

WOMEN'S MOVEMENTS AGAINST COLLECTIVE MALE VIOLENCE

by

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Abstract

The intention of this thesis was to understand why and how women organized or participated in peaceful movements aimed at stopping collective, organized male violence in the public sphere. Historical archives were used to examine four social movements – Mothers of Plaza de Mayo, Greenham Common Peace Camp, Committee of Soldiers' Mothers of Russia, and the Antimafia Movement – that attempted to end violence from male organizations. The findings from this thesis discovered that through the process of framing, which was permitted by increased power obtained in society through the workforce, women took a peaceful, self-invested, but overall altruistic, role in social movements.

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Introduction

As I began to contemplate different ideas for my thesis topic, I quickly turned to my longstanding obsession with mafias. I was always intrigued by mafias and wanted to know how a group of violent men could obtain such a strong grasp on people in society. Once I began to study the activities of the mafia, I came across a social movement that was organized to object to mafia violence. I decided to conduct research on this anti-mafia movement, and see how this movement differed from other social movements that I had previously studied.

The anti-mafia movement stood out from its predecessors because the individuals who fought back against violent mafioso were women, not men, who were typically the victims of mafia violence. These women used peaceful tactics to show their protest. Although male mafioso slaughtered male civilians and other mafia members by the hundreds, the women took a different approach and pushed for social change by organizing candle lightings, vigils, and marches.

Historically, males commit most of the violent acts throughout history, in societies, in all groups, for nearly every category of crime (Steffensmeier & Allan, 2011). Male violence towards women has been thoroughly researched and documented for many years. It takes place in many forms, with domestic abuse being the most common. One in four women have experienced domestic abuse in their lifetime, and eighty-five percent of all domestic abuse is directed towards women (DVRC, 2011). This form of male violence is extremely devastating and has been studied extensively by sociologists and psychologists.

What interests me about the Anti-Mafia movement is that male mafioso directed their attacks against men, women, and sometimes children and the elderly, which is an unusual form of collective male violence. Although individual men attack different people, groups of men typically attack other *men*. Men make up nearly seventy percent of all victims of crime except in sexual assault where women represent ninety-one percent of the victims (Pintea-Reed, 1998). Characteristically these acts of violence are aimed at men of other armies, males with different sexual preferences, or sports fans.

I wanted to examine why these groups of men directed their violent acts towards different groups that were comprised of many people and not just men. I became even more captivated when I saw women organized collectively to end violent acts of organized male violence. These women fought for broader social rights for every citizen, and not just for themselves.

The questions for this thesis is: A) Why and how have women organized or participated in peaceful movements aimed at stopping collective, organized male violence in the public sphere? B) What prompted women to organize these movements even though they, themselves, were not the targets of male violence? C) How did they organize and try to stop male violence? D) Were these social movements successful in ending the violence and improving society?

My hypothesis is: Through the process of framing, women take a peaceful, self-invested role in social movements that can successfully curb collective, organized male violence in the public sphere.

It is beneficial to look at the 'How' part of the question first. It is important to understand how these social movements were *able* to originate. The women used their

gender identity to push the boundaries that were typically tolerated by the male organizations. They remained nonviolent in their protest, which made the men increasingly unlikely to retaliate with violence. This will be outlined in the case study findings and theories.

There are many definitions for social movements, but for the purpose of this thesis I refer to sociologist Charles Tilly who defined social movements as a “sustained, organized public effort making collective claims on target authority” (Tilly 2004: 4). He also declared that each should consist of “worthiness, unity, numbers and commitment” or WUNC (Tilly 2004: 4). I only looked at social movements that were centralized to one geographical location. This eliminated social movement organizations that protested globally. The media was one strategy that the women used to aid them in protesting against violent men. Women in these social movements used the media so their voices could reach a broader array of people. This helped bring worthiness to their cause, and in turn strengthened their impact during protest. Although these women took a peaceful approach to demonstrate their call for change, the media coverage turned their techniques of candle lightings, silent marches, benefit concerts, and petitions into huge public outcries to end the violent behaviors of the collective men.

Two of the case studies that I am looking at, Mothers of Plaza de Mayo and Soldiers’ Mothers of Russia, were originally organized by mothers. Women, as mothers, may feel that they are being victimized by the groups of men because male violence is directed at their children or family members. As a result, they may feel a greater sense of urgency to get involved in situations that affect their families. This may be a pivotal reason why mothers initially choose to organize or participate in a social movement.

Although the violent acts are not being directed at them personally, it can be assumed that these mothers were still greatly affected by the violence.

Women may use the ‘mother card’ not only because it helps them organize and participate in these movements, but also because violent men are less willing to retaliate against mothers, compared to other social groups. Violent men may fear that they will look weak, embarrassed, or shameful if they attacked “mothers”. Mafioso, for instance, have been known for their violent and brutal behavior, but they are also known to treat women, more importantly mothers, with respect. Therefore, a mother-identified social movement may be able to restrain mafia and other forms of male violence.

Why do women choose to participate in social movements? Do women join movements because they have a self-interested stake in the outcome? Or are they acting out of altruism? As Dickinson and Schaeffer argue in Transformations, women get involved due to “individual or collective social experience and enable people to think about their place...their relationships with others, and ways to work with others, through their social connections, to change the world and its systems of identity and hierarchy” (Dickinson & Schaeffer 2008: 3).

Although I agree that women may start social movements for this reason, I think that some women choose to participate in social movements not only because they feel strongly about the issue at hand, but also because they enjoy the companionship of the other women, and want to connect with these women who are participating in the social movement.

Overall, the method for this thesis is a comparative historical case study. I will examine the cases in detail and then see what they have in common and how they differ.

It is also important to understand why women chose to take a peaceful approach in each of the social movements, and why *women*, and not *men*, were the ones who rose to the challenge of calling out for social change against these male-dominated organizations.

The information compiled for this research primarily comes from archives. The case studies that I focus on take place in different parts of the world. Many of them have a primary language that is not English, which is the only language that I speak or read, so it is important that I allow time for these archives to be translated to English. Books, newspaper articles, written interviews, organization websites, and journals are examples of several archives that I use in my research.

I decided to look at these peaceful women's social movements on a global scale to obtain a better understanding of the 'why' and 'how' part of my question. I also thought it was important to look at diverse movements, ones that originated due to different circumstances. This will help in understanding what each movement has in common, and illustrate the differences that separate one from the other. Therefore, if I found two women's social movements that both organized as a revolt against nuclear weapons for example, I chose the one that had the greatest amount of resources available to me, and the one that fell most closely into the categorization of the others. I felt diversity was essential in my research, which is why I have chosen these social movements that take place in four different countries, on three separate continents. The abundance of information and materials mixed with acquisition to obtain them in English, combined with geographical distribution and a variety in both types of violent organizations and social movement involvement proved to be the foremost reasons that I chose these specific social movements.

Once the research is finalized, I will use this it to devise appropriate theories that are relevant to these case studies. By taking this approach, I will not be restricted by attempting to classify these movements into pre-existing theories. I will however, compare and contrast my new devised theories with current sociological theories. There are many relevant contemporary theories that cover sectors of this thesis such as mother-activism and mobilization, but this thesis is examining a type of social movement that has been ignored by scholars. By comparing and contrasting existing theories, it will become apparent which, if any, apply to social movements of this type. By conducting the thesis in this method, I will be able to successfully answer the questions I have proposed.

The structure of this thesis is uncharacteristic from typical sociological literature. Instead of beginning with theories and supporting or refuting them with research, I examine case studies and derive my theories from the research. It will be beneficial if I outline the following research. I began with an examination of four case studies which fit the necessary criteria for this thesis. A thematic examination of the social movements then produced relevant findings that highlight similarities and differences between each movement. From these findings, I derived new theories that were relevant to women's nonviolent approaches to social movements. Pre-existing theories were also examined, which appends additional support for several theories while criticizing the restrictions of others. I then conclude this research with suggestions for future scholars.

Chapter 1: Case Studies

The Mafia is Sicily

In the nineteenth century, the Sicilian mafia began to make strides as an organization that demanded attention. They originally began in the rural regions of Italy, and later moved into urban areas after the end of World War II. They characterized themselves as a God-fearing group, with an established set of commandments despite their violent behaviors. The '10 Commandments' that they lived by, included being respectful to wives, truthful when answering questions, and acting on established moral values (Maric, 2008).

Members of the mafia, mafioso, pride themselves on being respected and obtaining admiration. They believe that the mafia is a society of honor, which alone is a man's measurement of importance. Virility is the fundamental attribute for the men of the mafia, while "virginity and sexual shame" better describes the women associated with the organization (Arlacchi 1987: 6). In order to establish themselves and gain supremacy, mafia members turn to murder (Arlacchi, 1987). Mafioso are unable to reach a level of true respect without performing this violent act. When the transformation from normality to violent criminal is secured, personal power and authority is the reward.

In addition to the violence, mafioso were also involved in drug trade, civil and industrial jurisdiction, and politics. During the 1960s and 1970s alone, the mafia profited billions of dollars in drug trafficking (Maric, 2008). The United States proved to be a popular destination for heroin, the mafia's primary drug (Ruggiero, 2000).

Mafioso have been threatening and demanding money from the citizens of Sicily. Often, they justify this aggressive nature by offering a means of protection in return of a payment. Of course Mafioso provided business owners and heads of households' protection from other Mafioso. A fee would be collected to ensure their safety, and those refusing to pay would face huge consequences. Many of whom would have their establishments set on fire, robbed or vandalized as a lesson (Arlacchi, 2008). In August of 1991, an elderly man refusing to pay for *protection* was murdered. This came shortly after he was robbed for the exact fee owed to the mafia (Jamieson, 2000).

Citizens also began approaching the mafia instead of local authorities in search of justice. This mediation only increased the mafia's power and authority. The search for higher supremacy was met when the mafia began bribing state officials. Many politicians and law enforcement officers found themselves on the mafia's payroll, protected from the courts and people (Arlacchi, 2008).

With the increased corruption and violence by the mafia and its collective members, individuals slowly began to stand up in resistance. A few individuals opposing the mafia can be traced all the way back to the nineteenth century, and periodic resistance emerged in the 1960s. The first major player to oppose the mafia was General Carlo Alberto Dalla Chiesa.

Rome dispatched Dalla Chiesa to Palermo in the 1980s after the mafia assassinated Pio La Torre, the head of the Sicilian Communist Party and a Member of Parliament. Sicilians believed Dalla Chiesa was the one individual that could succeed versus the mafia. This move also demonstrated that the Sicilian government was going to take a strong stance to end the corruption and violence.

The city of Palermo was highly influenced by the mafia, to the extent that the citizens chose not to participate in everyday actions. They followed a non-enforced curfew, going straight home after business hours, and rarely participated in nightlife activities. If members of the community wished to socialize, they did so in the safety of their own homes or a restaurant, making sure to limit their time outdoors were the mafia made their presence known. In just the opposite manner, Dalla Chiesa always acted in a fearless manner to express to the mafia that he was not scared by their threats. He walked the streets with his wife and traveled the city in non-armored vehicles. He was demonstrating to the citizens of Palermo that they should not be fearful, that the city was theirs and not the mafias (Orlando, 2001). He was once asked by a worker if he was trying to start a revolution, Dalla Chiesa replied. “A revolution? No! I simply mean to apply the law.” The worker responded. “And wouldn’t that be a revolution?” (Orlando 2001: 72).

Dalla Chiesa did not only display a fearless attitude towards the mafia, he also took steps dismantled them. He spoke at schools, met with workers, and conversed with families in the community about the importance of following the law. He then went after their financial records, claiming the bankers knew who their mafia clients were. He made it apparent that any person or subject involved in this criminal activity would be brought to justice (Orlando, 2001).

One issue that stood in General Carlo Alberto Dalla Chiesa’s path, was that he was not being supplied the resources he requested in Palermo. He was being isolated; even the people he had trusted previously abandoned him. One evening a disguised voice called the police headquarters and stated. “Operation Carlo Alberto is almost concluded.”

This incident persuaded Dalla Chiesa to approach the United States Consulate on September 2, 1982. He pleaded with the Americans to force the authorities in Rome to give him the resources that he needed. The following day Dalla Chiesa and his wife Emanuela were gunned down in his car only three months after arriving in Palermo. He threw his body over his wife's in attempt to shield her from the bullets, but both were killed on the scene. This would later become one of the two trigger points, also known as "the two waves of emotion" which shook Sicily and triggered the start of the antimafia movement (Orlando, 2001).

"The next day, on the wall of a building in central Via Carini where the attack had occurred, an anonymous citizen hung a sheet of paper scribbled with these words: Here Dies The Hope Of Honest Palermitans (Orlando 2001: 74). The funeral was held at the Church of San Domenico. Thousands of people crowded the streets to show support for their fallen hero. When the vehicles caring the authorities began to arrive, the crowd blocked their paths, spiting, yelling, and throwing 100 lire coins at their vehicles. They were stating the obvious. "You've been bought but you're worth so little" (Orlando 2001: 74). The children of Dalla Chiesa refused to accept a wreath sent by the president of the Sicilian Region. In addition to the tension that in the church, it was evident that the refusal of resources by the authorities had caused the death of this great leader (Orlando, 2001). The citizens that had hid from the mafia their entire lives had finally had enough. For the first time ever, they publicly expressed their disgust for the mafia and anger at the state.

The murders of Pio La Torre and Dalla Chiesa, which created an outrage among Sicilian citizens, finally sparked Parliament to take action. They created an office for the

High Commissioner for the Mafia Fight, and passed Law 646 which made it a crime to associate with the mafia, all occurring only ten days after Dalla Chiesa's murder. The bill made it so law enforcement agents could go after suspects without waiting to catch them committing a crime (Jamieson, 2000).

Previously, in the 1970s, several well known men from the Palermo Prosecutors Office came together to create an antimafia "pool" (Orlando, 2001). The group consisted of Giovanni Falcone, Paolo Borsellino, Antonio Caponnetto and the senior head of the office, Rocco Chinnici. Collectively they documented criminal histories, helped with investigations, and the prosecuted mafioso (Schneider, 2003). Although the group often lacked the resources they needed, as was seen with Dalla Chiesa, the advantage they had with the "pool" of information gathered by the members, was that their work could continue even if one of them happened to be killed. (Orlando, 2001). This made it increasingly difficult for the mafia to conduct business as usual. Normally they would murder the person was tried to prosecute them, in order to end the investigation, but now that was no longer an option (Jamieson, 2000).

In 1980, Falcone took a job with the Office of Instruction of the Palermo Prosecutor at a very difficult time. Cesare Terranova, an antimafia reformer, was suppose to head the office, but he was assassinated on September 25, 1979. The head of the police investigation squad, targeting heroin trafficking, was killed in July of the same year, and the man that replaced him was also murdered ten months after taking the position. At the time, Rocco Chinnici was Falcone's boss, but he was later murdered by a car bomb on July 21, 1983, which killed him and his two bodyguards (Schneider,

2003). It was apparent to Falcone that the work was extremely dangerous, but, like Dalla Chiesa, he looked at the broader picture and continued to fight against the mafia.

Falcone strived to achieve three main objectives: for – “the increased professionalization of the investigative forces, the internationalization of criminal investigations and of legal norms to fight organized crime, and the means to identify, seize and confiscate illicit wealth wherever it might be concealed” (Jamieson 2000: xvi-xvii). He also wanted to establish a national antimafia prosecution office that would link communication between several offices throughout the country, allowing them to instigate investigations more efficiently. The Direzione Nazionale Antimafia was later established in November of 1991 by Parliament (Jamieson, 2000).

Falcone took a more cautious approach in his life than Della Chiesa when it came to protection. He lived with bodyguards twenty-four hours a day, he was always transported in armored vehicles, and he never walked the streets of Palermo. He trusted very few people around him, because he was never certain who was on the mafia's payroll.

On May 23, 1992, Giovanni Falcone, his wife Francesca, and a bodyguard, traveled in the second vehicle of a motorcade heading home from the Airport of Palermo. Falcone took the driver's seat, as he usually did, with his wife next to him, and one of his bodyguards in the back. As they were driving, he abruptly took the keys out of the ignition to insert his own instead of the bodyguards. By doing this, the car slowed suddenly, while the front vehicle passed over a culvert where the mafia had hidden plastic drums filled with 500 kilograms of explosives (Schneider, 2003). The explosion caused a nine foot deep by forty-two across crater that catapulted the first vehicle nearly

180 feet, killing the three motorists immediately (Jamieson, 2000). The front of Falcone's vehicle was ripped to shreds, causing injuries to everyone inside. Giovanni and his wife were rushed to the hospital where they passed away a short time later. Francesca was revived long enough to ask "Where's Giovanni?" and then died on the operating table" (Orlando 2003: 156).

An anonymous letter sent to thirty-nine politicians and journalist claimed responsibility for the mastermind of the murder. It claimed that Falcone was only one piece of a much larger plan (Schneider, 2003). Leoluca Orlando, the mayor of Palermo and a prominent antimafia predecessor, believed that the death of Falcone was more than just an "elimination of an enemy, [that] it was also the destruction of a symbol. And symbols must be destroyed in a symbolic way" (Orlando 2003: 156).

In July of 1992, Borsellino learned he was a target of the larger plan described in the anonymous letter. An informant told him that materials to be used in his murder had arrived in Palermo. Fifty-five days after Falcone's assassination, Borsellino arrived at his mother's house for a visit. He had called her several hours earlier to announce his arrival, but Cosa Nostra had tapped her phone line and was waiting for him (Jamieson, 2000). When his vehicle pulled up, his bodyguards, with guns raised, jumped out and scanned the windows of nearby buildings for any threats (Orlando, 2003). Borsellino walked to the door and as he rang the doorbell of his mother's home, a car parked out front exploded, literally blowing him and his five bodyguards to pieces (Jamieson, 2000). Many of the citizens believed that Sicily's "last hope of winning the battle against the Mafia lay buried under the smoking piles of rubble" (Jamieson 2000: xix – xx). These two horrendous acts sparked the second wave of emotion in Sicily.

As seen in the Della Chiesa murder, Sicilians began to come forward to voice their disgust of the mafia. This time though, it appeared that they had finally had enough. On May 25th, thousands of people packed the streets in heavy rain to pay their respects to Falcone. They shouted absentees at the authorities, such as ‘Assassins!’ and ‘Justice!’, and gave a huge round of applause when the five caskets were brought from the church (Jamieson, 2000).

Women in the Antimafia

As it has been documented, the individuals that initially stood up to resist the mafia were state officials that had some sort of political backing. But I also noticed that women played an extremely pivotal role in the emergence of the antimafia movement. Although the men mentioned above stepped into the community as public figures to fight against the mafia, their individual contributions were limited by the amount of time they could devote to the cause. Even when a ‘pool’ was created, the mafia killed them one by one until the pool evaporated.

It was not until women began to push back that real changes began to take place. One of the first to do so was Giovanna Terranova, widow of Judge Cesare Terranova, a prominent figure of the Antimafia Commission who had been assassinated by the mafia 1979 (Jamieson, 2000). Giovanna was the president and co-founder of the *Associazione donne siciliane per la lotta contra la Mafia* [Association of Sicilian Women against the Mafia], the first permanent antimafia association in Italy (Siebert, 2011). Later, a women’s support group was established to help women pay for legal costs in court cases against the mafia (Jamieson, 2000). Giovanna’s involvement in the

antimafia movement was first “greeted with disbelief, horror and then with outright hostility from many of her contemporaries” (Jamieson 2000: 130).

The day after the funeral of Borsellino’s bodyguard’s funeral, the Association of Sicilian Women against the Mafia organized a three-day sit-in and hunger strike in Palermo’s Piazza Politeama, which continued to be conducted annually up to the present day. They gathered signatures on a petition that called for the resignation of the public authorities who had done nothing while the murders of the antimafia heroes took place. They stood under the slogan, “We are fasting because we are hungry for justice.” It was apparent, when the people who signed the petition included their addresses and phone numbers that they were no longer scared of the mafia and they would *publicly* demonstrate it (Jamieson, 2000).

Women in Sicily, also draped bed sheets from their balconies with slogans painted in red, to represent Falcone’s blood. They stated “Down with the Mafia!” “Truth and justice!” and “Falcone lives” (Orlando 2003: 159). They formed a group called “The Sheet Committee,” which focused on raising awareness. They sold t-shirts and television advertisements, and passed out pamphlets with nine rules for fighting the mafia (Jamieson, 2000). The rules included:

- “1) Learn to do your duty, respect your environment and preserve it from vandalism and destruction. 2) Educate your children to legality, solidarity and tolerance. 3) At work: if you suspect bribery or corruption do not hesitate to take action, go to a judge if necessary. If you are a teacher take every chance to talk about the Mafia and the harm it does. If you are a student, insist on punctuality from your lecturers, report them if they are absent and protest about favoritism. If you are a business, and you receive strange offers of protection or request, turn to one of the anti-racketeering associations. If you are already paying, go to these associations as well. 4) When dealing with public administration, insist on transparency. Do not ask for favors but for your rights. 5) Always ask for a receipt from your doctor, mechanic or in a restaurant. 6) If you witness an attack,

help the authorities with their enquires. 7) Boycott Mafia business – explain to drug-takers that their behavior is only doing the Mafia a favor; do not buy contraband cigarettes. 8) Refuse to exchange votes for any type of favor. 9) Intervene to prevent young people from acquiring a Mafia mentality; discover solidarity” (Jamieson 2000: 131-132).

The number of sheets increased with each passing day, and when the women marched in demonstration, others waved a napkin or something similar out the window to show their position if their husbands would not allow them to display bed sheets (Orlando, 2000).



Figure 1.1: A flag commemorating the death of Falcon and Borsellino. “You did not kill them: their ideas walk on our legs” Photo from: Wikimedia Commons.

Rosaria Schifani, a widow of one of Falcone’s bodyguards, also made a stance against the mafia in a very public time. During the funeral service, she said:

“In the name of all those who have given their lives for the State, first of all I ask that justice be done. Then I turn to the men of the Mafia, because they’re here, yes here, inside this church! You should know that even for you there is the possibility of forgiveness. I will forgive you, but you must go down on your knees if you have the courage to change!” (Jamieson 2000: 132).

Later, people that had been involved in the Cosa Nostra admitted that her speech was the reason that they too had joined the antimafia movement (Jamieson, 2000).

The women that are standing up, either as widows, family members, or just in protest, played a significant role in the antimafia movement. They became the face of a movement that had previously avoided the public spotlight for fear of the mafia.

“Their suffering has become a material factor of change in the conflict between legal democratic order and this subversive, invasive, totalitarian and illegal force which exploits emotions, feelings and intimate relations (as well as the economy and politics, obviously). The subjective experience of loss, bereavement, and pain has become, in the Italy of these dark years, the stimulus for a powerful moral and political vindication. Emotions have proved to be a precious public resource and women play a special role in these forms of protest” (Siebert 2011: 15).

Women voiced their resentment towards the mafia, despite the public and private risk of doing so. They have come together regardless of race, age, color, status, or social labels. Despite their courage and commitment, they were denounced by relatives, friends and neighbors, who feared that they might be harmed in some fashion due to their association with these women. These women decided to go against the unwritten laws of the mafia and the society in which it has a hold over, risking their lives to push for change and a better way of life (Siebert 2011: 16). These women chose to take these stances to demand justice, and more importantly, to represent loyalty to the murdered men that were comprised not only of Sicilians, but their husbands, brothers, and children (Siebert, 2011). The reason can be summed up as follows: “What is lost is all too clear, what is won is totally unknown. Only a solid interior integrity, powerful emotions and feelings can lead to such a decision” (Siebert 2011: 16).

Giovanna Terranova famously said, “I would have felt guilty if I had stayed at home. I would have thought: Cesare died for nothing. Yes, because being killed is terrible, but being forgotten is even worse. It’s like dying twice” (Siebert 2011: 17). The

women that have lost husbands, fathers, sons and children rose up against the mafia because they believed that their efforts helped remember those who had fallen to the mafia. They traveled across the country, giving lectures, holding conferences, and educating people about the violence of the mafia. They helped families who have been affected by the mafia from. They also pushed for legislative changes, hoping to end the corruption and violence (Jamieson, 2000). Although the organized, collective male violence was not directly sponsored by the state, it was often assisted by state officials.

Antimafia Production in Change

Although the antimafia movement has made progress, there is still a long path to go. A survey was conducted in 1998 showed that seventy percent of shops in Reggio Calabria, and eighty percent in Palermo, were still paying extortion money to the mafia. In May of 1996, documents were confiscated from a mafia boss's home that listed businesses asking for extensions on their 'protection' payments, and help obtaining public work contracts (Jamieson, 2000). This was proof that Cosa Nostra still had a significant impact on business in Sicily.

One particular constructor in Palermo was forced to rent his apartments to mafiosos under false names, so they could not be tracked by authorities. In 1997, he went to the police to inform them of his situation, and as a result had to leave the country and go into hiding for several months. When he returned he was given bodyguard protection and a job at the City Hall (Jamieson, 2000). The authorities continue to have a difficult time distinguishing between who is a member of the mafia and who is being suborned by them.

In 1998, a high school football team in southern Sicily conducted a moment of silence to pay respects to a deceased mafia boss. In May of that year, an eight-year-old girl and her grandfather were gunned down by the mafia in the middle of the day in the town's square. The mafiosos had confused their vehicle with one of their enemies. Due to the fear that the public had of the mafia, not one person reported the scene (Jamieson, 2000).

Although the fight is not over, the steps are being taken by the antimafia movement have pointed Sicily in the right direction. From 1995 to 2007, many of the top mafia bosses have been put behind bars, and even though they can have been replaced, there are some indications that the mafia's grip is weakening. In 2004, a campaign called Addiopizzo (Anti-Protection Money) had 209 businesses sign a statement saying they would refuse to pay protection money. The businesses are listed on the internet for the public and mafioso to see (Maric, 2008).

The antimafia movement must continue on in order to bring any hope for freedom in Sicily. As Giovanni Falcone wrote,

“fortified by our experiences – both positive and negative – we must move forwards, but not with empty rhetoric, and no longer relying on the extraordinary commitment of a few but on the ordinary commitment of every one of us in a struggle which is, above all, one for a civilized society, and which can and must be won” (Jamieson 2000: 158).

Understanding the Case Studies

Before continuing on to other case studies, it is first important to understand the criteria set for this research. By introducing the antimafia movement first, it will be beneficial to use as a reference point to help comprehend the selection process. It is important to understand that not all of the violent male organizations will be like the

mafia. Violence can be displayed in a variety of ways. The violent organization in the case study of Greenham Common admits fears of violence with the possession of nuclear weapons. Of course, this is different than actual violence seen by the mafioso. Although damaging acts come in forms of assault, harassment, brutality, and murder which cause people to react in a fearful manner, it is the fear that often consumes a society.

It is important to understand that not all of the organized male groups that pursue violence will be included in this literature. As mentioned previously, men have conducted violent acts against different sectors of society, individual women and other groups of men. Other groups are also victims of collective male violence: the elderly and children, and people from different ethnicities and age groups. In a number of social movements, women have pushed back against violent men for mistreating women. The social movements described in this thesis do not fall within this category. The fascinating part of these social movements is that there are many victims affected by male violence, yet it is women, not men, who took steps to end the collective male violence. Women acted in an altruistic manner, by joining together to help everyone who was being harmed by violence. This sets these social movements apart from others that have been examined. These gendered movements are pushing for the improvement of society for everyone, not just for a gender specific group.

Male domination began to change in part due to the second wave of feminism. Dr. Estelle Freedman stated, “Feminism is a belief that women and men are inherently of equal worth. Because most societies privilege men as a group, social movements are necessary to achieve equality between women and men, with the understanding that gender always intersects with other social hierarchies” (Freedman, 2003). President John

F. Kennedy appointed Eleanor Roosevelt to the President's Commission on the Status of Women in 1963. Although it firmly supported the nuclear family, it also highlighted employment discrimination, unequal pay, and legal inequality. With The Equal Pay Act of 1963 and the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which banned employers from discriminating on the basis of sex, women began to improve their stances in households and the workplace (Feminism, 2011).

Greenham Common Peace Camp

In 1938, a large piece of land, known as Greenham Common was purchased in Berkshire, England for the recreational use of local citizens. The following year, 900 acres of the property were converted into the Royal Air Force (RAF) Base, due to the beginning of World War II. The base became instrumental in the war as troops were launched from this location to invade Normandy (Harford & Hopkins, 1984).

World War II forever changed the world, and injected fear into the lives of millions after two atomic bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August of 1945. Nuclear weapons “were made by men, yet they threaten to annihilate men” (Schell 1982: 3). After the war, the Ministry of Defense purchased the land that was originally reserved for the citizens of Berkshire, and put up chain fences to protect the B-47 nuclear bombers based in Greenham by U.S. Strategic Air Command (Harford & Hopkins, 1984).

During the 1980s, the United States deployed new cruise missiles in Western Europe, which gave rise to fears that the nuclear arms race was escalating (BBC, 1999). In 1981, women of South Wales heard that the anti-nuclear movement had organized a

march from Scandinavia to Paris (Harford & Hopkins, 1984). This march sparked interest for other groups around Europe.

On August 27, 1981, four men, a few children, and thirty-six women from an organization called “Women for Life on Earth,” marched 120 miles from Cardiff to Berkshire, holding signs of a dead, deformed baby that was a victim of the radiation from the atomic bomb that landed on Hiroshima. Several of the women admitted that they were not sure why they chose to participate; they just felt it was something that they should do. The women ranged in age from twenty-five to eighty, and they stopped at every nuclear facility along the march to protest. It soon became apparent to the group that they needed to raise public awareness about this issue. In hopes of drawing media attention, on September 4th, four women took their protest a step further and chained themselves to the fence of a Newbury military base that was housing nuclear weapons. Four other women joined the others and dressed in black as a symbol of their suffering and anger (Harford & Hopkins, 1984). Several of the women began to cry one subsequently explained that this experience was not just a completion of the whole march, yet it was a completion of her entire life up to that point (Harford & Hopkins 1984: 15).

The following day, the group arrived at Greenham Common, and delivered a letter to the Base Commander. In it, they pleaded with him to do away with the ninety-six cruise missiles that were stationed there by the U.S. They said that they feared for their children’s safety and for the safety of the rest of the world (Hipperson, 2010). The Base Commander dismissed the women later that day, proclaiming, “As far as I’m

concerned you can stay here for as long as you like” (Harford, 1984: 17). This statement was taken literally by the group of protestors, and they refused to leave.

The women built a camp fire and decided to spend the night outside of Greenham Common. Four of the women once again decided to chain themselves to the fence, and the women rotated so there was always someone participating in the protest. The following day, people came to visit the women and brought them food, firewood, and other supplies. The women decided that a permanent protest needed to be established. Their base soon became known as the “Women’s Peace Camp” (Harford & Hopkins, 1984).

The residents at the Peace Camp discussed different ways to draw media attention to their protest. When the press came out to cover the story, the women made sure they were the ones in front of the camera, not the men (Harford, 1982). It was important for them that they demonstrate this independence from men in the camp. They did so because men typically dominated the news in the male-orientated world. The women who spoke on behalf of the group began to gain ideas from the books they read. Often, these were the *first* books that they had *ever* read (Harford & Hopkins, 1984).

During the next few months, women began to set up more permanent tents and structures for their camp, and even built a tree house on the base. Women and some men from across the country and abroad began to join on the protest. Some stayed for a short time, a few weeks or a couple of months, while others devoted their entire time to the cause (Harford & Hopkins, 1984). In 1982, the women decided to signify their independence, by expelling all of the men from the Peace Camp (BBC, 1999). Many thought an all women Peace Camp would give them an edge against authorities that were

less experienced in dealing with peaceful women (Harford & Hopkins, 1984). They also did this to illustrate the fact women could stand against male dominance and refuse to surrender. Some women worried that “men may more readily respond with violence because of their conditioning,” and they wanted to keep the protest free from violence (Harford & Hopkins 1984: 31). As a result, the women decided to continue the movement alone, without men in the group.

News of the Peace Camp spread, in part due to the newsletters that the women of Greenham Common distributed. Another group of women set up a similar peace camp in Molesworth, England, a proposed site that would house another sixty-four U.S. Cruise missiles. Several of the women from the Greenham Common Peace Camp, traveled to Molesworth to help set up the new protest encampment (Harford & Hopkins, 1984).

The women back at Greenham Common organized nonviolent protests to disrupt the normal flow of operations at the RAF base. They used blockades to keep vehicles from entering or leaving the air base by creating human chains across their roads. Often the workers or police altered their routes to prevent hostility, but tensions between the protestors and men increased as one American proclaimed: “If it was up to me I’d pour gasoline over them and burn them” (Harford & Hopkins, 1984: 45).

One of the active supporters claimed:

“Some of us have chosen non-violence as a strategy because of its practical advantages to us. After all, we cannot match the resources that could be used against us and our non-violence makes it difficult for the forces of law and order to legitimize any mistreatment, especially when the world is watching. Some of us have chosen non-violence as a philosophy of life, a principle on which to base all our behavior not just our political campaign. This comes from a belief that violence breeds violence and damages those who resort to it” (Harford & Hopkins 1984: 36-

37). For the women of Greenham Common, a peaceful approach made the most sense. This approach allowed them to increase their numbers of participants, and allow them to repeatedly challenge the RAF base (Harford & Hopkins, 1984). Barbara Harford and Sarah Hopkins had an interesting perspective on this manner when they said,

“When a non-violent protester is killed, people are quick to give up and say I told you so. That proves that non-violence fails. Thousands are killed in violent struggle, but few voices dare say that these deaths prove that violence has failed” (Harford & Hopkins 1984: 39).

On the morning of May 1982, a hundred policemen and bailiffs arrived at the camp to orchestrate the first of many evictions. They brought in bulldozers and chains to tear down the tree house. Several women climbed into the tree house, while others sat in front of the bulldozers to prevent them from causing any destruction. The women were eventually arrested and shortly after the tree house was demolished (Harford & Hopkins, 1984).

The arrest and imprisonment of women for fourteen days did not slow the protest. To gain more media attention, women devised another scheme to bring light to their cause. A few weeks after the destruction of their tree house, they decided to enter the airbase and lock themselves in a sentry box. The ones that were unable to fit inside, danced, sang, and weaved webs of wool between links on the fence. Shortly after they infiltrated the sentry box, the police arrived and arrested the women one by one. The women delayed the arrest by making their bodies go limp, while singing out words of encouragement to other women. The police carried each woman to the squad van, and placed them under arrest. The arrested women observed that the arresting officer were actually quite gentle with them in the early days (Harford & Hopkins, 1984).

But on later occasion, thirty policemen and bailiffs arrived to take the women's caravans and clear out their camp ground site for "landscaping." Cranes placed the caravans on a transporter, stones and boulders were brought in to replace the site that the women of the Peace Camp had called home. Workmen drove in wooden posts to create a barrier in front of the airbase. The women responded by uprooting the post and painting the boulders with signs of peace. They held hands and sang in front of the machines that were trying to tear down their homes, and once again the women were arrested for upholding the peace (Harford & Hopkins, 1984). After the women were released, they returned to the Peace Camp, where members of the media waited (Harford & Hopkins, 1984). The women began to understand that they had to go to great lengths in order to capture the media's attention.

On December 12, 1982, the participants of the Women's Peace Camp organized their largest protest. A number of men asked what they could do to help, and many of the women brought up the idea of bringing their husbands to participate, but it was decided by the group, that only the women could be involved in the protest. 30,000 women came together, held hands, and surrounded the nine-mile perimeter of Greenham Common for nearly six hours. They named their action 'Embrace the Base' (BBC, 1999). They hung banners and photos on the fence that divided the women for peace from the missiles. They displayed children's toys and made wool decorations by webbing wool (Harford & Hopkins, 1984). As one woman explained, "We will meet your violence with loving embrace, for it is the surest way to defuse it" (Harford & Hopikins 1984: 92). When the policemen arrived, they took a much more aggressive approach with the women. They dragged women along the roads and flung them into the mud on the side of the banks. As

the women were shoved and pulled, women kept returning to replace those who had been taken away (Harford & Hopkins, 1984). Finally, the men gave up, knowing that they could not arrest everyone. The human chain lasted for six hours, but the visual effects of the great stance against violence, remained for three days until they were eventually torn down (Harford & Hopkins, 1984).



Figure 1.2: Women line the fence at Greenham Common in 1982. Photo by: Associated Press.

In a separate incident, ladders were camouflaged and leaned up against the fences at the RAF airbase. One-by-one, women climbed the ladders, and snuck on to the grounds. Once inside, forty-four women climbed on top of the silos that housed the warheads and sang songs about peace. These women were eventually arrested and sentenced to fourteen days in prison, but once again they had gotten the attention of the media and allowed their voices to be heard (Harford & Hopkins, 1984).

Other actions were taken place to express the women's discontent with nuclear weapons. Twenty-one women changed their voting addresses to the site of the Women's Peace Camp. As a result, they were charged with two counts of conspiracy to trespass, and were banned from the imaginary boundaries of the peace camp for life. Women

created three large snake costumes and squirmed their way into the airbase to show display the evilness of a serpent. A fourteen mile chain of women holding hands was created that stretched from Greenham to an atomic weapons research establishment. They continued to create human blockades to prevent traffic from entering or exiting the airbase, and even placed Citadel locks on the gates around Greenham to prevent entry or exit (Harford & Hopkins, 1984).

The women continued to be arrested and evicted from the peace camp, and they continued to uphold their beliefs by returning to the grounds that they called home. The policemen impounded the cars of the women and charged them up to 3,000 pounds to get them back, in an attempt to cover their cost for the evictions. The policemen eventually became aggressive with the women during arrest, only strengthening the original fear by the women, that men would eventually turn to violence in response to their peaceful protest. This was met with a backlash from the public sector, as the media displayed the police brutality in the news (Harford & Hopkins, 1984).

Peace Camp Production in Change

On September 11, 1992, Greenham Common was returned to the Ministry of Defense, and five months later it was officially closed. The women at the camp stayed at the location to make sure it would not reopen, and that it was returned to the public as was initially intended. On September 5, 2000, after nineteen years of peaceful protest, dreadful living conditions, and constant struggles with the policemen and courts, the Peace Camp at Greenham Commons was finally closed. The Intermediate Nuclear Forces Treaty was eventually signed, and the Cruise missiles and US Air Force personnel, were sent back to the United States by 1992 (Hipperson, 2002).

Since the women have left the Royal Air Force Base, a commemorative and historic site was established in their honor. The land was donated to the cause by the West Berkshire County Council, but the women from the Peace Camp, had to raise the funds for their own memorial. The site also serves as a public park, representing four elements: earth, fire, water and air. There is also a garden that was established for Helen Thomas, the only woman who lost her life during the protest after being struck by a passing truck (Hipperson, 2002).

Although the movement took nearly two decades to accomplish their original goals, the women made many changes throughout Britain. With the end of the Cold War, there was a dramatic reduction in the number of nuclear weapons housed on Britain's soil. More than half of the nuclear warheads were disassembled or moved from Britain, reducing the total down to two-hundred. This is the first time that a limit has been set on the amount of nuclear warheads that will be obtained in the United Kingdom. On top of that, there are no longer any American nuclear weapons deployed in the U.K. (BBC, 1999).

Although the women in the Peace Camp were successful in many ways, they were not entirely successful. The government's Strategic Defense Review stated: "the world would be a better place" if nuclear weapons were not needed, but "conditions for complete nuclear disarmament do not yet exist" (BBC 1999: 1). Still Barbara Harford and Sarah Hopkins argued,

"Peace isn't just about removing a few pieces of war furniture, or brining about an international cease-fire; it is about the condition of our lives. Peace is the absence of green and domination by a few over the rest of us" (Harford & Hopkins 1984: 3).

Mothers of Plaza de Mayo

Violence increased in Argentina during the early 1970s after conflict developed between left-wing guerrillas and right-wing death squads. People involved in the guerrilla warfare took conservative leaders and businessmen hostage “to demonstrate the government’s inability to maintain safety in the city” (Bouvard, 1994: 21). Those involved with the right-wing, retaliated by abducting and killing people on the left. By 1971, a person was being abducted, or disappeared, every eighteen days (Bouvard, 1994).

In 1973, Juan Domingo Perón was elected president for a third term after being exiled during his previous term. The violence grew, with the leftist group assassinating union leaders, and organizations on the right, such as the Alianza Anticomunista Argentina, killing fifty intellectuals and lawyers per week by 1974 (Bouvard, 1994). When President Perón died of heart failure on July 1, 1974, his wife Isabel took over as president (Agosin, 1989).

Three commanding officers of the military then successfully conducted a coup in 1976, and adopted the “National Reorganization Process” which provided them with the power to govern (Bouvard, 1994: 19). They dissolved all of the political parties, labor unions, and put the universities under government control in an effort to ‘restore peace and order’ (Agosin, 1989). “In the military’s reorganization, antiradical operations were made the direct responsibility of each region army commander. Task forces were created, their job to capture and interrogate all members of suspect organizations, their sympathizers, associates, and anyone else who might oppose the government” (Bouvard, 1994: 23). This was the beginning of “one of the worst periods of terror and violation of human rights in modern history” (Bouvard, 1994: 24). Although left and right-wing

groups lost their power and abandoned their violence, government amenities took over where they left off.

Black Ford Falcons with no license plates to arrived at households in the middle of the night or shortly before dawn. Groups of men dressed in casual clothes then ransacked the homes of Argentineans and kidnapped labor union members, university activists, and journalists who ‘opposed the regime’ (Agosin, 1989). The restrictions soon broadened as all types of people began *disappearing* at all times of the day. Statistics later showed that of the disappeared thirty percent were workers, twenty-one percent students, and ten percent were professionals. Sons and daughters of all ages were taken. The government death squads began kidnapping babies and targeting Jews. Of the 9,000 reported missing by The National Commission on the Disappeared between 1973 and 1984, a quarter of them were women, and ten percent of those women were pregnant at the time (Agosin, 1989). It has been documented by other groups that the number was actually closer to 30,000 - 45,000 (Bouvard, 1994).

The government blamed the disappearances on the urban guerrillas (Agosin, 1989). “[But] after the fall of the Junta, it was discovered that the army, the chief of police, trade-union leaders, and the head of Ledesma...had all been involved” (Bouvard, 1994: 27). Conscripts from the three branches of the military also disappeared and the government listed them as deserters. The anonymity of the kidnappers was terrifying. People who went to authorities and searched hospitals for their loved ones were told that no records were available (Bouvard, 1994).

The people who were kidnapped were sent to more than 340 detention centers across Argentina, Chile and Uruguay (Bouvard, 1994). These detention centers

resembled of Nazi concentration camps. Once the *disappeared* arrived, they were stripped, hooded, and placed in confinement, where they could hear the screams and cries of other captured victims. Then “they were methodically, sadistically, and sexually abused” (Bouvard, 1994: 28-9). The government did not try to pry information from these people, often because very little, if any information to give, but instead they simply wanted to torture them (Bouvard, 1994). Many of the people were thrown into the Rio de la Plata or tossed from helicopters into the sea. When biopsies were performed, drowning was often listed as the cause of death. Which demonstrated that they were pushed from the helicopters while they were still alive. Many of the women, even those who were pregnant, were repeatedly raped along with being sexually abused (Agosin, 1989).

A Mother's Response

On April of 1977, fourteen mothers, aged forty to seventy, broke out of their traditional roles set by the Argentine society (Agosin, 1989). The women had met in government offices, prisons, and courts while they were searching for their missing children (Taylor, 1997). They decided to walk around the obelisk in Plaza de Mayo to quietly protest the disappearance of their children. The plaza was the site where Argentina had claimed its independence in 1810, where Juan Perón gave his populist speeches, and was known as the ‘Heart of the Country’ (Agosin, 1989). “They realized immediately that they had to make a spectacle. Only by being visible could they be politically effective. Only by being visible could they stay alive” (Taylor 1997: 186). The women wore white handkerchiefs on their heads that they had embroidered with the names and dates of the disappeared, and carried or hung pictures of their loved ones

around their necks. This was the first act of protest towards the government, and it has been said this is when “the generals lost their first battle” (Agoisin, 1989: 38).

After three weeks they requested a meeting with the president to ask him about the whereabouts of their children. The meeting was initially refused, but the mothers continued to come back every Thursday. After two months, the president finally agreed to meet with them. By this time the group of mothers had grown from the fourteen to sixty women. The president told the mothers that their children had fled the country, that the girls had gone to Mexico to become prostitutes and that the boys had run off with some girls (Bouvard, 1994). The mothers replied angrily, saying:

“You are not going to remove us from the Plaza anymore until you tell us what has happened to our children. Even without legs, we will continue to march here until you tell us what they have done with our children. You don’t sign death warrants for those that you kill, you won’t take responsibility for what you do, you are more cowardly than anyone” (Bouvard, 1994: 70).

Although this was an extremely bold and risky statement to make, the women refused to be disregarded. In 1979, the group obtained the twenty names needed to form a legal association. The Mothers of Plaza de Mayo were born (Agosin, 1989).

The radio, television, and newspapers did not report about the disappeared, let alone the Mothers. The Mothers knew that they needed to obtain media coverage to be successful. On October 5, 1977 they took out their first newspaper advertisement with the headline ‘We Do Not Ask for Anything More Than the Truth’, they included pictures and names of *237 disappeared*, as well as the signatures and identity card numbers of the Mothers (Taylor, 1997). This was a bold and public display of courage by the participants; in a time of terror, the Mothers bravely stood up, showing no signs of fear.

After receiving no reply from the newspaper ad, hundreds of women, headed by the Mothers of Plaza de Mayo, presented the regime with a petition, with more than 24,000 signatures, demanding an investigation and an explanation (Taylor, 1997) After they called for the truth, the Mothers became the targets of violence (Bouvard, 1994). Policemen attempted to disperse the women from the plaza by spraying them with tear gas and shooting bullets into the air. More than three hundred of the protestors were detained for questioning, as were foreign correspondents, who had taken notice and began covering the Mothers (Taylor, 1997).

Human rights groups from the Netherlands, Sweden, France and Italy supplied financial support to the Mothers (Taylor, 1997). “In 1977, President Carter sent Patricia Derian, U.S. assistant secretary of state, to investigate their accusations of human rights abuses, she estimated that three thousand people had been executed and five thousand disappeared” (Taylor 1997: 187). (This number proved to be drastically lower than estimates provided given by researchers after the Dirty War.) As a response, President Carter cut military aid to Argentina, and also canceled \$270 million in loans to aid the country (Taylor, 1997).



Figure 1.3: Mothers marching in Plaza de Mayo with symbolic cutouts of their disappeared children. Photo by Gerardo Dell'Orto.

Instead of persuading the Junta to stop its violent acts, the regime responded with violence in an effort to dismantle the Mother's organization. Policemen arrested the Mothers when they were in the plaza or seen alone on the streets. The women's other children were kidnapped. One woman lost all three of her children (Bouvard, 1994). When these violent measures did not break the group, the Junta kidnapped the leader of the Mothers, Azucena de Vicenti, two French nuns, and twelve other members of the Mothers of Plaza de Mayo (Taylor, 1997). The Junta attributed their disappearances were due to "nihilistic subversion" (Bouvard, 1994: 78).

In 1977, the International Conference of Cancer Research was held in Buenos Aires. The Mothers knew this was a prime time to get international attention. The Mothers approached and spoke with several of the doctors about their devastating losses. Two of the doctors even walked in protest with the women (Bouvard, 1994). In 1978, Buenos Aires hosted the World Cup Soccer Tournament (Agosin, 1989). This was another opportunity for the Mothers to raise national awareness about the disappeared. While the televisions in Argentina were showing two doves, the symbols of love and peace, fly into the air, international media representatives were in the plaza interviewing the Mothers and writing about their experiences (Bouvard, 1994).

The Junta began to crumble after General Roberto Viola became president in 1981 (Bouvard, 1994). The Mothers continued their protest and were joined by more than two-hundred thousand people during their March of Resistance in 1981 and the March for Life in 1982 (Taylor, 1997). Today, they are still marching and hold a 24-hour

celebration every year, an event that attracts celebrities, such as Sting, politicians, and activists from across the world to march with them. They have begun to incorporate themselves into other human rights issues beyond the disappeared, but their hearts will always remain with their children and the tens of thousands that went missing during those eleven terrifying years (Agosin, 1989). The Mothers transitioned their protest into a political stance that fought for justice for all Argentineans (Taylor, 1997).

Committee of Soldiers' Mothers of Russia

With the fall of the Soviet Union and the rise of the Russian Federation in the 1990s, Russia found itself in a rebuilding stage. They wrote a new constitution, implementing a competitive electoral system, created new political parties and interest groups, and made a rapid transition from a state-controlled economy to a market-based system (Caiazza 2002: 12). Citizens hoped that change would result in a more democratic country. But changes proved to be difficult because corrupt politicians were heavily influenced by business owners and the mafia which “held business-owners hostage to extortion” (Caiazza 2002: 13). One particularly unstable part of the government was the military. Russia was involved in an internal war with Chechnya, and the drafting of young men into the active military became a hot topic. Not only did many men evade service due because they opposed the Chechnya, but harsh conditions within the military, made it difficult to convince young men to serve (Caiazza, 2002).

During the late communist period, under Leonid Brezhnev, the military began to decline. Senior soldiers actively practiced *dedovshchina*, also known as violent hazing, on new recruits. There was increased corruption among officers in the army, and many

soldiers abused alcohol and drugs during war in Afghanistan. When Mikhail Gorbachev took power, people demanded that the military be reformed (Vallance, 2000).

The loudest voice came from the Committee of Soldiers' Mothers of Russia (CSMR), which was founded in 1989 (Hunt, 2001). This anti-war organization demanded an end to hazing and illegal conscription, the presence of accurate war statistics, and military reform (Vallance, 2000: 110). They wanted to transform the current military into one that was suitable for a democratic society and obeyed its laws (Vallance, 2000).



Figure 1.4: The Committee of Soldiers' Mothers of Russia. Photo by: Right Livelihood.
Conditions in the armed forces led to a series of problems:

“In 1997 approximately 50 servicemen were shot by fellow soldiers; 1,017 servicemen died in accidents or committed suicide in 1995 as a result of the conditions in the military, while in 1996 this figure increased to 1,046 and to 1,103 in 1997; fifty thousand men evaded the draft in 1997 and 12,000 conscripts were absent without leave during that year in their efforts to escape the cruelty of life in the barracks” (Vallance, 2000: 119).

“In 1993, more than two thousand soldiers died in the Russian Army, four hundred of whom committed suicide,” this during peacetime (Vallance, 2000: 120).

The Russian military has not accurately reported the soldiers’ suicides, deaths, missing accounts (MIA), and mistreatment. The CSMR made this one of their top priorities. They pressured the military to investigate the beatings and deaths of new recruits, and to report fully any findings on these incidents. They argued that all statistics should be open to the public because tax payers financed the military with their taxes (Vallance, 2000).

The CSMR began to keep their own records by conducting personal interviews and attending service funerals to cross-check the data provided by the military. Then they make their findings available to the public and to journalists and other organizations, which have used their data over the militaries in their studies, to increase the pressure on the Russian military to be accurate and educate people about the conditions of the armed forces (Vallance, 2000). The Soldiers’ Mothers “estimated that forty thousand soldiers had deserted in recent years due to hazing. Military officials claimed that only twenty to thirty percent deserted for this reason” (Vallance, 2000: 122). Families that have lost their loved ones in the military cannot be compensated if the government does not accurately report the circumstances of the death (Vallance, 2000). “CSMR identified more than 3,500 killed in the second Chechen war and more than 6,000 injured: more than double the numbers given by the Russian government” (Vallance, 2000: 113).

In 1992, the CSMR met with Defense Minister Pavel Grachev to discuss the whereabouts of two soldiers in the armed forces that were listed as missing in action. They had found information that these two soldiers were being held hostage by the Armenian militants.

With the cooperation of Grachev, both soldiers were eventually released (Vallance, 2000).

The Soldiers' Mothers also participated in protests, demonstrations and marches to increase public awareness. They conducted hunger strikes and picketed different government buildings to urge the authorities to change military laws and practices. They also demanded that commanders of units that had a high record of soldiers being mistreated be discharged. The Russian media began to cover the CSMR when they were protesting the first Chechen war. In 1995, hundreds of mothers went to Chechnya to negotiate with authorities for the release of prisoners of war. In the same year, more than one thousand people assembled in Pushkin Square in St. Petersburg to hold an antiwar protest. Mothers carried pictures of sons who had been killed or declared missing. They were also granted permission to conduct inspections on living conditions at twenty-two military units (Vallance, 2000). These actions allowed the Soldiers' Mothers to educate the general public and push for reform.

CSMR has also gained international attention. In 1995, they picketed the United States embassy in Moscow because Bill Clinton was attending the VE Day parade. They said his presence would show support for "the Russian leadership's policy to solve state problems with the force of arms" (Vallance, 2000: 115). Members of the Soldiers' Mothers also went on a speaking tour during the summer of 1996. They met with parliamentarians, the media, and representatives of NGOs in seven different countries. (Vallance, 2000).

By remaining visible in Russia, and across the world, the Soldiers' Mothers have benefited from the media by helping to educate people on conditions in the military, but

this was not their only form of public education. They educated soldiers, draftees and their families about their legal rights in the military. They provided them with free legal and medical advice, with more than one thousand people visiting their headquarters in Moscow annually. Soldiers that fled the army have turned to CSMR for help and advice (Vallance, 2000). Of those, thirty percent “were found either physically or mentally unfit to serve by the military’s own criteria” (Vallance, 2000: 117). The pamphlets, brochures, and display boards helped soldiers and their families when they did not have the money or knowledge needed to confront the Russian military (Vallance, 2000).

The CSMR has made considerable contributions towards change. They have been noted as “the only group which has managed to have an impact” (Vallance, 2000: 121). Gorbachev instituted a “presidential decree entitled ‘Measures to Implement Proposals from the Committee of Soldiers’ Mothers’” (Vallance, 2000: 119). This created a Junior and Middle-Level committee to look into and prevent the mistreatment of soldiers by the military. The Main Military Procurator’s Office cooperated with CSMR to create telephone and postal hot lines so that the soldiers could report abuse (Vallance, 2000: 122).

In 1995, the CSMR were the recipients of the Sean MacBride Peace Prize, and the following year they were nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize and won the Right Livelihood Award (Vallance, 2000). They are still working to improve conditions for the men and women who serve in the Russian military.

Chapter 2: An In-depth Look into the Case Studies

The case studies detailed above, fall within a particular set of guidelines. Although each meet the minimum requirements deemed necessary for this research, no two social movements are exactly the same. This is why it is important to not only look at the similarities between each case study, but also to examine the differences that make each movement unique. Variations can be seen in the types of protest, the kind of organizations committing the violence, and the diverse social networks that compile each group of women.

Similarities and Differences

The research looked at different types of women led, peaceful social movements. To enhance the comprehension of these movements, similarities and differences will be highlighted in order to grasp the characteristics of the women and their approach against different violent organizations. Chapter 3 will examine how social movement organizations produce altruism while also pursuing their member's self-interest. It is important now to turn to the different types of protest used by each social movement in the case studies being observed.

Social Protest: A Peaceful Stance Against Violence

In each of the four case studies, the women in the social movements used *peaceful* tactics to oppose the violent behavior of the male organizations. These approaches have been highlighted in the above text, but it is imperative to look deeper into the actions themselves. By doing this, we will show the different strategies were used, and that some approaches proved to be more successful than others.

Table 2.1 outlines the different types of protest used in each social movement. The table shows that while most of the social movements share many of the same forms of protest, there is also a great deal of variation among them. It is important to keep in mind the different environments in which each movement emerged. For instance, it would have been nearly impossible for the Antimafia Movement to institute some type of blockade, which was done at Greenham Common, in part because most mafioso do not operate for a particular “base.” Still, women in Sicily did gather in front of government vehicles in protest when they arrived to attend the funerals of antimafia leaders. The blockades at Greenham Common proved to be highly successful because they brought attention to the women of the Peace Camp, but also because they temporarily prevent the men from entering onto the air force base.

Table 2.1 Types of Protest within each Case Study

	Soldiers' Mothers of Russia	Mothers of Plaza de Mayo	Antimafia Movement	Greenham Common
Years Relevant	1989 – Present	1977 - 2006	1983 - Present	1981 - 2000
Main Opposition	Russian Military	Government in Argentina (Junta)	Sicilian Mafia	U.S. and NATO
Trigger Point	1st Chechan War & Sakalauska incident	Death of Juan Perón	Falcone & Borsellino Murders	9/27/1981 March
People Killed	Yes (Approx. 1,100 annually)	Yes (30,000 - 45,000)	Yes (Number Unknown)	No
Symbolic Sign	None	White Handkerchief	None	Peace Camp
First to Protest Issue	X	X	X	
Allowed Men Participants		X	X	
Picketing	X	X	X	X
Fasting	X			X
Marches	X	X	X	X
Candle Lighting			X	
Blockades				X
Human Chains			X	X
Demonstrations	X		X	X
Celebrations/Concerts		X	X	
Government Involvement	X	X	X	X
Laws Changed	X	X	X	X
Media Involvement	X	X	X	X
International Attention	X	X	X	X
Government Backlash		X		X
Movement Mobilization	X	X	X	
Public Education Centers	X		X	

A main difference between the Mothers of Plaza de Mayo and the Antimafia Movement on the one hand, and the Peace Camp of Greenham Common and the Soldiers' Mothers of Russia on the other hand, was their ability to push certain boundaries. Although there were many deaths recorded associated with war and abuse in the Russian military, the authorities in the UK and in Russia did not kill women who protested male violence, though their police sometimes assaulted women during protest. This was not the case in Sicily or Argentina. In both Sicily and Argentina, members of

the social movements, or their loved ones, were targeted and killed by private gunman or government authorities as a result of the protest.

Women who were affiliates with the Mothers of Plaza de Mayo were “disappeared” by authorities who hoped to silence the organization. Although the women in Sicily were not targeted by the mafia in Sicily, they were sometimes indirect victims. The men who stood up against the mafia were blown up or gunned down, and women sometimes were killed alongside them. Even priests were run out of their churches because they took a stance against mafia violence. Although the women in the Peace Camp at Greenham Commons were thrown to the ground and assaulted, none of them were killed by authorities.

Wary of male violence, women organized their protests accordingly. The members of The Mothers of Plaza de Mayo knew that they had to remain in the public square during their protest. When they left the square, traveling to and from the plaza, the Mothers were the most vulnerable to attack. They often changed their dates of protest to ensure that the police were not prepared. If any of the women were arrested, the rest of the organization would go to the police station and conduct a sit-in. They wanted the police to know that if they took one member of the group, then they would have to take them all (Bennett, 2011).

Members of the Peace Camp at Greenham Commons were very assertive in their protests though they remained peaceful. This was due in part to the type of violent male organization that they faced. Although these women faced jail time, they were confident that government officials would not target them for deaths, which *allowed* the women to organize riskier maneuvers to gain public attention. The women repeatedly infiltrated the

air force base to conduct their protest. By contrast, women in Sicily never contemplated entering the home of the Cosa Nostra boss to explain their dissatisfaction with the mafia!

Background of the Social Movement's Members

The members that make up each of these social movements had different life styles and backgrounds. These life styles varied greatly, from one geographical location to another, depending on the state of the government, their religious and social beliefs, and their current role in society and their household.

Although widows of those murdered by the mafia were the first to voice their anger, the women who hung the bed sheets from their balconies, displaying antimafia slogans painted in red, were the first to take independent action. The apartment building housing the residents of these protestors was located near the municipal square. Four women – a journalist, an author, an artist, and social worker, who were all related – decided they were tired of the violence and decided to use bed sheets as their symbol of protest following Falcone's funeral. One of the original four, Marta Cimino, wrote that it was easy to use bed sheets, not only because they were accessible to other women, but because it was a public display which was an act of courage (Schneider, 2003).

Although the four original members of the sheet protest came from highly educated backgrounds, only women who participated came from different backgrounds. Most of the women who joined the protest were housewives, according to Leoluca Orlando, the former mayor of Palermo (Orlando, 2001). A judge once ruled that “women are too stupid to be involved in the complex world of finance,” when faced with a female mafia suspect in the 1990s (Maric 2008: 39). This shows general male attitudes towards

women in Sicily. Another expression of male attitude can be found in the annual Sicily guide, which is published for tourists. It described women as “notoriously conservative, protective and oppressive” and that this has slowly been changing since the 1980s (Maric, 2008). It went on to say:

“A Sicilian mother and wife commands the utmost respect within the home, and is expected to act as the moral and emotional compass for her family. Although – or perhaps because – male sexuality holds an almost mythical status, women’s modesty – which includes being quiet and feminine, staying indoors and remaining a virgin until married – has had to be ferociously guarded” (Maric 2008, 39).

The views, life style, and religion of the women in Sicily were very similar to those seen in the Mothers of Plaza de Mayo, who also lived in a very conservative Catholic society, which restricted women to the household. In both settings it was customary for the men to be in charge of the financial and political aspects of the home, and women were assigned roles as the primary caregivers of the children, as housewives.

As mentioned briefly in Chapter 1, most of the members of the Mothers of Plaza de Mayo met each other in the waiting rooms at the Ministry of Interior, where they were looking for answers and information about the missing children and loved ones. They then began to meet in other locations such as churches and homes because the Junta prohibited public gatherings (Bennett, 2001). Eventually, they decided to meet in public, in the Plaza, which was a special place that provided a certain degree of security.

Similar circumstances existed in the Soviet Union, where independent organizing was outlawed. Nongovernmental organizations were eventually legalized in the late 1980s, which cleared the path for the emergence of the Committee of Soldiers’ Mothers of Russia. Prior to this however, Russia also had very conservative views like Sicily and

Argentina – thought its conservatism was secular not religious, motherhood was seen as a civic duty (Caiazza, 2002).

Although people could not organize, there were certain aspects of Soviet policies that greatly benefited Russian women, in some instances even more than women in the United States. For instance, women benefited from paid maternity leave and widely available child care. As a result, women could participate in the labor force which resulted in economic empowerment, though women were viewed as less productive and received lower pay than men, however, assigned responsibilities for child care and home-making to women, which increased women's paid and unpaid work load. Both men and women agreed that "a reversion to traditional gender roles would improve the status of women" (Ciazza 2002: 40).

With the breakup of the Soviet Union, funding for state-sponsored childcare and family leave quickly diminished, which reduced the social and economic resources for women (Ciazza 2002: 40). With this grew financial hardship, which led to an increase in alcoholism, drug use, and criminal activity by men. Men often took their anger out on the women in the form of violence and irresponsible behavior. By 1993, women made up seventy percent of Russia's unemployed. The small percentage that still worked made only forty to seventy-five percent of male wages. This made it extremely difficult for single mothers, who made up thirteen percent of Russian households. Even through these difficult times, many women continued to accept their traditional roles, which assigned to them by a conservative society (Ciazza, 2002).

The women who participated at Greenham Common came from a much different background than women in the other three case studies. The original protestors who

arrived at the air base in September of 1981 were members of an organization called *Women for Life on Earth*. Unlike the previous social movements, many of the women had prior experience in political organizations. The Peace Camp primarily consisted of single, lower to middle-class women who devoted a very large portion of their life to protesting nuclear weapons.

A main difference between women in the Peace Camp and women in the other three social movements was that the core of the participants of this social movement lived at the Peace Camp, and devoted every second of their life to the movement. As a result, a small society was established, with different divisions of women. Some sections of the Peace Camp were devoted to women who were mothers, another to women who had male visitors, and another to a large lesbian population. Within these divisions, and in the Peace Camp as a whole, the women grew dependent on each other and developed a sense of family.

Due to the development of a place-based women's society, which housed both friendship and intimacy, the line between protest for a cause and the desire for companionship began to blur. Ann Pettitt, the founder of the organization that initiated the original march to Greenham Common, *Women for Life on Earth*, stated in an article that: "Women began to choose to live at Greenham because there they could be at the cutting edge of protest, and lead a life apart from men. As they did so, a culture of lesbian "separatism" became dominant" (Pettitt 2006: 1). She stressed the blur of involvement when she said: "It seems clear [the Peace Camp] should have ended in 1987, when the intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF) treaty was signed. But by then it had become a home [for many women]" (Pettitt 2006: 1).

Pettitt says that views and actions changed as the movement turned into a “home.”

She explained:

“It seems clear to me now that it was the imagination, bravery and generous spirit of the many thousands who took part in protests at Greenham, whether militant lesbian or Women’s institute stalwart, that made a uniquely female movement which could not be ignored. But as soon as the peace-camp became a permanent way of life for some, a process of progressive alienation from the public began” (Pettit 2006: 1).

She said some of the women began to turn against men, shouting at them and displaying hostility towards them. Many of the women even shunned other women who had male children (Pettit, 2006). In some ways, the focus for many of the women in those days, shifted from altruism to a kind of self-interest.

It is clear that although each of these case studies displays many similarities, the members within each social movement came from different backgrounds both socially and individually. Now that the members of each movement have been examined, we will turn our attention needs to the violent male organizations that the women confronted.

Violent Organizations

The collective, organized male violence that took place in each of the four case studies changed the lives of thousands of people. In each circumstance, with the domination of male violence, violent men held a kind of absolute authority over the rest of society. These types of organizations came in different forms, and affected people in different, ways both physically and emotionally.

The Russian military, the Junta in Argentina, and the Sicilian Mafia all had direct links to individual killings. They were organizations that practiced violent behavior that

resulted in casualties of citizens and soldiers, but each organization was unique in its own way.

The Russian Military

The Russian military, although violent towards opposing forces in conflict and wars, did not have a goal to murder its own soldiers. Still, the military partook in a kind of having that was so brutal it often resulted in death or suicide.

The Russian Army became a state in a state in both Soviet and post-Soviet times. This made it possible to develop and institute its own set of rules that were different than those in the rest of society (Zdravomyslova, 2011). This began to change “after ideological demilitarization was initiated by Gorbachev with its emphasis on the human values (1986-1987), the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan (1989) and the open declaration by the Soviet authorities of the political adventurousness of the Afghan War, the state of affairs in the Soviet Army started to be discussed in public” (Zdravomyslova 2011: 1).

The public became increasingly aware of the Army’s brutality against its own soldiers in 1987. In February 1987, a soldier by the name of Arturas Sakalauska from Leningrad, was arrested for the murder of three of his peers. After a medical evaluation placed him in a mental hospital, the truth of the incident began to emerge. Sakalauska and the other three soldiers were transferring a train, when the three elder soldiers began to torture and sexually abuse him. Sakalauska, a junior soldier, eventually retaliated and shot the three men in self-defense. This episode publicly exposed the hazing, also known

as *dedovshchina*, which was a widespread practice in the Russian Military (Zdravomyslova, 2011).

Dedovshchina was the primary type of violence that this violent organization practiced. Military officials saw this violence as a necessary ritual to establish manhood and/or masculinity for the new soldiers (Zdravomyslova, 2011). These actions, mixed with the controversial war, made a large number of conscripts flee the service in an effort to avoid the violence. Many of those who were unable to escape the torture committed suicide.

This organization inflicted violence in the form of hazing on its own people. Military organizations have often been seen as a group that tries to create a sense of brotherhood and devotion to one another, so that one soldier will lay down his life for another soldier. However this circumstance, instead of protecting each other, the soldiers were directing violence on the new recruits, and instead of sacrificing their lives to save another's, they pushed their comrade militants to the point of suicide.

Junta in Argentina

The Mothers of Plaza de Mayo focused their attention on the Junta, a military organization started by Jorge Rafael Videla. President of Argentina, Juan Peron, died in 1974, and his widow, Maria Estela Martinez de Peron, briefly took control before being abducted by the Junta in March of 1976. The military group began a war, known as the Dirty War, against the civilian population when it began to carry out a "National Reorganization Process" (Taylor, 1997). The far right-wing group targeted people on the

left, which resulted in deaths of an estimated 30,000 and 40,000 people, consisting of men, women, and children of all ages.

There are many debates about this time period. Some include the issue of the Dirty War. The word war may be somewhat misleading, because the Junta was not fighting “a war.” That is why the genocide may be a more accurate term to describe of what happened in Argentina. Many scholars argue that Videla constructed a temporary dictatorship that was led by him, then Roberto Viola, and finally Leopoldo Galtieri. The majority of historians argue that the Junta failed because it failed to create a civil society, while others argue it failed as a result of military defeat in the Falkland Islands (Schaeffer, 1997).

This was not the first time that the military had organized a coup to rid Argentina of its “old” ways, and clear the slate for a “new”, prosperous future. In fact, the Junta was the sixth military coup since 1930 (Taylor, 1997). The difference between this Junta and previous dictatorships was the amount of violence that it visited on the opposition, and, eventually, on random citizens. The types of violence ranged from torture, to rape, to murder, and were carried out by a group of men that took violence to a previously unseen level in Argentina.

Sicilian Mafia

The Sicilian Mafia has been around for generations, (back to 1840s), with each “family” claiming sovereignty over the society that presided under it. The Cosa Nostra, the primary name for mafia in Sicily, saw itself as a brotherhood which consisted of a tightly-knit hierarchy that shared common organizational goals and rules.

The Cosa Nostra has tried to instill fear and brutality in the rest of society. It began by offering “protection” to store owners for a fee, which was a kind of tax imposed on businesses by violent criminals. If the businesses refused to pay, the mafia used violence to punish them and to threaten others with refusals.

One issue that triggered the organization of the Antimafia Movement was the start of the Second Mafia War. Mafia often fought battles between different mafia families, often one bad business deals in drug trafficking or in an effort to gain power. The Second Mafia War began in the early 1970s, when the boss of the Corleone family created a coalition of mafia families eventually known as Corleonesi. As the new organization grew in power, they eliminated mafia that got in their way, sparking a mafia war that killed hundreds of mafioso (Dickie, 2004).

After the Second Mafia War, Corleonesi and their new leader, Salvatore Riina, became the most powerful Cosa Nostra organization in Sicily. They were declined to kill anyone – from journalists to policemen – who got in their way (Dickie, 2004). This violent organization murdered people who opposed the mafia, such as Falcone and Borsellino. These murders sparked the outcry of Sicilians and led to the organization of the Antimafia Movement

Nuclear Weapons of Greenham Common

The violent organizations seen in the three previous case studies, though by no means identical, were different from the organization seen at the Greenham Common Air Base. This type of organization used nuclear weapons to threaten their enemies (the Soviet Union), and these threats created a sense of fear among the citizens who lived in

England. This fear was realistic because the United States military had dropped atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August of 1945. During the 1980s, the United States deployed new cruise missiles in Western Europe, which gave rise to fears that the nuclear arms race was escalating and the threat of nuclear war had increased.

The organization was comprised of soldiers, policemen and military officers who worked at the RAF Air Base. Citizens of England were not usually fearful of these men, but they were afraid of the nuclear weapons that these men possessed. They had demonstrated willingness to use nuclear weapons in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The fear in this social movement came from sources beyond the organization at the air base. The U.S. military, NATO, and British military, as well as unforeseen wars and attacks, represented another degree of fear.

After dividing up the social movements to examine the different social protest and member involvement, as well as looking at the different types of violent organizations that were prevalent in each, we can now go a step farther and categorize each. First, we can examine the movements under the categories of State and Non-State, to better understand the kind of protest used towards each violent organization. Then we can further define the social movements themselves by categorizing them into either Women or Mothers. This will shine light on the different approaches used by each social movement, which in return will assist in generating new theories in Chapter 3.

State vs. Non-State

The violent organizations can be placed in two distinct categories: State and Non-State organizations. Three of these groups were organized by states, and had direct ties

to the government. One was not organized by the state, though corrupt state officials sometimes were associated in it. Violent male groups organized by the State include the Russian military, the Argentinean military, and the U.S. military and NATO at Greenham Common. In each of these circumstances, these groups represented the authority of the State. Although the violent organization may embody a different sector of the government in each circumstance, they are included in this classification.

The mafia is the only organization that is included in the Non-State category. They represented an illegal parallel of the State/government. The mafia enforced its own corrupt rules on society, often resulting in citizens going to the mafia in search of justice instead of government authorities. Although the mafia did have several corrupt officials on its payroll, the battle towards corruption and violence was between the mafia's representation of a government and the actual Sicilian government and its citizens. The violent organizations in both categories resulted in different approaches from the women in the social movements.

As seen in Table 2.1, the women in the social movements had laws changed to assure justice and achieve their collective goals. But these accomplishments had different results from the male organizations. In Argentina, the government was dissolved, so new legislation did not become important until the Junta collapsed. In Sicily, new government laws prohibiting mafia violence would not solve the Antimafia Movement's issues because the mafia was an organization that was independent of the government. New government laws were more successful towards the violent organizations in Russia and the U.K. because these organizations were controlled by a higher government agency.

The Benefit of Media Coverage

When women obtained local and international media coverage of their protest, violent organizations began to feel a greater sense of pressure. As seen in several of the social movements, the women attempted to directly contact key constituencies, but changes did not occur until decision makers began to hear the voices of the women indirectly through the media.

“[It is] suggested that social movements rely on the media for three main services, (1) mobilization of political support, (2) legitimization (or validation) in the mainstreams discourse, and (3) to broaden the scope of conflicts. Consequently, the quality and nature of the media coverage that social movements obtain strongly influences how they are perceived in the public eye – to the extent that good or bad coverage can help to make or break a social movement” (Barker 2008: 1).

Often social movements are unable to obtain the necessary resources needed to make social change. In each of the movements, the women broke out of their traditional roles in an effort to stop a more powerful and organized male group. In three of these cases, with the exception of the movement against nuclear weapons, the protest against the male organizations were the first of their kind. With the inability to follow the footsteps of similar social movements, the women were left in a more difficult circumstance, being forced to devise tactical protest that would be successful in achieving their goals.

Their marginalization from the central political decision-making processes made traditional avenues unattainable (Barker, 2008). In order to obtain the necessary resources needed for change, the women took alternative approaches and developed protests designed to attract media attention. The media usually portrayed women’s

protest as erupting out of thin air and as manifestations of self-interest that did not push for wider societal changes (Barker, 2008). Still, the media typically portrayed these social movements in a positive light because they took altruistic stances.

Women's protest forced the media was to cover issues that were not typical news coverage. This was particularly true for protest at Greenham Common, where the women devised ways to get reporters and journalists to return time and again to the Peace Camp. Of course, governments were often openly critical of social movements that undermined their authority (Barker 2008: 1). This made it much more difficult for social movements opposed to State-based violent organizations, because that state often has controlled the new media.

News outlets were notorious for devoting more coverage to extreme and militant protests than to peaceful protests (Barker, 2008). In these cases, the media captured both sides, with stories about *peaceful* protests against the extreme, male violence. This was beneficial to the women's movements, which obtained a good deal of coverage about the issue. A study done by Laura Ashley and Beth Olson concluded that women's movements were rarely covered in the *New York Times*, *Time* and *Newsweek* (Barker, 2008). This makes the women's progressive use of media that much more impressive. Not only did the women defy great odds, they also overcame media norms to achieve success.

Women vs. Mothers

It is important to examine the differences between movements led by "mothers" and by "women". From the titles of the social movements themselves, it is clear that the

Soldiers' Mothers of Russia and Mothers of Plaza de Mayo both relied on the "mother card" as a way to push back against violent, male organizations. They used this stereotype to promote the movements. By including the word "mother" in the names of their organizations, they made a symbolic gesture to the public. Older mothers are seen as mothers of all the children in communities. Their title and representation of motherhood earns them respect throughout society. By contrast, the women in Greenham Common and in the Antimafia Movement did not identify themselves as "mothers" or even as "women."

In each case, women stepped out of their *normal* individual roles to pursue collective social goals. By stepping out of the household and into public view, women made the transition from a private individual to a public woman. In Latin America for example, there was a large contrast between public women and public men. "The term "public woman" evokes the figure of a prostitute who stands for the contaminated woman who contaminates all that she touches" (Wright 2007: 405). Men who appeared in public were simply seen as citizens. Due to this stereotype, women were typically seen as trouble when they entered into the public light, and attitude towards women was used by the government to deflect the women's demands (Wright, 2007). The women "have no counterpart in the figure of "father-activists" only further demonstrates the gendered dimensions of the conservative logic that girds mother-activism in the idea that mothers belong at home while men, be they fathers or otherwise, have full access as "public men" to all domains of political economy" (Wright 2007: 406).

The separation between "private" and "public" women was exaggerated in the literature above. Women were in the public routinely, but they did not purposefully bring

attention to themselves. For instance, in Sicily women routinely hung their linens out to dry, but they *did not* paint antimafia slogans in red to represent the blood shed from the mafia's violence. Women transformed themselves from traditional women in the public, to women that demanded public recognition for their intolerance of the mafia's violence.

The women in Russia and Argentina capitalized on their social status as "mothers." This strategy was a "way of fighting against the public woman discourse as the mother-activist in this context represents the woman who, motivated by her private experience as a mother, trespasses into the public sphere, not as a public woman but as a private on whose presence on the street indicates that something is terribly wrong" (Wright 2007: 406).

Although the mothers adopted many roles within the social movement, they reiterated roles as mothers to validate their presence in the public sphere. The only reason that they went out in public was because their private life in the home had been altered. The notion that mothers were non-threatening, also gave them an advantage over other women, even if their demands directly challenged the State's authority (Wright, 2007).

Mothers that demanded the return of their children and punishment for those who had injured their children, as seen in the Mothers of Plaza de Mayo, are often demanding impossible request both physically and politically. Often, the State was either protecting or not pursuing the male organizations for their violence. These violent organizations are the only ones who knew the whereabouts of the children and if they were dead or alive. This makes the likelihood that the mothers are reunited with their children diminish immensely (White, 2007). The mothers are engaged in an "eternal struggle" that was

often left unfilled (White 2007: 407). Although this sounded like a simple request from the mothers, and would all but assure they would return home after being reunited with their children, the Junta shunned these requests. Although male organizations remained uncooperative in most negotiations, the mother-activist approach has become a highly successful approach in other international protests (Wright, 2007).

Another advantage seen in mother-activism can be seen in their testimonies, their call to other mothers. “Testimony,” as one Argentinian activist/author/torture survivor has written, communicates the “intimate, subjective, deep dimension of horror” that one person feels on behalf of many (Wright 2007: 416). The image of a mother fighting for her children is a cause that many other mothers might sympathize with. This helped establish the organization as a serious one. This was another reason why the media proved to be a significant factor in helping social movements. Without the spread of testimonies by the mothers, the women would not have reached out to other women, who joined them in mass demonstrations.

The mothers who participated in the Soldiers’ Mothers of Russia movement had a slightly easier path than those of the Mothers of Plaza de Mayo. Two groups, Women of Russia, and the Moscow Center for Gender StudieSs, had already been established and were advocating on behalf of women. Russia’s political system provided both of these organizations with access to government policy making, which in helped build a tie between actors in the state and in civil society. This provided three different kinds of political opportunities for the Mothers (Ciazza, 2002). First, these issues were undoubtedly defined as appropriate areas for policymaking, at least theoretically. Second, motherhood was defined as integral to Russia’s “women’s question,” which

meant women's involvement in policy making was appropriate. Finally, women's movements had strong allies in several key state bureaucracies and these officials had experience working on women's issues (Caiazza 2002: 41).

This did not mean that the Mothers had few obstacles to overcome. The Women of Russia and the Union of Russian Women were large organizations that were very visible in the Russian government. But, they did not always provide the resources to organizations that had more radical goals than the ones they themselves were trying to accomplish. Moreover, many Russian officials expressed their opposition to the goals of the women's groups (Caiazza, 2002). Although the Mothers in Russia had a stronger political backing than the Mothers in Argentina, they still had to confront a male-dominated government and a male-dominated military.

Women who are unable to identify themselves as "mothers" are at a disadvantage when compared to mother-activists, and may be forced to use other approaches to achieve their goals. Women still use testimonies of personal and family destruction by violent male organizations to justify their claims, but they may find it more difficult to connect with a wider range of people who might sympathize with *mothers* but not with *women*.

Similar Case Studies

The four case studies were used to provide understanding of the similarities and differences between different women's movements. To further this understanding, I will briefly look at several case studies that were *not* included in this study. There have been hundreds, if not thousands, of social movements since 1970, so it is impossible to cover every social movement that involves women. It is important to highlight other case

studies, and explain why they are not included in this study, in order to better understand the guidelines that were used in selecting the four social movements used for this thesis. Two main women headed social movements that will be discussed are Women in Black and the Femicides of Ciudad Juarez, Mexico.

Women in Black began in 1988 in Israeli following the Palestinian intifada. The women congregated around the Republic Square in Belgrade, wearing black clothing, and holding a banner that displayed their group's name. During this period they were the only visible, regular, and permanent anti-war group in Yugoslavia. Word of this silent protest spread quickly as other women began to mimic the protest in their different cities (Cockburn, 1998).

Women in black began to show up in city squares across the region each of them customized their calls for protest to meet particular needs of women in their societies. Women in Black's official website stated that more than 10,000 women have been involved in different protest and vigils, and that 150 different Women in Black groups had organized to oppose injustice, war, militarism and other types of violence. They also claimed that they were *not* an organization, though they admitted that "any group of women anywhere in the world at any time may organize a Women in Black vigil against any manifestation of violence, militarism or war" (WIB, 2011).

Because the group(s) covers such a wide range of subjects over a variety of different geographical locations, they did not meet the criteria for this thesis which looked at centralized social movement organizations. At the beginning of their development, they resembled the Mothers of Plaza de Mayo because they protested in the

town square, and wore black clothing like the Mothers. But unlike the other groups in this study, they organized *across* borders which is different for the cases examined here.

The femicides that took place in Ciudad Juarez, Mexico, have been compared to a smaller-scale version of the genocide that took place in Argentina. Since in 1993, nearly four hundred women, (some scholars have argued that the number is closer to 5,000), were killed, ranging in age from twelve to twenty-two. Their bodies were scattered in vacant lots and left the desert, often left for months before being discovered (Mexico, 1993).

Although women protested these atrocities for many years, they differ from our four case studies because women were the targets of violence. Also, it was not determined that the violence was being conducted by organized male groups. These two reasons eliminate this case study from this research.

We can proceed to the theories that might be derived from these particular movements. By examining new theories, and comparing and contrasting them to existing theories, we can develop a better understanding of these movements.

Chapter 3: Related Theories

Now we turn our focus to the theory section of this thesis. We will cover new theories that were derived from the four examined case studies. These will include topics on gender identity, altruism, and nonviolent approaches. Then these new theories will be compared to pre-existing sociological theories. This will allow for a better understanding of the differences and similarities between both. It will also help show how pre-existing theories cover closely related social movements, while the social movements in this thesis vary enough to require their own theoretical explanations.

Generated Theories

The four social movements that were chosen for this thesis have been repeatedly covered separately by historians over the years. These scholars have created the archives necessary for this research. The difference between their research and mine is that this thesis adopts a sociological point of view. Although scholars have examined the individuals, groups, and organizations that opposed the mafia in Sicily, they did not view it as a social movement that was headed primarily by women. Instead, they focused on the individual efforts of antimafia activists such as Falcone and Borsellino.

What these historians failed to notice was that a progressive movement took off where these men left off. By examining these case studies from a sociological point of view, a new side of the story can be told that results in the creation of new theories. For the purpose of this thesis there is no reason to attempt to change the sociological definition of a social movement. Charles Tilly's characterized a social movement as having four key features: worthiness, unity, numbers and commitment (WUNC) (Tilly,

2004). I believe it is fair to say that the Mothers of Plaza de Mayo, Committee of Soldiers' Mothers of Russia, Greenham Common Peace Camp, and the Antimafia Movement all exhibit WUNC. Because there is little debate about whether these four case studies are in fact social movements, I will now explain the features that I think characterize these four different movements.

Women Centered Altruism

The first feature that all four movements share is “women centered altruism.” The women in these social movements were not pushing to obtain rights for other females. Instead, they adopted an altruistic stance toward other people. Many of the scholars who study pre-existing gender only examine women's movements that promote their self-interest. I think these cases illustrate that women's movements can practice altruism.

For the purpose of this thesis there are two kinds of gender altruism. The first was expressed by the women of the Greenham Common Peace Camp and the Antimafia Movement. This theory can be described as a Women's Altruistic Social Movement (WASM). The second kind was expressed by Mothers of Plaza de Mayo and the Committee of Soldiers' Mothers of Russia. This kind can be described as Mother's Altruistic Social Movement Theory (MASM).

WASM is characterized by women who participate in a social movement, who act on their willingness to help others in the face of violent male organizations. These women construct, lead, and/or participate in a social movement to fulfill their moral obligations to society. They also help by ridding society of violence.

The women that make up the core of these social movements were in close proximity to violence. This allows them to push for social changes for other people who may be unable to participate in the protest themselves. The women in the Antimafia Movement took this position a step farther by taking a stance against the mafia, largely because they calculated that the mafia would be less likely to retaliate against women than men. The men who had tried to end the mafia's violence were killed for their actions. Because women were respected by mafioso and seen as less threatening, women could push protest without facing the same lethal consequences.

The women were invested morally in the social movement. They believed it was their duty to end the violent male behavior. Although the participants of these social movements begin their involvement as an effort to help others, they soon acted in self-interested ways. For example, women at the Peace Camp continued to fight for the original objectives, but they also stayed in the camp longer than needed so that the participants could remain in their new "home."

MASM can be described as mothers who participate in a social movement that acts to protect their families against violent male organizations. These women organized, led, and/or participated in the movement to protect their households. They were *personally* affected by the violence aimed at their children. As seen in WASM, they too had a self-interested role. They were trying to protect their children who could not protect themselves (altruism), but were also trying to protect themselves in the family (self-interest).

The mothers who participated in these social movements had emotional connections to the cause. They believed it was their duties as parents, and also as

caregivers, to oppose violence. Not only do they have compassion for their children, but mothers also have compassion for other children. This can be seen in the Soldiers' Mothers of Russia, as the mothers continue to push for legislative changes after their child has escaped the military's brutality. The women and mothers in the four social movements showed altruistic behaviors in their push to achieve overall societal success, not only organizational success.

Nancy Chodorow argued that there was intense bond between a mother and her child. This bond is increased with daughters, as the mother provides them with their feminine identity. Bonds between the mother and son must be broken in order to form a masculine identity. Chodorow said that boys continue to separate themselves from their mothers, while girls continue to identify with their mothers. This is a part of gender essentialism and global cultural experiences (Chodorow, 1999).

Carol Gilligan examined the differences between males and females during development. She argued that due to children's relationships with their mother, they develop different morals and feelings. Girls are taught to care about relationships and connections and boys are not (Lefton & Brannon, 2008). These morals stick with the girls through their development, and can be identified in the women and mothers who are examined in these social movements.

Similar to Gilligan's theory on gender expectations, scholars have researched biological perspectives that form altruistic behavior. Children begin to become helpful between ages two to three with prosocial behaviors evolving around the time the child is in high school. As seen in social learning theory, behavior is learned through observation

(Piliavin & Charng, 1990). If a child observes a parent or peer displaying altruistic behaviors, they are more likely to emulate those actions.

Research also shows that parents are more likely to help their children than other people. More importantly, women display more altruistic behaviors than men. This is due to their emotional connection. Role identity could increase this likelihood, as mothers are seen as protectors of their children in society. Also, with social dilemmas, people are more helpful when there are mutual coercions. By creating a group identity, increasing communication, and eliminating the fear of being taken advantage of, people increase their altruistic behaviors (Piliavin & Charng, 1990).

Piliavin and Charng argued,

“that altruism – or at least the willingness to consider others in our overall calculations of our own interests – is natural to the human species. Whether this “naturalness” is encoded in the genes, inculcated through socialization, or based in social norms, [it is] suggested that the typical person finds a need to participate in cooperative social endeavors that benefit others or the community at large” (Piliavin & Charng 1990: 58).

Gender Identity Support

This next theory looks at women-headed social movement’s ability to take a nonviolent stance against violent male organizations and do so with few repercussions. Although male organizations are violent, their violent behavior towards women is sometimes constrained because they have gender-specific attitudes about women (that they should not be harmed).

Violent constraints by men are also applied to mothers. Although the male organizations committed violence, most of them were religious men. Sicily and Argentina are predominately catholic countries. The Fourth Commandment states to

“honor thy father and thy mother.” Men’s religion and societal principles give women, and more so mothers, a sense of respect not given to other males.

Nonviolent Theory

The social movements that have been examined all combat a violent male organizations. How did these women take a stance against violence? They pushed back against the violence by taking a completely opposite approach, by practicing nonviolence.

If a violent group is resisted by another violent group, a violent result is nearly inevitable, this is what occurred during the mafia wars. On the contrary, if a violent group is confronted by a nonviolent group, there are different possible outcomes. If the violent group does not feel threatened, they are less likely to retaliate with violence. This allows the nonviolent group to use resources such as the media and legislation to end the violence. This makes a nonviolent approach a useful approach for a group or organization that does not possess the means to become violent themselves, or does not *want* to engage in violent activity. By not counteracting force with force, the violent group does not know how to handle the peaceful group until it is often too late.

There are several factors that can increase the likelihood that a nonviolent organization will be successful against a violent power. The same criteria that Tilly used for social movements can apply with worthiness, unity, numbers, and commitment (WUNC) (Tilly, 2004). A nonviolent approach needs to demand an end to a particular kind of violence, and this goal has to be seen as worthy by the rest of society. For the Mothers of Plaza de Mayo, the mothers asked the Junta to stop kidnapping and torturing

Argentines, in particular their children. They believed that this demand would be supported by other citizens in Argentina. In order to be successful in this request, many mothers came together to silently protest. They repeated this protest weekly as a commitment to their children.

The Mothers of Plaza de Mayo met all of the requirements in Tilly's WUNC. These requirements were needed to take a nonviolent approach. In addition to displaying WUNC, I think social movements need to develop and make their group, issues, and goals recognized by the public. This is primarily done through the media. Media coverage educates the public, which increases mobilization for participation.

Pre-existing Theories

It is important to point out that other pre-existing theories are relevant to this thesis. They help to understand the general ideas and notions of social movements. Although these theories may be more general than the newly created theories above, that does not mean they are less important. It is essential to recognize that for each theory that I will mention, there are different views about each of them. This does not necessarily mean that one version of a theory is significantly better than another, only that there are different dimensions to all of the theories written by different scholars. After explaining a number of these contemporary theories, I will compare and contrast them with the new theories that were derived from the research above.

Relative Deprivation Theory

Relative deprivation is an important sociological theory about social movements. It says that when people feel deprived of goods or resources that they feel they are

entitled to, they organize movements to obtain them (Walker & Smith: 2002). All of these women were *deprived* of something – safety from male violence – and organized to obtain what they had been denied.

The Mothers of Plaza de Mayo were deprived of their children, which disrupted their households. The social movement that they organized was an attempt to be reunited with their children, something that all mothers believe they are entitled to. Similarly, this was seen in the Soldier's Mothers of Russia. The mother's children were deprived of safety by hazing, which often resulted in suicide. The mothers organized to protect their children from the Russian military.

Sicilians were deprived of safety and corruption by the mafia. They restricted their time in public due to fears from the mafia, and business owners were forced to pay for “protection.” The ability for citizens to be outside in the city and for business owners to not be threatened or victimized were both societal entitlements. This type of entitlement is also seen with the women at Greenham Common. They remained under constant fear of nuclear weapons.

Framing Theory

Framing theory helps explain why people organize and participate in social movements in the first place. Social movements “frame, or assign meaning to and interpret, relevant events and conditions in ways that are intended to mobilize potential adherents and constituents, to garner bystander support, and to demobilize antagonist (Snow & Benford 1988: 198). There must be a correlation between a member's individual interest, values, and beliefs and the social movement organization's goals and

ideology (Snow & Benford, 1988). People only choose to participate in a social movement because they feel a connection with a social movement organization.

Frame alignment is “a crucial aspect of adherent and constituent mobilization” (Snow & Benford 1986: 446). There are three main steps that must be taken in to organize a social movement. Activists must identify a problem, advance solutions to solve the problem, and then work to make change happen (Snow & Benford, 1988). This does not mean that the social movement organization (SMO) will be successful. Many of the SMOs that are organized subsequently fail. Snow and Benford believe that the more interconnected these three steps are, the higher chance of being successful (Snow & Benford, 1988).

Diagnostic framing is the process of identifying an issue and then directing blame. Snow and Benford use the threat of nuclear weapons as an example. Most people will agree that nuclear weapons pose a threat, but few people agree with who is responsible for that threat (Snow & Benford 1988: 200). Causes for nuclear weapons include political reasons, technology that creates warheads, and economic purposes. A moral dilemma is also present with nuclear weapons. Different organizations direct blame differently. Despite the blame or reason for nuclear weapons, the threat is reduced when they disappear. The women at Greenham Common wanted the U.S. to take the missiles which thereby reduced the threat.

Once the SMO has identified a problem and a solution to solve that problem, they need to encourage other people to participate in the movement. In order to increase participation, a social movement needs to mobilize other members, participants, and protestors, which was seen in the four social movements.

In Sicily, the social movement was framed to show that all citizens were targets of mafia violence. This made the connection between the social movement and Sicilians inevitable. Eliminating the mafia would eliminate the violence. The Antimafia Movement did this by educating people on the mafia and convincing them to not get involved in the corruption. New laws made it increasingly difficult for mafioso to conduct criminal activities such as drug trafficking, racketeering, and tax evasion.

The women at Greenham Common framed their movement around protecting society. If the missiles were removed from the air base, the threat of nuclear weapons greatly reduced. This could only be done by authorities, which women convinced by acquiring petitions and staging protest. The mothers of the soldiers in Russia framed their movement around human rights. They argued that soldiers should be treated as citizens, and not be victimized by senior officers. The mothers gained member support from other mothers of militant children. They conducted protest to have legislation changed that would eliminate hazing in the military.

The Mothers of Plaza de Mayo also connected with other mothers who children were among the disappeared and also framed their movement around human rights. Unlike the mothers in Russia, new legislation would not end the violence from the Junta. In order to stop the violence, the Mothers gained media attention which created international pressure on Argentina.

Resource Mobilization Theory

The resource mobilization theory argued that social movements are rational actors that are: A) engaged in instrumental actions that B) use formal organizations to C) secure

resources to D) promote mobilization (Crawford, 2011). Correlating with this theory is the rational actor theory which argued that people join social movements when the benefit of joining the movement outweighs the cost of joining (McCarthy and Zald, 1987). Therefore the participants are looking for individual gain, not just for the accomplishment of goals set by the movement (Crawford, 2011). This theory emphasizes the self-interested characteristics of social movements.

“Because individual participation in social movements is explained only by a cost/benefit analysis of resources, cultural things such as grievances and mechanisms for social cohesion of groups are not the deciding factors for when social movements will arise” (Crawford 2011:1). This theory also states that social movements begin when elite classes have the resources available to mobilize non-elite groups. People join because they support the goals, but because they can use the movement to gain resources for themselves (Crawford, 2011). This is pretty cynical and demeans the role of altruistic behavior in the creation of social movements.

Resource mobilization theory also claims that SMOs do not intentionally clash with authorities to create social change, but instead focus on increasing member involvement (Crawford, 2011). The theory explains why social movements are made up of individuals behaving selfishly instead of acting in “deviant, unexplained mechanism to force individuals to behave altruistically” (Crawford 2011: 1).

Resource mobilization theory has several aspects that *do not* apply to the four case studies that were examined. One part states that a social movement is possible when elite classes make resources available to other people and that people join movements to gain resources for themselves. This does not accurately describe the four social

movements in this thesis. In fact, the women did not belong to elites and did not have resources made available to them, just the opposite.

Women relied on the community around them to obtain the resources they needed. The mothers came together to form a social movement with very few resources. They made signs by hand to display the names and pictures of their disappeared children. They had no political resources, and it was not until they increased in numbers and received media attention that they began to acquire some political access.

Although the mothers had a self-interested stake in the outcome, they were also concerned about other people and their social outcome. They wanted to be reunited with their children, but they also wanted other mothers to find their children. The women in the other two social movements displayed different degrees of self-interest. Women stayed at the Peace Camp long after the missiles were removed by the U.S. for personal reasons. However, the women in Sicily were altruistic because no individual wins until the entire community is free from mafia violence.

Resources mobilization theory also claims that social movements do not intentionally clash with authorities, but instead focus on increasing member involvement. But in each of the four case studies, the women directly confronted with authorities. The women in the Peace Camp repeatedly confronted the authorities, which increased media coverage and public support. By clashing with authorities and the violent organizations, women increased overall media coverage, which in return educated a broader array of people and promoted mobilization that resulted in increased participation.

Political Opportunity Theory

Closely tied to resource mobilization theory is the political opportunity theory. It states that social movements organize when political opportunities emerge. “Rather than emphasizing the importance of the group’s internal resources, such as money and power, political opportunity theory focuses on the significance of resources external to the group” (Haenfler 2006: 61). Both the resource mobilization theory, as well as the political opportunity theory, prove to be useful when researching and explaining highly organized social movements, but they have been scrutinized when looking at more diffuse movements (Haenfler, 2006).

This theory claims social movements emerge when political opportunities surface. Once again I disagree with this claim. I did not find that there were many political opportunities for these movements. Instead of opportunities there were *problems*: murder, *dedovshchina*, and abuse. The women created their own opportunities *despite* the current state of the political structure. In fact, in Argentina, there were absolutely *no political* opportunities.

New Social Movement Theory

The last theory I will review is the new social movement’s theory. It derives from the social movements that emerged after the 1960s. Many believe that these social movements are significantly different from movements prior to the 1960s. Instead of focusing on materialistic traits, these movements seek to improve human rights and achieve *non-material* goals. There has been a transition from social movement organizations to social movement community, often consisting of many *different* organizations in a loose network (SMC). Steven Buechler states that:

“both concepts refer to groups that identify their goals with the preferences of a social movement and attempt to implement those goals. Whereas the social movement organization does so by recourse to formal, complex organizational structures, however, the social movement community does so through informal networks of politicized individuals with fluid boundaries, flexible leadership structures, and malleable divisions of labor” (Buechler 1990: 42).

One advantage that SMC has over SMO is the amount of resources needed to be successful. An organization must be able to collect the essential amount of resources (Buechler, 1990). A community has a much broader range of accessibility to resources.

The Antimafia Movement was comprised of women who did their part to end mafia violence. Although the Sheet Committee was the first organization to organize against the mafia, it did not possess the necessary resources to fight the mafia on its own. Instead, smaller groups and organizations came together with collective approaches and goals to construct the overall Antimafia Movement. This was seen when five hundred thousand people organized a march in Falcone’s honor, and again when fifteen thousand people stretched hand-in-hand from the prosecutor’s office to Falcone’s tree (Orlando, 2003). Other organizations such as the Association of Sicilian Women against the Mafia organized a three day sit-in and hunger strike in Palermo’s Piazza Politeama.

Palermo Year One is another organization that began after the murders of Falcone and Borsellino. It consists of forty antimafia groups that pool their information and resources together, and hold biweekly meetings throughout Palermo. They established the ‘Peace Olympics,’ and carry a ceremonial torch through sixteen of the most mafia influenced parts of Sicily, and ending at Falcone’s tree (Jamieson, 2000).

Pope John Paul II spoke out strongly against the mafia when he visited Sicily. In May of 1993, he proclaimed. “God said, “thou shalt not kill”. No man, no group or

Mafia can change and defy this most saintly God. This people, the Sicilian people – cannot always live under the pressure of a counter-culture, a culture of death” (Jamieson 2000: 140). His precedent speech helped encourage contribution to the movement through the church. Organizations and individuals did their part as a SMC to end the mafia’s violence.

In the Greenham Common Peace Camp, women lacked the resources to construct the Peace Camp. But women from across the country brought them the necessities they needed to survive in their newly established ‘homes,’ and to support their protest. Because many of the women devoted their entire life ridding the air force base of the nuclear weapons, and lived outside the front gates in the Peace Camp, they were unable to work to acquire the resources needed. Without external assistance from the community, the Peace Camp would not have lasted nineteen years. This shows altruism within the social movement.

Both the Soldiers’ Mothers of Russia and the Mothers of Plaza de Mayo were independent organizations (SMOs) that pushed for change against the violent organizations. Although the Soldiers’ Mothers of Russia did use political resources from groups such as the Women of Russia, these resources were minimal and did little to assist the organization.

Altruism

Many scholars do not believe that *true* altruism exists. Instead, they think that people always have an underlying, self-interest motive (Piliavin & Charng, 1990). Take the example of giving a homeless person your spare change. Scholars argue that the only reason you give a homeless person your change is to feel better about yourself.

There is also a notion called the bystander effect. In this circumstance, people's willingness to help other people drops dramatically when they believe there are other people who can help the people who are in need. When that happens, person's sense of responsibility deteriorates. It is only in instances where people must react on impulse that the bystander effect is irrelevant (Piliavin & Charng, 1990).

People are also more likely to participate in altruistic activities if they are directly asked to participate. Also it has been determined that "individuals take more from a pool and give less if there are more resources; when resources decrease, they become more altruistic" (Piliavin & Charng 1990: 35). Altruism has also been examined in great detail as a biological concept. Children typically do not begin to show signs of altruism until they are two or three years of age (Piliavin & Charng, 1990). Gender also plays a role in altruism. Women are more likely to engage in activities that help their children because of their close ties.

A sociobiological perspective predicts people are more likely to help other people if they perceive them as similar to themselves or have a close kin-like tie. Similarities in attitudes, personalities, political opinions, and national identifications between the victim and the potential helper also promote altruism (Piliavin & Charng 1990: 50). Willingness to help those that are your kin is only heightened. Mothers in Russia and Argentina joined or assisted in the social movements because of their connection with the other mothers. The mothers in the movements also continued to participate past their self-interest point to help the fellow mothers. In Sicily, violence from the mafia was felt by the entire community. As a result, most citizens had this commonality between them. Within the Peace Camp at Greenham Common, smaller camps were formed which

consisted of women that had similarities. This was beneficial for their living arrangements, and in promoting altruism.

The notion of altruism has transformed the belief that there is no true form of altruism to an understanding that it is “natural” for humans to help others before they seek to pursue their own self-interest. The social movements in this research fit some theories (relative deprivation, framing, and new social movement), but do *not* fit others (resource mobilization and political opportunity). The notion of “not in my back yard” is also prevalent. Women at the Peace Camp had a goal to rid Greenham Common of the cruise missiles. They were altruistically helping the U.K. and parts of Western Europe. Although it can be assumed that they would support the removal of all nuclear weapons, this was not the organizations main goal.

Conclusion

The questions that I proposed at the beginning of this thesis was: A) Why and how have women organized or participated in peaceful movements aimed at stopping collective, organized male violence in the public sphere? B) What prompted women to organize these movements even though they, themselves, were not the targets of male violence? C) How did they organize and try to stop male violence? D) Were these social movements successful in ending the violence and improving society?

My stated hypothesis was: that through the process of framing, women organized peaceful protest that successfully curbed collective, organized male violence in the public sphere. From the research and analysis, I think I have successfully answered each proposed question.

Four social movements were examined to better understand how women take peaceful approaches against violent male organizations. The Antimafia Movement, Greenham Peace Camp, Mothers of Plaza de Mayo, and the Committee of Soldiers' Mothers of Russia used their symbolic images of being women and mothers, and pushed the boundaries of tolerance against their oppositions of violence.

Women in these movements took a determinately nonviolent approach, which substantially decreased the retaliation of violence from the male organizations. In part, this was do to the men's societal upbringings and religious views to not harm women. Women and mothers gained media coverage from protest, which educated the public sphere about the violence being committed by the male organizations. This increased

validation and mobilized member involvement and political support locally and internationally.

New theories were derived from the research which highlighted a women centered altruistic approach. Women invested themselves morally and emotionally in these social movements, with the goal of establishing justice and improving society for *everyone*. As seen in the sociobiological perspective, women and mothers joined in protest of these movements because of the connections they felt with the other members.

Theories such as relative deprivation and framing theory were beneficial in answering the proposed question of this thesis. But not all pre-existing theories were supported by this research. Women in these social movements had no political opportunities that helped them achieve their collective goals, which diffuses the political opportunity theory. Instead, they took an un-chartered approach and gained resources from inner members and the community, which allowed them to be successful. Also, the women directly confronted authorities, disproving resource mobilization theory.

This thesis examines each of these social movements from a new approach, which constructed new findings that were previously overlooked. This *does not* mean that future scholars should end with the steps I took in this research. There are several additional points of focus recommended for future research.

Though this thesis explained why women chose to participate in the social movements, it could go farther when explaining member involvement in the Greenham Common Peace Camp. As seen in the other three movements, women devoted their time and energy into achieving the collective goals of the social movement organization, but they did not devote *all* of their time like the women did who lived in the Peace Camp.

Therefore, the questions that need to be asked are, why and how did these women drop everything to live in the Peace Camp? Did they not have any other obligations? Were they financially able to devote all of their time?

Another expansion of the research could examine the working environments of the women who participated in the social movements. In 1970, men began to lose their jobs due to many different factors such as deindustrialization. During this time, women entered the workforce to supply additional income to their families (Dickinson & Schaeffer, 2001). There is a large divide between women in the household and women in the workforce, and it would be beneficial to examine this dimension for each case study. How did these women support themselves? What kind of income did they make, both in and out of the household?

Though these social movements are headed by women, it would be valuable to look at men's involvement. I pointed out that women in the Peace Camp intentionally excluded men from their protest because the women feared the men would eventually turn to violence, as well as capture too much of the media's coverage. I also briefly pointed out that men in the church assisted with the Antimafia Movement. A further examination of men's involvement would further explain the women's self identity and approaches taken against male violent organizations. It would also further the comprehension of the media's portrayal and coverage received. In many instances the males may have simply been absent for fear of retaliation from the violent organizations.

Above are a few examples of additional points of research that would expand the understandings of these social movements. It is significant in every field of research that scholars continue to challenge themselves to discover new findings through new

approaches. If this research is expanded, I believe these recommendations would further support the findings in this thesis.

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