.

I organised 25 interviews on the field, and conducted 21 of them successfully while in Taranto from 5th to 9th of March 2018. The interviews lasted around 1 hour each, some even as long as 1.5 hours. It was mostly only one interviewee per interview, but I conducted 3 interviews with 3 participants each. I was assisting Romina Rodela a researcher at Södertörn Hogskola who was leading the interviews and created the interview guide. The questionnaire revolved around three themes: the environmental issues in Taranto, the organisation participation in legal actions against the Italian

government and reports to the EU commission, and how the activists' advocacy communication was carried out. The complete interview guide is available in the Appendix.

The interviews were recorded with the consent of the participants, anonymised and then stored in a Dropbox account shared only with Romina Rodela. The in-depth interviews method allows me to investigate with precision the range of emotions and the different collective action frames the activists use to define the Taranto social movement.

After transcribing the interviews in a document, I proceeded to analyse them in order to find various elements such as master frame, collective action frames (diagnostic, prognostic and motivational), frame alignment process, frame disputes, emotion, collective identity and the relationships between the various organisations. I used coding to identify the most used concept and themes present in the interviews. I have color coded and identified 10 different elements:

- MASTER FRAME
- FRAME ALIGNMENT PROCESS
- COLLECTIVE ACTION FRAME
- DIAGNOSTIC FRAMING
- PROGNOSTIC FRAMING
- MOTIVATIONAL FRAMING
- FRAME DISPUTE
- EMOTION
- COLLECTIVE IDENTITY
- RELATIONSHIP WITH OTHER SMO

To maintain the anonymity of the activist interviewed, as the protest in Taranto is a sensible topic and I would not want to obstruct the mobilisation in any way possible, I have coded the names of the interviewees as well. Every interview was assigned a name going from Respondent 1 to Respondent 21, following the order of my transcriptions.

I have also collected pictures and information about billboards the activists have put up and two preeminent slogans during the marches, in order to examine the frames and emotions employed by the activists, using the same coding system.

This thesis is based on frame analysis and emotion analysis, drawing from these two approaches I will be able to draw conclusions more insightfully on the collective identity and the complexity of the Taranto case. As a matter of fact, comparing both methods will allow me to establish a cultural analysis of the SMO in Taranto during the protesting against the Ilva factory.

The scoping study gave me a general pulse of the situation, with the fieldwork and in-depth interviews allowed me to understand more clearly how the events unfolded, what is the identity of the activists groups and how they relate to each other. Finally, the frame and emotion analysis on the interview material gave me the insights I need to formulate thoughts on the evolution and mobilisation of the activist movement in Taranto.

5. THE TARANTO CASE

5.1 The beginnings

Taranto is a medium sized town in the South of Italy, hosting the biggest steel plant in Europe which is large 2,5 times the city itself (Bonelli, 2014, p.65). The city is in a great position to be a major harbour, as it stretches on kilometres of seaside and has an “inland” sea behind it. Before the arrival of the heavy industry in the region, Taranto’s economy was based on farming, animal breeding, fishing and mussels farming in particular. However, the South of Italy was poor and in need of an economic boost to cope with the unemployment crisis and the stagnation of the whole region. That is why heavy manufacturing businesses were implanted in the surroundings of the city of Taranto in 1960s. A steel factory in 1965, an oil refinery in 1967 and a cement factory were all built close to the northern neighbourhood. The state-owned Italsider built there an impressive steel plant, copying the economy model of the North of Italy which was flourishing.

The steel factory was a strategic industry, meant to make Italy a participant in the growing EU iron and steel market. The factory was built to be a state of the art jewel of the steel industry, something the city should have been proud to have. High quality steel and modern technology processes were actually something to brag about to the tourists and the entrepreneurs coming to visit the city, a former local guide told me during an interview (Respondent 11).

Later in 1995, the factory was later acquired by the Riva family, after which the production of the steel plant doubled. The Taranto plant had at that time more than 25000 employees, who became 12000 when the factory was sold to the Riva Group. Under the new ownership, the factory was exploited to the maximum potential and profit, without any regard to the workers’ safety and the environmental policies, as we are testified during juridical trials, mortal incidents and the stories of the workers (Lucifora, Bianco and Vagliasindi, 2015, p.21). As an early proof, a 2005 trial condemned the Ilva Spa group and the management, and found them guilty of environmental pollution, *gettito pericoloso di cose* (hazardous toss of things), dust particles release (Supreme Court, 28 September 2005, No. 38936, Riva, *Giustizia penale* II (2006): 545). Other trials included also cases of workplace for death to which the Riva family was deemed to be involved during the years (Bonelli, 2014, p. 22).

The Ilva steel factory in South of Italy has meant to be a strategic industry for the Italian economy since the industrialisation following the second world war. Unfortunately, in those last decades of the twentieth century, the ecological conscience was almost nonexistent, and little was known about

the dangers an industrial pole that size, adjoining the town, would create. Factories were still built with asbestos and the workers were not properly equipped to deal day after day with such toxic substances. Nevertheless, the first documented asbestos related death was in 1906 in the United Kingdom, and since the 1890s a doctor, called Hubert Montague Murray, was reporting on the hazards of asbestos and toxins issued from the steel factories, textile factories and asbestos mills and other the industrial factories using asbestos to create final products (report by Silverdell PLC UK, 2012). In Taranto particularly, the environmental awareness did not emerge from the ironworkers, but from a small group of individuals who were affected by the toxic exhalations.

The steel factory is anyhow an important part of Taranto's landscape, and is always visible from the city and the surroundings. Fumes, residual dust (red minerals) and bad odours are frequent and the population is used to having to deal with them on a daily basis as different interviewees have pointed out to me: "The exposure is constant and daily, during the day you do not notice but at night you can see at all time a permanent puff of smoke coming out of the chimney" (Respondent 11) or "(the citizens) in Tamburi district, when hanging out the laundry on the balcony, they have to cover it with a cloth, if not it become all black. This dust is very thin, it comes in through the cracks in the windows, and goes into the lungs." (Respondent 1) and finally: "The moment you see the red dust coming from everywhere, you have to fight against the habit of living in this reality, because if you get used to it you do not even see it anymore." (Respondent 19).

Thus we have a steel factory that is said to be strategic by the Italian state to bring wealth in a previously poor and underdeveloped city, and a subsequent morally problematic private management by a Northern family, while little is known about the dangers such an immense plant provokes to the environment and human health. What could go wrong?

5.2 The start of the environmental protest

In 2008 Piero Motolese, an ex-Ilva worker, locates a herd of sheep and goats that graze near the Ilva factory. Together with Alessandro Marescotti, a high-school professor, he sends a piece of cheese to be analysed by an independent laboratory in Lecce (Italy). Their suspect is that the land, and thus the grass, is polluted by the industrial activities and that the products coming from animals could be toxic too. The results of the independent laboratory show that the cheese contains a high quantity of dioxin. Dioxin is a toxic agent still unknown to the vast public at the time, but it is the result of an industrial process and it accumulates in animal fat body parts. The main way human get in contact

with dioxins is through dairy and meat foods, and the exposure to it damages the human immune system, the different organs and eventually it can lead to cancer (Bonelli, 2014).

Marescotti and Motolese send the analysis as a report to the Public Prosecutor's Office to expose the toxic cheese and to ask for an investigation over the matter. On March 2008, the ASL (Autorità Sanitaria Locale/ Local Health Authority), the local health agency in the Apulia Region examines animals from different herds in the lands surrounding the Ilva steel factory, to identify how many are contained with dioxin. Consequently, on 10 December 2008 the ASL orders to slaughter 1122 sheep and goats since were contaminated with dioxins and plumb (Bonelli, 2014, p.41).

The farmer Vincenzo Fornaro and his family, whose 600 sheep were slaughtered, decides to press charges against unknown subjects to blame for the contamination. Taranto has three important industrial sites: the steel plant Ilva, the biggest for extension and industrial activity; ENI a state-owned refinery; and Cementir, a cement plant. Thus, it is important to know where the dioxins animals ingested come from. The Public Prosecutor's office orders an expert assessment to discover the source of pollution, but they can not come to a final conclusion. Hence, Marescotti and Fornaro decide to hire Stefano Raccanelli, an Italian expert in chemistry, to investigate exactly what the dioxin found in the contaminated cheese samples corresponds to. "There are, in fact, 20 different types of dioxin the Ilva steel plant alone emits into the air, every dioxin has its own DNA, wherever it comes from the blast furnace, or the chimney or the mill" (Respondent 14). Finally a match is identified. The dioxin found in the contaminated cheese is the same that accidentally comes out from the blast furnace chimney, known as no. A312, during the industrial transformation to make steel from iron. Therefore, not only is dioxin is coming from the Ilva factory, but it is illegal given that it is resulting from an error in the production which went undocumented in the all subsequent pollution reports.

In June 2010 Marescotti and Fornaro submit the evaluation Raccanelli made to the judge for Preliminary Investigation at the Court of Taranto and advance accusations against the Ilva Group. Consequently, the judge establishes a probative hearing on 2nd December 2010, to give Ilva the chance to defend themselves, and appoints four experts to produce a chemical evaluation (Bonelli 2014, p. 42).

This is an important moment. Not only it marked the start of the environmental protest in Taranto, but also it shaped the perspective the events took on in the years to come. In fact, whereas there is a tripartite industrial pole in Taranto, the protest strengths are almost always united against one company: the Ilva group. The first reason is because the dioxin was slipping from their machines. Secondly, as one interviewee told me, while the other two, when found guilty of environmental issues,

complied with environmental rules and paid their fines, Ilva always went unpunished (Respondent 16).

In February 2012 the chemical evaluation is presented, and it reiterates that the herds and the grazings areas are contaminated by dioxin coming from the Ilva steel factory.

In the meantime, the discovery of the toxic cheese lead to the analysis of other fluids and in 2010 Fabio Matacchiera, another activist from Taranto, starts the Fondo Antidioxina (Antidioxin Fund) to analyse human and animal fluids like blood and milk, to assess the presence of dioxin and Pcb (Polychlorinated biphenyls).

Moreover, the judge had ordered an epidemiological enquiry to assess the consequences of the pollution on Taranto's citizens, which was needed to establish if there is a direct relation between the pollution and the current status of health of the local population. This part is particularly important because Taranto was declared in 1991 a SIN (Sito d'Interesse Nazionale, in English: a site for national interest), a land heavily contaminated and in need of remediation. However, such remediation was never done and in 1997 Taranto was declared an area with elevated risk of environmental crisis (Lucifora, Bianco and Vagliasindi, 2015, p.6). Furthermore, in an area with such heavy industries, the state should have set up a tumour registry, to control the state of the population's health, the causes of mortality and supervision of the consequences from pollution. But this was never done as well.

The epidemiological inquiry takes into consideration the period from 2004 to 2010, "and shows that ILVA fumes were seriously harming the environment and the health of workers and local residents" (Lucifora, Bianco and Vagliasindi, 2015, p.13). Francesco Forastiere, Annibale Biggeri and Maria Triassi, the three experts called to assess the mortality in Taranto write that "the exposure to pollutant emissions caused and causes in the population degenerative phenomenons which translate in illness or death." (Biggeri, Forastiere e Triassi, "Conclusions of the epidemiologic survey", 2012).

Worries citizens had are finally backed up by scientific proof about the existence of a direct link between the factory's emissions and the health status in Taranto. The impact of the factory on the pollution is various and complicated, but for example, every year an average of 91 people died of causes related to industrial pollution. For instance there are many cases of stomach, pleura, prostate tumours across the Ilva workers and even more worrisome, every year there are about 17 cases of tumours in children.

Given the results of the epidemiological report, "the Judicial review court stated on the 6th of August 2012 that the ILVA disaster over the years is attributed to constant and repeated polluting activ-

ity perpetrated wilfully by the owners and managers. In particular, the ILVA operating practices were such that they produced a malicious disaster through actions and omissions with a high potential for destructive outcomes for the environment (and society)” (Tonelli, Short, Taticchi, 2013, p. 25).

This exposé will lead the judge for Preliminary Investigation Patrizia Todisco to the seizure of the facilities, and to order the factory to stop its production. “This order was issued within an inquiry conducted on the ILVA’s Management for the crimes, among others, of “unnamed disaster” (Article 434 CC), food poisoning (Article 439 CC), intentional omission of precautions against accidents at work (Article 437 CC). The seizure concerned the core parts of the ILVA plant as well as the “materials considered as a result of the crime, whose availability, according to the judicial authority, could facilitate the continuation of the pollution activities” and it led to the start of the trial referred as the “Environment Sold Out” (Lucifora, Bianco and Vagliasindi, 2015, p.7). As of today the number of social movement organisations, businesses and private individuals who are constituted as civil party in this trial is 1484 (FIDH and Peacelink, 2018, p.35)

5.3 The AIA authorisation for Ilva

The laws, trials and general legal proceedings are many and complicated, but a quick listing is needed for the thesis context as they are interconnected in the social movement protest and resolution activities. They are especially vital to understand the framing alignment of the Taranto social movement and their grievances. I will thus explain what an AIA law is, list the different laws the Italian state created ad hoc for the survival of the factory and will describe the conviction of the managers of both Italsider and Ilva, for causes related to the maxi trial Environment Sold Out.

The AIA (Autorizzazione Integrata Ambientale, in English Environmental Integrated Authorisation) is an authorisation permit every company emitting pollutants needs to obtain for its operation. It was introduced in Italy in response to the European Community directive 96/61/CE (or Direttiva IPPC) called *Integrated Pollution Prevention and Control* of 15 January 2008 (arpae.it).

Environmental laws have become stricter and stricter in Europe and elsewhere, following the issues with climate change, the asbestos consequences on human health and in general the modernisation of factories to comply with the newest technologies. It is to be expected that factory plants built in the 20th century become outdated and need constant improvements to control potential damages these could inflict on nature and humans.

Every company that emits pollutants has to present an AIA, let the public and the local authorities know and manifest opinions about it, and later submit it to the approval of the competent agencies

(in the Italian case it is the Ministry for the Environment and the Protection of Natural and Marine Resources). The measures have an application date and have a validity of five years.

Now, regarding the Ilva steel factory, years before the judge Todisco seized the facilities, some activists had started taking the matter in their own hands. AIA concessions have always been a priority for the social movement organisations in Taranto, because it was the key moment during which they could have an influence on the factory's future. Every AIA in fact, allows for the participations of citizens and local institutions to give advice and express opinions on the law text and its implications. These voices need to be heard as the presence of an industrial pole affects the territory as a whole.

After two big marches, AltaMarea (a more thorough description comes later in the text) had started looking into the upcoming AIA concession to the Ilva factory. In fact, the steel plant had to update their environmental concession and present a plan on how they would have renovated the implants to make them more environmentally friendly. A spokesperson from AltaMarea told me, the ensemble of the activist groups presented more than 700 pages of experts' opinions (see Appendix for original document stating the reports presented), data and proposals, but were ignored by the Italian state. It was later discovered, via telephone tapping, that the AIA was mostly written by the factory staff, and the competent authorities did not really oppose or look into the Ilva Group's AIA. This information led to a bribing and concussion trial resulting in the conviction of different decision-makers and people with influence (Bonelli, 2014).

In the appendix document, called DVA-DEC-2011-0000450-ILVA-TARANTO and available on the Ministry for the Environment and the Protection of Natural and Marine Resources' website (<http://aia.minambiente.it/Ilva.aspx>), it is impressive to see that 23 different documents were presented by different activist associations in Taranto including AIL (Italian Association for Leukaemia), Legambiente, PeaceLink, AltaMarea, Comitato per Taranto, during the period from August 2007 to December 2010.

The first AIA was approved on 4 August 2011, without considering all the opinions from the public, what we could define the "alarm of the population" (Respondent 3).

As for today, eleven AIA have been granted and updated for the Ilva Group factory in Taranto. As I have learned, the AIA has an expiration date within which the environmental measures have to be accomplished, if not the company receives a financial penalty (a fine). However, even though the Ilva Group never fully respected the AIA, their AIA was continuously updated to grant more time and parallel laws were created ad hoc to allow the factory continuing operations. This former is not the reader's opinion or claim advanced by activists, but rather is a well documented fact on the

Ministry of Environment by the outstanding number of legislative decrees issued throughout the years (the list is available here <http://aia.minambiente.it/Ilva.aspx>, clicking on “Elenco provvedimenti rilasciati”). Firstly, when the judge Patrizia Todisco seized the facilities, after an epidemiological evaluation that testified the relation between the illnesses in Taranto and the factory’s pollution, the Italian government issued a law decree that authorised the factory to restart the work, cancelling the judiciary power (Lucifora, Bianco and Vagliasindi, 2015, p.20). And from then on, the Ilva case has been an arm wrestling game between the Govern and the judiciary power, fought to the beat of ad hoc law decree every time the judiciary contested the factory’s doing, or as Lucifora, Bianco and Vagliasindi state “the boundaries and responsibilities of the judiciary and of the legislative power, as well as the relationship between the precautionary measures ordered by the judicial authority and the measures adopted by the executive power” (2015, p.23) were raising doubts in the academy judicial and economic field in Italy.

Another recent example is the law decree from 2015 that in March 2018 was declared unconstitutional by the Italian Court of Justice. This particular fight originated when an Ilva worker died in the factory because of the poor maintenance of the facilities he was working onto. The TAR (Tribunale Amministrativo Regionale, in English Regional Administrative Court) seized the finished products and started an investigation on the premises the Ilva Group was still not respecting the worker protection and the worker rights. A few days later, the Ministry of Economy issued a law decree reinstating the full production of the factory. The judiciary power filed a complaint and the law decree was finally declared unconstitutional in April 2018 (<http://www.rainews.it/dl/rainews/articoli/Incostituzionale-il-Decreto-Ilva-2015-per-la-prosecuzione-attivita-f137f8d8-a48a-4ed6-af8d-1f1e42f14e0f.html>).

5.4 The European Union infringement proceedings

Another important characteristic of this case is that its legal ramifications did not end with the confrontation between the governmental and the judiciary institutions in Italy but crossed borders and reached the European Union (EU).

It all started on August 2012, when the Italian Government gave 119€ millions to remediate the lands around the factory and to comply with the AIA. Of these millions only 69 are available Angelo Bonelli, Green Party member of the EU Parliament, reports in his book *Goodmorning Diossina* (2014). Moreover, Bonelli writes that the money still has not been employed for the environmental rehabilitation as of November 2014. Anyhow, PeaceLink, the most prominent of the social movement organisations I approached in Taranto, contacts the European Commission for the Environ-

ment, attaching reports and data about the situation in Taranto. The EC replied on the 26 th September 2013 stating that it is:

“taking action against Italy in an effort to reduce the environmental impact of the ILVA steel plant in Taranto (hereafter "ILVA"), Europe's largest iron and steel works. Following a number of complaints from citizens and NGOs, the Commission has found that Italy is failing to ensure that ILVA complies with EU requirements on industrial emissions, with serious consequences for human health and the environment. It is also failing to respect the Environmental Liability Directive, which enacts the "polluter pays" principle. On the recommendation of Environment Commissioner Janez Potočnik, the European Commission is therefore sending a Letter of Formal Notice, giving Italy two months to reply.”

It is important to know that the European Union has the authority to advance requests to different EU member states. Specifically, first a formal notice, second a reasoned opinion and third a referral to the European Court of Justice. So the first initiative is to warn the member state that a rule or a law is not been followed, and that the EU then takes notice of that, then the state has two other chances to respect such rule and finally, as a last step in the procedure, said state is taken to serve justice on that particular matter.

On the 16th April 2014 the EU Commission sends a second letter to the Italian Government, ordering the second formal notice to deal with the Ilva law breaking issues. Subsequently, on 16 October 2014 the EU Commission sends a Reasoned Opinion (the second of three steps in the infringements proceedings):

“The European Commission is taking further steps against Italy in an effort to reduce the environmental impact of the ILVA steel plant in Taranto (hereafter "ILVA"), Europe's largest iron and steel works. Italy is failing to ensure that ILVA operates in conformity with EU legislation on industrial emissions, with potentially serious consequences for human health and the environment. The Commission has previously sent Italy two letters of formal notice, in September 2013 and April 2014, urging the Italian authorities to take measures in order to bring the operation of the ILVA plant into compliance with the Industrial Emissions Directive and other applicable EU environmental law (see IP/13/866). Although some shortcomings have been addressed, a number of breaches of the Industrial Emissions Directive remain. Today's action, a reasoned opinion, concerns deficiencies such as lack of compliance with the conditions set out in the permits, inadequate management of by-products and wastes, and insufficient protection and monitoring of soil and groundwater. The Commission is giving Italy two months to reply.”

In these upcoming months it should be possible to have more insights on the development of this matter, as the third and last step should be implemented.

On 20th January 2016 the EU Commission investigates the monetary aids the Italian Government gave to Ilva:

“The European Commission has opened an in-depth inquiry to assess whether Italian state support for steel producer Ilva was in line with EU State aid rules.

In particular, the Commission will examine whether measures facilitating Ilva's access to finance for modernising its plant in Taranto give the company an unfair advantage not available to its competitors. ... The Commission has received numerous complaints from interested

parties against alleged State measures aimed at keeping Ilva afloat artificially, potentially leading to a significant distortion of competition considering Ilva's large production capacity. These measures together amount to c.a. €2 billion of possibly state supported financing. They include State guarantees on loans, a law exceptionally giving loans granted to Ilva an absolute payment priority in case of bankruptcy, including over debt to public entities, a law allowing Ilva access to funds seized during ongoing criminal proceedings against Ilva's shareholders and former management before those proceedings have established who owns these funds, and the settlement by payments to Ilva of a long standing dispute between State-owned Fintecna and Ilva.”

On the 21th December 2017, the EC concludes that the state aid was illegal fines the company to return 84€ million to the Italian government. (the complete documents and list can be found at http://ec.europa.eu/geninfo/query/index.do?QueryText=ilva&op=Search&swlang=en&form_build_id=form-36PVyiidu8oqcfO1mdTkJ-4-4VDJZ8LoXkmFJuW5IYY&form_id=nexteuropa_europa_search_search_form)

On 23 May 2014 the judge Simone Orazio sentences for manslaughter and atmospheric pollution 27 defendants: Fabio Riva, Emilio Riva, Nicola Riva, the almost totality of the managers at Ilva and Girolamo Archinà (public relations manager), and politicians and prosecutors for letting the company pollute without restrictions. They will be given between four and nine years in jail.

This may seem only a long account of the legal proceeding surrounding the Ilva factory, the Italian Government and the judiciary Italian power, but I think it is necessary to know this information to better understand and judge the grievances of the social movements in Taranto.

I will conclude by reiterating the fact that the factory management during the years has violated environmental norms, workers rights and emissions laws repeatedly and was found convicted of this. The Italian state, upon the reason that this factory is strategic for the Italian economy, has helped and many times overprotected the Ilva plant. This even going against the judiciary power and crossing boundaries.

6. THE SOCIAL MOVEMENT ORGANISATIONS

One particularity of the Taranto social protest that strikes the outsider is the quantity of activist groups in the city. While doing the scoping study for the Environmental Governance in Context project, I listed more than fifty active organisation between grassroots and formal. This overview of the actors in the protest is needed in order to illustrate their collective identity and the resulting advocacy communication. To define the identity of a movement it is necessary to look for all the elements composing it, I thus set off to map all the social movement organisations I could find active.

The more organised institutional SMOs are part of a national network, and so focuses on several topics, but are engaged with the environmental matters as well. The grassroots SMO instead, were born in result to local of the issues with the Ilva factory, in response to a need for change in the face of the adversities the city was struggling with.

These various organisations have different backgrounds and thus pursue different interests and goals inside the bigger topic of the Ilva pollution. While one would think that the environmental issue would be the prominent focus of the SMO in Taranto there are actually other issues these are engaged on. That is because the pollution not only affects the natural environment first, but also human health and consequently their right to work. The environmental was contaminated by the toxic substance, resulting in unusable soil, groundwater and herds. Thus, the “health issue” emerged, when citizens realised that they were eating contaminated products (like herds, their dairy products but also mussels) and, at the same time, could feel the health state of the populations deteriorating. That meant a higher incidence of respiratory illnesses, tumours and infertility cases. Finally, the dichotomy between health and work has a central position in the Ilva case, as it has been portrayed by journalists. On the one hand the workers do not want the factory to close because they would lose work that is difficult to come in regions like the Apulia, where unemployment is a pressing matter for the Italian government as well. On the other hand, no worker should ever be put in the position to decide between life and work, and should be protected on the place of work which the Ilva Group has repeatedly not cared about for all their time as owners of the factory. That is why a third current of SMOs in Taranto is taking effort into proposals to close the steel factory and rehabilitate the whole plant, in order to start a new alternative economy for the Taranto region.

Firstly there are environmental organisations such as PeaceLink, Legambiente and WWF. These are fighting primarily to stop Ilva from polluting the environment and are concerned about the ecological stakes. Their activities will include flora and fauna protection, cleaning up of plastic and rubbish, or setting up more bicycle lanes, and similar.

Secondly, there are SMOs with a strong focus on health, like Genitori Tarantini, Taranto Lider, Taranto Futura, ISDE Taranto which focus their efforts on actions to either check (and denounce) or improve the health quality of the population. Inside the health framework there are two different kind of associations. For instance Genitori Tarantini expresses the concern of parents and wants to safeguard the health of the children of Taranto, while Taranto Futura and ISDE Taranto are groups established by doctors with broader concerns and actions with a scientific approach and point towards initiatives to foster exams, check-ups and infrastructures to help the citizens protect their health.

Thirdly, association like Giustizia per Taranto, AltaMarea and Taranto Respira have during the ten years of protest pushed for an economic change in the region. They argue that the problem is not only Ilva, but a wholesome economy focused on heavy industry and its income. In spite of only advocating for the closure, a viable, concrete alternative has to be proposed to the institutions to make them change their minds.

Finally, one last current I came across was composed by ex and current Ilva workers, who target in their social activities the factory's management and the unions. Their goals are more oriented towards enhancing the worker's security, the worker's rights and the employer duties.

I will now present a description of the major SMOs in Taranto, their achievements and their relationships among each other, from the material gathered from literature review, online media content and the interviews on the field.

6.1 PeaceLink

Every social movement has its own leader, the activist group that is unstoppable, the organisation that was the first protesting and the group every other group relies on for tips on organisation in protest and methods. This organisation in Taranto is represented by PeaceLink - Rete Telematica per la Pace (PeaceLink, Electronic Network for Peace). They describe themselves as a voluntary association for information, thus an alternative source of information, which has its core on all news and events with peace and ecology. This means that the case of pollution in Taranto is only one of their interests, but, to their admission, "it is still the most pressing issue to deal with" (Respondent 16). PeaceLink leadership is tripartite: Alessandro Marescotti is the charismatic figure that embodies the Taranto environmental social movement with his tenacity, his dedication to the cause and his stories that resembles the ones of a war veteran; Luciano Manna is the visual head of operations, as his role is to document with photos and videos the pollution and fumes of the steel plant, the stories of the citizens and the interviews to local agencies; Alessandra Battaglia handles the relations with the EU Commission for Environmental matters where PeaceLink and other SMOs have opened a case against Ilva and the Italian state. The three musketeers, as the fellow activists call them, have worked together to fight the wrongful doings of the factory management for 10 years already.

We know how Alessandro Marescotti sent a piece of cheese to be analysed and the consequent start of the Environment Sold Out trial. I will now describe more in-depth the characteristics of the organisation, point of views and actions in the social protest.

It is a whistle-blowing activity the one that characterises their operations, as they focus on reporting the wrong doings of not only Ilva, but all the polluting factories in the vicinity of Taranto. They

have a scientific approach, they study and have experts helping them along the way. They are in constant contact with the local authorities to denounce illegal activities as are fumes coming out of the factory, fires exploding or a foul smell. This method has paid off, as their reputation is highly regarded in the whole community, as these examples show:

“If Marescotti publishes an article we shared it as well, this is our spirit” (Respondent 15)

“We foster the fight thanks to reports as well...Marescotti for example, has always had a strong scientific documentation by his side.” (Respondent 10)

“Professor Marescotti was the one starting to give the alarm.....” (Respondent 19)

“Marescotti had the intuition to go look at the sheep’s products” (Respondent 17)

PeaceLink has a website, where all their activities are documented and have become news pieces. They reassemble a watchdog for the wrongdoings of the industries around Taranto and are among the associations at the forefront of the various legal proceeding the SMOs have started against the Ilva Group.

Their method of protest is the least emotional in respect to other organisations, as they are a news agency and thus operate via reports and articles. This gave them authority both in the social movement ranks and with the local administrative agencies and government, who have learned to trust the information and alarms coming from PeaceLink.

6.2 Legambiente and WWF

I have decided to group these two organisations together because they share many common characteristics. First of all, unlike the other SMOs in Taranto, they are formal organisations, not grassroots ones. Second, and consequently, they were born a long time before the protests against Ilva started. And thirdly, and most important, their activities do not revolve only around the industrial pollution issues, but they still take part in other, more environmentally related activities. When asked about the environmental issues in Taranto, while putting the Ilva case first, they pointed out as well the lack of separate collection of recycling of household waste, or how the community in Taranto does not care about sustainable mobility, or the lack of green spaces in the city.

As a consequence, their efforts towards the protection of the environment are multifocal and holistic. WWF for example, oversees a natural reserve and an eco-museum at the seaside to restore the wildlife. Legambiente has a proposal to discuss with the local authorities to create bicycle lanes in Taranto and participates in cleaning up days on the local beaches. While Legambiente has taken a side role in the Ilva protests, only participating in marches as individuals, WWF has a bigger role, actually organising themed protests and teaming up with other groups and signing petitions.

Whereas the term environmentalist is used by the media and the public to describe the protest wave happening in Taranto, only WWF and Legambiente can be truly called with this term, because they were born with the sole purpose of protecting flora and fauna. However, they are suffering the most from this negative approach to the term “environmentalist” the media adopted as we will see in the frame analysis.

Legambiente in particular, uses its Facebook page and website to diffuse data about the quality of air, water and ground, but not so much to support fellow demonstrations when happening.

Finally, being formal environmental organisations, their methods are less disruptive than the rest of the associations in Taranto. WWF organised a demonstration, as we will see later, but in general they tend to organise initiatives in parallel to the protest, that do not contest the local and national government as frequently.

6.3 AltaMarea

The year 2008 is a vital year for the environmental social movement in Taranto since the first important protest against the polluting factories took place. In fact, on 29 November 2008 the first march for the environment was held in the streets of Taranto. On this date, the majority of Taranto’s active environmental activists decided to regroup and constituted “AltaMarea contro l’inquinamento” (HighTide against pollution, a reference to the tsunami-like protest that was happening in the street of the city) an organisation to fight against the Ilva Group wrongdoings.

On 28 November 2009, AltaMarea decided to celebrate the first march with a sister march to engage the citizens on the environmental and health issues about the pollution spilling out of the steel plant. The reports, as always in the case of citizens marches, differ quite greatly in numbers of protesters registered that day. Anyhow, “the participation is said to have been between 30000 to 40000 participants” (Respondent 9). The participants, excluding the individual citizens (and many students), were organisations from the natural protection (WWF, Legambiente), PeaceLink, AIL Taranto, and many others.

The event was a success. The environmental conscience of the population of Taranto was awakened. It marked the turning point against polluting factories. It is still fondly remembered by all the spokespersons I interviewed, as the moment where their hopes for a greener city were coming into reality.

In the following years, AltaMarea defined the ways of protest of the environmental social movement in Taranto. They engaged in technical activities, health prevention activities, communication activities and legal activities. The health related activities would be, for example, blood and urine

testing on the volunteering population, as it would be useful to understand how deeply the citizens were affected by the dioxin and benzodiazepine coming from the industries. Moreover, they undertook legal actions to ensure their voices were being heard by the government in the quest to make sure Ilva was respecting the laws, being more under tight control and was becoming less of a threat for the environment and the population. This refers to the actions taken the years preceding the Environmental Authorisation (AIA) being granted to Ilva, and all the reports they sent, together with other associations, to the competent institution.

The fight between the judicial power and the Italian government has wore down the enthusiastic approach the activists had in the first years. As it is normal in social movements, keeping the morale up and the will to protest is hard and enduring after a while. In fact, such a comprehensive organisation is hard to keep under control, due to the differences and discrepancies among the activists participating. In fact, AltaMarea failed in pushing for a clear resolution to the protest, and now another organisation, Giustizia per Taranto, is said to be carrying on the torch.

6.4 Giustizia per Taranto

The youngest of all the activist groups in Taranto, the organisation started one year ago and, as they describe themselves, they are the output of the prior mobilisations. The members were before all activists in other organisations, and decided to form a separate association spontaneously during a demonstration. At that time, Ilva Group was asking in court for a negotiation for a ridiculous amount of money to be given to the victims who had turned themselves up in the trial, and settle the matter in this way. This proposal outraged the people of Taranto, who organised a march in support of the judiciary power and to call for Justice in Taranto (that is what Giustizia per Taranto, the name of the SMO means in Italian). In my opinion, they are an AltaMarea 2.0, with a stronger focus on the economic future of Taranto. In fact, their members were part of other activist groups and their activities are inclusive as AltaMarea's had been in the first year of protests.

The group is convinced the only possible solution is for the steel factory to close, no environmental adjustments will ever be right, because the risk of the population get sick or die because of Ilva will never be zero, thus the factory can not exist if the health of Taranto is at stake.

Their goal is to explain to the rest of the citizens what is going on with the selling of Ilva, thus what is behind the legal terms and what is not disclosed by the media about the sale of the property to AcelorMittal, an Indian-Franco group. First they want to demonstrate how much is being and will be spent on environmental patching up of the factory and show how the same money could be directly spent on de-pollution of the lands. In parallel, Giustizia per Taranto wants to draw a reconver-

sion project for the city, moving forward from the environmental narrative towards a discourse of an alternative growing industry. The project will be as methodical as possible, as they assure the participation of experts in their sector (the same that AltaMarea and PeaceLink did before them).

6.5 Genitori Tarantini

This thesis juxtaposes the rationality of framing efforts by the SMOs compared to the more instinctive emotional discourse that permeates their communication and their protests. The study verges on the realisation that to understand better a social movement it is necessary to merge the two aspects, strategy and emotion. The Genitori Tarantini (Parents of Taranto) is the best example of how the mix between the two aspects of protest can come together under one organisation. As a matter of fact, they use emotional communication in every aspect of their protest. Starting from their name, which implicates that the activists are not general people, but they are parents, thus bringing with them a persona, a clear account of their responsibilities. Secondly, they do not just organise marches, but they organise themed marches: for example once they walked all around the town with empty strollers, to signify the children dying in Taranto as well as the unborn ones, because of the infertility caused by pollution.



To their admission, they have a “provocative vein” in their methods of protesting.

Whereas marches, sit-ins and public assemblies are the group’s preferred tools, they are organising a national workshops to reunite all the Italian activist organisations from lands declared polluted in-

dustrial sites. In particular they would like experts to talk about the risks and dangers, possible rehabilitation proposals and to ask common people to tell their story.

Picture by inchiostroverde.it

6.6 Taranto Futura and ISDE Taranto

One final current of social protest in Taranto is constituted by the local doctors. The medicine and more generally scientific community has an ambivalent role during protests: on the one hand they try to stay out of it for the fear of going against public opinion and the media; on the other hand their data oriented opinions are the most valuable for social movement because they give authority and credibility to common citizens alarms (when supported). Whereas the profession of the general practitioner in Italy normally stays in the shades of public opinion, in Taranto many doctors have decided to step up and help the activists.

They do this in various ways, for example their participation in marches and speeches is already very valuable for the SMOs as, as mentioned before, they can provide scientific integrity to the claims the activists make about the state of health in the town. Secondly they have made themselves available for taking of blood and urine samples to be sent to independent laboratories, or giving free medical advice, stepping out of what is required of a general practitioner to take care of the population.

Finally, their positions allow them to be part of local institution closed meeting, to bring the requests of the public where the public can not go and finally push for budget allocations to what the people need, such as more clinics, more doctors or just more funds to take care of health issues in Taranto. In fact, one the the most tangible successes in the town protest against the pollution in industrial plants is that, with the help of a public fund-raise and a celebrity endorsement, Taranto Futura and Taranto Lider were able to open a “spot”, a unit in Taranto where children affected by can-



cer could go and have routine exams and primary care, without having to travel 200 km to the nearest hub (in medical terms the official ward where all the patients from the region are treated).

Picture by Taranto Lider Facebook page.

The billboard above is about endometriosis, an illness that is a consequence of dioxins in the blood of women in Taranto and that Taranto Lider is focusing on. The billboard was made to raise awareness about the women affected by endometriosis and how the local government is not acknowledging the issues these women (and couples in Taranto more in general) have to deal with on top of more known respiratory diseases caused by pollution. The billboard is not as powerful as the ones we will encounter later in the text, but the use of color pink versus black refers to the female gender. Moreover, it points the accusation finger directly to the local government ("giunta regionale pugliese") and states that "no protection" is in place against endometriosis. Finally, not readable for the reader of this article unfortunately, on the bottom left are listed all the failings and hypocrisies the local administration is guilty of.

7. EMOTION ANALYSIS

7.1 Emotions throughout the Ilva protest

James Jasper counts four basic dimensions of protest: biography, culture, strategy and resources. All the four tangle together while studying a protest movement, in fact we can say that framing already contains strategy and culture because the SMO needs to extract from shared culture the meaning they want to communicate and create a solid strategy which includes their slogans and all the framing efforts like diagnostic and prognostic framing. Motivational framing instead, will be more driven by biography because its goal is to engage with people thoughts and emotions and thus with who they are as a person, their background and their wishes for the future. In particular biography is vital in the Ilva case study, because the activist community is a very tight one, as they all live in a medium town thus they all know each other, they have shared pasts and thus share a past, a present, and a future collective identity that is interesting to describe. Collective identity, has been studied by many scholars, and it is always a focal point in understanding a social movement, I decided, using Jasper's analytic framework, to relate collective identity with emotions and biography (and thus of course with culture, because the terms are almost transcending one from the other).

Emotions have always had a weak status in the social movement study field, and that is because it is hard to rationalise them. I argue though, that emotions are as constructed by social meanings as moral values and cognitive processes, because the emotions we feel are related to something happening

in the socially constructed world we live in. Consequently, emotions are “tied to beliefs and contexts” (Jasper, 1997, p.110) and thus are more than something living only in ourselves because “emotions are closely connected with the cognitive meanings one contracts about the world, and to the moral valuations accompanying them” (ibid.). When we think of emotions as momentary states of mind where we act as we would not normally do, because blinded by passion and irrationality, we commit a mistake. We degrade the role emotions play in continuously and how they affect our moral compass, personal beliefs and attitudes in life. Finally, there is a variety of emotions in protest, starting by fear, anger and threat for example but also the emotions that form among the activists’ community and how those define the whole social movement and the participants’ experience of the protest.

Emotions are a powerful engagement tool, especially in complex situation like protests, and are various and difficult to handle for the success of the protest. It is troublesome as well for the student, to be able to catch, code and analyse emotions in a social movement to set up a coherent and complete investigation. On this matter, I have decided to look into internal and external emotions, always trying to rationalise as much as possible. In fact, emotions and the study of social movements have had a hard time going hand in hand, that is because the previous scholars thought it was not possible to include emotions in the study framework because of their irrational characteristics. This would undermine the authority of the study, because emotions are subjective and difficult to include in a resource mobilisation analysis. This approach was continued during the frame alignment framework as well by Benford and Snow, but in recent times scholars have agreed emotions deserve a better spot in the study of social movements. As a matter of fact, “frame alignment and injustice frames are infused with emotions, especially negative ones such as fear, threat and outrage” (Jasper, 1997, p.129). Following this line of thought I will dive in the range of emotions carried out by the Taranto social movement.

This chapter will analyse the various emotions implicated in the protest and their role, both internally as relationship among social movement organisations and externally directed to the public. Subsequently, it will describe the collective identity of Taranto’s social movement, examining the relationships created and destroyed among the organisations, and how this affects the created frames.

7.2 Internal Emotions

One of the trickiest parts of advocating for social change is going against the mainstream perception of social norms and rules, or in this case the general ideologies about the environment and its relations with the human kind and in a second moment going against the environmental laws set up to

protect the Italian citizens. To a minority fighting for social change that is not recognised to be necessary by the majority of their peers, indignation, resilience and courage arise, to begin with. Many are the emotions that I found in Taranto and I shall now describe them.

The Ilva case in Taranto is highly intriguing also because of the quantity of activist groups active in the town. These organisations, while fighting for (almost) the same goal, come from completely diverse perspectives, social classes and political opinions and consequently find it difficult to work together on some issues. While we notice cohesion between likeminded organisations, some groups do not want to work with other groups based on prior fights or on how the organisation is perceived in the social movement circuit. For example, the environmental organisations like Legambiente are “ostracised” by the rest because of their beliefs regarding the environmental improvement of the factory instead of closing it and the relations with the local government. They are seen as traitors by some, because they align with the government point of view and they do not hesitate to publish scientific reports stating the good quality of air and sea water for example, even if it could undermine diagnostic frame the social movement is counting upon.

Apart from individual clashes, Taranto’s social movement is quite unified and the different organisation support one another when they organise marches or legal actions alike. Subsequently, it was sometimes hard to distinguish which organisation decided to march, as during the interviews the same event was mentioned many times by different associations all claiming to have organised it. I have finally understood that, of course, some important demonstrations in Taranto were coordinated by more groups at the same time. This is indicative as well of the tight relationships between the whole social movement and their joint efforts against Ilva. What occurred to the outsider is that they can be compared to a family, as they argue between themselves all the time, but they all come together for the important occasions. So what emotions are distinctive of the Taranto social movement family?

I would start with hope as a primary emotion to describe the social movement. While a critique could be that any social movement has to have hope, I argue that, from what I witnessed, the militants in Taranto have a strong base of faith that things are going to turn out good for them. It is hard to be an activist, and even harder after more than ten years of non-stop fights on many fronts. While, during the interview coding, I could enlist some pessimistic feelings, the whole range of associations has plans regarding a brighter future for their beloved town and keep their hopes up.

Hope is a benign feeling, but this social movement has also a growing feeling of impotence, due to the long years of battling, before against the Ilva management and now even against the Italian state. Resignation in fact “can dampen the perceived possibility for change” (Jasper, 1997, p.114)

This emotion appeared in half of the interviews conducted, and can be related to the older associations which are also the ones with more senior spokespersons. As Respondent 1 told me “Hope was there since 2012, until they (refers to the Italian government) did Law Decrees every single time we tried legal actions ... little by little this enthusiasm burned out”. It is thus normal for this feeling to appear alongside a longer time in the protest field, because time wears down the enthusiasm for demonstration.

Moreover, another feeling to be noted is anger, this as well is one of the founding emotions of many social movements around the world. The anger of being treated like second class citizens by the government has fuelled the protest and is also responsible for the birth of some organisations such as Giustizia per Taranto and Cittadini Liberi e Pensanti (Free and Thinking Citizens, the group of Ilva workers who opposed the unions advocating against the preliminary investigation judge who seized the factory in July 2012). The same rage feeds the active population of the Tamburi neighbourhood which is mostly constituted by Ilva workers, their families and other working class families. An activist participated organised a demonstration in the area and he could “experience a great anger, there was lots of uncontrollable rage, so that it seemed they would march in that precise moment to go and close Ilva with the sticks” (Respondent 13). They are most affected by the pollution and the careless management of the factory but, at the same time, they are the less resourceful among the citizens of Taranto because they do not have economic and cultural means needed to oppose such a giant force.

Furthermore, it can be registered in the words of the activists, that they feel little back up from their peer citizens. This can be connected to the counter opposite perspective the activists have in relation to the mainstream one shared by the majority of the population; as it is complicated to foster a new paradigm of economy and society as it is even arduous to get approval from the society itself.

It was recurrent in fact, that during the interview militants would tell me something along the same lines as “we were four protesting, this is the disgrace.” (Respondent 2) or “if you stop someone in the street today and ask about Ilva, they will tell you that everything is alright because the television does not talk about it.” (Respondent 5) and finally “I spoke about Ilva at a school assembly, and I was shocked, the kids are mostly not interested in the argument... and the majority of the interventions were exculpatory in regards to the company (Ilva Group). Not to talk about the referendum” (Respondent 8). The activist is here referring to a referendum that asked the citizens if they wanted the manufacturing plant to be closed, only 20% of the population went to vote (and 98% voted to close the factory) and thus the referendum was not considered eligible. This is rein-

forced by Respondent 15 who believes “The common citizen does not want to listen to you, because he is convinced that it is impossible to survive without Ilva”.

Hence, this anger feeling is absolutely normal in a social movement emotional dimension and it should not diminish the actual effective mobilisation which can be registered in Taranto.

Finally, paranoia and suspicion also play a role in the Taranto social movement protest. Since the repeated let downs both from the Ilva management and the Italian government, the activists have become more suspicious of every single move the authorities make and supervise closely all that happens in the Ilva case legal, economic and social updates. I noticed it, for example with the “La verità in 10 punti” (The truth in 10 points) a conference Giustizia per Taranto organised to alert the citizens of the information about the selling process that were not discussed publicly. Moreover, paranoia can be found in the words the militants expressed during the interviews, where someone said that the actions of the Italian government were “seen as persecutory of the population of Taranto” (Respondent 3).

7.3 Collective Identity

How could we define, as if it were a persona, the identity of the Taranto social movement?

At the beginning, we observe a clear awareness of their civic duties to fight for the good of their peers. In the absence of a strong local government who could oppose the national government during the feud with the judiciary power, the activists of Taranto decided it was their responsibility both to explain what was going on to their fellow citizens and fight for an amelioration of the Ilva environmental constraints. It first started when the first Environmental Integrated Authorisation (AIA) was requested from the Ilva group, as “this process requires the participation of all interested parties, even the citizens. So me and Alessandro (Marescotti) put a wedge in the door (Italian expression meaning to keep the door open in order to follow what is happening in a room behind closed doors) and we followed all the process closely. That is exactly why we created AltaMarea, to facilitate our participation as citizens.” (Respondent 4).

They have replaced the state in ensuring a better chance of healthy living, especially because these issues affect the whole population and not only the activists community. They feel a responsibility to be part of the change that could happen in the region, to build a future far from the heavy industry with as much moral and coherence as they can.

This social protest is different from for example fighting to halt the Dakota Access Pipeline to go through native Americans territories in North America, because while Standing Rock was about a threat to a land and its community, in Taranto the danger is concrete and has already claimed vic-

tims. As a matter of fact, a peculiarity in the social mobilisation in Taranto is that they started by protesting what they felt was wrong in the Ilva (mis)use of the environment, and that is what every protest does. However, they moved on from this denunciation aspect first to be represented as victims in the Sold Out Environment trial, and finally to actually starting working for an economic, tourist and social plan to propose an alternative solution to the heavy industry.

Their civic duty is thus not only achieved with demonstrations, but with the constant pressure onto different authorities and agencies on the territory to act and supply to their shortcomings. As I could learn, talking to the activists and checking their online activity, singularly they focus on individual goals, but together they form a strong current advocating for change in various areas of public service and at various level of administrative power.

This peculiarity makes the SMOs identity closer to a real parallel governative power, even if we are far away from being them able to actually use this potential function. While I was interviewing the vice-mayor in fact, he received a text, a showed it to me proudly, from one of the social movement organisations alerting him that there just had been a strange blaze coming from the Ilva plant. He told me consequently, that “There is a strong ecological conscience (in Taranto), a network of associations who allow us to engage on these themes. Their civic conscience is very meaningful, they have a very important control activity.”

Twice already some individual from the organisations have run in the local elections for the role of mayor and its council in Taranto, and twice they failed, because citizens preferred to vote for the more established and cautious political parties. They nevertheless managed to elect four deputies who are part of SMOs, that are now advocating in the “administrative backrooms of power” as an activist told me, which serves them to advance their demands to the local government. Taranto Respira for example, is a civic list born from an activist organisation who believes that “if you do not join the local government there is little you can do” to change things. In fact, they are “filing motions, you know we do not come from a political school, so to prepare even the smallest bureaucratic thing we need a lot of time... but we have a motion ready to propose a city planning of urban green spaces” using funds made available by the European Union.

The focus of the protest was on the dangers the Ilva factory was embodying, and it still is, however, the organisations in Taranto are actively using this newfound community responsibility to remedy the shortcomings directly and indirectly caused by the pollution. Setting up space in the hospital for kids with cancer, pushing for more awareness to endometriosis, infertility and studying for an alternative, more sustainable economy for Taranto are all stream of activities which have derived from the principal protest to close the plant. I believe, they know that to close a factory closely tangled

with the Italian economy is quite hard, so they have also turned into more realisable initiatives, meant to show that they are not paranoid “tree-huggers” but active citizens who love their town and are ready to fight for it.

That is why another facet of the collective identity of the SMOs is being the underdog. Taranto’s rising social movement has risen from the ground of a population that was given for dead, an activist told me, meaning that few people were expecting such a strong reaction to a factory that was established there fifty years before. They blame the scarce sense of civic engagement and feel that “Taranto is a town who was sacrificed, there surely was less resilience from the citizens and that is why they could built here such massive industrial areas” (Respondent 13).

Moreover, Italy in general and the South in particular have little sense of civic engagement and respect of the territory, as the few initiatives to protect beaches, the city centre and historical monuments in the region testify. This complaint is widespread in the militants circles and is a core of their identity to identify themselves as the only ones caring and fighting for the survival of the town and its population. They feel like they are victims of an injustice and predicted to lose in this fight against the Italian economic interest, but nonetheless “will keep doing this until I close my eyes” (Respondent 1).

The feeling of being abandoned by the central government echoes in all the interviews I could conduct and I will now report the most poignant interventions on this matter:

“...automatically the first responsible of our health and our deaths is the state” (Respondent 2)

“Now we are talking about a violent attack to the health of the citizens. Before it could just be an alarm, because the nature of the link (between the toxic emissions and the higher mortality rate in Taranto). Now, not only the state knows about the causes and continues undeterred, so the attitude is perceived as harassment. Now you (the central government) know and continue to poison us, but now we are aware as well.” (Respondent 3)

“The Ilva case is unique in the world because of all the Law Decrees which have led to a suspension of human rights. The law which rules in Italy does not apply to Taranto apparently. Here there is impunity for the Ilva factory (management), who can do whatever they want.” (Respondent 6)

“The state protects the industry, “Save Ilva” (referring to the name the Law Decree is commonly known) but never “Save Taranto” (Respondent 12).

This dynamic of opposition to the state can be found in various social movements, especially in the identities of the “new social movements” Melucci has studied. The scholar believes the collective identity of a movement is built also on the opposition said movement has in relation to its adversary, most of the time the national government. “Affirming its difference from the rest of the soci-

ety” (1995, p. 48), a movement’s identity will be reinforced and become stronger as opponent to the governative power, the more indifference or actual non recognition the better. In this particular case many activists lamented that they were called “tree-huggers” by the media and the government, they believed (rightly so) that it was a strategy to undermine the movement in the eyes of the public. That is why, the militants now refuse the identity of environmentalists, and stress on the heterogeneity of the classes, beliefs and people composing the protests. To be labeled tree-hugger is an identity given to them by the media, and they are still trying to shrug it off by acting as methodically as they can and always being supported by scientific data. They are concerned citizens whose health and home has been put into danger and whose morality will not be defaced by the name calling the counterpart uses.

Indeed, this dignity I found in all of the activists stories is characteristic of their collective identity. When a threat like a big industrial pole is present in their routine and affecting the security of their lives, morally active citizens will be outraged by the state of things. The social movement has an underlying statement defining who they are: they are not the kind of people accepting such a threat in their homes. Their dignity as moral human beings is being attacked, by a “villain” who believes he can do whatever he wants in Taranto’s territory, and the activist are there to let everyone know that they will not go down so easily and accept the oppression of the economic interests of the Italian government.

The sense of place in the Taranto social movement is strong, as the movement is founded in the town and expresses interest only in the region surrounding the protest. In this case study the attachment to the physical site of the protest is what makes it peculiar as well. The activists love their town and this shapes the form of the protest, their methods and their goals. For example the economic and touristic plan Giustizia per Taranto and others are building is based on a sustainable and environmentally enriching alternative to what they see as “the ugliness of the city” represented by the manufacturing plant. Here their environmental identity, which is suppressed when talking to the public, is more relevant, as what they are proposing is a more balanced vision of the economy of the region, more respectful towards the environment and thus less inclined to the pure utilitarianism the industrial pole represents. They are environmentalists at heart, but only in relation to their home.

That is why the protest in Taranto is characterised by powerful emotions regarding life and family and the human rights to live in a safe environment. They are protesting for their families to be safe at home and this adds a layer of feelings and anger few social movements have. The reader will have noticed in fact, how many times the word Taranto is written in this thesis, the repetition of the name of the place is itself a way to reiterate its importance in the protest.

Another element composing the social movement's collective identity is that it is mostly made by self-employed individuals and teachers. It is understandable as they can dedicate more time to the protest as they manage their own working time, or like the teachers, who will have free afternoons to engage in protest organisations and activities. The activists are thus professors, workers, sometimes lawyers or dentists, but they are not engineers; and this limits their authority in face of the institutions. That is why they often recur to experts and scientists to do the skilled work needed to prepare the reports denouncing the illegal activities or the petitions to the European Court.

Furthermore, an interesting component of the Taranto social movement is the democratic approach used throughout the protest. Even though Alessandro Marescotti and Vincenzo Fornaro can be indicated as leaders of the movement, the decision process of the organisations is quite egalitarian. As a matter of fact, every single group and every single voice always seems to be considered in deciding the protest strategy and actions. For example, Genitori Tarantini will organise a workshop for all contaminated Italian sites, while Taranto Lider is focusing on awareness campaigns for women suffering from endometriosis, finally Giustizia per Taranto is building a blueprint project for an alternate economy in the region. Melucci (1995) states, that the identity of a social movement is not a static element, but a dynamic and shifting one, made out of all the people composing the social movement, the relationships among them and the culture they share. Their egalitarianism makes their collective identity mutable and a bit unpredictable, which turns into a strategy because they learn from each stream of activities and become more respected in the community.

It can be noticed as well in the use of two different prognostic frames, the reformatory one and the one advocating for the closure (further explanation in the next chapter). Whereas a social movement should foster one clear prognostic framing, in Taranto this does not happen, and it could undermine their credibility in the protest, but I argue that, on the contrary it allows them to engage more bystanders. Although it can be seen as a weakness, because such methods frequently mean a difficult time decision-making and a possible freeze of the protest in Taranto, and this is quite peculiar, that has permitted the flourishing of various streams of initiatives while maintaining a united effort on both marches and legal petitions.

Finally, I could observe the strong sense of loyalty recurring in the activists' statements and actions. For example all the interviewees refer to other organisations, and especially Alessandro Marescotti's and PeaceLink work of exposing Ilva, and their essential work for the protest. They remember fondly past marches and are quick to attribute which important event to whoever organised it. Also, for instance the SMOs plan and execute mostly together new initiatives, following the together we

are stronger line of thought. Their shared past tied them together even more, because their shared experiences (biography for Jasper) made the individuals create a collective identity.

7.4 External Emotions

“Moral shocks are often the first step toward recruitment into social movements: when an unexpected event or piece of information raises such sense of outrage in a person that she becomes inclined toward political action” (Jasper, 1997, p.106). The Taranto social movement is based on this moral outrage, and the activists primary tool to raise awareness of how the Ilva pollutions is affecting their families and children is to provide an “attack mode” (Jasper, 1997, p.107) of these emotions to direct them forward an intention of policy and social change.



The photo above for example, shows a demonstration organised by WWF, Verità per Taranto, Taranto Respira (and others). “Everyone of us cut out the shapes of our deceased loved ones, some people came with the shapes of their sons, their nephews, and that was a strong signal” (Respondent 14). Respondent 5, believes that “art says it better and says it right away”, he/she remembers it was

a windy day and so the shapes would move with the air “and would break because of the wind, making them fragile like life in Taranto.” This particular demonstration, along with the one
Picture by inchiostroverde.it

featuring empty strollers, is shocking and will provoke mixed feelings in the bystander. Again we are in the presence of a strong showcase of emotions meant to awaken the public moral conscience. Fear, anger, and desperation are some of the emotions needed to indicate the responsible to blame for the moral indignation, the villain of the fable we could say. These emotions are caused by the expositions to a threat, for example in the case of Taranto the threat is caused by the gradual destroying of their quality of life by the Ilva factory. The citizens found themselves lacking health and a clean environment, and this lack of a safe space to live is perceived as a threat. Their security and confidence in the Italian state protecting their life gradually was washed away by the repeated legal actions taken by the government to safeguard the steel plant over their health.

To talk about the emotions of the Taranto social movement is to talk about grief. Loss is hovering all over the town, can be felt in many conversations I had with the activists and has touched many families in Taranto, as one interviewee says quite poignantly “there is not one family who did not have to deal with the issue of cancer” (Respondent 1). Grief is also a powerful emotion to engage the bystanders and foster mobilisation in the citizens, because it is such a widespread feeling that the majority of the population in the city will be touched by it. Sorrow in fact, make people feel compassionate and their moral beliefs are shocked when they hear of the loss caused by the toxic emissions of the steel factory.

Picture by Genitori Tarantini facebook page.

The billboard above represents a father and his son walking, in front of them we can discern the chimneys of the Ilva factory. It is almost like they are walking towards a certain destiny, and it is not a bright one. The slogan states: “Not another child...” and is taken from the beginning of a phrase pronounced by the Preliminary Judge Patrizia Todisco while she was ordering the seizure of the plant. The full statement was: “Not another child, not another citizen of this unfortunate town, not another Ilva worker, will have to be sick or die or be exposed to such dangers, as a consequence of the toxic emissions of the steel (industry)” (bari.repubblica.it). The billboard also state the percentages of child mortality, as found the the Sentieri report of the Ministry of Health.

Subsequently, a communication built on grief, outrage and indignation will cause an “attack mode” in the minds of the public, which will pushed into advocacy for the cause.

A sense of urgency distinguishes this social movement also, given the number of death caused by pollution and the fear that if the steel factory does not close the deaths will continue. Urgency is



communicated through the petitions and the billboards some groups use for their advocacy campaigns. In fact the billboards in particular are the most emotional method of communication, and thus frame, the activists adopt to engage the population. One billboard represents the town of Taranto with the factory emitting fumes in the dark, a demonic image who clearly states who is the villain in the story and who is the victim. The dark and red tints propose a tragic framing of the situation, they see Ilva as a monster attacking the city. The message on the billboard states: “Children of Taranto want to live as well”.



Picture by Genitori Tarantini facebook page.

Another billboard represents a child in his mother's arms breathing through a gas mask, with a black background. The shocking image has an even more shocking slogan, in English "We do not forget the accomplices of our genocide" which, to their admission, caused a great stir in the town. To call the death of the people of Taranto caused by pollution a genocide is quite provocative and has singled them out even in the social movement, because not everyone shares their approach. This shock communication appeals to the viewers' feelings, and is not informative and stating facts, but the mix of scientific data and strong emotions is what makes this multifaceted movement so intriguing to study. Moreover, we notice how the activists, via the use of these billboards (and the social media pages), is trying to create an alternative source of news and advertisement to their protest. As we have read in the theoretical section, is it always difficult for social movements to be rightfully and neutrally represented in the mainstream media. A valid option thus, is to foster a different stream of informations, showing their take and opinions on the grievances. These billboards, put up in Taranto, Bari and Genova are a clear example of the social movement choice to establish another communication channel to engage the public.



Picture by Genitori Tarantini facebook page.

Scholars have criticised the use of catastrophic frames used by media and the same activists to communicate about the environment. No matter if it is the climate change or the extinction of animal species, tragic narratives only detach the human from the responsibility she has to do something about it. In fact, if we think that issues with nature and wild species are outside our control, than we are not encouraged to act and engage ourselves in environmental protest. On the contrary,

using references about the future, communicating how we as citizens can act locally to fight climate change or animal extinction is a better frame in the long run.

This kind of extreme communication methods have led to the authorities calling out their excessive and irrational way of protesting, but still this emotional discourse has brought the attention back to the victims of the Ilva pollution.

8. FRAME ANALYSIS OF THE SOCIAL MOVEMENT DISCOURSE IN TARANTO

8.1 The master frame

Master frames represent a moral vision of the world as it should be and which is not, they can be used by different social movements at different times and can be adapted to different collective action frames. An injustice frame is a generic master frame where participants define “an interpretation of what is happening that supports the conclusion that an authority system is violating the shared moral principles of the participants...it provides a reason for noncompliance.” (Gamson, Fireman, Rytina, 1982, p.123) In general, a noncomplying group first starts to feel suspicious and hostile against that particular authority, attributing blame to their grievance and then creating a rectified “justice frame”.

The environmental justice frame is the master frame permeating the Taranto social movement from the beginning. This is a clear case of environmental injustice: a private factory polluting its surroundings in spite of an ecological legislation existing, and thus a community revolting to the consequences they are experiencing; and a silent government who does not support the activists but sides with the industry in favour of a greater commune interest, which in this case is the a national economic profit.

The EPA (United States Environmental Protection Agency) describes Environmental Justice as “the fair treatment and meaningful involvement of all people regardless of race, color, national origin, or income with respect to the development, implementation and enforcement of environmental laws, regulations and policies.” (<https://www.epa.gov/environmentaljustice>) Adapting this definition to Taranto case, it is possible to say that the activists felt denied of the power to control the environmental policies and that they were mistreated as far as the environmental issues their community was facing. That is why they are now fighting to change the environmental policies on their own, protesting for their right to a clean and safe environment.

The first question I asked during the interviews was: “What are in your opinion the most pressing environmental issues in Taranto at the moment?” All the spokespersons stated, as a first problem, the consequences of the Ilva pollution on the city and its citizens as these examples show:

“Taranto has a big industrial pole...an area at high environmental risk because of it, classified as a place that needs remediation works because of the environmental pollution” (Respondent 3)

“The first issue is the impact of the steel plant on Taranto” (Respondent 4)

“The first issue is for sure the pollution, not only atmospheric .. but also of groundwater and the surrounding land” (Respondent 6)

“This town is surrounded by various companies with a serious environmental impact” (Respondent 12)

“There environmental issues arising from governmental choices ... generally they concern water, air, ground, groundwater and everything in between.” (Respondent 15)

“We can talk about environmental racism” (Respondent 21)

This master frame was the first the activists used to raise their voices, in fact, as I mentioned before, the first organisations expressing concern over the steel factory misbehaviour were the formal environmental associations Legambiente and PeaceLink. We have to remember that the first accounts that something was going wrong came from analysing soil and animals, thus things related to the natural world and not the human one.

What usually characterises the environmental justice frame is that the activists are most of the times treated like irrational and alarmist “tree-huggers” (Edelstein 1988), this can be proved in Taranto as well. In fact, Alessandro Marescotti and Angelo Bonelli were accused of defamation against Ilva factory. Moreover, activists adopting the environmental justice frame, are likely to be accused of generating bad publicity to the territory and thus their claim for justice is accused of actually bringing injustice to the rest of the population. I noticed this component in the Taranto case during the conducted interviews, as the vice-mayor told me that Taranto had a “branding problem”, caused by the social movement protests, and that the municipal authorities were working on solving that along requiring Ilva to comply with the environmental laws in the Integrated Environmental Authorisation. This helps to illustrate one of the characteristics of the environmental justice frame, which is that this frame carries within itself the process of attribution of victim and offender. The fact that is called an injustice frame alerts the reader to be ready to find the “villain” in the story. As Benford and Snow theorise the first process of framing is to detect the problem and attribute sides, guilty and casualty.

8.2 Diagnostic framing in the Taranto case

The Ilva case is even interesting if we analyse the attribution of blame for the environmental injustice. In fact, we notice two different guilty parties being accused by the activists: the Ilva management and the Italian government.

At first the blame is attributed to the Ilva factory, because it is responsible for the illegal emission of pollutants, and the little care for environmental policies. All the interviewees mention the Ilva factory in their grievances statements, either advocating for the closure or for the environmental rehabilitation. While the Ilva factory is a clear villain, it also plays a lot into the character. In fact, the steel plant is bigger than the city itself, it constantly emits fumes and can be seen from every part of the city. Factories are notably ugly places, but that is the reason why they are purposely hidden from sight or placed far from city centres. In Taranto instead, the factory occupies a central place in the panorama.

First of all, the factory is depicted as an “old piece of junk” (Respondent 1, 11, 12) referring to the fact that it was built in the 1960s and was not well looked after by the Ilva Group management, which exploited the manufacturing plant at the maximum to get the largest profit. Thus, the factory is now in need of major refurbishments (not only environmental ones) and this is used by the activists to make their point: that the factory is no longer a technological jewel of the Italian steel industry and has lost its strategic economic drive long time ago.

Moreover, in many conversations with the interviewees, the Ilva factory is called “a thing” (Respondent 9, 11), “a giant” (Respondent 1) or “the monster” (Respondent 1, 5, 7, 17, 20) either stripping it of an identity or connoting it with a negative adjective like the villain in the story. Calling it also a giant performs well in the diagnostic framing, because it highlights the nature and the scale of the manufacturing plant and thus the entity of its possible risks and dangers to the population of the neighbouring town.

Furthermore, I find it interesting that, while the factory assumes a negative connotation and is referred as a monster in the activist’s narrative, the town itself assumes the opposite meaning. Taranto is referred in feminine words, depicting it as the victim of the monster, “the tired mother” (Respondent 7) whose beauty and strength are attacked by the evil Ilva factory.

While this rendering is still alive in the activists minds, we can witness a shift in the diagnostic framing for the Ilva case.

Here again, I am forced to pause and narrate some more legal proceedings of the Ilva case. In fact, since the Ilva management is under investigation for the Environment Sold Out trial, and many of them are already serving justice, the Italian state is now serving an ad interim manager for the Ilva

Group. This means “that the company, after 19 years of private management entrusted to the Riva group, shall be put under special administration...On 21 January 2015 the Ministry for economic development appointed three extraordinary commissioners for the ILVA steel plant in Taranto” to a state-owned public company with the sole goal to keep the Ilva Group afloat, dealing with clients and paying the salaries. (Lucifora, Bianco and Vagliasindi, 2015, p.24). For the social protests though, this means that the old management is out of the games, and impossible to blame for the current developments of the Ilva case.

At the same time, the Italian government stepped in to solve the issues between the threat to the health and to the environment and the issues with employment, since a closure of the factory would have serious consequences over both local and national economy as studied by different Italian scholars. This entailed a law decree called “Save Ilva Decree” which allowed the factory to continue manufacturing in spite of the judiciary seizure of the blast furnaces on the claims that “the Ministry of the Environment has the power to authorise the pursuit of the production of a strategic national interest plant for a period non superior to 36 months. even in the event that the judiciary authority has adopted seizure measures” (translated to English by the student, Law Decree n. 207/2012 converted into Law with Law n. 231/2012). According to the law decree, Ilva was supposed to repair and conform to the European environmental standards. Now this has still not happened and the Italian government has, time after time, changed and updated the Save Ilva Decree, giving the manufacturing plant and its management what is perceived to be a criminal impunity and a laissez-passer to pursue the work no matter what. In fact the Law Decree n. 98/2016, when the 36 months previously established where expired, stated that “the deadline for the putting in action of the environmental plan is extended to 18 more months and the immunity for the conducts put in place towards the execution of the plan is extended also to the buyers or renter and their delegates” (Law Decree n. 98/2016). According to the government, the factory is strategic to the Italian economy and thus needs to be protected against the judiciary power, because the unemployment and economic crisis consequences if the factory stops production and eventually closes, would be too critical to Italy as a whole. To this, the activists and the judiciary power are responding that the economic gains should never be in higher priority than the health and life of the citizens.

That is how the diagnostic frame of blame in the protest has shifted from the Ilva management to the successive Italian governments. This transformation became visible during the interview coding, as all the activists mentioned the Save Ilva Decrees and the role the Italian state had in their claims. In particular, the framing insists on the persistence of the government to ensure the production of the steel plant against the clear suffering of the population.

Here are some examples of diagnostic framing:

“No matter our words and our protests we found ourselves in front of a wall of negations of our excessive alarm” (Respondent 3)

“The dramatic thing is that the Ministry of Environment has the true responsibility, because in the Law Decrees the sanitary pressure was ignored. An answer to the dead and the sick was never given” (Respondent 4)

“The fault is of the state who should be taking care of these people. We have been abandoned...I want to be clear: the politicians did not give a damn about the environment” (Respondent 5)

“I believe that a democratic nation would plant the seed of justice in its population, then you come across governments of the last six years who have issued 11 Law Decrees that I define spermicide of Justice.” (Respondent 7)

“From 2012 there has been 11 Law Decrees, that has allowed a criminal manufacturing but that have not thought remotely to safeguard the health of the citizens” (Respondent 14)

Whereas before the epidemiological report there was no established relation between the health status of Taranto and the pollution of Ilva, now there are data supporting this contingency. Thus, while before the activists could be treated like alarmists, now it is the state who, regardless of the citizens safety, gambles with their lives for an economic profit in their framing. Different interviewees talked about a “persecutory attitude” felt by the population, caused by a government that knows the consequences of its actions but does not care enough to stop them. As the reader will see, it is difficult to separate framing processes from emotions, the two go hand in hand most of the times. Collective action framing is meant to engage the bystanders to protest, and it is done provoking certain kinds of emotions. That is why I argue that emotions play a great part in the frames the Taranto social movement employs, and that strong tragic emotions like the one I could study in Taranto will give birth to equivalent tragic frames. The state is hence portrayed as “killer” turning its back on the citizens of Taranto, and it is the responsible to blame for the reason to protest.

8.3 Social Justice master frame

One of the limitations of the environmental master frame is that few people in the world care about the environment. In fact, many citizens of the world do not see nature outside the cities they live in and the beaches they go to during the summer. Not being affected by the environment closely, the majority of the population find it hard to care for it, let alone to protest for its safeguard.

Moreover, at all times, the “tree hugger” perception has a negative connotation, either because of extremists or the media. The tree hugger is mocked and called a hippie without any real sense of how the world goes, it is somebody who worries about things which are not a main concern for the rest of the population. In this sense, the environmentalists of Taranto were called alarmists, and their credibility was under attack.

For this reason, we can witness a frame alignment process conducted by the activists. Given the issues with the environmental justice frame, the majority of the organisations born later during the protests took a step aside from the environmental point of view and started including other frames.

Here are some examples of social justice narratives which constitute the social justice frame:

“...we have all of these health problems caused by the factory” (Respondent 12)

“The impact on health is destructive, all the evaluations that have been done testify the impact of cancer...” (Respondent 11)

“We are focused on the health issue, the public health has to be a priority for the government” (Respondent 10)

“This city keeps paying, there is one funeral a day for complication diseases caused by pollution..” (Respondent 9)

“I believe it is strategic for a nation to safeguard the health of its citizens, I do not think it is strategic to have steel industries.” (Respondent 7)

“Here we are pieces of meat, they can treat us like they want...” (Respondent 5)

“...because the situation is quite difficult on a health level...” (Respondent 4)

“The problem is not deciding between health and work, because a populations without health and without work is in a depressive state, that is the situation.” (Respondent 3)

In fact, we notice how the focus shifts from the nature to human beings, both while communicating about the Ilva case and when bringing to life new organisations. Furthermore, one of the SMOs in Taranto is actually called Justice for Taranto, to reinforce the sense of injustice that is felt throughout the activists groups.

First, no other activists group, apart from the institutional WWF and Legambiente, have any ties with the natural world. Second, few of the interviewees referred to their organisation as an environmental one, as the term is only used to refer to the general mobilisation in the previous years. In parallel, only three activists openly stated they were environmentalists during the fieldwork interviews.

Hence, it is clear that the activists opened the collective action frame to health and death concerns, problems that the population would be more touched by, because closer to their interests. Thus the

collective action frame transformed from “look what they are doing to the environment” to “look what they are doing to us”, a strategic framing choice which allowed the activists to have more credibility amongst the citizens. This feeling would be reinforced then by the legal actions the SMOs took against the Italian state, and in particular the report to the Human Rights European Court of Justice which looks into the violations of the right to life, the right to health and the right to live in a clean environment. These rights are determined by various United Nations publications, but one especially has been used by the activists to foster their claims to the European Court of Justice: the Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights: Implementing the United Nations ‘Protect, Respect and Remedy’ Framework (United Nations, 2011). The principles of the document are based on three fundamental pillars: the state duty to protect human rights, the corporate responsibility to respect human rights and the access to judiciary remedy in case of failing of the two firsts pillars.

In the Taranto social movement opinion, it is questionable to look into the responsibility the Italian state has into this dramatic situation, since various studies, both private and public, have extensively and objectively demonstrated the significant impact of the Ilva manufacturing plant (PeaceLink and FIDH, 2018). According to the organisations these rights are being violated by the Ilva management and the government in the Taranto case.

8.4 Prognostic framing and frame dispute in the protest

Analysing the prognostic framing in the Ilva case, we notice two separate frames. We shall call the first the “environmental rehabilitation frame”, the second the “closure frame”.

The environmental rehabilitation frame supports the improvements that should be made to make the factory more environmentally friendly. It thus advocates for example, for the coverage of the mineral parks or the systematic restrictions of the toxic emissions. It is a reformative frame, which allows the factory to stay open while complying to the AIA requests and effectively diminishing the risk of illness for the population. While the majority of the activists advocates for the closure, some, like this ex-engineer “have the knack that the technology only surrenders after trying to find solutions and failing to do so. The solutions exist, it is only matter of money and time...The solution is a downsizing of the elements who have an environmental impact. The steel is now produced with integrated steelwork, which includes blast furnace, steel mill and the hot area. Instead we could use pre-reduced cycle to eliminate the whole hot area. The dioxin would be significantly reduced like this...I keep on saying that the future of Taranto is an hybrid steel plant” (Respondent 4). This is characteristic of institutional actors such as the local government who believes: “We have the ne-

cessity to guarantee that the production takes place in compliance with the law, which need to be the same for everyone and not created ad hoc... We had loudly asked for example, for the coverage of what are now open air mineral parks, that have a terrible impact on pollution when the wind blows onto the Tamburi area” (Respondent 6).

The activists supporting this frame believe that it is impossible to fight for the closure because no government will ever concede it, hence it is more realistic to ask the Ilva management to respect the environmental laws and in parallel, to protest for better administration of the manufacturing plant.

The closure frame is more radical and states that the only way out is to opt for the factory to stop the production and close. Some examples follow:

“The pollution of Ilva needs to be stopped, first by closing the hot area” (Respondent 5)

“The first thing to turn the tide is for us to take back some parts of the town. To close all the sources of pollution, remediate the contaminated lands and start again. The remediating work can give work, for example to the ones coming from the steel industry... We argue for a sustainable development of the territory, more natural, that considers that if you used the land you respect it as well” (Respondent 7). Here we notice, even if the Taranto social movement is cautious around the word “environmental” and its connotations to the public, that an ecological and environmentally friendly ideology lies behind their plans for a new economy in the region. Theirs, is indeed an environmental communication, combined with a strong sense of social justice.

The activists believe Ilva has already done too many damages and the rehabilitation will never have a zero risk impact on the population, thus the factory has to close for good. They argue the factory is old, is falling apart and more importantly, it is not a strategic asset for Italy’s reputation and economic stability as the media and the government are portraying. They believe “the remediation is impossible to carry out, because to make the factory environmentally friendly would a massive investment. It would be cheaper to built it by scratch again... The goal thus is a reconversion of the territory, and to employ the ex workers in these cleaning up project” (Respondent 9).

Moreover, the heavy industry should not be a vital part of the economy of Taranto as it is not creating wealth, on the contrary it is depressing economically and mentally the population. While such claim could seem unbelievable, Giorgio Assennato, general manager of Arpa Puglia has presented a report stating the Economic assessment of the health effects of atmospheric pollution: the EEA methodology” (Assennato, 2015). In this document there is a chapter about this case, written the by professor Paola Biasi of the Economic Department of the University of Florence. She has taken into consideration the period from 2001 to 2005 and only one pollutant; by using the unit value transfer approach method she was able to assess the economic loss caused by pollution. The average per

year can be summed up to 284 millions, only taking into consideration one matrix of pollutant, but the costs vary between 70 to 400 millions. One activist, quoting this study and a report from the Ilva factory, told me “In Taranto are distributed about 200 million between salaries and benefits” (Respondent 2), and thus the atmospheric pollution by itself exceeds the wealth brought by the salaries Ilva pays to its workers. The activist moved on to say that to this amount should be added as well the health cost caused by cancer and other illnesses related to pollution. As a consequence, “if there is an economic profit brought by the industry, surely it is not a benefit for the population. It seems we spend more to cure ourselves than the amount we earn in salaries.” Other militants have mentioned this cost on the taxpayers of pollution related issues against the wealth the manufacturing plant is supposed to bring to the population, without mentioning the study and its scientific data. According to this, and the fact that by now Ilva is losing of 30 million euros per month (bari.repubblica.it, 23 October 2015), it is regarded useless for the factory to stay open. It would be more interesting to close the manufacturing plant, and clean it up employing the same workers of Ilva. These activists (Giustizia per Taranto, Genitori Tarantini, PeaceLink) are collaborating to set up an economic plan to show the authorities what it is possible to do opting out of the constraints of that heavy industry.

As the reader can expect, the contrast between these two frames has created a frame dispute in the social movement of Taranto. When activists communicate different opinions on something so important as a prognostic vision for the future of the protest, an issue arises in the mobilisation of the activity. First of all, we can notice how in Taranto groups of activists advocating for the environmental rehabilitation frame and the groups advocating for the closure frame are at fight between each other. They accuse each other of either being at the service of the state (for the environmental rehabilitation groups) or of being crazy overachievers with no grounded projects. Second, inside the closure frame groups there are constant tensions because some groups are accused of advocating for the environmental rehabilitation frame. This causes frictions and rivalries that could compromise the protest and the future projects.

It is clear in this frame dispute, that the relationships between the different organisations in the Taranto social movement have a great impact in the framing processes. While the contrary is also possible, that the frames jeopardise the collective identity of the movement, I argue that the peculiarity of this protest lies in the ability to diversify their frames in order to appeal to different people in the public. Instead of compromising the protest, the two different prognostic frames are useful to attract different bystanders and foster the collective action in both ways. Hence while some activists will

continue to press the administration for environmental enhancements, the others will be setting up a plan to demonstrate the alternative economic solutions to the heavy industry.

8.5 Motivational framing in the Taranto case

The Ilva case provides quite an interesting motivational frame, as in all the frames it can be noticed a clear purpose to engage bystanders in the protest. A vital consideration to be made about framing is that it “focuses on purposeful and consequential efforts to influence society’s attitudes and behaviour through communication, including public debates, protests, advertising, and other modes of symbolic action.” (Cox & Pezzullo, 2010, p.55) For these reasons, frames have the aim to depict the events or the point of view in the best possible light. It is crucial that the SMOs vision of the world and the protest looks better than the one the counterpart will describe. Hence, throughout the interviews the activists explained their grievances to me and their words were always directed to portray their actions in the best possible way.

It is difficult in this sense, as a student, to remain detached from the situation and have an neutral representation of reality. Of course my opinions will be biased as a result of listening to the activists description of the protest. That is why I scheduled interviews with other stakeholders in the Ilva case, especially the Mayor and the local agency for the control of air, ground and water quality ARPA (Agenzia Regionale per la Protezione Ambientale, the Regional Agency for the Protection of the Environment in English). The role of the agency is to monitor the environment with chemical and bacteriological analysis in order to safeguard the development and preservation of the territory. As a proof of the fact that even the local administration has understood the gravity of the situation, “the city mayor has issued an instruction that children should not play in unpaved lots to avoid contact with the omnipresent red and black dust particles that regularly blanket the city” (Tonelli, Short, Taticchi, 2013, p.28).

A further proof of alarm in the institutions is that ARPA conducted an investigation in the public playgrounds in the Tamburi neighbourhood in Tarano and discovered the soil was contaminated with dioxins. They subsequently confiscated the playground, not allowing the kids to go playing, but to their admission, some weeks later the barrage was removed and now the kids go playing there without any reclamation being done beforehand. ARPA spokesperson have the authority to control the quality of the environment, but can not really the power to clean up the land themselves. They are similar to the judiciary power in this sense, as they can report the issues, but have to leave it to the local government to act.

Nonetheless, ARPA has had a substantial position in the protest, because, as the doctors mentioned before, their scientific knowledge allowed the activists to have a more credible account of the events. Backed up with data from ARPA and their considerations on the AIA law, which were criticising the environmental improvement as much as the SMOs were, produced a stronger front towards the national government and Ilva in the protest. Listening to their side of the story, their narrative discourse, being them institutional authorities it will be more representative of the public opinion. Fortunately for the objectivity of this research thesis, both ARPA's and the local administration's description of the story matches what the activists told me, as they recognise the problematic of the situation in which the region is and the necessary actions to be taken.

Motivational framing has been criticised because too overextended and highly cognitive, plus the framing scholars have tried so hard to detach it from emotions and moral visions (Jasper, 1997). In reality, it is impossible to detach frames from emotions and collective identity as they influence each other repeatedly during the protest. Examples of motivational framing in the Ilva case can be found scattered throughout their communications to the public.

Billboards that Genitori Taranti and Taranto Lider have put up in Taranto, Genova and Bari all urge the viewer to take action against the dangers the Ilva plant is causing (see Appendix). The use of visual communication the social movement has adopted is quite effective and outrageous, as takes advantage of the fondness every adults feels towards the safety of children.

The slogan "I bambini di Taranto vogliono vivere" in English "Children of Taranto want to live as well", poignantly addresses a call to action in order to protect the most defenceless part of the population from death. Moreover, another good example is the correlation between the plant and the health of the citizens. In fact, one slogan claims "Our health is not made of steel", which motivates readers to think about how their health could be attacked by the pollutants the Ilva industry emits. Motivational frames are based on the reality of the threat and thus the fact that the whole population of the town should be concerned about the Ilva case outcomes.

Picture by inchiostroverde.it

There are various components which make motivational framing successful: credibility of the protesting organisations, the right emotions employed, a clear responsible for the issues at stake and addressing the right people. I believe the newest Taranto SMOs, with the frame amplification from environmental justice to social justice, accomplished a better motivational framing than the early starts of the protest movement.

Picture by Genitori Tarantini facebook page.



8.6 Frame resonance

Frame resonance is part of the success of a protest's narrative because the more the frame chosen echoes to the bystanders beliefs and values the more it will engage them into the protest mobilisation. As I wrote before, the population of Taranto, and in general people all over the world, are not particularly concerned with the environment, thus their values did not go together with the first frame the protest used. In a second moment, when the SMOs adapted their frames to include a social justice frame, the citizen felt more involved because their beliefs were in balance with the ones expressed by the SMOs. This included the believing the state was not doing its duty protecting the citizens, and thus the militants stepping in to protect their families.

Focusing on the children affected by the pollution was a strategic move, conscious or not, I am not able to say, because everyone was more concerned with the pollution once they understood it was attacking the children of Taranto and could have affected their own child. One interviewee said that when the mom of the Tamburi neighbourhood were told about the danger their children could encounter growing up in such a toxic environment they immediately enrolled into protest activities, while to the admission of different spokesperson I interviewed, that part of the city had never been very responding to the advocacy calls from the protest leaders, mainly because most of the people residing in the area are employed by Ilva. For this reason, the wives of the workers of Ilva had never been part of the social movement because they were scared their husbands would lose their jobs, but when the health of their sons and daughters was taken into consideration, they took the call to action and started participating in the marches and sit-ins.

As the reader can see, one of the issues with protests is that different frames and narratives resonate variously with different people. Thus, the moms of the Tamburi area became engaged when the health of their children was highlighted by the activists. In order to convince the environmentalists in Taranto less framing effort was needed, because their beliefs were already being attacked by the sole fact Ilva was not respecting the laws for the environment. It takes different levels of framing to convince different kind of citizens, and frame extension is the key to reach a possible successful mobilisation. In fact “protestors participate out of different bundles of motivations, interpret leading symbols and rhetoric in slightly different ways, and have varying aspirations for their actions” (Jasper, 1997, p.55).

When studying social movements thus, we need to include emotions, identity and thus culture into the research because to look only at framing efforts we would lose a part of what composes the strategy and the resources of a movement. As a matter of fact, frame resonance is only possible if it refers to what Jasper calls *biography*, ergo the personal story, their upbringing, their culture and their personalities play an active part into shaping the frames of a protest. This works both for the activist to choose the framing and for the bystanders to be engaged by the frame symbols. Frame resonance can not be studied thus without the acknowledgement of the people’s biography. In this sense, the majority of the frames in Taranto can be related to a sense of family and place and so the frame resonance exists because the activists are leveraging the the town itself as a home that is being made unsafe by an intruder like the Ilva steel plant.

9. LIMITATIONS OF THE THESIS

Unfortunately the thesis does not take into consideration the internal channels of communication used by the social movement organisations to contact members, nonetheless I have knowledge of closed Facebook groups and Whatsapp groups where the activists and the public engage on a regular basis. It could have been useful for the research to analyse this behind the scenes communication as well, knowing for example of the existence of mailing lists, direct calling and such.

Another constraint is the time frame, the Taranto case has been active since the second half of 2000s, some could also say 1988 for the firsts Legambiente actions against the Ilva polluting were made in that moment. It was impossible for the writer to analyse the material from that year on, as the materials were too many to undertake. However, such analysis would have made this paper more complete in its results.

Regarding constrictions, I was not able to write in detail all the legal proceedings on the way in Taranto, as this would have helped the reader understand the position of the activists in a better way. Finally, a bigger sample of in-depth interviews with the majority of the social movement organisations in Taranto could have enriched the emotion and collective identity analysis and made the picture more complete.

10. CONCLUSION

Up until recent times, the sociological study of social movements has been separating emotions and rationality, because of the complexity of combining them in a unique framework of analysis. A new wave of empirical studies has put the accent on how emotions have a place in the realm of rationality, and thus should not be relegated as only impetuous passions leading to unpredictable situations. Social movements are not maddened crowds whose participants have gone crazy, but not even abstract entities where the human has seemingly little power in relation to a strategic process like in the resource mobilisation and political process traditions.

This perspective is what guides the present thesis, as I argue that the Taranto social movement has a strong emotional foundation and has built on this an even stronger collective identity. Analysing the activists' communication through a scoping study, media elements and in-depth interviews, both internal and external, allowed me to build their collective identity and thoroughly understand their framing processes.

Firstly, protests against the Ilva factory have taken an emotional perspective when the master frame shifted from environmental injustice towards a social injustice one. Turning the focus on the human beings, and especially the children in the town, was a natural consequence of how the social move-

ment was related to Taranto's population. As I have analysed, militants' organisations are constituted solely by people residing in the city, thus we can already observe a substantial attachment to the place. Taranto is their home and someone is attacking it, how can they stay silent? Moreover, the minerals, the toxic emission and the contaminated waste coming from the Ilva manufacturing plant are affecting the health not only of the environment, but of the citizens. Hence, adding to the sense of place is the fact that they come from the same milieu, have friends and families in common. This closeness activates a sense of family, and shapes their collective identity to be like a big family protecting their home. Like a family they are loyal to each other, and collaborate to each others initiatives, legal proceedings and demonstrations, as I could examine in the analysis of the in-depth interviews conducted on the field.

They fight internally and so we can detect frames disputes in their external narrative, such as the two different prognostic frames adopted among the organisations, the closure frame and the environmental rehabilitation frame. But at the end of the day, like a family would, they all fight for the same purpose: to increase the quality of life of the citizens of Taranto. Their sense of social justice is evident in the initiatives to foster a better health welfare, better infrastructures for cancer and endometriosis patients, a fairer workplace, and finally in their plans to rebuilt on the territory a new sustainable economy.

Furthermore, I could illustrate how their identity is also made in opposition to the Italian government. Every social movement has a villain to fight against, but I think that the antagonism relation created in Taranto, has had great impact on the methods of protest. In fact in my opinion, the billboards I analysed represent a stance of the activist, against the government and the media. Establishing an alternative channel of advertising so extreme, is a way for the activists of stating that they will not be silenced and a means to reinforce their legitimacy.

I believe it was the strong dignity emotions and the even stronger collective identity of the social movement in Taranto that made them persist in the face of adversities. Even if their efforts, after ten years of protesting, have still not led to the closure of the Ilva factory. One activist told me many organisations' militants would have met during the upcoming weekend to enjoy a day at the homestead farm of Vincenzo Fornaro, just to eat, relax and talk about the upcoming activities. Indeed, such events are the proof the Taranto social movement main strength is their strong sense of family and attachment to the place. Their tightness has led them a long way and will continue to support their protest in the future.

Consequently, the analysis of frames in the protest narrative revealed how motivational framing and frame resonance are impossible to analyse without the consideration of emotions in the framework.

Motivational framing is vital in the frame alignment process and thus in the successful engagement of bystanders in the protest. Whereas diagnostic and prognostic role is to built the external image of the social movement, motivational framing is directed mostly toward the mobilisation of the public in support of the social cause. In the Ilva protest mobilisation is achieved through an intense use of tragic emotions, directed at alarming the viewer and make him/her sympathetic to the social movement. While this strategy has worked for the Taranto activists, I can not foresee how this powerful use of dramatic communication will work in the long run.

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12. APPENDIX

l'Ambiente, Associazione Impatto Zero, Legambiente - Oggetto: Osservazioni al Parere Istruttorio Conclusivo (trasmesso dalla DVA-MATTM - con nota N° Prot. DVA-2010-0030815 del 20-12-2010) acquisite agli atti istruttori della Conferenza di Servizi del 22-02-2011 (verbale N° Prot. DVA-2011-0006188 del 14-03-2011 e successiva rettifica del verbale N° Prot. DVA-2011-0007382 del 28-03-2011);

VISTO il certificato di conformità alla norma UNI EN ISO 14001:2004 da cui risulta che dal 22 aprile 2004 la società ILVA S.p.A. è dotata di un sistema di gestione ambientale conforme alla norma UNI EN ISO 14001:2004, con validità fino al 30 aprile 2013;

VISTA la nota CIPPC-00-2010-2525 del 16 dicembre 2010, acquisita al protocollo del Ministero dell'ambiente e della tutela del territorio e del mare in data 20 dicembre 2010, al n. DVA-2010-30815, con la quale il Presidente della Commissione istruttoria AIA-IPPC ha trasmesso il parere istruttorio relativo al rilascio dell'P.A.I.A. per l'esercizio della centrale termoelettrica della società ILVA S.p.A. ubicata nel Comune di Taranto, comprensivo del previsto piano di monitoraggio e controllo;

CONSIDERATO che il citato parere istruttorio fa riferimento alle informazioni pubblicate dalla Commissione Europea ai sensi dell'art. 17, paragrafo 2, della direttiva 2008/01/CE ed in particolare ai documenti (BREF) in materia di "Production of Iron and Steel" (Dicembre 2001), "Ferrous Metal Processing Industry" (Dicembre 2001), "General principles of monitoring" (Luglio 2003) e Draft "Production of Iron and Steel" (Febbraio 2008 e Luglio 2009);

VISTA la nota n. DIR/12 del 4 febbraio 2011 con la quale il Gestore ha trasmesso le proprie osservazioni sul parere istruttorio del 20 dicembre 2010;

VISTO il verbale conclusivo della seduta del 22 febbraio 2011 della prima Conferenza dei Servizi, convocata con nota DVA-2010-30867 del 12 dicembre 2010 ai sensi dell'articolo 5, comma 10 del citato decreto legislativo 18 febbraio 2005, n. 59, trasmesso ai partecipanti con nota prot. n. DVA-2011-6188 del 14 marzo 2011;

VISTA la richiesta di integrazioni trasmessa al Gestore dalla Direzione Generale a seguito degli esiti della citata Conferenza dei Servizi del 22 febbraio 2011, con nota DVA-2011-4468 del 24 febbraio 2011, in ordine alle discariche di stabilimento;



Pag 9 di 19

Environment Justice in Urban Contexts: Trieste-Taranto
Interview Guide (Taranto)

CONTEXT

1. **What are currently the most pressing environmental problems in your city?**
Can you give examples of env prob? What are the causes of env. Problems/ examples? What are impacts of env problems in this city (infrastructure, nature and people) ?
2. **Are people in your city generally engaged and contribute to public issues?**
If not –why? If yes- what are they engaging in, and how?
3. **Is freedom of expression, freedom of movement and association practiced in Taranto?**
Do you personally feel free to speak your opinion? If not, why? If yes, what where the acts of protest you engaged in/ and what you have protested about?

ENV HEALTH & PUBLIC HEALTH

4. **Are the env problems you mentioned at pot 1 impacting on public health in your city (i.e. people)?**
Can you give examples of related health problems? What you believe is the causality between env problems and health? Why you think this causality / relationship exists? Has it been demonstrated by scientific / medical means?
5. **What are citizens of Taranto generally thinking about the role environmental problems have on public health?**
Are citizens in generally concerned? Why? How do they express this concern? Where do they express this concern? Who is louder in expressing this concern? Are there any silent voices who are concerned, but do not dead to speak up? If not at all concerned – what they thinking about the ILVA case?
6. **What are the citizens of Taranto doing about environmental problems and /or public health?**
Are they active on initiatives? Which initiatives are more successful in solving problems? Have they solved them? Which actors are the loudest? Are they also the most effective in solving problems? If not, why?

MULTILEVEL GOVERNANCE

- 7. Are you aware of groups of people directing questions, about local environmental and/or health circumstances, to state authorities?**

Are you aware of who those groups are? Why they addressed state authorities instead of local authorities? Have they been successful in talking with state authorities? Have these groups then succeeded in resolving the issues for which they addressed state authorities ?

- 8. Are you aware of groups of people directing questions, about local environmental and/or health circumstances, to intuitions of the European Union?**

Are you aware of who those groups are? Why they addressed European institutions instead of local/state It authorities? Have they been successful in talking with EU institutions ? Have these groups then succeeded in resolving the issues for which they addressed EU institutions?

COMMUNICATION-MEDIA ADVOCACY CAMPAIGNS

- 1. How did you spread your message to the public to help your cause?**
- 2. How would you describe your efforts on social media in regards to your campaign?**
- 3. Who is in charge of your Facebook page? how do you decide which messages to post and how do you craft them?**
- 4. Did media (social media, video/photography, conferences, newspapers..) helped your cause?**
- 5. What is your point of view in protesting the Ilva case of pollution, health hazards and environmental disaster? How did you decide what POV to adopt?**