Resistance against the Mafia
A Civic Struggle to Defy an Uncontestable Power

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ABSTRACT

This study is based on participant observation of a protest against the Mafia that occurred in Rome on 26 September 2009. First, this essay offers an analysis by using symbols and their meanings, which are illustrated through the 'pyramid of social protest'. Second, the framing and process of the protest are analysed. Two new concepts are presented: the culture of lawfulness frame and the implicit contested process. Third, this essay shows that defying the Mafia begins with individual motivation but ends with the collective motivation behind the decision to be an activist. This decision includes ethically oriented reasons rather than being based on a materialistically calculated reasoning. Finally, the struggle of anti-Mafia movement illuminates cultural anthropology through its desire for a progressive society in which strong symbolic interactionism among the activists play an important role.

KEYWORDS

anti-Mafia movement, cultural anthropology, Italy, social movement

Unlike political parties and advocacy groups, social movements are a collective challenge to the dominant system because of the interactions of various key players within their own communities (Tarrow 1998). Through these interactions, a semiotic approach may identify similarities and a common understanding of various notions. However, the same symbols that the activists value may seem antagonistic to other actors in society (Alexander 2001: 195). This paradox in the perceptions of different actors creates a competitive power relationship in the arena of social change, which is evidenced in the resistance of the Italian civil society against the Mafia. In Italy, there are dozens of volunteer civil society organisations against the Mafia that have grown

in the last two decades. In an attempt to reconstruct democratic principles through the active participation and public deliberation of citizens, these organisations actively seek social change by replacing the distrust, corruption and violence, which are institutionalised by various Mafia groups, with trust, transparency and solidarity. This study illuminates the struggle of Italian civil society against the Mafia by offering a deep analysis of a social protest that occurred in Rome on 26 September 2009.

In the first section of the essay, the method of the study is introduced. The second section analyses the social protest in five steps to extract meanings and activists' desires from symbols used during the protest. These five steps include: (1) describing the antagonist, (2) describing the resistance, (3) remembering the tragedy, (4) material demands including asking for policy change, and (5) creating a moral language. These steps have a common ultimate goal of removing the Mafia's influence from all of the areas of society that it has infiltrated. Moreover, these five steps are illustrated in the pyramid of social protest evolution (Figure 1). In the third section, the social protest evolution is integrated with a 'culture of lawfulness' framework, introduced through taking into account the discursive, strategic and implicit contested processes. At a fourth stage, a cost-benefit analysis of the activists is illustrated again from the perspective of individual and collective goods and individual and collective motivation (Figure 2). Finally, the relationships of the anti-Mafia movement are analysed through the lens of anthropology and symbolic interactionism.

The social protest against the Mafia in Rome has created its own social protest pyramid. Throughout the essay, there are three main arguments that are derived from this pyramid of social protest. First, this study argues that the anti-Mafia movement has not become a mass movement, but it is currently referred to as a 'limited collective action' that aims to destroy the 'Mafia.' Second, the importance of discursive process decreases while the importance of strategic process increases when it is moved from the bottom level to the top level of the social protest pyramid. Moreover, in contrast to other types of social protest, there is an 'implicit contested process' in lieu of an 'explicit contested process'. Third, this study claims that the activists embrace the highest cost after making the decision to participate actively in the protests. However, this choice is not based on a simple materialist and rational calculation between costs and benefits. Indeed, the activist's choice is based on ethical and intrinsic concerns that not only consist of his or her hopes and beliefs
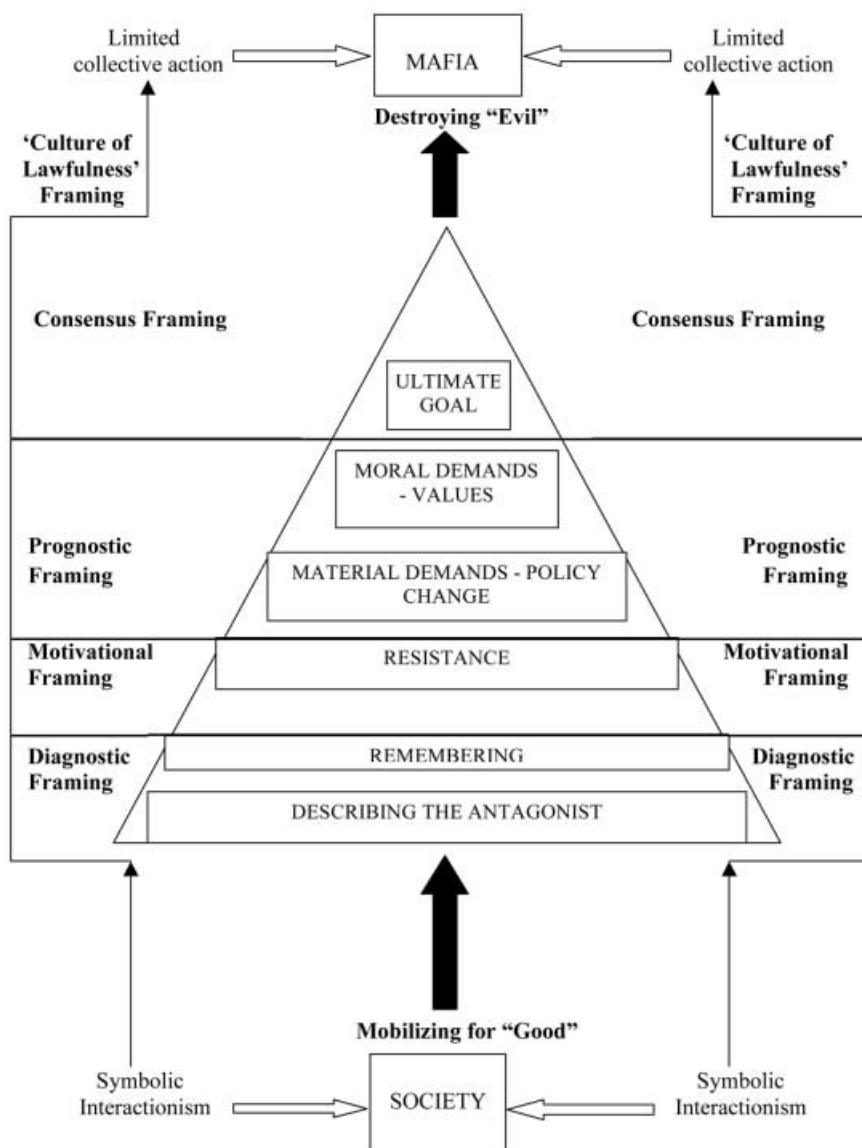
Figure 1   Pyramid of Social Protest Evolution, Italian case against the Mafia

about not being harmed by the Mafia, but the concerns also include leaving a country to future generations without the Mafia phenomenon; these activists' resistance is a long-term process with goals that cannot be attained in the short term.
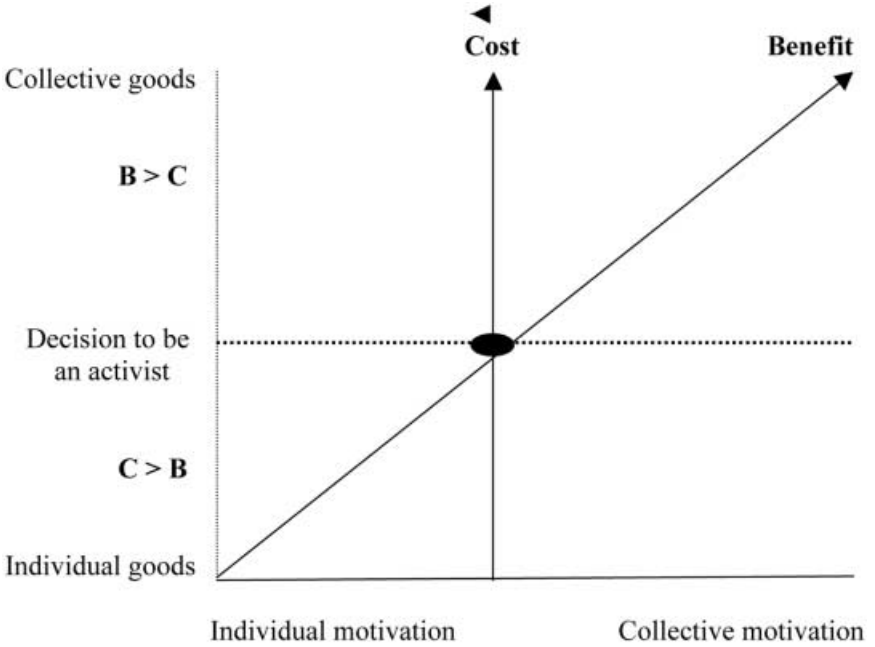
Figure 2 Cost-Benefit relationship in the decision of being an activist against the Mafia. Cost = C; Benefit = B

Research Method

Various anti-Mafia civil society groups have organised social movements to explicitly illustrate their resistance, but they have become more intensive since the mid-1990s. The 2009 protest against the Mafia was announced weeks earlier through the Web pages of anti-Mafia organisations and posters on walls and boards in different parts of the city. One poster read: 'Roma: Contro la Mafia 26-09-2009' (Rome: Against the Mafia 26-09-2009). I regularly follow the websites of the anti-Mafia organisations, and this was the reason I became informed about the protest and decided to attend and observe its undertaking. Even though such protests have been held in almost every city in Italy, Rome has an especially high participation rate because it is the most populated city in Italy and is the central geographic location attracting people from other cities. For these same reasons, Rome is the optimal site for conducting such research. Research was conducted through participant observation that was not disclosed to the activists, thus offering an outside perspective on the pro-

test. I made sure to stand in the sidelines rather than to participate directly in the protest actively. In some cases, I asked questions of the activists to understand how they became informed about the event and why many people seemed to know each other. I brought a small notebook to take detailed notes while watching the protests. Additionally, I recorded the protest to the video when the activists began chanting their slogans and when the excitement level increased. The location of the meeting was in the heart of Rome at the tourist sites of Piazza Navona and Piazza Venezia, which are a short walking distance apart. Approximately 1,000–2,000 activists walked between these sites with placards while shouting slogans. Young and old people walked side by side. Some of the activists brought their children, who also carried posters and placards. The colourful writing on the placards and the activists' Italian flags drew attention from passersby. The most interesting aspect of the protest was the activists' close relationships with each other. Many people who had volunteered for anti-Mafia civil society organisations knew each other from previous anti-Mafia protests and from collaboration among civil society organisations to organise such meetings. The second interesting point was the onlookers' disinterest in the protest. The activists came with prepared costumes, placards and flags, but other Italian citizens simply walked by. Some watched the protest for a few minutes on their way through the area. The protest lasted about three hours and ended after a speech by one of the activists with the concluding words: '*non ci arrendiamo*!' (we will not give up!). This ethnographic research aims to analyse the activists' actions and contexts and to examine how they reveal through words and symbols their desires, emotions, anger, motivations and goals. Consequently, it was necessary to take photographs of symbols and slogans. Each of the symbols and slogans that were photographed are analysed below. Finally, these symbols and the meanings that are analysed through the photographs are part of the social protest pyramid of the anti-Mafia movement, which has five steps (Figure 1). These five steps include all of the symbols that were gathered during the participant observation. Further, each of the symbols conforms to one of these five sections after it was empirically analysed and theoretically developed. The pyramid of social protest is particular to the anti-Mafia movement, but it has potential to be universal under three conditions that also existed in the anti-Mafia protest. First, a historical tragedy was facilitated by the antagonist over the activists. Second, the activists asked not only for material demands

but also for moral demands because the problem was regarded as an ethical deficiency. Third, the confrontation of the protesters against their antagonist was harsh and radical in their aim to destroy the antagonist totally.

Analysing the Social Protest

The analysis of this social protest is conducted in five steps. First, this study focuses on how the activists define and describe the Mafia. Second, it examines how the activists understand and illustrate their resistance. Third, it explores the past tragedies that were caused by the Mafia. Fourth, the study concentrates on the material demands of the activists for policy changes and tighter regulation towards the Mafia. Fifth, this study elaborates the moral demands of the activists for the establishment of values through the creation of moral symbols and a moral language. Finally, all of these steps are directed toward the ultimate goal of eliminating the Mafia and its culture from Italy.

Describing the Antagonist

There are two examples in this section. The first example reflects on how the activists describe the Mafia in terms of its state of mind, and the second example describes what it is like to collaborate with or participate in the Mafia system. One of the activists wore a sandwich board that stated: '*La mafia e un modo di pensare*' (The Mafia is a way of thinking)

This statement describes the Mafia as an organisation with certain particular norms or principles, and it suggests that the Mafia not only damages society's resources materially but also in a characteristic way that functions within its boundaries. This statement emphasises that the Mafia's influence goes beyond its actions to its lifestyle and systematic structure. Therefore, it should be taken more seriously because eliminating a way of thinking is more challenging than simply eliminating an action.

The second phrase is related to those who are part of or have roles in the Mafia. It says: '*Con la mafia si convive come si convive con il cancro*' (You can live with the Mafia like you can live with a cancer).

This phrase focuses on people who collaborate with the Mafia to make it more powerful. Additionally, it gives a direct signal to those people that such a choice is like a cancer: even though it does not harm you now, it has the potential to destroy your life like a cancer. The activist aims to illustrate the deadly danger of the Mafia by making it analogous with cancer.

Remembering

There is a need for tools to cope with an antagonist, especially if this antagonist has caused serious damage to society in the past. Remembering the violence of the Mafia is one of the necessary tools to keep the antagonist's cruelty in mind. This strategy is instrumental for mobilising more people, and it is necessary for building up concrete actions during the resistance process. In this context, the activists concentrate on two significant events in the history of the Mafia: the assassination of two famous anti-Mafia prosecutors, Giovanni Falcone and Paolo Borsellino, within two months in the summer of 1992. In the first example, the activists quoted a slogan from Giovanni Falcone, and in the second example, they referred to Paolo Borsellino's red diary, which contained important notes about the Sicilian Mafia but was lost after the assassination. Finally, in the third phrase, they explicitly demonstrate their alignment with the anti-Mafia movement by supporting two prosecutors, one civil activist, and one policeman who are still alive and whose work against the Mafia is perceived as important by the activists.

The first phrase was written on white paper and held by an activist: '*Occorre compiere fino in fondo il proprio dovere, costi quel che costi, qualunque sia il sacrificio sa sopportare, perche e in cio che sta l'essenza della dignita humane – Giovanni Falcone*' (It is necessary to do one's duties completely, whatever the cost, whatever the sacrifice to bear, because that is the essence of human dignity – Giovanni Falcone).

Remembering Giovanni Falcone and referring to his words is a way to memorialise him, and it is a reminder of the duties of citizens to fight against the Mafia. As mentioned in the statement, this is a necessary duty to protect the dignity of human beings. Moreover, even if the Mafia reacts with violence, threats or bullying, one should not give up the stand against it. This duty requires consistency rather than a simple confrontation.

The second action by the activists involved holding a book above their heads. On its red cover was written: '*Paolo Borsellino e l'agenda rosso*' (Paolo Borsellino and the Red Diary).

This book symbolically refers to the diary of the anti-Mafia prosecutor Paolo Borsellino that was lost after his tragic assassination by the Sicilian Mafia. He kept his notes about the Mafia in that book. Therefore, the activists try to represent Borsellino's diary, indicating that they have not forgotten what happened to the red diary. This is another indication that they are followers of Borsellino and his struggle against the Mafia.

Unlike the two examples above, the third phrase is related to the people who are not dead but who fight by disturbing the Mafia at different levels through direct or civil actions. The same activists who held the book also hung a poster-board from their necks that said: '*Fuori le verita, Furoi L'agenda rossa. Siamo con Antonia Ingroia, Sergio Lari, Tutti i Guidici Onesti, Salvatore Borsellino e Gioacchino Genchi*' (Spit out the truth. Spit out the red diary. We are with Antonia Ingroia, Sergio Lari, all honest judges, Salvatore Borsellino and Gioacchino Genchi).

The activists first ask for the truth to be revealed and then for the red diary. They illustrate their solidarity with remarkable figures in the anti-Mafia movement who are still alive. The first two people, Antonio Ingroia and Sergio Lari, are anti-Mafia prosecutors who gained public success through their commitment to resolving the different Mafia groups. The third name that the activists mention is Salvatore Borsellino, the younger brother of the assassinated anti-Mafia prosecutor Paolo Borsellino. Salvatore Borsellino demonstrated a significant struggle against the Mafia for decades. The last name on the list is Gioacchino Genchi, a lawyer who became a policeman in 1985. He is a computer expert who has given technical assistance to the judicial authorities in many anti-Mafia cases. Previously, he played an important role as a consultant for the anti-Mafia prosecutor Giovanni Falcone. However, he was recently accused of violating privacy by the Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi with his 'secret archive' (Corriere della Serra 2010). Significantly, he was perceived as one of the heroes by the activists, demonstrating the different perceptions of the anti-Mafia activists and the politicians.

Resistance

There are three phrases in this section that deal directly with the resistance of the activists. The first phrase signifies persistence in their struggle. The second phrase is related, with an explicit illustration of the specific group of people in the protest to demonstrate their condemnation. The third phrase calls for resistance to attain freedom.

The first phrase, written on paper and held by two activists, said in a large font: '*Io non mi arrendo*' (I do not give up). On one hand, this short but powerful phrase sends a strong signal to the antagonist, the Mafia, which no matter what the Mafia's power is, they will fight against it. On the other hand, this phrase offers motivation to the activists that there will always be indomitable resistance against the Mafia, and it will not be given up. Therefore, this phrase also is an encouragement to continue their struggle.

The second phrase was written on a large poster made of cloth in a large, colourful font: '*Contro le stragi di stato: Pescara presente*' (Pescare is here against the state-massacres). Pescare is the capital city of the region of Abruzzo, located in the central-eastern part of Italy. The activists came from Pescara with one of the largest posters to participate in the protest. This illustrates their resistance through active participation and speaking on behalf of the city, and their presence increases the effect of their slogan. Furthermore, they demonstrate their resistance to the state massacres through this protest. Significantly, they underline the participation of state institutions in Mafia-type crimes and some politicians' collaboration with the Mafia.

The third phrase combines resistance with an abstract term: '*Quel fresco profumo di liberta, Resistenza*!' (The fresh scent of freedom, Resistance!). This phrase includes a direct call for resistance, but this resistance also implies the outcome of freedom. To attain freedom, one must show resistance. Moreover, freedom is described as a fresh scent, suggesting that freedom no longer exists in their lives since the Mafia infiltrated the social system. Therefore, the resistance may eventually attain the lively and fresh scent of freedom. The same phrase also reveals another meaning for the activists – that there is no freedom as long as the Mafia is in society. Freedom, in this case, is used as an important symbol to illustrate their resistance; it is an emancipation from the chains of the Mafia.

Material Demands – Policy Change

There are two examples in this section that attempt to illustrate how the activists try to affect policies and how they propose policies to challenge the Mafia. These two efforts are labelled material demands, and through these concrete demands, the activists both influence and suggest policies.

In the first example, one of the activists held a paper on which was written: '*Napolitano non firmare*' (Napolitano don't sign). In this case, the activist tries to prevent the government's proposal of the new taxation regulations that extend amnesty to tax offenses and false accounting. The government estimates 5–8 billion euro revenue through the implementation of this proposal. The opposing argument is that this regulation offers the most help to organised criminals and encourages the creation of black money, sales of huge consignments of drugs, and money laundering, and that it functions as a shield for the Mafia (Corriera della Sera 2009). The goal is to pressure the president of the country, Giorgio Napolitano, by demanding not to sign the government's

proposal, which is the next step after the proposal's approval by Parliament. This example illustrates that a social problem like the Mafia, which is related to politics in many ways, can be a significant opportunity for demonstrating the activists' demands for government's policies. Moreover, this also indicates how the activists demonstrate their position by actively giving their voices to the political life of the country in political deliberations.

In the second example, the activist had a sandwich board that said: '*La mafia non si vince con gli eroi si vince con i cittadini*' (You cannot beat the Mafia with heroes but with the citizens). Instead of trying to influence policy proposals as in the first case, this activist makes a policy suggestion asserting how the fight against the Mafia should be managed. The activist believes that this fight cannot be successful with only a few heroes but requires a communal and mass response to the Mafia, which can be directed by citizens. Heroes such as Giovanni Falcone and Paolo Borsellino have existed, but they were assassinated by the Mafia. Therefore, the activists' goal is to create mass movements and increase the sensitivity of citizens because heroes' roles are limited by the lack of such mass response. Thus, this statement implicitly demands the participation of other citizens in the struggle.

Moral Demands – Values

Three cases in this section concentrate on the moral demands and values of the activists. Unlike the material demands, these demands are abstract notions that reflect the importance of values in anti-Mafia endeavours. These notions are 'honour', 'truth', 'fear', and 'courage'.

In the first case, the activist held a paper that said: '*L'Italia che paga vuole la verita*' (Italy that pays the cost wants the truth). This remark first illuminates the historical tragic outcomes and the destruction of economic, social, cultural and political stability and prosperity caused by the Mafia. This dirty past was perceived by the activist as a cost already paid by society. In the second part, the sign claims that after the tragic payment of such a cost, now is the time to ask for the truth. This is a sign about morality that represents both the faults of the past and the need for transparency in politics in the future.

In the second case, the activist shouted the slogan that was written on the paper: '*L'Italia dell Onestà'* (Honesty of Italy). The concept of honesty has significant historical value and is one of the crucial values of human beings. This slogan questions the honesty of the country and emphasises a value that counters dishonesty. Historical corruption cases, like the '*Mani Pulite*'

(Clean Hands) operation in the 1990s in which the Mafia and politicians collaborated, become a basis for emphasising the value of honesty. Thus, anything that supports or cooperates with the Mafia puts the country's honesty at risk.

Finally, the third case focuses on the concepts of 'fear' and 'courage' which have arisen as significant moral signs to motivate people against the Mafia. The quotation written on the poster was from Paolo Borsellino, and speaking in the name of Borsellino – who is undoubtedly a hero in the anti-Mafia movement – increases the impact of the following slogan: '*Chi a paura muore ogni giorno, chi ha coraggio muore una volte sola - Paolo Borsellino*' (Who fears dies every day, who has courage dies once – Paolo Borsellino). The statement implies that fear is one of the factors that make the Mafia groups in the country powerful. Previously, the Mafia exercised its power violently on those who resisted paying extortion or violated its rules. Today, a majority of the shops in Sicily still cannot explicitly state that they are not paying extortion to the Mafia (Forno and Gunnarson 2009). Thus, destroying one of the most significant tools of the Mafia, the fear, is highlighted by the activist through the quotation by Paolo Borsellino. The quotation also aims to present the message in terms of moral values, so it says that dying once is better than dying each time the Mafia is confronted. This is a moral expectation for citizens to take an explicit stand against the Mafia and to collaborate with the state when under the Mafia threat. This is another anti-Mafia strategy that is facilitated through a moral lens.

The Framing and Identification Process

Goffman (1974) extensively analysed framing as one of the most influential forms to label the social movement and identify the collective action process. Framing has significant functions in terms of increasing the effectiveness of the mobilisation while decreasing the antagonist's impact (Snow and Benford 1988). Therefore, framing and the process of the social protest are scrutinised throughout this section. First, I argued that the anti-Mafia movement has the features of adversarial framing. Second, the diagnostic, motivational, prognostic and consensus framings are elaborated and are used from the bottom to the top of the social protest pyramid (Figure 1). Finally, the process of the anti-Mafia protest is analysed through a discursive, strategic and implicit contested process (Figure 1).

First, diagnostic framing describes the problem or the issue that provides the reason for mobilisation for the protesters. The activists primarily try to identify and describe the antagonist so as to operate the function of blaming in their action (Hunt, Benford and Snow 1994: 191). In the case of the anti-Mafia movement, the first two levels from the bottom of the social protest pyramid fall in the diagnostic framing. The activists define and describe the Mafia at the first level and remember the tragedy and massacres in the society at the second level, which fulfils the duty of blaming.

Second, motivational framing was described in the literature as a 'call to arms' with the main function of providing vocabularies for motivation (Benford and Snow 2000: 617). The third level in the social protest pyramid, resistance, plays the role of motivation through the words and symbols that the activists used during the protest. Not only did the activists illustrate their consistency with the words 'I don't give up', but the slogan they used also illustrates their motivation to render the state accountable: 'Pescare is here against the state massacres'. Moreover, the activists signify important meaning with the abstract words, 'the fresh scent of freedom: Resistance', which aim to motivate them to seek freedom through resistance. The role of emotions in the protest was declared a significant element in the activists' contribution (Jasper 1997: 114; McAdam 2001: 224). Therefore, this claim is also validated in the motivational framing section of the pyramid because emotions have an impact not only on the decision of being an activist but also in the acceleration of mobilisation by providing a motivational instrument for the activists to create the action of value change.

Third, prognostic framing 'involves the articulation of a proposed solution to the problem, or at least a plan of attack, and the strategies for carrying out the plan' (Benford and Snow 2000: 616). Diagnostic and prognostic frames have the potential to be overlapped (ibid.). However, in the case of the anti-Mafia movement, the frames are clearly defined by the activists, which help us clearly to apply the frames into each section. In this respect, the fourth and fifth level of the social protest pyramid, which are material and moral demands, respectively, fall in the scope of prognostic framing. In the fourth level, the activists try to affect the law and put pressure on the policies that potentially help the Mafia, and they ask for citizen participation against the Mafia, rather than for the creation of heroes to defeat it. Finally, the value change has a significant role in the mobilisation process as it is found in other social movement processes (Della Porta and Diani 2006: 66). Seeking value

change also echoes in the fifth level because the activists highlight the values of 'honour', 'truth' and 'fear and courage', which are grouped in the social protest pyramid under moral demands.

Fourth, action mobilisation framing is followed by prognostic, diagnostic and motivational framings. Action mobilisation is facilitated after attaining a consensus and agreement over the problem so as to foster the attack and to realise the activists' goals. Consensus framing fosters the actions of the activists (Benford and Snow 2000: 615). Even though consensus framing seems to be placed at the bottom level before taking the action, in our case, the ultimate goal represents the top level of the social protest pyramid and signifies the total eradication of the Mafia; the activists undoubtedly have consensus as their ultimate goal. That is to say, consensus for mobilisation requires an agreement about the goal of the activists; the other levels of the pyramid serve a basis for the ultimate goal at the top level. On one hand, this study cannot claim whether or not there is a clash among the activists over the priorities of anti-Mafia policies, which is one of the limitations of the study. However, this article announces the existence of consensus framing at the top level of the social protest pyramid. Not only does the consensus framing serve as a basis for the protest, but more importantly, it symbolises an ambition for the acceleration of the mobilisation to attain the ultimate goal.

Fifth, this study suggests a new frame: the culture of lawfulness. Godson (2000: 92) defined the culture of lawfulness as being 'sympathetic to the rule of law'. The role of the citizenry, community and society should not be underestimated in creating the culture of lawfulness because without their contribution, respect for the rule of law cannot be attained even if the state is supportive for the rule of law (Godson 2000: 94). Even though the activists did not use the culture of lawfulness frame directly during the protest, it encompasses the whole social protest; the culture of lawfulness framing contains the features of diagnostic, motivational, prognostic and consensus framings. The framing is diagnostic because the lack of the culture of lawfulness makes the Mafia powerful and resilient; it is motivational because the activists mobilise to attain goals that also fall in the scope of the culture of lawfulness; it is prognostic because implanting the elements of the culture of lawfulness, including transparency, accountability, truth and justice, comprises both material and moral demands of the activists; finally, it includes consensus because the activists idealise their ultimate goal over the concepts of the culture of lawfulness that are violated by the Mafia culture.

Olson ([1965] 1971: 53) argued that 'when the number of the participant is large, the typical participant will know that his own efforts probably will not make much difference to the outcome . . . It is for these reasons [that] . . . organizations turn to small groups'. Olson's prominent study (1965) is mainly based on economic explanations. Even though the activists are also severe victims of Mafia groups' activities, their standing point against the Mafia does not solely consist of economic reasons in which moral demands play a greater role as well. There are two main outcomes which push us to formulate two arguments in the cost-benefit analysis of the activists. First, the benefits of being an activist are greater than the costs, but it is important to stress that unlike in many other social movement protests, such benefits are the ones that cannot be acquired in the short run. Therefore, what makes the benefits a more important concern is that the perceptions and beliefs of the activists build hopes and desires for a better future, not only for themselves but also for the next generations. Such perception also suggests that a temporal concern of the activists should be integrated into the cost-benefit analysis. Second, in contrary to the main arguments of Olson's logic of collective action, I argue that 'rationality' in the decisions of the activists should be perceived at the individual level rather than at the collective level; even though the activists have common shared beliefs and goals, the decision of being an activist depends on the perception of each activist on who favours death over a life without dignity. Therefore, the benefits of being an activist are more intrinsically constructed and are related to the ethical stands of the activist rather than to a simple materialistic comparison between the costs and benefits (Figure 2).

Anthropological Culture in Action: Progressive Society and Symbolic Interactionism

The Anti-Mafia movement has the features of both old social movements and new social movements. Old social movements encompass material concerns in mobilisation. Conversely, new social movements emphasise moral and identical discontents as the reasons of mobilisation which apply extensively cultural symbols (Habermas 1981; Laclau and Mouffe 1985; Melluci 1989; Guigni 1999). Such intersection of the anti-Mafia movement renders its importance at the anthropological level where the social movements are widely analysed by other fields rather than anthropology (Edelman 2001). The Anti-Mafia movement, which falls in the scope of both old and new social move-

ments, invigorates analyses from the standpoint of cultural anthropology. It is argued that the practice of culture plays a significant role in attaining the goals of the protesters (Rosaldo 1989; Escobar 1992a: 399). This argumentation serves well to our case in which anti-Mafia protestors demonstrate their actions in the outcome of Mafia activities and the impacts of those activities on their lives which are coupled with extortion, threats and violence.

The role of anthropology is apparently more conspicuous in analysing and illuminating the public policies which influence the daily lives of the people. Besides, policy-making and reactions to those policies from the communities convey important messages to the problem and the impacts of those problems on societies (Wedel et al. 2005). More to the point, it is argued that 'political practice of social actors' for a new 'social order' through social movements should be revisited by anthropology because the motivation of such a dissent in the societies is not comprised only of attaining their goals in the socio-economic arena but this struggle contains also cultural formations (Escobar 1992a: 396–397). In line with this argument, the Mafia in Italy cannot be reduced simply to a criminal organisation. Otherwise, it may be impossible to aptly describe its huge indelible impact which erodes a healthy social, cultural and economic life. Thus, the Mafia appears as a phenomenon that affects the daily life of each person directly or indirectly. Thereof, at issue is how to approach anthropologically such a relationship between the Mafia and the public whose signs and legacy can be found in daily life. In this context, the action and culture of anti-Mafia activists draw a panorama to influence the public and policy discourses through demonstrating their actions on the streets with rituals and symbols. As Kertzer (1988) successfully figures out, the rituals have been significantly perceived as harbingers before realising the goals of the communities and through the rituals the communities identify their expectations, which in the end serve to illuminate the relationship between politics and power. The features of the desired culture by anti-Mafia activists are based on rituals such as memorising Mafia victims and holding a 'red cardboard' in their hands so as to refer to the lost 'red book' of Paolo Borsellino, which is believed to contain the relationship between the Mafiosi and politicians. The red book was lost at the assassination of Paolo Borsellino by the Sicilian Mafia, in other words Cosa Nostra. These actions have been repeated in every anti-Mafia protest as well. It is argued that anthropology has commenced to focus on cooperation between policy-makers and communities. More importantly, it bears emphasis that the com-

munities succeeded in sitting at the same table with the policy-makers in order to shape those policies that have had direct influence over their own communities (Carnea 1985; Lamphere 2004) as it occurred in the example of Peru (Starn 1991). The effort of anti-Mafia activists illustrates the methods of how Italian society can progress socially and economically through deploying the instruments that are revisited by anthropological culture frequently. In so doing, the anti-Mafia movement becomes a model of a progressive society, which can play an important role in imposing new identities while asking for their demands for a better society through solving environmental, economic or social problems. Hence, these kinds of demands portray the relationship between development and anthropology (Escobar 1997).

There is a need to say more on the interrelationship between development and the role of social movements, which was discussed deeply from the perspective of the interaction between the West and the Third World. Regarding this discussion, it is argued that potential radical changes through those social movements also offer alternative models to democracy, economy and society (Escobar 1992b: 22). In line with this statement, we argue that social movements should trigger radical changes to break up hegemonic power or the ruling authority. But, such a radical change should not be reduced to the 'Third World', developing or underdeveloped countries, because, as it is posed out in our anti-Mafia movement, while the activists targets the Mafia, they target the 'hegemonic' and 'dirty part' of the ruling power as well. Put differently, anti-Mafia activists take the attention to corrupt politicians and the linkage between the Mafia groups and state apparatus. Such a reaction is coming from a developed country and the success of such protest is also directly related with socio-economic development of Italy without the Mafia phenomenon. In this context, we can claim that when the citizens are united around certain ethical values, without taking into consideration the socio-economic level of the country, they have the potential to serve the development of participant democracy and socio-economic life.

The resistance, so as to protect the local people's own culture, had rendered anthropological works mightier than any other social science disciplines, which can be exemplified clearly during the era of colonialism and neo-colonialism (Stocking 1968; Clifford and George 1986; Wolf 1994; Pels 1997; van Breman and Akitoshi 1999). These struggles are also utilised to unveil contemporary resistances not only so as to protect the culture of the communities but also seeding new cultural formations where the communities still need an antago-

nist or systemic deficit in order to declare and foster the war against 'the other'. The polarisation of the emotions has certain influences in anthropology through reconstructing symbols and creating new cultural forms (Lutz and White 1986). In our case, this antagonist is certainly the Mafia for the anti-Mafia movement that aims to create a new cultural formation through extending a culture of lawfulness in the society. More importantly, we argue that what makes such resistance unique is the blurring of the borders between the state and non-state forces, since the existence of a political-criminal nexus renders the Mafia phenomenon in the country in a position of a 'state within the state' dilemma. In this context, Gibb (2001) highlights the importance of political anthropology and its role to lead changes through social movements by using 'political tools'. Conversely, the anti-Mafia movement rather prefers to label itself apolitical. Thus, the struggle of the anti-Mafia movement eventually turns to a hard and long-term action which has to prove itself in the daily life of Italian citizens with the formations of cultural anthropology in a state of political anthropology. The tools of cultural anthropology are in action in Italy through social protests, civic declarations, public disseminations of their activities and critical consumerism to protect the shop-keepers who do not pay extortion money to the Mafia.

Social interaction has been interpreted as an outcome of the interaction of the self (Mead 1934). This interaction has provided significant resources for human conduct, which is the process that structures symbolic interactionism (Blumer 1969: 8). Moreover, symbolic interactionism offers a new light to understand the motives of the actions that the activists articulate. Further, it also expels the suffering of the individuals as an outcome of a struggle to attain power in the circles of the social domain (König 2004: 316–319). Undoubtedly, the observation of everyday life and the interaction of symbols foster elaboration of the events and the problems completely. The impact of symbolic interaction in the illumination of the events and the problems has been discussed in depth in ethnographic and anthropologic works (Willis 1997; Lindner 2004: 35). For instance, Bloch (1971), Ortner (1975) and Barnes (1980) asserted the importance of the symbols, meanings, kinships and the relationships of each factor with the other in their ethnographic works. In this juncture, we argue that social interactionism is a useful approach for comprehending the origins of the anti-Mafia activists' actions, which are based on social interactions. Symbolic interactionism provides a significant tool to analyse the protest and the goals of the activists who aim to destroy the Ma-

fia culture. According to Geertz (2000), the interpretation of social action is based on the products and the processes of the actions which are tied with each other. These interactions also lead to a production of cultural systems where the actors symbolise their perceptions in social settings. Hence, we argue that symbolic interactionism has played a significant role in the mobilisation of anti-Mafia activists because the interaction of the individuals shows a strong established relationship due to the extensive anti-Mafia social networks. These anti-Mafia social networks have been dense and tightly bound by the activists through meeting in other locations. For instance, they had met before the organisation of the social protest that we are examining in this article. Moreover, during the social movement, the tensions increased from time to time due to the emotions of the activists, who fostered intense sentiments because of acquaintance and trust among the activists. On the other hand, symbolic interactionism also indicates the potential failure of the anti-Mafia movement because the activists are far from creating a mass movement that can lead to a radical social change. This deficiency fits well into our argument, which defines the framing of their mobilisation as a 'limited collective action'. As this was the case during this protest, many citizens confined themselves to watch the protest for a couple of minutes and then leave. Above all, we arrive at the point that on the one hand symbolic interaction is strong among the social network of the activists who knew each other long before the social protest. On the other hand, there is a weak symbolic interaction among those who did not have the opportunity to meet the other activists before the protest. Thereof, such a weak symbolic interactionism also cannot play a role in altering the passive attention of onlookers into active participation in the protest. Even though this seems to be a disadvantage for the anti-Mafia movement activists, it poses another opportunity to think about the possibilities of how better to garner the support of bystanders.

Conclusion

Civil society has relative autonomy in its moral commitment to exercise its power and identity through social movements (Alexander 2001: 194). In this case, the social protest against the Mafia intends to create an anti-Mafia culture by seeking both material and moral changes from the political and social systems. Various actors, social forces and organisations in society explore and extricate 'Evil' to attain 'Good' (Alexander 2003: 110). The anti-Mafia

struggle in Italy is involved in this fight by the representative actors of the "Good" attempting to destroy 'Evil'. Because of the powerful antagonist, it is a challenging process for the activists to construct a pyramid of social protest. This study clarifies how this social protest is organised in Rome through the activists' performances and their reasons for mobilisation towards an ultimate goal. Even though the activists do not have a systematic evolution in terms of designing anti-Mafia protests step by step, the language they use, the goals they seek to attain and their material and moral demands emphasise the need for a meta-level analysis of the evolution of their social protest. This meta-level analysis consists of five steps: first, the activists describe the antagonist; second, they activate the memorialising process to keep the cruelty of the Mafia fresh in their minds; third, they illustrate their resistance against the Mafia; fourth, they ask for material demands including policy change from the state and politicians to shape anti-Mafia policies; and finally, they make moral demands in the name of the values that they defend for a 'Good' society. Above all, these five steps lead to the ultimate goal of the activists: to entirely eradicate the Mafia from the country. Furthermore, diagnostic, motivational, prognostic and consensus framing play a role in the evolution of the pyramid from the bottom to the top, respectively. Moreover, the social protest reveals two types of processes: a discursive process is effective at the bottom level and has a decreasing impact until a strategic process is more effective at the top level of the pyramid. This study also suggests that there is an alarming danger of implicit contested process in every level of the social protest; activists should pay more attention to the implicit actors who aim to demolish the anti-Mafia movement.

This study puts forth the argument that even though the activists rationally came up with the decision to protest, their perception of rationality is not based on simple material benefits from their choices. Rather, ethical treatment is influential where the activists have primarily grounded and implanted their ideologies. Such idealisation of the goals also provides the activists with consistence and durability, which are necessary instruments in their struggle to regain individual and collective goods from the Mafia and to create a culture of lawfulness in the society on behalf of their ideologies and those of the next generations.

This type of research about anti-Mafia protest is the first attempt to make a contribution both to the social movement field and to Mafia studies. This study contains certain limitations as well, which should be given attention

for future studies in this field. First, this study is based on participant observation, but it is limited with the observation of the protest; we need to know more about individuals' decisions about becoming activists and the reasons pushing them to actions that are severely demanding and dangerous. In this context, face-to-face interviews may help us with the activists' backgrounds, and specifically their decisions and beliefs. Second, one of the biggest challenges of the research is in not belonging to such a closed group; in a case where many activists know each other and have sensitive concerns about their safety, it may be risky to ask questions. However, when I asked questions, some activists responded enthusiastically. Other activists reacted quite suspiciously about my identity and were more reluctant to speak to me. Finally, regular protests occur every year and involve a certain number of activists against the Mafia all around the country. The intensity is greater in some cities than in others, so comparative studies about the protests in different cities may enhance our anti-Mafia understanding in terms of the similarities, differences and symbols that they use.

In sum, the evolution and empowerment of the Mafia in the country did not occur just in a couple of years but involves more than a century of historical processes. We cannot expect a victory from the anti-Mafia movement in the short-run because the realisation of the ultimate goal of the anti-Mafia movement is a long and thorny path. Hart (1996: 99) claims that 'given the barriers to success, movements need strong motivational bases, strong organisational forms and great skill in the craft of culture making.' Accordingly, as it is shown in this article, the anti-Mafia movement has strong organisational forms with clear and focused goals so as to create a new culture from the former one in which the Mafia dominates.[4] As of yet, they have not achieved a mass movement that will lead such a change. Altering limited collective action to a mass movement and gaining the contribution of as many citizens as possible are certainly significant concerns to shorten the eradication period of the Mafia. Therefore, attaining the ultimate goal of this social movement is not impossible but needs consistency and durability. These are already present in the activists' ideas and actions, so there is good reason to be optimistic in the resistance against the Mafia.

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Notes

1. The four biggest Mafia groups in Italy are Cosa Nostra from Sicily, 'Ndrangheta from Calabria, Camorra from Campania (Napoli) and Sacra Corona Unita from Puglia. These four Mafia groups have different organisational structures but there are hierarchical structures in all of the Mafia groups, like in the state, which are either loose or tight.

2. See also Catanzoro (1992) where he explains, in detail, the reasons of the Mafia's increasing power, its networks and the historical process of its rising power in Italy.

3. Varese (2011) explains and deciphers the comparison among different Mafia groups in his recently published book and a special section is devoted to the Italian Mafia groups which migrated from the south to the north and, in some cases, succeeded to dominate northern regions as well.

4. Meyer and Tarrow (1998: 19) argued that 'the strength of movement related organisations cannot be measured simply by mass memberships'. I claimed that the anti-Mafia movement is not at the level of a mass movement. But, it does not mean that the protest does not contain strong elements itself because it has sufficient resources to turn into a promising mass movement in the future due to members' consistency in their actions.

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