Norwegian University
of Life Sciences

Tales from Pianura:
The creation of a social dump and
its resisting community

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Self-Declaration

I, Ilenia Iengo, declare that this thesis is a result of my research investigations and findings. Sources of information other than my own have been acknowledged and a reference list has been appended. This work has not been previously submitted to any other university for award of any type of academic degree

Signature…………………………………….

Date………………………………………….

A coloro che hanno condiviso la loro storia con me.

Alla paura, mia peggior nemica.

A le compagne ed i compagni che lottano.

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Abstract

Through the lens of urban political ecology and environmental justice framework, this master thesis project investigates the history and creation of Pianura as the social dump of the city of Napoli, Italy and the grievances and forms of resistance that its citizens undertook, at the peak of a 20 years long waste crisis, when the top-down decision of re-opening the facility was envisioned. The neighbourhood is sited at the outskirts of the metropolis and is historically identified with a polluting landfill, illegal building and Camorra's control. This thesis will explore how multiple actors and groups narrated, existed and resisted in Pianura's social milieu, each with their context-embedded memories, narratives and ideals of mobilization and justice. The crucial and focal experience through which the story is uncovered is the epiphany of the riot, as the resisting community's complex response to the manifest State-led violence of 2008, that came after years of structural, slow and discoursive violence.

Through an in depth ethnographic action research project, the work explores the oral histories and narratives of those involved in the contestations against the reopening of the local landfill and the activists struggles to counter the silencing of the historical marginalization and construction of Pianura as a social dump. The thesis proposes that the construction of a subaltern resisting community and identity is discursively and materially constructed on that the very battlefield of the struggle through the re-examination and narration of the history.

 Moreover, the thesis will suggest why Pianura's subversive stories and toxic narratives should be framed within the larger and global network of environmental justice movements, specifically as subaltern environmentalism.

"Nobody wonders where, each day, they carry their load of refuse. Outside the city, surely; but each year the city expands, and the street cleaners have to fall farther back. The bulk of the outflow increases and the piles rise higher, become stratified, extend over a wider perimeter. Besides, the more Leonia's talent for making new materials excels, the more the rubbish improves in quality, resists time, the elements, fermentations, combustions. A fortress of indestructible leftovers surrounds Leonia, dominating it on every side, like a chain of mountains." (Calvino 1972: 102)

1. Introduction

1.1 Motivations

My (hi)story starts with the land and returns - I will voluntarily not talk about any deterministic end - to the land. My family is from Ercolano a tongue of land between the Mediterranean Sea and the Vesuvius, few kilometers south the metropolis of Napoli, Italy. I was raised with a sense of strong relation and love for our land; my family taught me Neapolitan language from when I was a child, contrary to the idea that speaking "dialect" would constitute a sign of illiteracy. My mother thought me the about the different seasons and smells, the fading colours of the land and the flavours of the fruit that will grow from our dark volcanic soil. My grandfather took me for Sunday strolls at the "*Herculaneum*" archeological site, telling stories of our forefathers that came from Greece, Etruria, Roma, the Middle East, France and Spain in a melting-pot of colours, languages, cultures and world-views. It is an antique land which has been inhabited by different populations and cultures all fascinated by the beauty and the fertility of it. Napoli was founded by the Greeks that called it *Parthenope* after a virgin mermaid, and then they renamed it *Napoli's*, literally meaning new city that was growing and expanding in the region of Campania Felix (happy/fertile Campania) during the Roman times.

I have always struggled with finding my identity and my space in a city where so much has been told of, written of and where everybody has a strong opinion on everything. I always wanted to leave because what was once beautiful and majestic at the eyes of writers and artists centuries ago, to me seemed vanished and long gone. I felt the urge to go away and find myself somewhere else and decided to start brand new in Norway where democracy, social services

and quiet living seem to be a reality. However, the long and winding road of my life brought me back to where I was from, in a way I would have never expected. During my studies at the Norwegian University of Life Sciences I studied the arising research field of Political Ecology and everything started coming together as a puzzle taking shape in front of my eyes, and suddenly I knew. I was introduced to the study of environmental injustices and conflicts over nature, "the differential exposure to environmental bads and to environmental goods experienced by different social groups" (Bickerstaff et al., 2009: 592). The feeling was that I knew these concepts from before, but they were deriving from a different knowledge, one that draws inspirations and arises from personal experience and practice more than from books and traditional education. I knew the stories behind these concepts, and they were the stories of my land once known to be Campania Felix but nowadays world-wide known as the Triangle of Death or the Land of Fires.

I, therefore, decided to go back to my land with the purpose of conducting research with the aim of giving voice to the voiceless communities, families and individuals that vigorously struggled during the 20 years long waste crisis. I will attempt at creating a canvas to their "munnezza stories"[1] that might allow us – both them and me - to better understand their roles and identities to shape a future where democracy and participation and prosperity may be envisioned.

I have decided to embark in a case study over the urban political ecology and the environmental injustices that occurred in Pianura, a working-class neighbourhood at the western periphery of Napoli. There, the most violent urban resistance took place, as response to the top-down non-participatory decision of the State to re-open the historical landfill, during the 2007/2008 peak of the waste emergency in Campania. The story I will try to tell begins with the early 1900's agricultural and rural landscape of Pianura, where a municipal landfill was opened in 1950s and dramatically erupts in the urban guerilla with local buses set on fire and police-activists clashes of January 2008. The urban development and metabolism of the area go hand in hand with the processes of 'accumulation by contamination' (Demaria & D'Alisa 2013) of a 'structural, environmental and slow violence' (Barca 2014; Galtung 1969; Nixon 2011) that resulted in the construction of Pianura as a social dump (Armiero & D'Alisa 2012) and the formation of a resisting community through the epiphany of the 2008 riots.

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[1] Munnezza is the Neapolitan dialect word for *waste*.

1.2 Research project / Problem statement

> *"Place-bound "communities" do act - sometimes out of a common interest in improving local safety, services, or amenity; [...] sometimes because not to act is to acquiesce in the community's own destruction."* (Davis 1991: 4)

The purpose of this project is to investigate the history and creation of a marginalized neighbourhood - identified with a polluting landfill and sited at the outskirts of the metropolis - and the grievances and forms of environmental justice activism that its citizens undertook, at the peak of a 20 years long waste crisis, when the top-down decision of re-opening the facility was envisioned. This thesis will explore how multiple actors and groups narrated, existed and resisted in Pianura's social milieu, each with their context-embedded memories, discourses and ideals of mobilization and justice. The crucial and focal experience through which I will try to uncover the story is the epiphany of the riot, as the resisting community's complex response to the manifest State-led violence of 2008, that came after years of structural, slow and discoursive violence (Galtung 1969; Nixon 2011).

The work will explore the oral histories (Harvey 2005; Riley and Harvey 2007) and narratives of those involved in the contestations against the reopening of the local landfill - and the activists struggles to counter the silencing of the historical marginalization and construction of Pianura as a social dump; moreover, the thesis will suggest why Pianura's subversive stories (Ewik and Silbey 1995) should be framed within the larger and global network of environmental justice movements. The historical transformations, the spatial and scalar dimensions, and the peculiar stories and narratives all combined and co-existing in this tale, allowed me to propose the interpretation of Pianura's movement as a tale of subaltern environmentalism. To serve such purpose, this master thesis will combine *urban political ecology* framework (Cook & Swyngedouw 2012; Cronor 1991; Davis 2002; Gandy 2003; Desfor and Keil 2004; Kaika 2005; Heynen et al., 2006a; Heynen et al., 2006b; Swyngedouw 2003; Swyngedouw 2004) and the *environmental justice* literature (Bullard 1990; Bullard 1993; Bullard 1994; Cutter 1995; Faber 1998; Egan 2002; Harvey 2001; Merchant 2005; Novotny 2000; Schweitzer 2006) by operationalizing the concepts of *urban metabolism* (Coe et al. 2007; Cook & Swyngedouw 2012; Swyngedouw 2006; Heynen et al., 2006a; Heynen et al., 2006b), *structural, narrative, slow and environmental violence* (Armiero 2008; Armiero and D'Alisa

2012; Barca 2014; Galtung 1969; Mitchell 2003; Nixon 2011; Peluso and Watts 2001), *imagined community* (Anderson 1991), *environmental narratives* (De Certeau 1984; Fisher 1984; Hajer 1995; Harper 2001; Pezzullo 2001; Scholes 1980) and *subaltern environmentalism* (Egan 2002; Faber 1998; Gidwani 2009; Guha 2000; Pulido 1996;)

2. Methodology

2.1 Research Objective

Investigate the construction of Pianura as a social dump and the rising of its resisting community through the epiphany of the 2008 riots.

The purpose of this research project is to understand the historical socio-economic processes of marginalization and urban metabolism that Pianura experienced, through the memories and narratives of different groups: those who experienced these processes firsthand and those that could give me crucial outsiders' standpoints. Therefore, I decided to embark on an action research ethnographic study to live, share, learn and commit to the community of people I have met and worked with.

2.2 Research questions

- Which are the processes that transformed Pianura's identity into a social dump?
- What is the role of violence in the oral histories of Pianura?
- How did narratives and memories shape Pianura's social movement against the reopening of the landfill?
- How did the epiphany of the riot allow the construction of a resisting community?

2.3 Research Design

> *"The political commitment to giving voice and bearing witness through narrative is underwritten by the epistemological conviction that there is no single, objectively apprehended truth. [...] multiple stories, which have been buried, silenced, or obscured by the logico-deductive methods of social science, have the*

capacity to undermine the illusion of an objective, naturalized world which so often sustains inequality and powerlessness" (Ewik and Silbey 1995: 199).

For this research project I have used an ethnographic qualitative research methods strategy. The decision on the choice of methods is based on the qualitative nature of the main research objective. Moreover, the qualitative method positively matches the choice of a case study as for this research project (Berg & Lune 2012). A community, according to Berg and Lune (2012), can be defined as "some geographically delineated unit within a larger society" (2012: 343), and involves the "systematic gathering of enough information about a particular community to provide the investigator with understanding and awareness of what things go on in that community; why and how these things occur; who among the community members take part in these activities and behaviours and what social forces may bind together members of this communities" (2012: 343). Case studies often involve the use of maps to assess and investigate the interrelationships among people in their spatial setting and physical environment (Berg & Lune 2012). Similarly, such mapping process can be developed to classify the social milieu of a community to spot different social groups, interest groups and identities. I have started my study of Pianura on published sources of different kinds, using census data, books, research articles and newspapers accounts. Following the work of Renato Rosado (1989) "ethnographers begin research with a set of questions, revise them throughout the course of inquiry, and in the end emerge with different questions than they started with. One's surprise at the answer to a question, in other words, requires one to revise the question until lessening surprises or diminishing returns indicate a stopping point." (1989: 7).

Different narratives and perceptions will be investigated on the matter of the construction of Pianura as a social dump and the oral histories of resistance to the umpteenth State-led violent project of re-opening the historical landfill at the peak of the regional waste crisis in 2008.

The counter-narrative of those who fought to resist collected through the method of oral histories was used on the methodological basis that "it allows us to make connections in the interpretation of history; for example, between different places, or different spheres, or different phases of life." (Thompson 1994: 11).

Moreover, Environmental Justice research has developed a strong emphasis on qualitative studies of the experiences and struggles of EJ movements (Cook and Swyngedouw 2012). Considering my interest in framing the Campania waste crisis and the deriving

grassroots movements as a case of environmental injustice the choice of qualitative methods seems adequate.

2.4 Research Tools

I engaged in qualitative methodology through the collection of oral histories. Initially, semi-structured interviews were designed to be performed with activists. The aim was to "approach the world from the subject's perspective […] by adjusting the level of language of planned questions or through unscheduled probes" (Berg & Lune 2012:113). The oral histories had to allow the gaining of insights about the formation, discourses and practices of the actors involved in the social movements of Pianura. Following Yow (2005) the use of oral histories through the tool of in depth-interviews is carried out by researchers who "are seeking to understand the ways that the narrator attributes meanings to experience" (Yow 2005: 9).

Interview guides were established for the different kinds of data collection method, such as individual interviews and focus groups. Furthermore, different interview canvases were designed to lead the interviews with the different interviewees such as activists, politicians, and experts. Individual semi-standardized interviews have allowed me to touch sensitive information, personal experiences and perceptions in a language and form that was most suitable to the interviewee, however with a certain degree of standardization in the format, to ensure the possibility of triangulation.

Moreover, with focus groups, sampling can be simplified and the researcher can explore new topics which might arise from the discussions (Berg & Lune 2012). According to Berg and Lune (2012) the advantages of this method are many as it is adaptive to the issues at stake and allows to collect a large amount of information from more people in a short period of time. However, with both individual interviews and focus groups there is the potential drawback that the researcher is restricted to what people say which might be different from what they think, did and do. In this case, triangulation and cross-checking statements is crucial. For the specific case of focus groups, some interviewees might steer the conversation and be more powerful in stating their opinions compared to others, therefore an attentive eye to the group dynamics can be helpful. As many of the topics that were touched could be seen as sensitive, a less intrusive approach is to incorporate activities and tasks into the focus groups session, such as storytelling, pictures to stimulate conversation and even role playing (Colucci 2007; Berg & Lune 2012). Moreover, I have collected an extensive amount of secondary data produced by the Province of Napoli Board of Inquiry on the environmental and health risks posed by the local landfill and

the judicial acts presented during the trial concerning "culpable epidemics" and "environmental disaster"[2] caused by the afore-mentioned landfill. I have also gathered materials such as technical consultancies produced by experts and petitions signed by local communities and activist groups. In order to understand the construction of Pianura as a marginalized social dump I have collected census data available through official municipal, provincial and regional websites; such secondary data on levels of education, wages, employment will allow to see the multiple layers of Pianura's marginalities and 'geography of exclusion' (Sibley 1995).

One key feature of this research project was developed in the tradition of ethnographic action research. I decided to engage in ethnographic action research as the core reasons behind this project are strongly bounded to my social embeddedness with the area. I am aware and conscious of my active role in producing a research project in a matter that is so extremely close and sensitive to my own self. I therefore decided to use the technique of *photovoice* which demands to use photographs as a mean "to gain perceptual access to the world from the viewpoint of individuals" […] literally giving the subjects "a camera and ask them to photograph certain aspects of their lives" (Berg & Lune 2012: 273). I decided to give cameras to my informants (activists, politicians, citizens of Pianura) and ask them to photographically document their neighbourhood assets and concerns, the landscape, their everyday lives in relation with the dumpsite. They would have to be completely free to take pictures of anything they would perceive to be relevant to the social construction of their land. The project would have to involve a session of group discussion on the images to create a visual memory and storytelling of Pianura. In action research, and in the specific case of photovoice the notion of participation is crucial. The participants through their camera lenses will define themselves, their environment and will then, through the stage of discussion, provide and share meanings and perceptions. The goals are threefold and aim at empower and enable: "people to reflect in their personal and community concerns; encourage dialogue and transfer knowledge and information about personal and community issues through discussion about photographs among participants; to access the perception of those not in control […] and to share this information with those who are in control" (Berg & Lune 2012: 274). However, in the very moment I proposed this tool for discussing among a group of people, I was confronted with the difficulty to organize it and make it happen. I have tried to perform a focus group that would take place every second week of my field work in order to initially define the topics of interest, then allow the participants to take pictures and then have different rounds of group discussion over the

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[2] These concepts will be introduced and explained in terms of the Italian criminal legislation in the thesis section 3.1.

photos they would decide to bring along.

Nonetheless, I was only given a very last minute date available for seven activists from Pianura, who I met during my time doing field work in the neighbourhood. Some of them were also part of the individual interviews I carried out and some others were not. Even if the whole idea of a process and in the making discussion over different stages and meetings was unfortunately gone, I decided to perform the focus group with pictures they all had from before. I thought it was just a matter of time and defining a single meeting time could facilitate the process. Unfortunately, I was wrong and when I met the seven activists, even if they all seemed to interested in taking part to the project, when confronted with the idea of collaborating discussing together, among them, they showed disinterest and distress[3]. I therefore decided not to perform the photovoice project, not on those terms, and specifically include and acknowledge the failure of such project as a sign of the difficult, complicated and disaggregated community I was attempting to reach.

2.5 Sampling Approach

Following the objective and aim of the research project I chose a study population that was composed of those that could provide me with different narratives of Pianura, in terms of historical accounts, social movements and activism. I decided to use a non-probability sampling method in order to fit the qualitative nature of the project. Following Berg and Lune (2012), what characterizes a case study is the extremely rich, detailed and in-depth type of information gathered, mostly through the method of interviews.

Altogether, I performed 24 in depth interviews in order to collect the oral histories narratives, stories and perceptions of the interviewees, and a mixed method of purposive and snowball sampling has been used to determine the study population for the project.

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[3] I tried to organize different focus groups but they always failed for one reason or another. I managed to organize a last minute meeting at a local church with 7 activists, which I knew personally or that I was introduced through the activists that I already met during field work and we were kindly offered a room to perform the focus group. However, even if I had circulated information on how the focus group would be performed, the activists showed distress as soon as I was introducing the discussion and the rules of the game. It seemed they had not much time to be there, and started asking questions about when they would have to send me their stories and pictures. When I realized they were not willing to be there, and eventually that I would have forced something on them, I thought of accommodating their wishes and told them they could send me a story with three pictures each. By then I did not know how I would have used the material in my thesis, however I believed I could give this a chance. Nonetheless, I have only received two out of seven autobiographies and therefore decided I would have to discard the material.

I have initially had informal meetings with key informants that belonged to the different groups of Pianura's activists and they provided me with information, accounts of historical groups and specific conditions of the neighbourhood; I specifically asked my key informants to introduce me to people that were involved in different forms of activism in Pianura to draw a contextual map of the groups of grassroots activists. Moreover, I interviewed local politicians at different administrative levels[4] and experts which both helped to produce knowledge favourable to the cause and other experts that could introduce me to an external narrative about Pianura.

I have subsequently developed a better and more grounded knowledge about Pianura's context, which allowed me to engage in purposive sampling to reach people with certain characteristics that would enhance the research project (Berg & Lune 2012). Nonetheless, some of the informants and interviewees were approached through direct snowball sampling methods, which was in my case the best way to "locate subjects with certain attributes or characteristics necessary to the study" (Berg & Lune 2012: 52) as it is popular among those researchers interested in studying sensitive topics or populations that are difficult to reach (Lee 1993). I have tried to use snowball sampling to reach two groups of activists that seemed to be directly involved in the most violent riots with police in the 2008 riots. I have tried to reach both groups of young members of the extremely radical Communist Party C.A.R.C. (Committees supporting the Communist Resistance), and members of the Napoli football team hooligans called N.I.S.S. (the acronym in Italian stands for "No Matches only Clashes"), as they were the hardest groups to reach, both in terms of willingness to talk and be recognized, since there still is an ongoing trial for the Pianura riots and because these groups were considered and defined "other" by the local citizens of Pianura (which have been my main data source), that in different occasions made sure to convey the message that they were not involved or did not know who these violent people were[5].

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[4] The metropolitan area of Napoli went through a massive administrative transformation in 2015, created with the reform of local authorities (Law 142/1990) and established with the law 56/2014. Before that the city of Napoli was divided into ten municipalities. Each municipality has a population of 100'000 inhabitants and is an aggregation of two or more neighbourhoods with a a relative organizational and functional autonomy from the central administration. From 2015 on, the reorganization of Napoli's administrative division brought about an enlargement of the boundaries of the city up to comprising the whole capital city of Napoli and 92 other municipalities. The total population reaches 3'128'700 inhabitants over a total area of only 1'171 km^2. Information are available on the Metropolitan City of Naples' website: http://www.cittametropolitana.na.it/

[5] I had contacted some of them through quite secure and stable contacts. I could rely on a personal web of networks through my political engagement in Napoli. I thought I could manage to interact with some of them. Moreover; I strongly stressed on the total anonymity of the interviews, proposed different forms of interaction, also by suggesting to create a skype account

2.6 Data Collection

As the scope of my research goes beyond "research for the sake of research or theory" (Berg & Lune 2012: 260), but is to personally commit to the struggles and practices of the activists that fight against what has been regionally defined the "Biocide" of Campania and make an effort at creating positive social change (Berg & Lune 2012), I had to give crucial attention to the length of my field work. After studying and learning about Pianura and the wider regional conflict over waste disposal, the historical and spatial dynamics that produced and reproduced Campania's contaminated landscapes, the narratives of grassroots movements confronting their exclusion from the political processes of decision-making ruled by criminal and private interests, governmental agencies and official science, I have decided to allocate two months for both collection of primary source data through field work and to understand the historical, social, economic and ecological context. I might have needed more time if the conflict and the processes at work would have been a completely new topic for me; however, this has not been the case, since being from the same area I am researching on gave me the opportunity and confidence of knowing the context quite well. Altogether, the field work lasted over the two months of June and July 2014.

I decided to have a study population that consisted of three main categories, further divided in subcategories. First, I chose to interview people that belonged to the neighbourhood under study that could present me with stories and memories of the transformations that the area has undergone and that have decided to embark in different forms of activism to counter the reopening of the Pisani landfill. I managed to get in contact with four activists from Pianura, before I started the field work, through my supervisor, which had done research himself in the area. Moreover, once in Napoli, I personally met the initial group of activists which has been crucial for introducing me to a wider network of activists that could help the data collection process. After participating at some events, conferences, meetings of local activists' groups and organizations that are socially and politically involved, of which some constructing a praxis of a bottom-up and self-organizations of the "commons" in Campania, I felt more secure in defining the boundaries and context of my study population. Therefore, I have interviewed

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myself to then send it to some of them that could then call me and make sure I had no possibility to track them down. Nonetheless, I have failed at reaching these two groups of informants and I am aware of having lost a part of the narration. The insecurity and unwillingness to talk had, however, a solid motivation: the trial over the 2008 violent riots was still ongoing by the time I was conducting fieldwork.

twelve activists, of which eight coming from Pianura, one from Pozzuoli (a town that borders Pianura and specifically Conrad Pisani where the landfill insisted for over 40 years), and two from different suburbs of Napoli (one from Soccavo, the neighbourhood that constitutes the District 9 with Pianura within the city of Napoli, and another from Miano, north periphery of Napoli), both connected to the "Disobedients" militants of the radical left involved in the waste struggles in other areas of Campania. Secondly, as I wanted to focus on different forms of activism and narratives about Pianura I have decided to include, in the study population, five experts that supported the grassroots activists and four that could inform me on differential historical, technical, and descriptive accounts of the area, the activism and the conflict over the landfill. Last but not least, I have used politicians as interstitial category between the two above-mentioned. I have interviewed three politicians, all coming from Pianura and voted by the citizens of Pianura, which work at different administrative level and belong to different political parties. I considered them as interstitial category because they all participated at the demonstrations and movements against the reopening of Pisani landfill, however their social role and situatedness could provide me with a narrative that would include political and administrative processes as well.

2.7 Analysis and coding

Following Alessandro Portelli (1991) "oral histories sources are narrative sources" (1991: 35); therefore, the analysis of oral histories materials "must avail itself of some of the general categories developed by narrative theory in literature and folklore" (Portelli 1991: 35). In addressing the narratives one may look at shifts in velocity, speed and rhythm: oscillations are significant beyond a specific norm of interpretation, they do matter in the meaning the narrator wants to give to the story (Portelli 1991).

The analysis stage of a research project aims at giving a direct and "from the ground" accounts of what emerged from the field work and the data collection process. From the oral histories collected, I have transcribed the tape-recorded interviews individually to have each and every individual interview sheet available for further scrutiny. During this process I started writing notes of issues, concepts and topics that would appear more frequently or that would contrast profoundly from one interview to the other. Consequently, I have gathered my own thoughts and reflections on the data. From there, I drew a set of key themes integrating the research questions, the interviews canvases and the themes that emerged from the transcription process and defined them as coding categories, assigning to each a different colour.

Interviews were divided into three groups following the groups of interviewees I had involved in the research. The first group was "the activists" which is the most numerous group with 12 interviewees from Pianura, Soccavo, Pozzuoli and Napoli at large, all united by the very participation to the 2008 struggle, beyond class, genre or job. The second group was formed by three interviewees, which was named "politicians". The three participants were all politicians at different administrative levels but coming from Pianura and being voted in the Pianura's electoral circumscription. Moreover, all of them were involved in the 2008 struggle in different ways. The third category of interviewees was named "experts" and was composed of two sub categories: "expert/activist" and "expert/scientist". I have defined as experts all the interviewees that could provide me more disciplinary information about Pianura, its history, the struggle and the technicalities of the landfill. On one hand, the "expert/activist" who also supported the grassroots activists' struggle, and on the other hand the "expert/scientist" that could inform me on differential historical, technical, and descriptive accounts of the area, the activism and the conflict over the landfill. The coded categories stemmed from the initial focal points I wanted to address and were meant to answer the research questions. The broad categories were the same for all three groups of interviewees. The first category was called "Pianura's narrative and transformations" in order to address the historical accounts. The second category was "activism and participation" in order to address the historical and 2008 wave of protests and activism, but also the forms of activism, the motivations and the perceived outcomes. The last category was named "nowadays Pianura" and attempted at discuss the perceived current socio-environmental struggles and eventual perceived changes on the territory after the 2008 riots.

The oral sources I have collected and was interested are the non-hegemonic narratives which were analyzed being aware that the purpose of the analysis in this research project was to show different narratives, perceptions, memories and positionalities over the different main categories of inquiry.

2.8 Reflexivity, ethical considerations and limitations

> *"Reflexivity is self-critical sympathetic introspection and the self-conscious analytical scrutiny of the self as researcher. Indeed, reflexivity is critical to the conduct of fieldwork; it induces self-discovery and can lead to insights and new hypotheses about the research*

questions. A more reflexive and flexible approach to fieldwork allows the researcher to be more open to any challenges to their theoretical position that fieldwork almost inevitably raises" (England 1994: 244).

"In our rush to be more inclusive and conceptualize difference and diversity, might we be guilty of appropriating the voices of "others"? How do we deal with this when planning and conducting our research? And can we incorporate the voices of "others" without colonizing them in a manner that reinforces patterns of domination?" (England 1994: 242)

In his provocative study of ethnographic research, Rosaldo Renato (1989) discusses his own fieldwork "to illustrate the importance of acknowledging and using one's own feelings and assumptions in the process of researching and analyzing" (Yow 2005: 27). The main issue regarding the project to unwrap the tales from Pianura was, from the very beginning, a profound political commitment to the cause of telling the stories of socio-environmental injustices still ongoing in my hometown. I was aware and conscious about how much of my own work would be shaped by my political commitment, my cultural background and profound sense of belonging towards those stories. The degree of awareness of my situatedness did not prevent me from stepping into little accidents, or I may talk about revelations I had along the way.

My profound commitment to the long and complex story of Campania's grassroots movements for environmental justice made me blind to a certain degree. Although I was aware that the specific case of Pianura's struggle was one of the most controversial and complex in Campania[6] even before I would start field work, this did not prevent me from naively hoping

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[6] As I will show more in Section 3.3, Campania experienced a season of activism on the matter of waste mismanagement and democratic decision-making processes over the development of territories. In the history of the Campania's grassroots movements the Pianura case has always been considered very controversial and complex. In this thesis I will show how it has been one of the most violent outbreaks in the regional struggle over the placing of landfills and incinerators. By the time I was conducting fieldwork there was a still ongoing trial over the outbreak of violence in Pianura in January 2008. With the proposal of the reopening of the historical landfill in Pianura, the waste conflict hits the city for the first time. Before Pianura was proposed, the sites for waste management were all far away from the urbanized centre of Napoli. Moreover, the complexity is given also by the composition of the movement in the peripherial neighbourhood. For the first time in the history of Campania's

and searching for a romanticized case of a powerful and radical struggle. Specifically, the initial purpose was to look into the 2008 riots, the forms of activism, the motivations and discourses around the struggle and very little space was planned to be given to the history of the neighbourhood per se. In this sense, the first coding category during the analysis stage was called "Pianura's narrative and transformations" in order to address the historical accounts, transformations and phases of what the neighbourhood went through. This specific category was meant to be used as starting point of the interview to understand how the interviewee will position her/himself in the narration. Nonetheless, the initial idea was to simply keep this section of the interview as introduction and starting point, to therefore address the crucial topic of the 2008 riot.

During the research project, from the transcription to the coding and crucially into the analysis section I reconsidered my initial assumption and decision over "what to focus on", "what is there to be addressed and told". The story I wanted to tell mattered to me in a very different way, compared to how it mattered and still matters to those the story belongs to.

The historical transformations, which I initially considered a "background section" of the interviews, was the origin, the very inception and core of the whole story. Those who shared their oral histories with me repeatedly stressed the argument that what happened in 2008 was a consequence of the neighbourhood's historical marginalization process. They strongly affirmed the importance of history and previous events in giving meaning to the 2008 events. This, in turn, could have been a minor issue to the development of the research project I was working on, however I decided to look more into it, dissect what such a discrepancy between my initial focus and what the oral histories were telling me, and finally I decided that I had to drastically reconsider the whole story. The process of reframing went through different stages, mostly addressing questions that would arise within myself about: "what do I want to focus on?", "what is there to be address and to be told?". The turning point of the project was touched by reconsidering again my situatedness and my personal commitment. The motivations behind this research project lay in the idea of having a co-produced canvas of "munnezza stories", to address memories, recall forgotten stories and produce a counter-narrative to the dominant State-led accounts. I after all asked myself "Whose forgetting? Whose memory? Whose history?" (Sturken 1997: 7) and this project is shaped by my own political, cultural, academic

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social movements for environmental justice that hooligans, mothers, teachers, priests, members of the radical left and intellectuals all coexisted in the struggle, with different modes, ideas and practices of resistance.

and personal background as much as it is a means to tell the "subversive stories" (Ewik and Silbey 1995) of Pianura.

3. What do we talk about when we talk about background?

The aim of this research project was to investigate over a very defined time frame: December 2007 – January 2008. The idea was to deeply investigate the days of resistance in Pianura, the wild urban mob, the rioting suburb. The micro histories of the Pianura's hot days were intended to be uncovered through the oral histories of those involved, from local activists, to politicians and experts. The brief but intense time frame of investigation was supposed to be informed by a background to contextualize the geography, economy, history and socio-environmental milieu. Nonetheless, during my field work, the riot days of the neighbourhood have been powerfully explicated and motivated as a consequence of the history and transformations that Pianura went through. The narrations and oral histories made me understand that the history of the neighbourhood was not a scenic background upon which the story of 2008 unfolded. Hence, the historical transformations, the fractures, the previous event were the organic integral part of the tales that had to be uncovered. The background chapter is here conceived to give enough context to understand the very core of the construction of the social dump and its resisting community. This chapter provides a three-layered background: starting from the very neighbourhood of Pianura, to then move to the very empirically wider context of the waste crisis in Campania, to finally give a brief history of the grassroots movements for environmental justice opposing the waste crisis in Campania. There is no boundary between the stories, in fact the sections are continuously permeating into each other. The fictitous artifact of dividing the background into three sections is an attempt to make the story clearer to those who never read about these stories before.
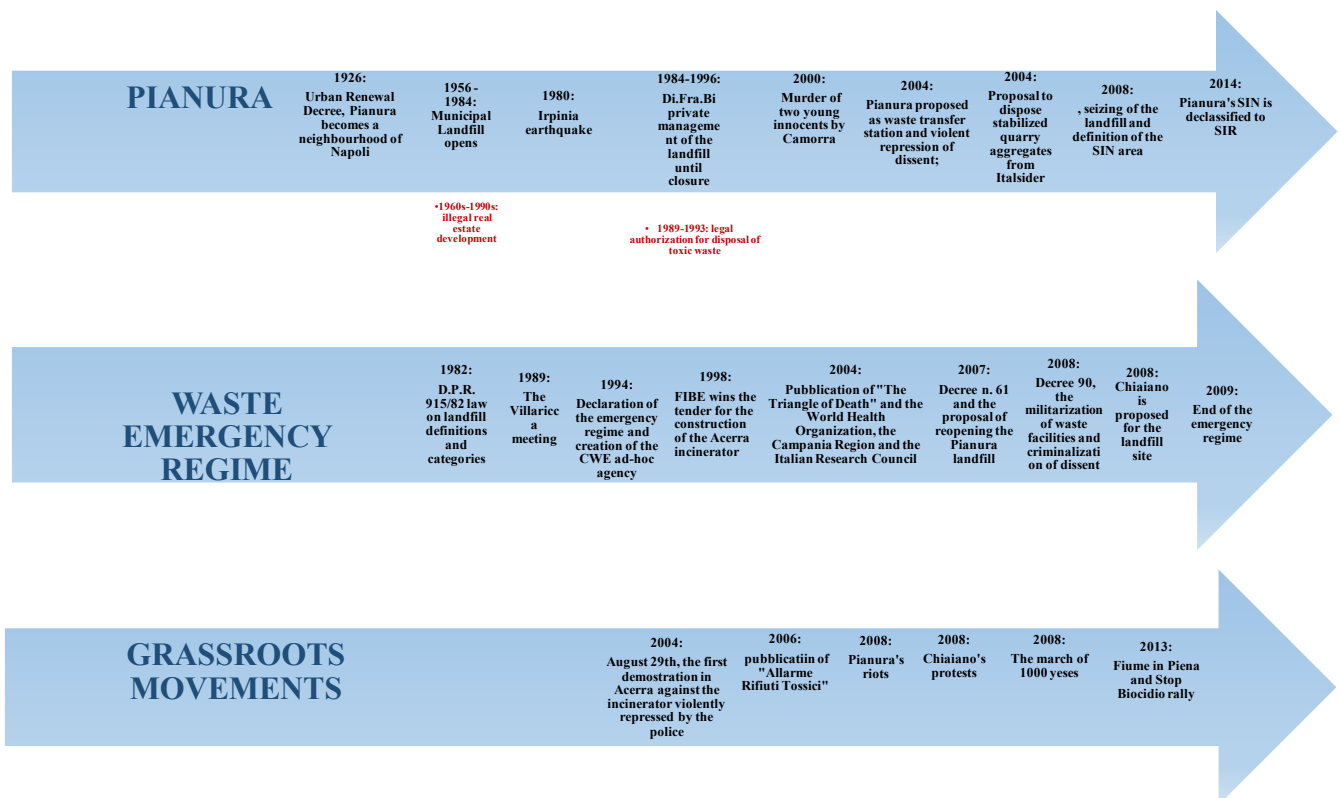
PIANURA

- **1926:** Urban Renewal Decree, Pianura becomes a neighbourhood of Napoli
- **1956-1984:** Municipal Landfill opens
- **1980:** Irpinia earthquake
- **1984-1996:** Di.Fra.Bi private management of the landfill until closure
- **2000:** Murder of two young innocents by Camorra
- **2004:** Pianura proposed as waste transfer station and violent repression of dissent;
- **2004:** Proposal to dispose stabilized quarry aggregates from Italsider
- **2008:** , seizing of the landfill and definition of the SIN area
- **2014:** Pianura's SIN is declassified to SIR

- **•1960s-1990s:** illegal real estate development
- **• 1989-1993:** legal authorization for disposal of toxic waste

WASTE EMERGENCY REGIME

- **1982:** D.P.R. 915/82 law on landfill definitions and categories
- **1989:** The Villaricca meeting
- **1994:** Declaration of the emergency regime and creation of the CWE ad-hoc agency
- **1998:** FIBE wins the tender for the construction of the Acerra incinerator
- **2004:** Pubblication of "The Triangle of Death" and the World Health Organization, the Campania Region and the Italian Research Council
- **2007:** Decree n. 61 and the proposal of reopening the Pianura landfill
- **2008:** Decree 90, the militarization of waste facilities and criminalization of dissent
- **2008:** Chiaiano is proposed for the landfill site
- **2009:** End of the emergency regime

GRASSROOTS MOVEMENTS

- **2004:** August 29th, the first demostration in Acerra against the incinerator violently repressed by the police
- **2006:** pubblicatiin of "Allarme Rifiuti Tossici"
- **2008:** Pianura's riots
- **2008:** Chiaiano's protests
- **2008:** The march of 1000 yeses
- **2013:** Fiume in Piena and Stop Biocidio rally

Table 1. The timeline is a fictitous artifact to visually show the three different sections of the background chapter. This timeline does not want to be an exhaustive account of the historical processes. Nonetheless it is a brief and clear table of the crucial historical events of the Campania's waste emergency. The events that were either protracted during a long time frame or were underlying other processes are shown *red*. Credit: Iengo 2016.

3.1 Planura, Chianura, or Pianura?

- #### *From the agrarian village to the concrete jungle*

Pianura has not always been the suburban neighbourhood as we know it nowadays. It has a rich history that dates back to the 6th century at least, when the first written traces of a village called Pianura appear (Carrucola 2008). The name in Italian means *plain* and it clearly related to the topography of the area, which is specifically a valley surrounded by mountains. Once called *Planura* then vulgarized into *Chianura*, it used to be a strategic staging post for the land links between Roma, Cumæ, Puteoli and Neapolis (Mele and Varchetta 1992) specifically around the still-existing-nowadays road called via Montagna Spaccata, meaning the the broken mountain street. During the Middle Age, the Pianura Majoris territory was founded as Casale di Villa Pianura, keeping the predominant flavour of agrarian village surrounded by mountains and cities. In 1245, at the basis of the Camaldoli Mountains, piperno quarries were discovered (De Lena 2008). Piperno is a magmatic rock that can be found in volcanic areas (De Lena 2008). At the time, it had been crucial for the construction of the majority of Napoli's historical centre (Přikryl and Smith 2007) for both housing, churches and paving. Many famous buildings

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and palaces in Napoli were constructed with piperno being extracted from Pianura and Soccavo's quarries up until the end of the 19th century, such as the Royal Palace, Castel dell'Ovo and the *facade* of the Maschio Angioino Castle (De Lena 2008). Contextually, Pianura started attracting workers from neighboring areas that would be employed in the quarries. In 1300, the local population was made of circa 3500 inhabitants, who started cultivating the land and produce wine (De Lena 2008). The development of Pianura went hand in hand with two main features: the agrarian and the labouring societies, which defined the economy of the territory up until our days (De Lena 2008). However, over the last century the area went through a dramatic urbanization and the demographics skyrocketed from circa 5000 units of early 20th century to circa 80.000 of the last decade of the 20th century (de Lena 2008). The village was annexed to the city of Napoli with the Royal Decree Law of the 3rd of June 1926 n. 1002, under the *Riforma Urbanistica* or Urban Renewal of the Italian fascist government[7].
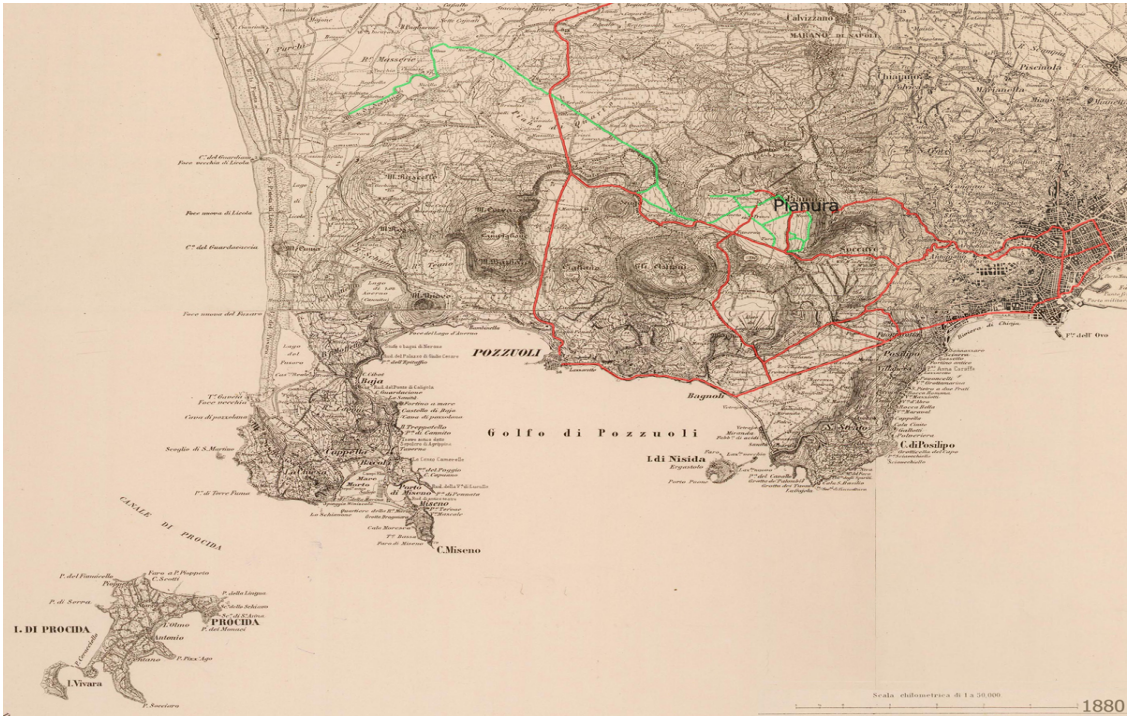

Table   2.   Istituto   Geografico   Militare,   Carta   d'Italia   1880.   [Available   online   at: http://sit.regione.campania.it/cavitapianura/jpg%20wp/wp2a14z.jpg. Accessed on: 15 April, 2016].

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[7] At the presentation of the National Plan for Urban Renewal in 1926, there were two main tendencies: the first was about the indefinite extension of the central urban nucleus, and the second was a tension towards a polycentric approach to the city with satellites, suburbs and villages. Dogliani P., Gaspari O., (2012). L'urbanesimo e la Svolta del 1926: strategie divergenti al congresso ti Torino. In Tra libera professione e ruolo pubblico. Pratiche e saperi comunali all'origine dell'urbanistica in Italia. Bologna, Clueb. [Available online at: https://storiaurbana.wordpress.com/2013/11/29/lurbanesimo-e-la-svolta-del-1926-strategie-divergenti-al-congresso-di-torino/#_ftn28. Accessed online on: April 26, 2016].

In 1972, the new urban development plan came to substitute the previous one from 1939. The main difference was in a clear limit to the expansion of the city, after the reconstruction of the WWII. However, the legal boundaries made appear what some have defined the *unauthorized city*: "made up of areas of unauthorized construction from the 1970s and 1980s on agricultural lands (no construction permits and violating zoning; illegal but not informal expansion or construction of single-family homes)" (UN HABITAT 2003: 220). The urban paralysis proposed by the new urban plan simply favored the illegal real estate business. Pianura is defined "the best-known case of illegal construction" (UN HABITAT: 2002: 84). The UN HABITAT 2002 Report introduces Pianura as a "neighborhood that sprung up during the 1970s and 1980s, when the five-to seven-story buildings were built without authorization from the city in an area that the zoning plan classified as agricultural. They are illegal in the technical sense of having no building permits and violating the zoning plan; but the land was legally bought by private developers" (UN HABITAT: 2002: 84). The illegal real estate building becomes a crucial defining feature of the neighbourhood quickly destroying and cancelling the agrarian village: "in less than thirty years after the war, high density residential buildings were to constitute the main profile of the neighbourhood, and had replaced the vast agricultural area that extended from the historical rural village of Pianura" (Nanetti and Holguin 2016: 122). From the Second World War up to nowadays, the neighbourhood changed dramatically to become "the emblem of the Camorra[8] business of illegal construction in Naples" (Nanetti and Holguin 2016: 122), with more than 80% of illegal construction and a severe lack of infrastructures and services (Nanetti and Holguin 2016; Comune di Napoli 2012).

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[8] Camorra is the Napoli-based Mafia syndicate. It is also known as "O' Sistema", the System. Camorra is strongly defined by laws of economic gains, currently running international enterprises and infiltrating local administration to seize profit from big-scale development plans. Saviano, R. (2007). *Gomorrah*. Translated by V. Jewiss. New York, NY: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.
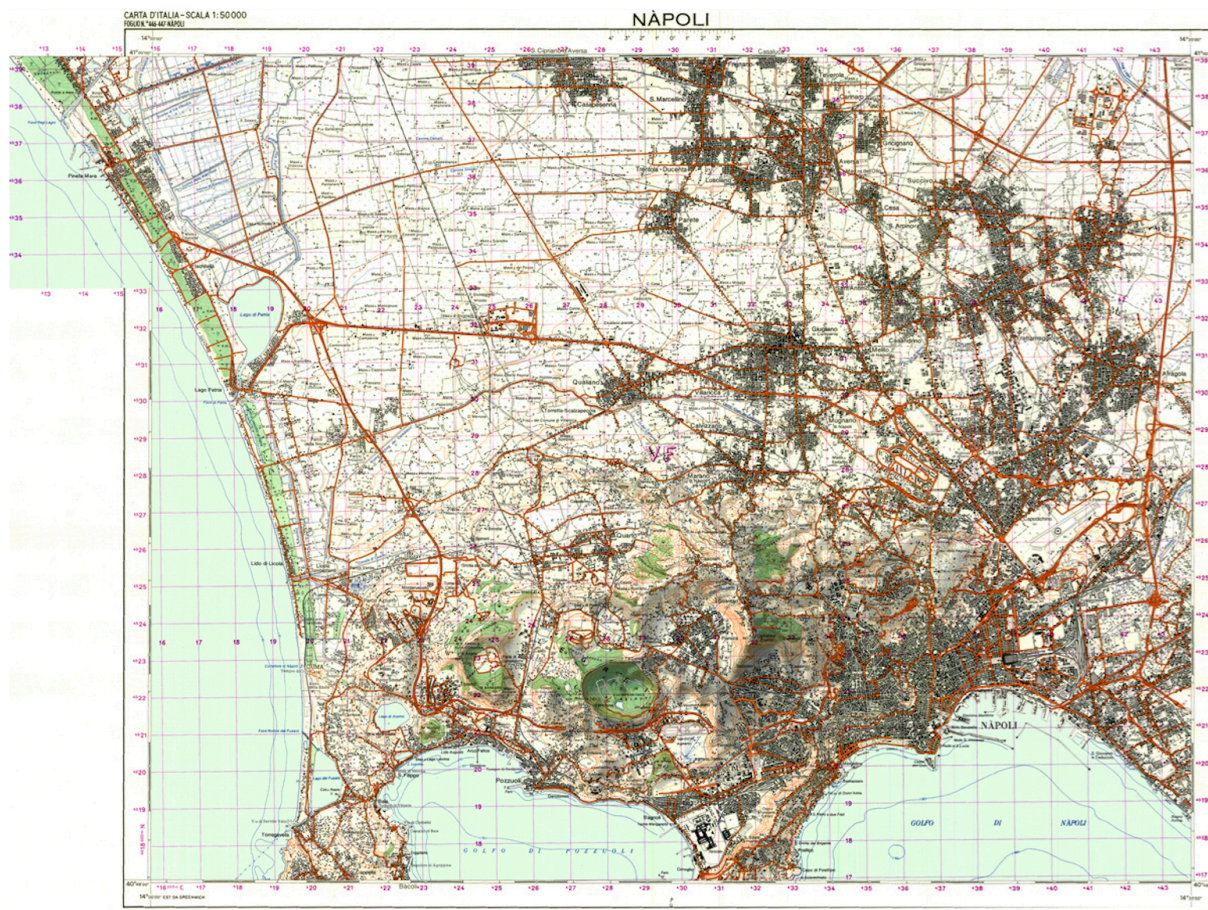
Table 3. Istituto Geografico Militare, Carta d'Italia 1990. [Available online at: http://sit.regione.campania.it/cavitapianura/jpg%20wp/wp2a14z.jpg. Accessed on: 15 April, 2016]

"It was November 23 in 1980 when the earthquake struck two southern Italian regions, Campania and Basilicata, for 90 seconds with a magnitude of 6.9 on the Richter Scale killing 2,753 people, injuring 8,848 and making 400,000 homeless." (Caruso 2013: 230). One of the results of the 1980s earthquake was the forced moving of a vast portion of poor people from the 15th and 16th century buildings in the historical centre of Napoli away to new dormitory communities in peripheral areas of the city (Nanetti and Holguin 2016: 113). The earthquake was so violent that caused around a thousand deaths in Campania. Moreover, "it exacerbated the speculative pressures" (De Biase 2015: 9) that profited from the need of reconstruction and resettling of those left homeless. The hegemony of Camorra clans over the social and economic life of the neighborhood, the migration patterns within the city of Napoli bringing different and disaffected people to live in the area, dramatically erupted in the post-earthquake, that forever changed the composition of Pianura.

Today, the neighborhood of Pianura, together with the neighborhood of Soccavo, constitute the Municipality IX in the administrative division of the city of Napoli. It insists on

a territory of 11.45 square kilometers with a population of 58.362 inhabitants[9] following for the last demographic statistical study of the city of Napoli in 2001 (De Biase 2009). However, the real demographic data goes beyond what is officially registered. Different reports have affirmed the population of Pianura almost doubles the official statistics (De Biase 2009: Lalli 2014; Narcomafie 2005). In the Municipality IX, the majority of people have a lower educational level compared to the rest of the city.[10]

- *Pianura's landfills*

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[9] The census data for the city of Napoli are available online on Comune di Napoli website. [Available online at: http://www.comune.napoli.it/flex/cm/pages/ServeBLOB.php/L/IT/IDPagina/2691. Accessed on April 25, 2016]

[10] Demographics as the latest census publication show that Pianura's inhabitants with middle school degree are 32,94%, compared to Napoli's percentage of 29,21%. [Available online at: http://www.comune.napoli.it/flex/cm/pages/ServeBLOB.php/L/IT/IDPagina/3121. Accessed on April 25, 2016]

On May the 11th 2007, the Italian government passed the decree n.61 with the intention of ending the waste emergency declared in 1994. Prefect Pansa, the at-the-time head of the Committee over the Waste Emergency (hereafter CWE), after almost six years of default and during one of the cyclical peaks of the waste emergency, proposed the reopening of several landfills (Iengo and De Rosa 2015). Among these, the old landfill sited in Pianura, was proposed in breach of the prohibition to open landfills in active seismic areas, as also confirmed by a geologist part of the Assise della città di Napoli e del Mezzogiorno d'Italia[11] in the periodic collective publications "Bollettino dell'Assise".

In the area of interest for the CWE, there were two different landfills. The first one was the historical municipal landfill of the city of Napoli, opened in 1953 and closed in 1984, which was operational with no technical nor engineering supervision until the whole Senga crater was filled (Iengo and De Rosa 2015). The Senga crater used to be part of the wider Phlegrean fields and adjoined the Astroni crater, currently natural regional WWF park[12]. The landfill was operational in a period when there was no legislation on landfill's management in Italy. The first law passed by the Italian government on the matter of waste disposal and landfills management dates back to the decree D.P.R. 915/82[13]. For the first time, the decree defined the

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[11] The Assemblies of the City of Naples were created in the March of 1991 by several Neapolitan intellectuals. The initial goal was to defeat the demolition of a part of the historic centre of Naples until it became UNESCO's World Heritage site in 1995. From then on the Assemblies produced interdisciplinary material and fought against privatization of essential commons such as water. From 2004 the Assemblies have followed, struggles, produced materials and collected data to counter the hegemonic, mainstream discourse and suspensions of democracy on the matter of the waste emergency in Campania.

[12] The "Riserva Naturale dello Stato Astroni" has been constituted with a Ministerial decree: D.M. 442 on the 24th of July 1987 which assigns the management to the World Wildlife Fund (WWF). The caldera was formed as a consequence of an explosion around 4000 years ago. It has a perimeter of 7 km and an average height of 200 meters. The inside of the crater is an area of circa 257 hectares, localized in the Phlegrean fields towards the sea. De Lena G., (2008). Gli Astroni. In In *Pianura 2008. Rifiuto del Degrado Prospettive per il Futuro*. Comitato per la Rinascita dei Pisani. Associazione Lello Mele. Edizioni La Città del Sole.

[13] D.P.R. 915/82 is a decree passed by the Head of State on the matter or waste management, definition of typologies of waste and disposal. It was passed in compliance with the European Economic Community's directive n. 75/442, 76/403 and 78/319 each on the matter of waste disposal. [Available online at: http://www.sicet.it/pages/urbanistica/leggi_urb/DPR_915-82.htm. Accessed on: April 17, 2016].

general principles of: avoiding both the damages to the health, safety and wellbeing of collectivity and individuals and the risks of air, water, soil and underground's pollution. Moreover, the decree defined a classification of waste from urban solid waste to hazardous waste. Hence, several official reports (ARPAC 2008; Ortolani 2008) assume that the bottom and the walls of the landfill were not protected by any measure.

In Table 5, the red colour defines the Senga crater's border, active among 4800 and 3800 years ago. The yellow triangle shape on the left of the picture used to be a quarry; then, it was used as landfill when the facility was privatized under the Di.Fra.Bi company. In that area, the management of the landfill has been perpetuated without any geo-textile at the basis of the landfill site. The yellow square beside the yellow triangle shape is sited at the North-West of the Astroni crater and defines the area that the Committee over the Waste Emergency (CWE) proposed to use as landfill during the waste crisis of 2008. The picture is crucial in visually represent and show the massive impact of the different landfills in the very physical morphology of Pianura. Looking at current maps, the Senga crater is not shown anymore, it was erased from the landscape, subsequently becoming a mountain hill of waste. Thirty years of waste dumping erased the crated from the landscape. From the closing of the landfill the area went through different managements and uses, and it currently hosts a horse racing-track, private houses and warehouses.

The second landfill, the Di.Fra.Bi S.A.S. privately owned by two local families (Di Francia and La Marca) was planned to host an urban solid waste facility. The area of the private landfill was adjoining the old municipal landfill and the Astroni crater and used to be an old piperno quarry (Iengo and de Rosa 2015). From 1989 up until 1993, Di.Fra.Bi was legally authorized to dispose of toxic and hazardous waste up to the 23% of the total amount of the waste disposed in the landfill; toxic sludge and medical/hospital waste in the percentage of 5-10% of the total waste (Musella and Manzo 2012), and the production waste from the Azienda Coloranti Nazionali e Affini (ACNA)[14] of Cengio in Bormida valley that produced coloring substances and 374 lethal chemical compounds in 120 years of industrial activity (Iovino 2016). Investigations have revealed the unlawful disposal of toxic pollutants from the Cengio factory and other factories from the North of Italy were illicitly discarded in Pianura's landfill. The

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[14] The Acna of Cengio is widely famous in Italy as one very polluting industry. The name evokes an imaginary of massive environmental damage and risk. Among the industrial compound the factory produced there are: explosive material and chemical weapons used by Mussolini's facist troops in colonial wars with Libya, Abyssinia and Eritrea. Moreover, it manifactured nitric acid, and when it was acquired by Montedison 1996 (a corporation controlling Porto Marghera's Petrolchimico), the production included betaoxynaphtoic (BON) acid, potassium salt and phthalocyanines. (Iovino 2016).

criminal partnership between industrialists and Ecomafia[15] clans found its way to dodge legal restraints to toxic waste disposal (Armiero and D'Alisa 2012; Europol 2013; Iovino 2016; Legambiente 2009; Pegolizzi 2012; Scalia 2000).

Cratere Senga trasformato in discarica senza protezioni

Versante nord degli Astroni, prima cava e poi discarica

Area intercraterica tra Senga e Astroni, prima cava e poi discarica DIFRABI non protetta sulla quale è stata sovrapposta la discarica protetta

SENGA

CIGLIANO

ASTRONI

Versante nordoccidentale degli Astroni, prima cava e ora proposta per discarica

Table 5. Aerial picture of the landfills' area before they were opened. The picture is part of the investigation files for the trial on culpable epidemics and environmental disaster that public prosecutor Buda was following after the citizens of Pianura signed a petition in 2008 for the seizing of the landfill, based on the health and environmental concerns of reopening the facility. Photo courtesy of: Napoli Courthouse, Environmental Investigation on Difrabi Landfill in Pianura, Napoli, 2008.

In 1996 the landfill was closed after a deliberation by Antonio Bassolino, the at the time mayor of Napoli. Taking into consideration that area where the landfills insisted was a hollow, it was estimated that during the 41 years of activity, around 35 and 41 million cubic meters of different kinds of waste were dumped in the facility (Crescenti 2009). Under the "Socio-economic development and environmental rehabilitation for the neighborhood of Pianura progamme"[16] financed by the European Union, the same area was chosen to become a 18 holes

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[15] The very word "Ecomafia" has been coined by Legambiente to define the business activities "apply disruptive use of environmental resources and in which organized mafia-like crime has a prominent role" (D'Alisa et al. 2015: 10).

[16] Programma di sviluppo socio-economico e riqualificazione ambientale del quartiere di Pianura was approved the European Commission on December 18, 1996. The provision was to incorporate the concept of social capital as the driving force of the

golf course. The 10 years programme aimed at reinforcing the social capital of the neighborhood through the "capacity of citizens to locally associate, in order to create and maintain public goods" (European Commission, 1997: 9). The public goods to be put into place were defined as a "broad range of facilities and services, inclusive of sport facilities, public transit, health facilities and social services, protection of environmental areas and work sites for employment opportunities" (Nanetti and Holguin 2016: 130). Nevertheless, in 2004 there was the attempt at reopening the waste facility twice. In the spring of 2004, the prefect Catenacci, at the time waste commissioner, proposed the reopening of the facility as a transfer station where waste would be temporarily transferred from collection trucks to larger vehicles for long distance travel to final disposal sites. Even if the local community of Pianura fiercely struggled to prevent the plan from being implemented, the CWE decided to open, with the help of a massive violent action of police to sedate the protest[17]. Police forces arrived from all over Campania and also Rome and Apulia and the repression of the dissent was extremely violent. Teargases and police charges were documented against women, the elderly and youth and many were wounded (Zaccaria 2008).

Moreover, in the fall of 2004 the central government of Napoli declared that the Pianura's waste facility would be used to dispose stabilized quarry aggregates as part of the cleanup up the Italsider steel industry owned by the Northern Italian company Ilva[18], sited in Bagnoli and Coroglio neighborhoods of Napoli. Again, the population of Pianura found itself fighting against an unwanted disposition of what to do with the territory.[19] Last but not least, in December 2007 the CWE proposed the same area of Pianura to receive the waste piling up in the streets of Napoli, during one of the peaks of the waste emergency. Such proposal

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programme. The plan was to invest circa 50 million euros, the largest commitment ever made by an Italian Municipality for a neighborhood programme (Nanetti and Holguin 2016).

[17] http://ricerca.repubblica.it/repubblica/archivio/repubblica/2004/05/18/proteste-blocchi-stradali.na_027proteste.html

[18] In early 1900, the Northern Italian company Ilva established a great integrated production plant in the area of Bagnoli and Coroglio Bagnoli, on the Western side of Naples, at the feet of Posillipo Hill, represents the outpost for the Campi Flegrei (Phlegraean Fileds); for a long time Bagnoli has been synonymous with industry (Laforesta 2006).
"Bagnoli industrial history starts in 1910, when the Ilva factory is opened. It employed about 2000 workers, doubled in 1918. In the World War II its machinery was completely destroyed by German bombs but the factory was rebuilt thanks to its workers' great efforts. In 1961 owing to the merger with the Cornigliano factory, the Ilva took the name of Italsider. These are the years of the great expansion of the plant which occupied most of the housing sites of Naples western suburbs. Furthermore, 20 hectares of sea were filled with hard materials creating the so-called "colmata". In the Seventies, the industry enlarged occupying 220 hectares of land and employing up to 9000 workers. In these years the iron and steel industry in Bagnoli was more and more regarded as an environmental problem." (Selvaggio 2015: 43-44).

[19] http://ricerca.repubblica.it/repubblica/archivio/repubblica/2004/07/21/pianura-tutti-rifiuti-della-bonifica-di.html

unleashed a powerful response of the citizens, that opposed to the diktats of the CWE. The multi-faced and different forms of activism that Pianura's movement has developed have included pickets, barricades, messes on the landfill site, rallies urban riot, technical scientific reports on the incompatibility of the waste dumping with the morphology of the area, and not the least legal measures (Crescenti 2009). Indeed, the inhabitants signed a petition that led to the seizing of the landfill and the impound by a public prosecutor with charges of environmental disaster[20] and culpable epidemic[21] crimes, both hypothesis suggested by the activists. In gathering evidence to support the criminal investigation, local activists with the help of a lawyer, that thereafter followed the case as plaintiff's attorney, decided to collect medical records from the inhabitants living at the borders of the landfill, who had been diagnosed with cancer or other rare pathologies. Between seventy and one hundred medical files were collected and offered to dr. Stefania Buda, the prosecutor in charge of the investigation. However, dr. Buda had to dismiss culpable epidemics' line of investigation due to the impossibility of proving a causal link between health issues and the presence of the landfill with its 35-42 million cubic meters of all sorts of waste – of which circa 23% has been assessed to be toxic - (Crescenti 2009), not the least since there is no official cancer registry record in Campania.

In 2008, the Regional Agency for Environmental Protection in Campania (ARPAC) filed a report on the National Interest Site (SIN)[22] of Pianura under request of the Environmental Ministry. The aim of the report is to provide a characterization of a polluted

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[20] Following Italian environmental protection and eco-crimes law: the offense of environmental disaster, is considered in the case of: an irreversible alteration to the equilibrium of an ecosystem; an alteration to the equilibrium of an ecosystem whose elimination is particularly costly and achievable only with exceptional measures; the offense of injury to public safety determined with reference to the relevance of the extent of the compromise to the environment or its harmful effects, to the number of persons both injured and exposed to danger. Goisis F., Mancuso E.M., Cigno M., (2015) Environmental protection and new eco-crime in Italy. Baker & McKenzie. [Available online at: http://www.lexology.com/library/detail.aspx?g=e029c975-67dd-4037-b47a-635902043770. Accessed on: April 26, 2016].

[21] Following Italian criminal law, the constitutive elements of the culpable epidemics crime, in material sense are: diffusibility and uncontrollableness of the spreading of some ailment in a specific territory and over an indeterminate and undefinable number of inividuals.

Lattanzi G., (2015). Codice Penale Annotato con la Giurisprudenza. IV Edizione. Giuffrè Editore.

[22] SIN stands for Site of National Interest, which defines a geographical area where land remediation must be implemented due to the environmental damage caused by previous management and use. On the contrary, SIR stands for site of Regional

   Interest and is a declassification to the regional level of competence.

[Available online at: http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:CFxvZfx-

qAgJ:www.infoparlamento.eu/index.php%3Foption%3Dcom_mtree%26task%3Datt_download%26link_id%3D3589%26cf_

id%3D444+&cd=1&hl=it&ct=clnk&gl=se. Accessed on: April 25, 2016].

area that requires land remediation after a profoundly environmentally damaging management of a territory. However, the prosecution was declined in 2014 with the discharge of the accused and Pianura has been declassified to Site of Regional Interest (SIR), with a consequential interruption of soil probing and air and soil samples collection for the land remediation.

Table 6. the perimeter of Pianura's Site of Regional Interest (SIN) including the old municipal landfill, the Di.Fra.Bi landfill and other illegal dumpsites around the area. The round-shaped Northern section is the old Senga crater, visibly inexistent nowadays and replaced by a green hill with a horse track on it. The bottom section of the SIN defines the Di.Fra.Bi landfill that neighbors the WWF regional natural park of the Astroni crater.

[Photo Available online at: http://www.comune.napoli.it/flex/cm/pages/ServeBLOB.php/L/IT/IDPagina/7000. Accessed on: April 18, 2016]

3.2 A peculiar emergency: 20 years of Committee for Waste Emergency and the illegal trafficking of toxic waste

To better understand Pianura's story, a fictional flashback is introduced in the narration process. The wider regional and national context of the Campania's waste emergency and the illegal trafficking of hazardous waste will be briefly introduced, with no intention of being exhaustive, but to give enough material for the reader to picture a story that is not happening in a vacuum. "There are two inter-related processes at work in the story of Campania's twenty years long

waste crisis" (Iengo and Armiero, forthcoming 2016). On one hand, "the continuous illegal dumping of industrial and hazardous waste both in pre-existing landfills and in agricultural lands perpetrated by a criminal partnership of industrialists, Camorra and authorities" (Iengo and Armiero 2016 forthcoming) transforming Campania in the "cheap trashcan of the rich industries of the North" (Armiero and D'Alisa 2012: 57) and which has been hidden and silenced from the public debate for decades (Iacuelli 2007; Petrillo 2009). On the other hand, there is "the proclamation by the Italian government in 1994 of the "state of emergency" which shifted the legal power from the local administration to the ad hoc agency 'Commissariato di Governo per l'emergenza Rifiuti' (Committee for the waste emergency in Campania, hereafter CWE)" (Iengo and Armiero, forthcoming 2016). Both will be explained in relation to each other and in order to provide the narrative landscape where Pianura's story is positioned.

The starting date of the emergency can be set in 1989 with the Villaricca meeting "when Italian politicians of the Liberal Party, members of the Freemasonry, and heads of the Casalesi Camorra clan met in Villaricca, in the province of Caserta" (Greyl et al. 2013: 257). The meeting had on the agenda the very hot topic of defining the different roles in and compensation for waste management. "The Freemasonry was in contact with northern Italian industrialists interested in getting rid of hazardous waste at below-market rates, and the Camorrist clan offered to provide these services through its own transport company, authorized by the Regional Councilor of Ecology from the Liberal party, Raffaele Perrone Capano" (Greyl et al. 2013: 257).

Different strategies were and still are used to illegally dispose of hazardous and toxic waste such as: dumping the hazardous waste in suburban areas and agricultural lands; dumping hazardous waste by hiding it in illegal or old quarries and public infrastructures construction sites; burning toxic waste in the suburban areas and along low-traffic roads; selling of false fertilizers and composts containing toxic waste substances; mixing hazardous waste with urban solid waste for the disposal in both legal landfills and incinerators (Barbieri and Paglionica 2007; D'Alisa et al. 2015; Fontana et al. 2008; Iacuelli, 2008; Scalia 2000;)

From early 1990s the "existing link between the waste-related environmental crime and the role of organized crime, which acts as an actor of an opaque web of entrepreneurs and bureaucrats who have been able to secure cheap dumping strategies for hazardous waste" (D'Alisa et al. 2015: 9) has come to be debated and discussed. According to the Italian Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry on Waste Cycle and the Connected Illicit Activities, every year around 30% of national hazardous waste is illegally disposed of (Scalia 2000).

"Considering that Campania businesses produce only a small amount of the national special waste […] most of the waste illegally disposed in Italy is produced by enterprises located in other regions of Italy" (D'Alisa et al. 2015: 8). The illegal trafficking is "intrinsically linked to legal economy and benefits from a drive to reduce costs during the economic crisis" (Europol 2013: 3). Campania has been the testing ground of a massively profitable operation that involved illegal trafficking and disposal of waste perpetrated by a criminal partnership of industrialists, authorities and ecomafia in the last 20 years (Legambiente 2004; 2008; 2012). From the early 1990s, only in the Campania region, there have been 73 investigations over illegal trafficking of waste and criminal holdings of those trafficking and profiting from the business (Legambiente 2013). From before, and also throughout the waste emergency years the Italian Freemasonry, corporations and Camorra have profited from the illegal trafficking and dumping of toxic and industrial waste in Campania (Fontana et al. 2008; Iacuelli 2007).

On the other hand, it was February the 11th 1994, when the Italian Government declared a regional waste emergency and handed the full powers over the waste management cycle to an *ad hoc* agency: the Committee for the Waste Emergency in Campania (Commissariato di Governo per l'Emergenza Rifiuti in Campania, hereafter CWE). In Italy, the Council of Ministers can declare a state of emergency in accordance with the art. 2 of 225/1992 law, specifying that Civil Protection intervention occurs "when: natural disasters and catastrophes or any other events that, due to their intensity and extent, need extraordinary means and power. There are cases when the full powers are not delegated to the Head of the Civil Protection Department, but to a special commissioner" (D'Alisa et al. 2015: 8). With the state of emergency, the Commissioner was guaranteed power to bypass standard laws and procedures in the name of the urgent need to deal with the lack of a waste management plan and the reducing availability of landfill capacity in the Campania region (D'Alisa et al. 2010; D'Alisa and Armiero 2012; D'Alisa et al. 2015). From its inception, the CWE "reduced the space of democratic confrontation and participation towards a technocratic regime, where decisions were to be taken rapidly in the name of the emergency" (Iengo and Armiero forthcoming 2016: 2).

In 1998, FIBE a consortium of Italian and German companies, won the public tender for the construction and management of waste treatment plants in Campania (Rabitti 2008), including projects for two incinerators and seven plants for the transformation of waste into refused derived fuel (RDF), which had to be turned into combustible waste blocks popular in Italy under the name of "ecoballe" (D'Alisa et al. 2010). The tender awarded the FIBE project

based on the lowest cost of implementation and the promises to have the facilities running on the shortest time frame possible (Armiero and D'Alisa 2012). Moreover, while the tender was still open, the general manager of the Association of Italian Banks (ABI) proposed the inclusion of the "deliver or pay" provision, which, forcing each municipality to send a guaranteed minimum amount of garbage for the incinerators or pay a penalty, discouraged the recycling (D'Alisa et al. 2010). After winning the tender, FIBE was allowed to decide the location of the future facilities, without any local consultation or Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) as required by law. Therefore, the regional government and FIBE Corporation together, decided to build a massive incinerator in Acerra, gigantic dumps and waste collection and packing sites. The waste, supposed to be collected in blocks while the incinerators were under construction, would have to be stored in areas close by, hence the storage of enormous amounts of ecoballe began (D'Alisa et al. 2010) in some areas proposed by the CWE while in others the local communities heavily countered the proposal of opening such facilities. Pianura, Chiaiano, Giugliano and Terzigno, Serre among others were the areas proposed for the waste facilities; interestingly enough those were also areas that were already heavily contaminated by illegal dumping and burning of toxic materials, such as dioxin and asbestos (Armiero 2008). FIBE participated to the tender without having any knowledge in the production of RDF "with inadequate projects and knowing very well that they could not comply with the commitment required" (Rabitti 2008: 48). Every report given on the quality of waste compressed in the ecoballe, is paradoxical. If the incinerator would start functioning, the waste stored and waiting to be burned could not be used: "Judicial sequestrations have shown that infrastructures were not able to separate the various types of waste and the RDF produced was practically impossible to burn[23]. In these ecoballs, percentages of arsenic over the legal limits were found" (Greyl et al. 2010: 7).

In 2004, the article titled "The triangle of death" appeared in the Lancet Oncology (Senior and Mazza 2004). The authors gave such powerful and disrupting name to an area that formed a triangle between the towns of Acerra, Nola and Marigliano in the province of Napoli where, in the period between 1994 and 2000, a significant rise of cancer rates was documented. In the study they forwarded the hypothesis of a correlation between the contamination of the main environmental matrixes and health problems and demanded for further investigation on

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[23] "They contained too high a percentage of both arsenic and humidity, and entire objects have been found in them, for instance, a wheel with rim and tire, which proves the absence of any kind of screening". In Parliamentary Committee on the waste cycle, XXIII/12. 32.

the links between health issues and the presence of illegal hazardous waste disposal (Iengo and Armiero forthcoming 2016). Moreover, a research published by the World Health Organization, the Campania Region and the Italian Research Council, showed that in Campania, specifically around the metropolitan area of Napoli, there is a 400% increase of certain pathologies that can be related to toxic contamination, such as bronchitis and asthma; moreover, the region's mortality rate due to liver cancer is 38.4%, compared to 14% on the national scale (Brandolini 2007). The local communities living in areas proposed by the CWE to become the repositories of the waste laying in the streets of Napoli started doubting and questioning both the quality of waste destined to the burning in the incinerator, the kind of emissions that would be produced and the processes of decision making over the territories.

3.3 The seasons of activism

> *"Clearly, locating the most dangerous activities in the ʹworstʹ places, that is, poorer, racialized, or already polluted areas, should have seemed the easiest solution; as it has always been. However, the struggles over incinerators and dumps in Acerra, Giugliano and Serre [...] demonstrate the folly of assuming that these communities are too poor, too ignorant, or too polluted to react."* (Armiero 2008: 65)

As a response to the CWE diktats, undemocratic decision making processes and the growing civil unrest and worrying for the environmental and health impacts of the waste mismanagement, local communities started mobilizing and build committees and associations. The local communities started struggling on each and single proposal of the CWE to open specific waste management facilities. Those resisting communities were not homogeneous at all: they were agrarian communities on the Apennines like in Serre, Sant'Arcangelo Trimonte, Savignano Irpino, inhabitants of the massive metropolitan area starting in Napoli and ending hundreds of km South, however living on the edge of the Mount Vesuvius national park like those in Terzigno, dwellers from the ugly and poor Northern periphery of Napoli, like the

Pianura or Chiaiano neighborhoods, as much as those living in the suburban once fertile plains of Campania Felix, however compromised by decades of industrial and illegal waste disposal pollution such as in Giugliano in Campania, Santa Maria La Fossa and Acerra.

In 2004, local citizens and youth from the Neapolitan scene of the Centri Sociali[24] started a picket outside the construction site of the incinerator in Acerra and on August the 17th there was the first clash between activists and police that ended in the clearing of the area by the police. However, only 2 weeks after, on August the 29th the first big and widely participated rally was organized in Acerra. Local dwellers, women, students and different local and Neapolitan social movements, members of the local Communist Party gathered together to ask for the dismissal of the incinerator construction plan. The rally ended with the police violently repressing the protest with teargases and batons (D'Alisa et al. 2010).

The violent repression of the police has not been a factor undermining the social movements arising in Campania. On the contrary, diverse and multiple networks and alliances were constructed through the years of the waste emergency (D'Alisa et al. 2010). The grassroots movements were animated and shaped by intellectuals, local dwellers, activists and students from the Centri Sociali (Armiero 2008). Different individual, with different political backgrounds – if any in some cases – with differential educational levels and understanding of the conflict. They all coexisted in a *bricolage* of practices, actions, experiences, narratives and mobilization. The forms of activism and the *repertoire* of collective action (Tilly 2001) that such melting pot of groups adopted were many and differentiated. In some cases, activists constructed barricades and heavily clashed with police forces, in other cases filing petitions directed to the European Union institutions, collecting the street science (Corburn 2005) produced by experts, lay people and collectives (Armiero 2014).

In 2008, after the protests and when the facility of Pianura becomes a no-go zone for the unprecedented protests and resistance, the CWE finds itself unable to force any decision over the territories, the waste piles up in the streets of Napoli and the whole region is under social unrest, the Italian Central Government issues the Decree 90/2008 (converted in Law 123/2008), "which imposed ten landfills and four incinerators in Campania and established that any demonstrations in the vicinity of a waste facility would be judged as a penal felony,

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[24] Centri Sociali or occupied Social Centres were born from the Autonomia and squatting movements around the 1980s and 1990s in Italy. They are centres of where an anti.hegemonic culture and critical discussion and practice towards representative democracy is played out. Wright S., (2007). 'A Window onto Italy's Social Centres [Articles and Interview]', *Affinities: A Journal of Radical Theory, Culture and Action*, 1. 12-20. [Available online at: http://ojs.library.queensu.ca/index.php/affinities/article/view/6165/5868. Accessed on: May 2, 2016].

weakening for some years the waste grassroots movements in the region" (D'Alisa et al. 2015: 14). As a consequence, all protests against incinerators, landfills or any other place related to waste management in Campania, became a penal felony (D'Alisa et al. 2010). The exacerbation of the legal measures against protests, conflating into the militarization of all waste facilities in the region and the criminalization of any act of protest, allowed the CWE to play an even stronger fist against any dissent. From then on, whatever the CWE decided, it would become physically and practically impossible to contest.

In this very period, the CWE, after its defeat in Pianura and thanks to the decree 90, proposed Chiaiano, a peripheral neighbourhood north of the city of Napoli, as the new site for the opening of the landfill. "Chiaiano, with its famous woods, is one of the last remaining green lungs of the city. Historically, it has been an excavation site for construction materials" (Iengo 2015). The landscape is scattered and defined by the massive quarries. "Cava del Poligono"[25] abandoned quarry was chosen in 2008, by the Commissioner for the waste emergency, as site of waste disposal and even if grassroots organizations, activists and the community at large, have fought against this project, the struggle did not yet managed to prevent the opening of the facility and therefore the disposal of waste.

However, the very exacerbation of measures against the grassroots movements and protests brought about the strengthening of the different local movements and identities at the regional scale, with a major support from the specific movement of Chiaiano. Hence, networks among the local committees increased from 2008 when the intensity of the waste emergency and conflict between the CWE and the grassroots movements was extremely strong (D'Alisa et al. 2015). It was the 21st June 2008 when the "rally of the 1000 yeses"[26] walked from Acerra to Naples under the slogan of "Environment, Justice and Democracy". The demonstration wanted "to draw attention to civil society demands for inclusion in consultations for the management of their territory. It also helped unify all of the committees and associations struggling for civil society participation and more sustainable plans for waste management" (Greyl et al. 2010: 18).

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[25] Cava del Poligono quarry insists "in the Selva di Chiaiano, which falls within the Metropolitan Park of the Hills of Naples. The park, established in 2003 on an area of 2215 hectares, is the largest environmental protected reserve within the city and it is aimed at the enhancement of local historical heritage and peri-urban agriculture revaluation" (De Rosa 2015)

[26] The name *rally of the 1000 yeses* wanted to stress on the proactive character of the Campania's grassroots movements, which proposed alternatives and not simply said no. The yeses were to: urban solid waste recycling; land remediation for contaminated sites; equal rights for all citizens in the face of special legislation. More can be read in Italian on the website: http://www.rifiuticampania.org/rifiuticampania/articles/art_944.html.

For much part of the waste emergency, the mainstream public discussion and debate focused on urban solid waste collection, management and disposal. The illegal disposal of toxic waste has been ignored in the mainstream narrative of the crisis. However, activists from all over Campania have tried to raise awareness on the health danger of illegal toxic waste disposal (Capone, Cuccurullo, and Micillo 2006; Iengo and Armiero forthcoming 2016). Activists, experts and local communities have pointed out the problem of the illegal trafficking of hazardous waste and the connections between the disposal practices and public health.

On November the 16th 2013, hundreds of thousands of people rallied together in the streets of central Napoli during one of the most impressive demonstrations organized by the grassroots network emerged in the whole region throughout the waste emergency decades. "Under the common banners of *Fiume in piena* - raging river - and *Stop Biocidio* - end the biocide- , the committees and associations from the provinces of Naples and Caserta, together with delegations from other environmental conflicts happening in Italy" (De Rosa, November 7th, 2013), converged in the city centre's streets to express, shout and demand accountability of local and national institutions, industrialists and Camorra for the threat to the population's "right to life, to health and to a safe environment". The purpose of the rally was to bring attention to the 20 years long waste-related socio-economic-environmental devastation in Campania (De Rosa, November 7th, 2013). The coalition of organizations has two basic demands: more State repression of the illegal trafficking of toxic waste and more grassroots participation in all the phases of waste management and land remediation projects in the region (De Rosa, November 7th, 2013).

After many years of local and regional demonstrations in Campania, the "raging river" was bringing together activists from different municipalities into one single struggle around the health-environment commons. The concept of "biocide" is currently used by the grassroots collectives, social movements and groups of activists to describe the history of the last twenty years in Campania. Biocide expresses the intentional harming, polluting and murdering of social, human, animal and economic life in the territories violently destroyed by the waste mismanagement; it "articulates the relationships between political-economic processes and their complex interaction with ecosystems and bodies: it catches this phenomenon dialectically by connecting the "killing of life" to strategies of profit making. The term illustrates the interdependent features of cost shifting and life-killing as a deliberate project to which Campania has been sacrificed by networks of powers" (De Rosa 2014: 15).

4. An interdisciplinary toolbox of concepts a.k.a. basic building blocks of theory

The theoretical framework for an action research project should develop over the whole research enterprise (Berg and Lune, 2012). It is not a matter of linear progression; it is not about proving or dismantling a hypothesis. At first, Urban Political Ecology and Environmental Justice were the main theoretical groundings of this project. However, in a spiraling approach to the research stages, the researcher must reexamine the theoretical assumptions and refines the conceptual framework in a nonlinear progression of project development. Following the methodology of grounded theory (Bryant and Charmaz 2007) I wanted to encompass both *theory-before-research* (Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias 2007; Popper 1968) and *research-before-theory* (Merton 1968) approaches for this dissertation project, towards a spiral process: "you begin with an idea, gather theoretical information, reconsider and refine your idea, begin to examine possible designs, reexamine theoretical assumptions, and refine these theoretical assumptions and perhaps even tour original or refined idea" (Berg and Lune 2012: 25). Hence, the theoretical framework of this research project has evolved through each stage of the research project. The final and more substantive adjustment and reexamination of the theoretical framework has been developed as a consequence of the analysis section. What arose from the data I first gathered, them systematized and finally coded and analyzed needed to be reflected in the discussion, where findings are unfolded in the light of theoretical tools. In this research project, the use of theory was not conceived as solid and unquestionable testing ground of hypothesis, but more as explanation of phenomena and narrative groundings of oral histories. Therefore, I have operationalized the theory into an "interdisciplinary toolbox of concepts" or "basic building blocks of theory" (Turner 1989) where concepts are symbolic and abstract terms representing and communicating ideas and perspectives (Berg and Lune 2012). The idea is to combine different theories with concepts and approaches that will help to frame and understand the complex story that is addressed. The operationalization of the following concepts served both as theoretical grounding for the research project and as conceptual bridge between the theory and the discussion section. Different tools and building blocks are used in order to unwrap and uncover the tales from Pianura.

4.1 Urban political ecology and urban metabolism

The widening of Political Ecology field of inquiry and research brought to the emerging of the Urban Political Ecology school (Cronor 1991; Davis 2002; Gandy 2003; Swyngedouw 2004;

Desfor and Keil 2004; Kaika 2005; Heynen et al., 2006a), critically investigating over political, economic and environmental processes and the production of inequalities in urban contexts (Heynen et al., 2006b).

Urban political ecology research focuses on the complex and dialectic relation between nature and social changes, which is unique to urban metabolism and environments. This relation occurs: "in the realms of power in which social actors strive to defend and create their own environments in a context of class, ethnic, racialized and/or gender conflicts and power struggles" (Swyngedouw 2003:900). Moreover, urban political ecology tries to entangle the "interconnected economic, political, social and ecological processes that together got to form highly uneven and deeply unjust urban landscapes" (Swyngedouw 2003:898). Urban political ecology (hereafter UPE) aims to expose the *faux-pas* of the ontological divide between nature and society, arguing that nature and society are "intricately tangled in mutually constituted socio-natural assemblages" (Cook & Swyngedouw 2012: 1966) illustrating that cities are not "places where nature stops" (Hinchcliffe 1999: 138). Hence, cities are conceptualized as metabolic vehicles made of socio-ecological flows (Cook & Swyngedouw 2012). Both capitalism and urbanization are interpreted and analyzed by urban political ecologists as hybrid processes that produce socio-natural cyborgs through the assemblage of social and biophysical elements (Haraway 1991; Latour 1993; Swyngedouw 2006). Moreover, UPE is critical of Malthusian approaches which define overpopulation and the poor as the drivers of environmental degradation. On the contrary, it argues that it is "socio-ecological relations that shape capitalist market societies [and] are responsible for the environmental condition the world is in" (Cook and Swyngedouw 2012: 1966). It is the very nature of capitalism to continuously produce surplus value, and in order to do so it must commodify and transform bio-physical resources at a speed and rate that degrade the aforementioned resources, which are, in turn, vital to the reproduction of capitalism (Cook and Swyngedouw 2012).

The concept of metabolism is of pivotal importance to UPE whereby biophysical matter - i.e. waste, carbon, piperno and lemons - are transformed into "useable, ownable and tradable commodities" (Coe et al. 2007: 161) through the continuous exploitation of human labour (Swyngedouw 2006). Such definition derives from the conceptualization made by Marx (1867) lifting the concept of metabolism from the hard sciences discourse to describe the process through which socio-natural landscapes are transformed by labour and capital. Metabolism for Marx does not only say something about the interaction between nature and society; rather it unfolds how the interplay among nature and society is graspable only if mediated through labour (Heynen et al., 2006a). "While nature provides the foundation, the dynamics of social

relations produce nature's and society's history" (Heynen et al., 2006a: 8). Current UPE research is focusing on the uneven spatial distributions, patterns and processes that environmental injustices take under the forces of urban capitalism (Heynen et al., 2006a). Following Swyngedouw (2006b): "cities are constituted through dense networks of interwoven socio-ecological processes that are simultaneously human, physical, discursive, cultural, material, and organic. Circulatory conduits of water, foodstuffs, cars, fumes, money, labour, etc., move in and out of the city, transform the city, and produce the urban as a continuously changing socio-ecological landscape" (2006b: 20).

Moreover, UPE research aims to entangle the bundle of connections between power, urbanization and scale and uses them to frame and understand environmental injustices. Uneven power relations are vital to the metabolism of urban environments meaning that those in power have the control over the access to resources and can decide upon their utilization (Cook & Swyngedouw 2012). Urbanization is produced through context-specific processes of exploitation and injustices which produce and reproduce the metabolism of the city under the forces of capitalism. These processes can be intersecting and co-existing such as suburbanization, creation of social dumps and gentrification. Last but not least scale plays a crucial role. Scalar processes happen in a double fashion: from the local to the national and global, such as when activists and movements use lobbying strategies and networks to advance their struggles; and from the global and national to the local as when international or regional market forces and institutions actively shape urban environmental injustices (Cook & Swyngedouw 2012). The case of national or regional waste management resolutions impacting a specific community precisely fits in the above mentioned scalar process.

The State is crucial in the playing out of environmental injustices such as the definition of who gets exploited, privileged, ignored and marginalized. Moreover, it can exasperate, reduce, prevent or create socio-environmental injustices (Cook & Swyngedouw 2012). Institutional actors and decision-makers have the power to decide upon the utilization of resources, on the placing of polluting facilities and on major development plans as much as on environmental regulations. In turn, such power can be exercised in highly discriminatory ways towards specific social groups or communities. The environmental injustices can be played out by the institutional actors to the degree of using emergency measures ending up in the erosion of the democratic decision-making processes (D'Alisa et al., 2010).

4.2 Structural, slow and environmental violence

Injustices can be more or less visible, accountable and recognizable. Environmental injustices investigation is about uncovering stories of violence. The challenge which many activists and writers confront themselves with, is bound to the difficulty of addressing and making visible the environmental violence that occurs in the "normalized quiet of unseen power" (Said 2001: 10). From a storytelling point of view, a central aim of the struggle is to uncover these stories that were formless and obscure threats. Violence is a crucial variable in histories of injustice and can be conceptualized in many different ways.

Structural violence has been used by Johan Galtung (1969) to define a kind of violence that occurs when specific classes or groups in society have the power to decide upon and access to resources, opportunities and goods at the disadvantage of other groups and classes that are excluded, and therefore this uneven relation is built and nurtured through the economic, political, social systems. Moreover, since structural violence is embedded in socio-economic and political systems (Galtung 1969) and in socio-ecological processes (Heynen et al., 2006a) it is difficult to see, detect, understand and address it. Galtung (1969) also uses the word *social injustice* to refer to the condition of structural violence. Following Galtung (1969) "structural violence is silent, it does not show" (1969: 173). From a Marxist perspective, in a capitalist society resources and assets are monopolized by a group or a class or are unevenly distributed (Galtung 1969). However, when it is not easy to detect a subject-action-object relation, the violence is structural, which means it is not easily captured and expressed.

The difficulty to grasp the violence at play is deeply and critically discussed by Rob Nixon in his book "Slow Violence and the Environmentalism of the Poor" (2011). Rob Nixon investigates over a kind of violence that "occurs gradually and out of sight, a violence of delayed destruction that is dispersed across time and space, an attritional violence that is typically not viewed as violence at all. Violence is customarily conceived as an event or action that is immediate in time, explosive and spectacular in space, and as erupting into instant sensational visibility" (Nixon 2011: 2). However, he is concerned with widening the definition of what constitutes violence, through engaging in making visible and discuss about "a different kind of violence, a violence that is neither spectacular nor instantaneous, but rather incremental and accretive" (Nixon 2011: 2), whose repercussions play out across a range of temporal scales (Nixon 2011). In doing so, it is crucial to demonstrate "the representational, narrative, and strategic challenges posed by the relative invisibility of slow violence" (Nixon 2011: 2). Hence, there is a challenge for combative writers who want to see slow violence, address it and

understand where it takes place. Typically, violence is perceived as something occurring in a specific limited time, whereas slow violence is an emergency that occurs over the *longue durée*. From an activist point of view, a strategic challenge is posed on the issue of how to animate these long sprawling events that are spectacle deficient in an era that we are addicted to spectacle. For Nixon (2011), the goal for politically engaged writers is twofold. It lays in the ability of seeing slow violence, addressing it and understand where it takes place. Moreover, it is strongly bound to how to maintain, enhance and instigate movements for environmental justice in the long protracted term, when the momentum fades away. Therefore, it is crucial to engage in finding modes and means of representing these stories and images in such a way they can have an emotionally charged effect which lasts beyond the instantaneous spectacular time frame of TVs and medias, and produces an effective counter narrative embedded into practices of resistance.

The concept of environmental violence combines and brings together both the embedded socio-economic and political processes that constitute structural violence (Galtung 1969) and the silent, temporally expanded feature of a slow violence (Nixon 2011) building up into people and eco-systems bodies. Stefania Barca (2014) argues that "environmental degradation and social inequality have common historical roots, lying with the sphere of corporate and/or State 'development' policies, premised on the production of sacrifice zones and disposable bodies" (Barca 2014: 1). Environmental violence can take different forms such as: the exercise of military repression and police coercion in order to develop unwanted and non-democratically decided-upon projects, fueling social conflicts, narrative clashes (Armiero 2008; Armiero and D'Alisa 2012; Barca 2014). Following Peluso and Watts (2001), environmental violence is "the effect on intersecting social relations of production and social fields of power […] as physical and symbolic, organized and disorganized, State sponsored and civic, and a combination of two or more of the above" (Barca 2014: 3).

Stefania Barca (2014) discusses the importance of recognizing another level of violence perpetrated in social and environmental injustices: narrative violence, which she defines as "the dust under the rug of development" (Barca 2014: 7). Two main typologies of narrative violence can be found in histories of environmental injustice: the act of silencing and the overlooked injustices' stories. (Barca 2014). On the one hand, the act of silencing "crucial information, hiding evidence, suppressing stories" (Barca 2014: 8) is perpetrated and constructed by State agencies and corporations, with the help of medias and expert science in order to avoid monetary compensations and judicial enquiries. On the other hand, there is the narrative violence of those environmental injustices which are fully overlooked, not discussed, contested

and fought against. This, in turn, is the violence of "not even looking for the things whose existence our narrative structures do not allow us to accept" (Barca 2014: 8), such as the complete absence of inquiries and narratives over the socio-environmental injustices in mainstream history (Barca 2014).

The role of researchers, scholars and writers is to identify the common drivers and uncover the stories of injustice in order to build strategies of defense among north and south, developed and developing countries where subaltern communities bear the social, ecological, economic and political costs (Barca 2014).

Last but not least, both material and discursive public space is contested both in political and legal theory as much as on the ground (Mitchell 2003). Don Mitchell discusses on the use of violence in the making of the "Right to the City" (2003). He argues that the status quo, maintained through an order of limited democracy, opens for violence to address the contested normative terrain of injustice (Mitchell 2003). There is a kind of violence, specifically oppositional violence, which acts as "alternative to institutionalized political influence – the voice of the voiceless, the ultimate" (Rule 1988: 172). Mitchell believes that oppositional violence is crucial in the construction of public space and in order to "break through the wall of oppression […] [t]here are times when dissent must be violent" (Mitchell 2003: 54).

4.3 The oral histories from the imagined community and the rising of toxic narratives

Michel De Certeau in his essay called "Practices of Space" (1985) wrote: "what is memorable is what we can dream about a site" (De Certeau 1985: 144). The memories, narratives and stories have long played a crucial role in organizing political practices (Harper 2001).
Oral histories have been the main and privileged data source for this research project, however they were not simply addressed as a methodological tool. The attempt of this research project is to collect counter-narratives, histories from below (Thompson 1966) and subversive stories (Ewik and Silbey 1995) of those who struggled and resisted. Following David Harvey (2005) oral histories can offer "complex, meaningful and community-led narratives of landscape" (Harvey 2005: 1). The narratives of landscape can relate to both a physical and discursive landscape or *milieu* while providing a kind of history that is not recorded in official archives. Telling these stories becomes a "political commitment to opening up undocumented histories" (Riley and Harvey 2007: 346). "an attention to the local impact of 'big' histories, that perhaps might even be 'anti-histories,' stories that lie outside of, and might even conflict with, dominant narratives" (Andrews et al., 2006, 170).

The struggle over environmental and social injustices brings along the creation and formation of identities (Tsing 1993, 1997). Hajer (1995) elucidates that the construction of environmentalist identities is not "a simple enunciation of pre-existing 'interests'. Rather, it is a process through which people reorganize such disparate elements such as toxicological studies, gender, ethnicity, perceptions of risk and landscape aesthetics into "discourse coalitions" around the the concept of threatened environment (Harper 2001: 101). In Phaedra C. Pezzullo's work on the rhetorical invention and the environmental justice movement in Warren County (North Carolina), which is considered the place where the environmental justice movement was born[27], the symbolic space of narration, story-telling and memory is a powerful tool to "interrupt and/or reframe discursive practices that sustain oppressive environmental conditions" (Pezzullo 2001: 3). Narration is an assemblage of representations of both sequence and meaning (Fisher 1984), which in turn links stories to a sense of time (Pezzullo 2001). Therefore, narrations, story-telling and memories offer "a chronological order to events" (Pezzullo 2001: 5) and "we need more than one event before we recognize that we are in the presence of a narrative" (Scholes 1980: 209). Building a narrative is a symbolic and discursive performance when they help us "discover and establish meaning, what we care about and why" (Pezzullo 2001: 5). However, the power of narratives and stories, goes beyond the symbolic space of narration, to materially influence social change. Following De Certeau (1984) a story opens a legitimate theater for practical actions by privileging "a 'logic of ambiguity' through its accounts of interaction. It 'turns' the frontier into a crossing, and the river into a bridge" (De Certeau 1984: 128). These representations have a crucial role in the construction of social movements terrain of contestation by establishing scenes or contexts in which new possibilities may occur" (Pezzullo 2001: 5).

In order to analyze nationalism, Benedict Anderson (1991) conceptualized the *imagined community* as a kind of community which is not based on everyday interaction among its members, and which therefore requires a certain degree of abstraction. In the case of environmental justice struggles, communities arise from an imaginary built upon narratives, story-telling, memories. The creation of a community of resistance goes through the stage of asking questions such as: "who gets what, why and in what amount'. Who pays for and who

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[27] In the summer of 1982 the State decided to construct a toxic waste landfill against the wishes of the local citizens of Warren County, North Carolina, where predominately back, poor people lived. Bullard, R.D. (1990) *Dumping in Dixie: Race, Class, and Environmental Quality*, (Boulder: Westview Press).

benefits from […]? (Bullard 1994: 11). Asking such questions is, in turn, crucial in reconstructing a community's shared history and memory by uncovering the questions of "whose forgetting? Whose memory? Whose history?" (Sturken 1997: 7).

4.4 Environmental Justice and Subaltern Studies for a Subaltern environmentalism

Environmental justice (EJ) is a term that "captures the idea that citizens of different races and classes experience disparate environmental quality" (Schweitzer 2006:2). The roots of the environmental justice movement emerged in the USA in the late 1970s, when class and race were seen as key factors in determining the distribution of environmental inequalities (Bullard 2000, Faber 1998; Harvey 2001; Merchant 2005). Since then, a more complex matrix of factors such as gender, age, sexuality and disability, levels of access to insurance and health care are understood to influence the vulnerability of communities and individuals to socio-environmental harm (Cook & Swyngedouw 2012). Research within the field of environmental justice has had a great impact on the wider body of environmental studies, especially for the expansion of the concept of *environment*, from a detached-from-society, pristine and unspoiled-by-humans' *natural* environment, to include even the most populated/humanized urban environments.

Distributive justice is a key element in the grassroots environmental movements where the unequal exposure to pollution and hazardous land use across urban environments, and therefore populations, is expressed, revealed and contested (Schweitzer 2006). The environmental justice perspective points out that injustices play out in environments and contexts where the "most disenfranchised live and work, accumulating in their bodies, their homes, and in everything alive, sickening their children, threatening to make appearance in their unborn offspring for generations to come" (Barca 2014: 7).

Following Egan (2002) "when a group of people is faced with both social and environmental subordination, they are victims of environmental injustice" (Egan 2002:21). He continues saying that the subordination is twofold and manifested "in the disproportionate siting of environmental hazards in poor or minority communities and also in the inequitable distribution of ecological resources" (Egan 2002:21) both subserving the marginalization of subaltern groups.

The term subaltern is here borrowed from the writings of Antonio Gramsci, who referred to "persons and groups hierarchically positioned as subordinates or inferiors within nation-states, capitalist production relations, or relations of patriarchy, race, caste" (Gidwani

2009:65). Subaltern individuals and groups exist in contrast to a dominant, hegemonic social group that coercively forces the subalterns to cultural, historical, material and political subordination. "The subaltern is that singular figure who, although exploited and marginalized within hegemonic formations, defies dialectical integration. She is the figure of the 'radically other' who marks off a cryptic, secret 'space of withholding' within the territorialized ambits of modernity, which dreads her precisely because she represents an internal margin that resists coding and, hence, the Enlightenment desire to know in order to control" (Gidwani 2009:69).

At the core of environmental justice movements there is the struggle for the empowerment and participation in decision-making processes of subaltern communities. Following the work of Laura Pulido (1996) subaltern environmentalism (Guha 2000) lays in acknowledging the links between environmental contamination and health; subaltern groups in society forge a social movement that defines this new kind of environmentalism, one that opposes and challenges the dominant narratives and discourses to produce a radically different vision and practice from an antagonist perspective. In the history of the environmental justice movement and literature there is the emergence of a new genre of narration: toxic autobiographies (Newman 2012). Such genre "meditates on the personal, political, and historical meanings of" (Newman 2012: 22) hazardous waste siting though the life of those who live at the environmental margins. Toxic autobiographies provide a chance to "people separated by time, background, region, class, and ethnicity to see themselves as part of a common environmental cause" (Newman 2012: 22).

5. Findings from the case study

> *"People mobilize against the destructive aspects of globalization from the perspective of what they have been and what they are at present: historical subjects of particular cultures, economies, and ecologies; particular knowledge producers; individuals and collectivities engaged in the play of living landscapes and with each other in distinctive ways." (Escobar 2008: 6)*

5.1 Pianura, oral histories from a social dump

• *"Once upon a time" Pianura*

What is Pianura to you? The question might sound obvious and rhetorical. However, asking to give one or more words, a sentence, a poem, a song or anything else to describe the neighbourhood, it allowed the interviewees to denaturalize the story and to position themselves in a proactive narration. The majority made a clear distinction between what is Pianura nowadays compared to its history. The memory of Pianura's past is strongly bound to its agricultural vocation, the luscious vegetation and the small agrarian community that sustained a livelihood based on strong social ties and hospitality.

A4, a mid-aged woman living in a beautiful two story rustic house in the green Contrada Pisani, only few hundred meters away from the landfill site, recalls "I have beautiful memories of this neighbourhood; my dad used to bring to us the Saint George's festivity and people were welcoming, simple, the typical agrarian hospitality". "Pianura used to be the community garden of Napoli" tells me A7, an employee of the Italian postal service, one of the very first activists of the neighbourhood. On the contrary, the definition Pianura changed dramatically when younger interviewees were asked the same question. They do not recall a nostalgic agrarian past, hence their memories are qualitatively different: "Pianura is a periphery, chosen as site for the expansion of the city" says A3 a political science student in his mid20s that grew up in Pianura. Similarly, A11 is an Economics student in his mid20s that grew up in Soccavo, the adjoining neighbourhood, which constitutes the Municipality IX with Pianura within the administrative division of the City of Napoli; and he says: "I always explain what Pianura is by giving examples; you could see buildings appearing overnight, it has no urban plan and it never had one".

A half-way narration, between the adults' nostalgic feelings and the youth sense of Pianura as a dark spot on a map rather than a community, is provided by experts and activists coming from outside the neighbourhood. "Pianura is sited in one of the most beautiful areas of Naples, which could have had an optimal regulated expansion; […] it is a bridge between the Phlegrean fields [regional volcanic park situated at the west of the city of Napoli] and the Camaldoli hills drawing a geographical northern boundary to the city" however, in reality transformed into "a dorm, as expulsion of the city's contradictions […], the periphery in the fullest sense of the word" says ES2, the vice president of Campania's division of one among the main Italian environmental NGOs. Hence, the narrations of the past clash with the perceptions about the present.

The odds of conducting a qualitative research project and receive from almost all the

interviewees the same terse answer are resounding. Every informants, in one way or another referred to the term *dorm* to indicate the current status of Pianura: "it is a commuter town more than an *agora*" says P3 a member of the Municipal District Council of Pianura; A2, mid-aged woman and local activist recalls "everything I've seen happening in Pianura is always worse than anywhere else"; A5, teacher, coach and local activist and motivator is strongly convinced that "Pianura is a lost chance […] here we received a controlled placement of all the diseconomies of the city, all the bad stuff was moved away from the centre to here, to a confined geographical space". Similarly, A8 the local priest of the catholic church believes that "like all the other peripheries, Pianura has been systematically abandoned […] and it is currently considered as a borderline area, a confine but not the city. The city is somewhere else, not here. The small town and community's identity has been raped and now it still persists as a mental place, one of memory, beautiful in itself, however it does not have any actual repercussion on reality." A9, a mid-aged man, member of the anti-racket organization of Pianura quite dramatically says "here we are in an *enclave* and everything weights more".

Table 7. Google Earth sight of Pianura. The central part of the picture shows the centre of the neighbourhood with the impressive concrete jungle. The northern bouday of Pianura is defined by the Camaldoli Hills. The WWF reserve of the Astroni crater is south-west and divides Pianura from Pozzuoli. The western area of the picture shows Contrada Pisani, less urbanized however facing the very area where the landfills insisted for decades. Photo credit: Google Earth 2016.

• Illegal real-estate interests and the concrete jungle

The narration of Pianura's history continues along the lines of a transition to the informally and illegally planned urban expansion that swallowed up the pre-existing agrarian village. "When I was little I've seen the demographic and urban explosion of the neighbourhood […]; the number of buildings multiplied alongside a sense of disrespect for the territory" says A1, local activist in Pianura in his mid 40s. Also A5 recalls: "at the end of the 1960s the project was to speculate on the construction industry, which resulted in abusive urban development that brought along massive, but also evanescent, affluence to those involved in the business. In the 1970s, the population doubled compared to the previous decade until it reached a disproportion in comparison to the services and infrastructures existing on the territory". A3, due to his young age says "I don't recall much transformation since everything was already built from when I can remember", however he believes that Pianura "is a periphery with agrarian vocation which was chosen to illegally expand the city […] and therefore became an ugly place, an agglomeration of houses with no services provided".

All the interviewees stress on the absence of a formal control over the expansion of the city towards Pianura: "being cheaper, the illegal construction made it possible for many families to buy a house that they could not afford otherwise or elsewhere" declares EA2 a lawyer, head of an online newspaper and activist. Also ES2 proposes a similar interpretation: "Pianura insists on one of the most beautiful areas of the city […] but it developed as a dormitory, as expulsion of all the contradictions existing in the historical city".

Many stress on how illegal building has been the major sector of income for the local population going under a transition from a local community's livelihood based on agriculture to a suburban area of a metropolis. "From the late 1960's illegal building has been considered a crucial sector for investment […] and many local farmers sold their land for sums of money that they would have never seen in a whole lifetime otherwise; there were agreements like 'you give me your land, I build and then you will get five apartments for free'" says A5. The crisis of the agrarian vocation made A10, local member of a left-wing party and publisher of a local newspaper, believe that: "when unauthorized construction arrived in Pianura, it was a blessing, because there was no specialization in the area, but men were good at construction. All of a sudden Pianura's land had value". On the contrary, A8 local priest and activist defines the illegal building as "a gang rape on the territory […]; three quarters of Pianura's housing cluster was born following the wave of illegal building, and from this rape everyone has benefited: the city, the municipality, the families investing in this sector and the builders". ES1 is a physician, working on the creation of a municipal cancer registry for the city of Napoli and she defined

Pianura as "a neighbourhood arisen from jerry-building, from the *hands over the city*"[28]

Also politicians agree on the massive and negative impacts that illegal building has brought to Pianura: "in the 1980s there has been a construction boom and people sold and bought houses even before they were finished until the neighbourhood has been materially devastated by unauthorized building" says P2. And P1 believes: "with the development of illegal construction today we find ourselves living in a miscellaneous reality, we used to know everyone in the neighbourhood but nowadays it is extremely difficult to get to know each other".

• *Migration processes within the city of Napoli and the 1980 earthquake's shock*

The migration and reallocation of portions of the population in Pianura has followed different waves. People recall the first migration wave of 1960s: it is the crucial historical moment in Italy's history where a large proportion of the population experienced an economic boom, with the consequential creation of a solid middle class.

A modern Pianura started arising as a response to the housing needs of Italsider steel factory workers. The factory was running from early 1900s and experienced a production, and therefore employment, boost in the 1950s and 1960s. Pianura was chosen as the site for the workers' housing project for the proximity to the factory sited in Bagnoli, the northern neighbourhood of Napoli sited on the coastline. "It was middle-class people, which could somehow bridge between the agrarian culture and the city. [...] The agrarian community had to measure and confront with a new culture, one of labour and workers" says A9 member of the local anti-racket organization.

Some interviewees perceive the steel-factory workers as an external unit coming from the outside, while others stress on how the factory was a new employment sector for the local inhabitants, after the crisis of agriculture: "until 1970s families lived off agriculture then labour came and people worked at the Italsider, the only factory in the area" A6 mid-aged man and activist recalls. A5 teacher and one of the early activists in Pianura describes: "the Italsider factory was packed with workers from Pianura, to obviate hunger after world war II people were recruited even if they knew it was deadly poisonous to work there". However, the perception of the dormitory-neighbourhood continues to be a leitmotif: "with Italsider factory,

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[28] *Hands over the city* is the the title of 1963 Francesco Rosi's movie. The movie plot deals with political corruption in Italy after World War II. The film is set in Napoli, where a ruthless land developer and politician thta through its political power tries to seize personal profit in massive real estate development and expansion in suburban areas of the city.

people moved to the area but only used the neighbourhood as a place where to go to sleep" says EA2, head of an online newspaper and activist.

The last migration in time has been perceived, by many, to be the most violent one. "the noisy violence arrived with the 1980's earthquake, when the whole historical centre of Napoli was abandoned from day to night and the urgency to create new housing units arose" says A8, the local priest, and continues: "these groups of people were hurled around in territories that were anonymous to them. I always defined these settlements to be like a cancerous cells injection in a healthy tissue." Similarly, but more emphatic, A9, member of Pianura's anti-racket organization, believes that "the surge happened with the earthquake, deported people in urgent need of housing and parked them in the popular housing lots". He goes on saying: "that one has been the largest and most varied migration from a socio-cultural-economic point of view: while there were families searching for a home when theirs was destroyed by the earthquake, there were also entire communities in need, without any earnings". Also A2, mid aged woman and activist from nearby Pozzuoli believes: "the post-earthquake popular housing project brought people from different social classes to Pianura; they had a different culture compared to the local agrarian mentality. People coming from outside have different habits and needs".

The last migration has been perceived by many to be different and more dramatic compared to the previous ones for the emergency aspect that required rapidity; on this matter, A1 remembers: "when I was little, I have seen the centre of the neighbourhood exploding from both urban and demographic point of view. Right after the earthquake buildings were mushrooming overnight, with all the consequences that you may imagine". A3 did not experience any migration due to his young age but experienced the outcomes: "after the earthquake, illegal building determined the arrival of a massive flux of people, all together, in a quite small portion of territory; therefore, in less than 20 years, Pianura has become an ugly place, a built up area with no services". A10 goes beyond and provides a peculiar analysis: "the after-earthquake has been just one big alibi: after all, everybody benefited from jerrybuilding, from builders to construction workers and all the satellite sectors that profit from construction work [..]; we, as Pianura inhabitants, have been both perpetrators and victims". P2, a member of the Municipal District Council of Pianura, explains: "the earthquake determined a qualitative change in the social composition of the neighbourhood: there has been a forced resettling of a population section which came from different contexts; there you have a juxtaposition that brings with it a problematic".

For the majority of the interviewees, the thorny problem is "in the heterogeneity of the

kind of people that migrated to Pianura; those people do not belong here, they actually despise this place. For the incapacity or unwillingness to blend in, it is becoming difficult to unite" says A5 teacher and one of the early activists. P3 is a city councilman voted in the Pianura district and he strongly know who is to blame for the historical jerrybuilding: "the devastation of our neighbourhood is to be attributed to the political class. The last urban development plan for the city of Napoli terminated in 1972 and we had nothing until 2002; they [politicians] set the premises so that a whole neighbourhood would be constructed illegally".

• *Camorra and the territorial control*

The presence of Camorra, the historical Neapolitan organized crime, has been perceived by many of the interviewees as one powerful actor influencing the social, economic and political context of the neighbourhood. However, some would consider it to be consequence and outcome while others would define it as the driver and cause of specific processes. "Pianura was built illegally like a favela, and the powerful Camorra families allowed that jerrybuilding would continue without interference" says EA2 member of an environmental NGO and editor of a local online magazine. EA3 is the plaintiff's attorney of those activists that signed a petition to avoid the landfill re-opening in 2008. He agrees on the powerful role of Camorra but, differently from EA2, he believes that Camorra is a consequence of jerrybuilding: "Pianura has been built like a ghetto and there, obviously, organized crime easily flourished".

"The absence of the State and institutions at large, allowed the other State, the Camorra, to rule over the territory" says A4 mid-aged woman and activist living in Pisani, the closest inhabited area to the landfill. Similarly, EA1 professor of Geology at the University of Napoli and activist says: "it is difficult to separate the non-institutional polity from the institutional one. After all, it is a kind of civil order". Camorra, for some, shaped sociality till: "it created a path of immorality that involved all sectors of income, from waste to construction materials, real estate and land acquisition...there you have Pianura completely welded with immorality" as A8, the local priest, dramatically puts together. A11 is a young activist from Soccavo and he goes further in discussing how the presence of Camorra brought with it also meanings, beliefs and world-views: "Being historically ruled by shady business, Pianura was built on the basis of false ideals and principles like fast moneymaking."

People recall that until 1980s there was one single family controlling the whole territory and economy: "when a territory is hegemonized, dominated, controlled and ruled so strongly by criminality, it is difficult for the civil society to react" says A9 member of the anti-racket organization. During the 1990s, there has been a season of violent confrontation between

different opposing Camorra families. This, in turn, suppressed the possibility to have a dynamic and lively social life: "there has been an anthropological modification in the social composition of the neighbourhood; during the Camorra wars young couples flee the area because they were scared" says A9. The perception does not differ when talking with those who do not live the neighbourhood, which are to some extent external to the the dynamics of it: "Pianura expiates the organized crime's oppression, it is a peripheral neighbourhood and it is abandoned to its fate" says ES3, journalist working since many years on issues related to Camorra's interests and criminal partnership with institutions.

However, in the early 2000s things changed, when: "on August the 10th, 2000, two innocent teenagers were killed by Camorra, which mistook them with representatives of the opposite family clan […]; this peculiar event engendered such a strong condemnation by the whole Pianura civil society which, therefore, roused a demand for liberation from the Camorra conditioning the city until then" says A9 from the local anti-racket organization; then he continues "Pianura managed to bring all the healthy civil society together and strike back the strong role of Camorra, which until then had reduced the spaces of liberty and livability. With Gigi and Paolo's killing, Pianura's civil society flexed the muscles to the organized crime, everyone started denouncing and we built the strongest anti-racket organization of the area."

• ***The Municipal landfill, the Di.Fra.Bi private management and a promise of a better future***
During the longs talks about the neighbourhood's history, memories connected to the landfill would eventually arise, without the need of asking specifically for it. The story of Pianura goes hand in hand with the presence, memories, smells and struggles over the landfill. The senior interviewees as much as the younger ones recalled the different phases the landfill went through, from the early stages of the municipal management till the privatization and qualitative change of waste dumped. A2 is a veterinary and activist from Pozzuoli, neighboring town to the landfill area, and she believes: "the landfill made history of our territory". "The landfill in Pianura was opened during the 1950's when the neighbourhood became the dumpsite for the whole city of Napoli" recalls A1, local dweller and early days' activist. Since Pianura insists on the Phlegrean fields, the volcanic natural depression of mount Senga's mouth was used as basin for the dump. "It was a decision of the city council to open the landfill in Pianura […]; from the 1950s the city administration considers Pianura as a dump, a place where you throw away stuff. But that stuff does not disappear, it is simply moved to a peripheral and liminal area" says A5, teacher and local activist. "When the landfill opened, we did not have the kind of waste we have today; it was mostly organic waste. […] The praxis was to burn so that the

volumes will reduce […], but slowly the sunken areas where filled until mountains started arising" remembers A4, who lives in Contrada Pisani and has been a 'life-long activist'.

For many, a crucial turning point was the privatization of the landfill and the change of waste quality dumped: from only urban solid waste to also toxic industrial byproducts. Moreover, a general dissatisfaction was shown when discussing on the origin of waste dumped in Pianura, since most of the toxic waste trafficking is strongly tied to industries from the North of Italy dumping their byproducts in the South. "At first, the landfill was a municipal service but then it became a business-oriented landfill, specialized in the digestion of industrial waste" says A7 local dweller and one of the early activists. The degree of compliance to formality is a matter of discrepancy among the interviewees stories. A3 states: "it is not only an issue of organized crime and illegality, but also a matter of a legislative system of the time, that allowed the movement and dumping of toxic waste coming from industries of the North". On this matter, A1 says: "it was authorized with municipal resolution that toxic, industrial, noxious and hospital waste could be dumped in the privatized landfill; it was all done legally and above board". On the contrary, most of the interviewees stress on the minimum degree of legality for what concerned the dumping of hazardous waste. They believe most of the trafficking of toxic waste was hidden to the general population and to official records. "There has been both legal and illegal dumping of tremendous things" says A2. Similarly, ES4, oncologist and international researcher, states: "for many years, tons and tons of acrylic painting, sewage sludge, cosmetic by-products and hazardous hashes from industrial production of Northern Italian industries were dumped in Pianura's landfill". Also ES2 vice president of the local division of an environmental NGO stresses: "the landfill accepted noxious and hazardous waste like the chemical waste of ACNA industry sited in the North of Italy".

Many recall the disgusting smell that permeated the area: "very often we would have to suffer the stink that fouled the air, but there was nothing to do, we could not react" says A9. Similarly, A3 recalls: "the stink that would rise from the landfill and the trucks traffic is part of everybody's heritage".

The movement of trucks around the area is another recurring memory in the interviewees' narrations. On this matter, A1 says: "I remember that you could see a truck followed by a car arriving on via Campana[29]. Everyone knew they were going to the landfill and eventually only the automobile will be seen going out because they were dumping stuff

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[29] Via Campana is a local street that circumnavigates the northern borders of the landfill from the side of Pozzuoli.

that was so toxic, they would have to bury the whole truck. […] Among the materials that were found in excavations there were found: drums of toxic materials, trucks, everything!". ES3 is a journalist writing on many judicial cases of waste mis-management and says: "in police reports of interrogatories some of the landfill's workers say they have been dumping all sorts of poison there, like a whole truck".

The landfill was also crucial in providing jobs for the local dwellers and many believe the economic neediness and a strong subservience were strongly tied: "nobody believed we could do anything; we were all resigned. The landfill gave jobs to many in the neighbourhood. […] It was a point of no discussion, like a sacred monster that could buy everything and everyone and the local community was distorted." says A9 member of the anti-racket organization. And he goes on saying: "those hiding the truth made a lot of money; but nobody believed those things could bring such devastating consequences for the territory". Similarly, A1 says: "the landfill provided a livelihood to many which, in turn, were willing to suffer environmental pollution of their territory in exchange of a safe salary." On the contrary, others discuss the difficulty to talk about what was really happening behind the curtains as "people that lived there were easy to fool, they were promised stuff; so they believed in this exchange of services even if, after all, nothing was really given. We still lack infrastructures like sidewalks, schools and sewages" affirms A4.

However, after many years of shady management, a new mayor in Napoli promoted a renovation of the city. In 1996, he allowed the closing of the landfill among other popular measures and decisions. The closing of the landfill was part of a broader project promoting and promising land remediation for the area and its transformation into a golf club. "He promised a golf club but that never happened" says A1. "The land remediation should have been the small act of compensation that a tormented population has the right to" dramatically believes P1, member of the provincial administration of Napoli and president of a commission of enquiry which investigated over the landfill's risks. Furthermore, A5 remembers: "the mayor solemnly promised that Pianura had given enough and the landfill shall never be opened again so...chapter closed! But, of course, that was not the truth..."

5.2 2008: Environmentalism of the suburb, when the waste conflict hits the city
- *"If Pianura does not open, Napoli is going to collapse"*

"It was the 31st of December 2007, when the head of CWE Pansa called a meeting and told us: <<if Pianura does not open, Napoli is going to collapse>>" says P3 member of the Municipal District Council of Pianura. P1 was vice president of the Municipality IX at the time, and

recalls: "Pansa explained that since the city of Napoli was flooded with waste, and the social context was about to erupt, Pianura was the only possible solution; but Pianura is always the only solution to all the worst you can imagine and we never understood why".

The landfill was closed more than 10 years before and in that time frame Pianura, Napoli and the whole Campania region went through dramatic phases of extra-ordinary government and mismanagement of the waste cycle. The interviewees remember vividly when, during the umpteenth cyclical peak of the waste emergency "rumours were spreading: they [the CWE] wanted to reopen the landfill in Pianura...it was December 2007 and we didn't even want to believe it because we were saturated[30] too!" recalls A4. "Pianura becomes the solution for the CWE. But it was insane because it is placed in a densely inhabited context, where tons and tons of toxic material had been already dumped. Moreover, we believed it would serve to hide the illegal toxic waste dumping traces with a comforting layer of urban solid waste" states EA5 activist and member of the Assemblies of the city of Naples[31]. A12 is a journalist and historical activist for the environmental justice in Campania, affiliated with left wing social movements, and he comments: "the 2008 affair was the most important social inclusion event that Pianura has ever lived, no doubts about that." People remember how quick and evident the reopening signs were: "from one day to another we started seeing trucks going up the landfill with preparatory equipment like tarpaulin, which would be set at the bottom of the dumpsite; […] very spontaneously the very first road blocks materialized" remembers A11.

It was not the first time people were confronted with such possibility. And specifically here, at this point of narration, I came to know a whole history of clashes and pickets against the landfill dating back to previous decades. Many activists introduced a flashback section to their stories in trying to explain what happened then in 2008. "Listen to me, conflicts over the landfill are as old as the neighbourhood; the first ones date back to the 1960s. Few years after the landfill opened, even before I was born, people started protesting for the stench flowing from it. But you have to imagine this: the protesters were those few individuals living in the area whose livelihoods depended on the landfill" says A1. Also A7 recalls the historical protests and argues "there was an obstacle in confronting the management of the landfill, it almost seemed you would hit the lively spot of the neighbourhood". A4 grew up in Pisani and

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[30] The interviewee used the Italian word "saturo" which can be both used to define the disaffection of local communities, but also recalls to the landfill closed 10 years before because of saturation.

[31] The Assemblies of the City of Napoli: [Available online at:
https://www.academia.edu/9370068/The_Assemblies_of_the_City_of_Naples_A_Long_Battle_to_Defend_the_Landscape_and_Environment. Accessed on: April 14, 2016].

remembers: "the struggle started in the 1960-1970s, when plastic materials were introduced on the market. The waste would be burned and produce an awful scent. But people were few and they were simple minded...you know...farmers; they only wanted to cultivate their land. They were not the kind of people that wanted to become criminals and confront the authorities. It was easy to silence them with few policemen." A5 strongly affirms "throughout all these years we have tried to ward off the infamous stigma of social dump through claiming our right to live in a safe and healthy environment but the response of the State has always been to thrash...to thrash really hard." A9 remembers "the Pisani inhabitants struggled for the closing of the landfill when the pestilential stench would rise, but it was a marginal happening since the interests at stake were always stronger".

Only local inhabitants of Pianura, and even more those from Pisani, would share the accounts of struggles ongoing since decades. The memory of protests would start and end within the physical boundaries of the neighbourhood; no one of the interviewees from outside Pianura had idea of past struggles. On the contrary, everyone I interviewed from Pianura not only would share memories of the past but, more importantly, they would make sense and interpret what happened in 2008 as a consequence of the historical marginalization and oppression.

A turning point is constituted by the year 2004, when two events shook the community. In the spring, the Committee for the Waste Emergency proposed to reopen the landfill's facilities as 'temporary storage site', while a solution to the waste piling up in the streets of Napoli would be found. Moreover, during summer the central administration of Napoli decided to use the old landfill to dump the stabilized quarry aggregates from the Bagnoli steel factory. In both cases, "there has been a massive resistance" recalls A2 from Pozzuoli and she continues "I was home with friends and one said people were protesting and started a picket […] since trash was supposed to be brought to Pianura again. I just could not believe it! Then we decided to go and see what was happening". Also A4 remembers vividly "we were mad for all the lies they told us and we got together, we protested, we were at the picket day and night...but then the police came and some of us ended at the hospital". The violence deployed by the police against the people protesting outside the landfill is a vivid memory for many of the activists. "At the pickets there were 60 persons and in few hours we were surrounded by an immoderate number of policemen in riot-gear, getting closer and closer, until someone started getting nervous and then all I remember is teargas and batons. They forced both the entrance and our roadblocks, thus trucks made their way to the landfill. It was tragic!" continues A2.

Nevertheless, such event did not prevent the local community to strategically constitute

a surveillance group. "We brought together 12 different associations and groups under a temporary association of purpose[32]" says A5. At the time, P2 was president of the Municipality IX and argues "we started the temporary association of purpose that brought together concerned citizens from both Pianura and Pozzuoli...the seed of a long-lasting activism was planted; we wanted to build a community that would defend the social and environmental dignity." Along this line, A4 recounts: "the ward's president suggested us to create a group of surveillance composed of women, within the temporary association of purpose; from then on, we never gave up, we would spend also the night on the landfill to make sure things would go the right way and they would not screw us again...and you know what happened? In two months they went away, they realized it was not a good place where to continue with shady business because we had the very physical control over the territory".

However, only few months after Pianura is proposed as solution again; this time, as dumping site for the steel factory waste which included extremely polluting materials such as asbestos. "At that point we started meeting like the members of Carbonari secret society[33] and we prevented that crazy idea to be implemented by playing the card of inequality. You cannot treat two parts of the city differently! So we made posters that would graphically demonstrate the amount of waste and trucks traffic that would have followed the transportation and that work of communication prevented the plan to be executed. It took us so much work to bring people together, but we did it, and won" recalls A5. "So 2004 was the year when people from Pianura and Pozzuoli got finally together, struggled and produced counter-information" says A2. At this point, as A8 believes, "when in 2008, rumours about the reopening started circulating, the local community was ready to resist".

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[32] Associazione Temporanea di Scopo: following Italian civil law a temporary association of purpose is a cooperative that is constituted to fulfill a specific purpose, that will consequently terminate when the project is executed. A similar concept is English would be an *ad-hoc* syndicate. More information in Italian could be found at the following website: http://www.cesvot.it/creare-e-gestire-unassociazione/domande-frequenti-e-formulari/come-si-costituisce-una-associazione-temporanea-di-scopo

[33] http://www.jstor.org/stable/1844987?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents

Table 7. The view from above of Contrada Pisani on January 1st 2008. On the lower part of the picture it is visible the few houses of Contrada Pisani, the last remaining green area of Pianura. On the right the rounded green area identifies the old Senga crater where the municipal landfill insisted. Going towards the left, the land becomes more compact and the top of the hill is flat. Such area where the Di.Fra.Bi. landfill insisted. Moreover, on the extreme left of the picture, neighboring the landfill sites, the Astroni crater is visible with its luscious vegetation. Photo courtesy of Gianni Palmers.

• *Local communities' strategies and forms of activism*

Many perceived a shift in the neighbourhood's history and their own relation to it, when in 2008 the "hypothesis to reopen the landfill in Pianura was contemplated." believes A8. At this point of the interviews, the speed of narration changed. I could perceive it, most of the interviewees will change their posture, set a different rhythm to the story. They could make me feel the pressure of very unique days that they were about to reveal: "It was the first time the waste conflict hit the city, when a landfill was to be open within the boundaries of Napoli" reflects EA4, PhD student in philosophy and chair of the Assemblies of the city of Naples. "It was around the 20th of December when I was heading back home one evening and, in the Pisani area, I saw people doing a road block. They explained me they were there to impede the landfill from reopening. The day after I was there with them".

The first form of resistance to the Committee on the waste Emergency non-democratic decision was the formation of pickets [presidio in Italian]. The first picket was created at the entrance of the landfill, at the crossing between Via Montagna Spaccata and the road going all

the way up to the waste treatment plant; the same space where in 2004 police strongly dispersed the activists' road-block. On the other side of the landfill, activists from Pozzuoli made it impossible for trucks to circulate and arrive to the landfill: "people from the area, among which the so-called *O' Lione*[34], started patrolling both entrances to the landfill, in Pianura and Pozzuoli, all streets were occupied and tree trunks, stones and all kinds of materials were physically used as barricades to impede road traffic." remembers A2.

During the first days of January, the word-of-mouth and then text messages started circulating between groups of people belonging to the local church and the anti-racket organization. People recall the cold winter days of December when they started gathering in meetings at a local private school. "In the classroom we would meet and confront on what to do and also study the matter. We would divide in groups and to both study tactics of resistance and alternatives to propose to the CWE as a solution to the waste emergency. There were leaflets and studies circulating and we received support from experts" narrates A6.

The tension is the streets was rising and the CWE was in serious trouble: on one hand, trying to force the opening of the landfill and finally clear the streets of Napoli while on the other hand facing an unprecedented opposition by the almost military tactics and strategies deployed by groups of activists in Pianura. "The 2004 experience of being beaten up by policemen made us think more tactically in 2008; you know in terms of how we could really impede the reopening. We had to block the streets and, when I say we, I mean all the Pisani families that organized turnovers and division of duties. This time we did not block the main streets, otherwise police would easily take us away, but we stood at the very entrances to the landfill. We started many blocks all around to hamper the circulation of police and trucks and this worked out" says P3 which has been sentenced with 8 years of detention for the riots.
Here the narration follows two main strands. The majority of the interviewees made clear distinction between a *civil* protest that would constitute the daily activities of the 5 pm picket's assembly outside at the Etoile roundabout[35], rallies and study groups; and a *non-civil, violent*

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[34] O' Lione in Neapolitan dialect means the lion. I have heard many stories about this old man from Pozzuoli that fiercely struggled against the landfill. He was also head of the "Associazione Lello Mele" named after his son who died of cancer at a young age. When told there was a student researching on the history of Pianura he was thrilled and said he wanted to get to know me. Unfortunately, the time I spent in Pianura we had no chance of getting to know each other in person. However, the small publication called "Pianura 2008: rifiuto del degrado prospettive per il futuro" by the Associazione Lello Mele, gave me the possibility to get to know him even if indirectly.

[35] The roundabout is named after a popular café where people used to gather during those days. It is crossed vertically by via Montagna Spaccata, which is the main traffic artery of Pianura. At the roundabout, the section of the street that runs along the densely populated centre of Pianura ends and it descends in a less urbanized area where all of a sudden it seems to be

form of protest when the sun went down. The daily activism took the form and language of the rigorous legal apparatus. "a very small group of people from Pianura thought of singing a petition where they asked the competent authorities to verify the possibility of previous illegal dumping of toxic waste in the area" remembers A10. A5 is one of the five activists who proposed the petition and recalls: "the city was mad at us because Pianura didn't want to accept waste, so we understood we had to bring the discussion to the centre of the city which was living a normal life while Pianura was put to iron and sward; so we started walking by foot towards the city. There was no other way of crossing the neighbourhood overwhelmed by garbage set on fire and tree trunks used as barricades. By the time we got out of Pianura and arrived in Soccavo the city looked absolutely normal and when we arrived to the NOE[36] they told us ≪finally someone came here with a petition!≫ […]. You know, we were just trying to prevent the State from harming us again".

From the petitions and the rallies "it naturally arose a movement creating consensus over the defense of the territory: the first big rally held in Pianura was on the 8th of January where families, the church, workers, students and mothers got together" recalls A2. In the meantime, at sunset the neighbourhood would transform into the embodiment of the wildest devastations and riots "you didn't know if you could go out to work, if you could return in the evening" A5 recalls. A6 defines the landscape by saying "it seemed to be in one of those catastrophic movies where there is a virus decimating the population and people cannot get out of the houses...that was the perception you had in Pianura those days". A2 is sure that "the most violent riots started happening from a specific night on. I remember all of a sudden both the police and the trucks disappeared. Imagine people celebrating, believing the State had stepped back! On the contrary, trucks arrived again at night...from then on groups started hijacking buses and setting them on fire, extreme hooligans groups arrived with batons, faces covered by scarfs and balaclavas...at that point we could only go home".

Others recall how, in the most turbulent days, Camorra attempted to slip in the movement. Their aim was to hamper the regained freedom of Pianura's civil society, imposing loansharking again and protract civil unrest to continue their businesses without being disturbed by authorities. In fact, "one day some mercenaries entered all the shops in the centre of Pianura and forced the owners to either pay or close and we, as the anti-racket organization,

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far from the city. The immediate change of perception is due to the sudden presence of green luscious areas on both sides of the street. On the left side the green hills are what is left of the historical landfill.

[36] NOE stands for Nucleo Operativo Ecologico dei Carabinieri. It is the operational Environmental Unit of the Italian Military Police, who also has Civilian duties.

decided to go out in the streets. I didn't go home for days, we had to be present, be visible in the streets to support the shop-owners" remembers A9.

The story continues being told along lines of what is the *internal* narrative of locals and the *external* perception of those who came from the outside. The narration divide is constructed very similarly along the lines of discourses, images and language used by media coverage. TV news from all over the world showed the violent, non-civilized forms of resistance "cameras were always on where the riot would happen, even when we gathered circa 8000 people to peacefully rally in streets" tells A5. "Many journalists would depict Pianura only as the wild mob and would say that the landfill is after all safe and could reopen" tells A6. On this matter A5 affirms: "we had inviolable motivations, and all the medias would tell was riots, buses set on fire; that served as choreography to depict us as the ignorant and barbarians opposing the State's attempt to create a service".

Nonetheless, the Pianura days brought to a wide support and cooperation from movements across the Campania region, from academics to members of the radical communist Party CARC[37], hooligans of the Napoli football team and activists from other marginal communities facing the same oppression and uneven distribution of risks during the emergency years of the CWE. The strong support from forces outside the neighbourhood does not, in turn, mean the local movement was any compact or monolithic.

Pianura has been indeed, an extremely fragmented physical and symbolic (made of discourses, beliefs) space. The main divisions were not only along the lines of what was perceived to be the "good" activism and the "bad" riot but also within these categories, for who could speak for the neighbourhood and how. "I could see the divisions within the movement only after some time...It was almost like, in those days, we found an equilibrium in a state of complete disequilibrium" believes A2. "Those involved in very violent forms of resistance created a consensus of different forces...but I am not sure on what kind of basis and authenticity of the struggle" says A5. However, the majority of the interviewees' a posteriori belief reflects on the strategic help that all sorts of forms of resistance deployed have provided for the cause that mattered: "you could see those you were really fighting for the cause and those who were there to exasperate and profit from the devastations. […] We are still paying the damage done to the image of Pianura during those days; but you know, it is thanks to everyone there if we

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[37] CARC or Comitati di Appoggio alla Resistenza Comunista stands for: Committees Supporting Communist Resistance. According to the interviewees, the members of this party were from Quarto, a neighbouring town between Contrada Pisani and Pozzuoli

won" believes A10.

Indeed, the multi-faced resistance that Pianura deployed ended with the seizing of the landfill and the impound by a public prosecutor with charges of environmental disaster and culpable epidemic, both charges suggested by the activists. In gathering evidence to support the criminal investigation, local activists were helped by a group of lawyers, among which EA3. Thereafter, he followed the case as plaintiff's attorney of those activists that decided to collect medical records from the inhabitants living at the borders of the landfill, who had been diagnosed with cancer or other rare pathologies. According to A5, one of the activists of Pianura, "between seventy and one hundred medical files were collected and offered to dr. Stefania Buda, who was the public prosecutor in charge of the investigation". However, dr. Buda had to dismiss culpable epidemics' line of investigation due to the impossibility of proving a causal link between health issues and the presence of the landfill with its 35-42 million cubic meters of all sorts of waste – of which circa 23% has been assessed to be toxic - (Crescenti 2009), not the least since there is no official cancer registry record in Campania. The practice of collecting private material to be used in a public investigation allowed many of the activists to deepen and strengthen both their fears but also their awareness on how widespread the health issue was. It wasn't only the use of something extremely private for a public inquiry but more deeply it was a direct form of participation and struggle that activated even those more reluctant to get involved. "The reopening was unacceptable not only on moral and historical groundings but also technical; therefore it was the right thing to do for the whole neighbourhood to oppose; these people gave enough" says P2 and continues "there have been two main streams of activism: on one hand the legal approach of those from Pisani and Pozzuoli who used the professional aid of experts in technical matters; on the other hand some channeled their resistance through anger which was after all useful for the cause".

Table 6. Rally in the streets of central Pianura against the reopening of the landfill on January 5th, 2008. Photo courtesy of Gianni Palmers.

• *Investigate motivations for participation and activism*

But why? Why every single person I interviewed decided to actively get involved in different practices of resistance? I wanted to understand how would they explain their motivations, which cannot be taken for granted and experiences change according to what drives actions. I was not hunting for the NIMBY witches, whereas I believed stories from the past and present carried strong meanings which had to be unfolded. "I went there to simply defend the land from being raped again...but on the ground I have learned so much about issues like exploitation of the land, the criminal use of emergency regimes for the profit of the few" reveals A11, which was a teenager at the time. Almost all the interviewees would one way or another make sure "that Pianura had given enough and never received anything back...not even the basic human right for health" affirms A8, local priest and continues "I do believe in the values of activism, even more in territories like ours, where you have to claim and protest for your rights".

Health is a crucial driver and concern to all: "fear...it was fear that awakened our acquiesced integrity. We wanted to show the difficulties of families hit by rare pathologies in an area where the State believed we could still eat dirt" says A7 local activist that does not live

in Pianura anymore and only few years after 2008, had to discover his wife was affected by cancer. He continued: "fear moves the need of not being alone and to confront with others...I wanted to study what I was afraid of and then share the knowledge I gained". "Everyone of us has to do a little to contribute...the memories I have of this place played a crucial role in my determination to resist" explains A1. "I started quite selfishly because I live by the landfill: so at the beginning my hope was that Pianura would not open again. However, once I was in the movement I have seen injustices with my own eyes, a whole community beaten up by police, those who should protect us, you know?" says A2 and she continues "I wanted to fight social inequalities and always thought I would do it and go maybe to Africa, far away from here...but then I found inequalities outside my door! And then I started studying and I got extremely excited about the topic of waste and the idea that I can matter and make a difference in big State projects". "We fought in order to see your rights recognized. At the beginning, I participated to forge ahead my father's struggles and then I have seen injustices and continued fighting against them" says A4 that has always lived in her house in Conca Pisani, where she invited me to talk, with the landfill view outside her balcony. A5 affirms "we were there to defend ourselves from the State; to avoid the State from harming again through a non-democratic, authoritarian injustice. We faced the stage of creating a sense of community that could lay claims to its own rights. During the emergency we found a community and a sense of belonging". A2 clearly states: "the motivations driving our participation are easy to sum up in one word: dignity!". "My story of activism has very personal roots. We discovered my mother had cancer and one morning at the Oncology division of the local hospital I could see so many young people it scared me to the bones. Moreover, doctors will always ask my mother: <<what do you eat? Where do you live?>> from then on I had to engage...as you can see my motivations are much visceral and less political...or maybe I could say they are very *biopolitical*" tells me EA4 PhD student in Philosophy and chair of the Assemblies of the city of Naples.

5.3 Nowadays Pianura

• *Perceived outcomes*

The 2008 was intense, complex, talked over and about with the news of the uprising periphery making their way on international press: all of a sudden Pianura was known all over the world[38].

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[38] http://www.reuters.com/article/environment-italy-waste-refile-wednesday-iduspar95203620080109

Moreover, the duration of the whole experience makes it an even more peculiar case[39]. But what did people on the ground perceived in terms of transformations, change, outcomes brought about by those days?

The perceptions are quite visibly polarized on two very different narratives. Most of the local activists perceived those days to be instrumental and transformative in terms of experience. Their way of seeing the world and approach themes such as participation, commons, identity, authority changed forever. "The Pianura experience was the initiation towards a journey of activism and militancy broader than on the single matter of waste management" says A11 and A8 believes "it was an extraordinary experience, we can be mistreated and oppressed but now the seed is planted; more people are aware of the implications and are willing to organize". Similarly, A7 argues "the landfill issue brought to the surface the identity, social fabric and collectivity that wasn't there before. […] We understood we had to stop using our neighbourhood as a dorm only and use the social and physical space to confront and grow together...we went from a condition of social disruption to cooperation on the territory". "I now feel part of a community together with the others, we do feel stronger than before" told me A1. Powerfully enough A2 believes "from the disaster it turned into an opportunity, we have become a community and it brought people together beyond the cultural and social differences. […] I strongly believe it created a new kind of history in people's lives and in the story of Pianura's territory and Campania at large" and she goes on saying "I believe the struggle brought about a cultural change, people are now aware...the current socio-political system pushes for individualism and creating a community is strenuous but we did it. […] Those days forever changed me, now I have a critical cultural background and understanding of what happens around me".

On the other hand, those who experienced the Pianura days as externals or also participated but were from outside the neighbourhood judged the events in a very different way. Within this group, some would argue on the importance of those days; nonetheless, the majority would not see or believe those days brought about a real and long-lasting change. "One thing is when something happens in a neighbourhood with a community rooted in the history of it; something else is when a territory is inhabited by people from different backgrounds randomly sharing the space and with the little care we have for the commons. It is difficult to imagine something can continue unless big prodding would happen again, like in 2008" says EA1. "I

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[39] The Pianura days started in mid-December 2007 with the spreading of rumours about the re-opening of the landfill and the seizing of it by a public prosecutor on the 21st of January 2008: http://areaflegrea.blogspot.se

don't believe the events left much of what can be defined a settling of participation and construction of a social and political collectivity" said A12 and A3 recalled how "it was the first time I actively participated to neighbourhood's life and it felt right, like we were making history together. However, the experience was too fragmented to have a long-lasting outcome or repercussion". For instance, A4 believed "that disgrace brought us together...when you get together on issues like this the bond that you create is as strong as a blood ties. However, we missed the opportunity to continue with the same perseverance for the land remediation cause". Also A7 believes "the landfill issue allowed the awakening of a community asleep until then. The whole waste emergency and the reopening of the Pianura landfill produced positive results. Pianura was developed as the typical dormitory town and only through the waste struggles we created a sense of community and identity that wasn't there before. Old and new inhabitants of Pianura had to come together, discuss and recognize each other and fight for the same purpose".

One external narrative to the neighbourhood which believed in the propulsive change of those days is ES4 and says: "the waste mismanagement issue was brought to the public debate attention thanks to the social movement more than the actual scientific research and I must admit they deserve all the credit on this". Also EA4 agrees on this matter: "unfortunately I believe that not much has changed, for two main reasons. First, environmental struggles are still bound to emergencies, and this has to do with environmental culture only focusing on pollution and disasters, which in turn, reduces the space for action. Secondly, I think the movement should have produced an archive where stories would be collected and shared. I am afraid the collective memory of what has happened is going to be lost." EA3 shrugged his shoulders and said "Alas! Nothing changed. But I hope we can meet again in 10 years and maybe I will have good news".

Moreover, both locals and externals had very similar positions how much Pianura did not really change its main feature of being the periphery. However, some would argue they were optimistic on the future of the neighbourhood, bearing much hope on the young generations: "Pianura remains the periphery, a big and abandoned ghetto […] but I have big faith in the abundant number of young citizens, the new generation" A9 says. Similarly, A11 states "I believe the Pianura experience initiated many to a political literacy process that one way or another will always give results. I see many young people getting involved and come to our self-organized park[40]". Also P1 says "Pianura remains the periphery of the city, but I do

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[40] The Parco autogestito Don Gallo is a self-organized park in Soccavo, Pianura's neighbouring district. I have met the young agitators behind the reopening of the abandoned park sited in a cluster of public housing. The committee of youth was involved

believe in the bustle of the numerous youth living here" and continues "It is absurd but I see a bright future coming from the horrible past. Pianura offered cheap housing to many families that could afford a house nowhere else but here. Jerry-building brought to violent urbanization and the loss of the rural aesthetics and identity. However, the migration of young families into the neighbourhood brought to a peak of birth rate. In turn, I believe that the real chance for Pianura's future is its numerous youth".

Last but not least, the perception about the neighbourhood's role within the city and its relation to authorities is a focal matter for those who experienced State violence and repression. A6 believes "we have seen the dark side of the State, its not too hidden agenda and interests...but this is something known, right?". "Those days made us understand the consideration that the State and authorities have of peripheries: here they deliver the bads and squeeze the good of out us" states A5 and similarly A1 says "the city can no longer pretend like Pianura does not exist, they cannot look the other way anymore. The periphery exists and it does have a set of problems to be solved" and he continues "we only see the State as the punisher[41] that sometimes appears, imposes something and this is very negative in terms of how people relate to it". "I would like to say to institutions that they better listen to people protesting. Voices from the streets, from the ground are too often ignored. And then catastrophes happen" A4 strongly affirms.

• *The perceived current socio-environmental scenario*
Moreover, not only people's understanding of the direct consequences of those days had changed, but also and foremost the socio-environmental aspects of the neighbourhood under-went a transformation. The majority still perceives Pianura to be the *dorm,* the embodiment of what constitutes the periphery. "Over the last years the quality of life improved...the first years I lived here it was way worse, it was very chaotic and run down...but Pianura is still the epitome of the periphery" says A2. "We live in a neighbourhood where there is no *agora* neither physical nor symbolic" A3 says "but after all is not the worst periphery you can live in: the organized crime is no longer as powerful as it was until early 2000s, we have many public means of transportation connecting the neighbourhood to the city centre and we have the University

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in this project of rehabilitation and construction of a collective space for events, arts, debates. http://www.globalproject.info/it/in_movimento/napoli-inaugurazione-parco-autogestito-don-andrea-gallo/14346

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campus close-by[42]."Hence some would consider it to be relatively a good periphery to live in. "I must admit we gained something: we got green luscious vegetation around us which we didn't see anymore for long time. Nature is awakening and you can sometimes spot wild animals. We hope nature is concurring herself in the process of giving us back all that they tried to take away from us" A4 points out.

On the contrary, others would just describe it to be the same old ghetto it has always been. I remember I was on a car ride around the neighbourhood with A5 and he said "well, we just had a walk together and you saw how things are. You have seen garbage laying in the streets, in the meantime we pay the garbage tax. This means money is not equally spent: there is one part of Napoli, the so-called city or the headquarters, and then there are other neighbourhoods which are completely disregarded and neglected". "The city administration did not even include Pianura in the municipal waste recycling programme, this makes me feel like we have lost our struggle" sadly says A3. Also A5 confirms this position: "I believe nothing changed we still live in a ghetto. We are the city of Napoli, however here everything is possible, you can dare all sort of impunities". Some would be as crude as they could be: "I think Pianura remains the *banlieu*, the abandoned periphery" as EA2 believes.

Again, the major differences can be found by dividing the interviewees in local dwellers and those from the outside. The externals, in turn are both those who actively participated during the Pianura days and those who were interviewed for the peculiar account on what happened they could provide. Politicians showed mixed feelings and perceptions about the current status of Pianura socio-environmental milieu. Interestingly enough some discussed the divide between what could be defined the green versus the red agenda, where only an up-town middle class population would be interested and engage in environmental protection and struggles, once the economic status is fairly secure. "I believe peripheries will always be mistreated by the institutions and when there is no economic stability there cannot be social and environmental security" believes P2. And ES2, on this matter says: "unemployment is a big problem in Pianura, so the environmental issue is not a priority".

Moreover, a fairly distributed current problem is considered to be the alarming rate of diseases and rare pathologies affecting the local community. On this matter, A4 says "we did not make up stories, in this area we have one deceased relative in every family; we are a small community and every month someone dies for the same reason...cancer. Currently, us living in

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[42] The Federico II is the first and oldest University of the city of Napoli. The School of Sciences and Economics campus is based in Fuorigrotta, which is the neighbourhood that connects the city centre and Pianura.

Contrada Pisani are the ones suffering the most." "Now people understood what happened over the decades, there are so many families suffering for the outbreak of rare pathologies" states A2. A6 believes "the presence of the landfill is still perceived by those who have health related issues; people connected the dots and link the health problems to the landfill". "The environmental issue nowadays is linked to the genocide of our population that calls for action and responsibility of the city of Napoli and the country as a whole." states P1.

• *Activism VS the never-disappearing landfill's ghost*

How much the landfill still influences people's lives? What do they think is crucial to address? These were the last questions I would have in mind at the end of each interview. Hence, I believed it was important to investigate what are the landfill and activism stories nowadays.

Some have moved to other forms of participation in the social life of Pianura. "We are now addressing our energies to struggles on the matter of illegal building, waste sorting and recycling and the never-ending issue of the sewage system" says A1 and similarly A4 states "we are currently fighting for our right to a sewage system service. We are Italian and European citizens and we are the only part of the city of Napoli which does not have services like sidewalks, city lights sewage system". Others still feel the importance of addressing the scary presence of the landfill insisting on the territory. "Today the landfill represents a dark shadow looming over Pianura: many families suffer the disgrace of having ill relatives with diseases that are related to the presence of the landfill; moreover, the value of real estate in Pianura has dropped dramatically because of the landfill" says A9. A5 says "the problem is still there, the landfill has not been cleaned up, but for now Pianura will keep on crying over the many deceased". "In Pianura land remediation is almost impossible. There is very little you can do when 35 million cubic meters of all sorts of waste have been dumped somewhere. What must be done is to at least reduce the environmental impacts to a minimum by capturing the biogas emissions that are still happening" denounces EA1. "When the landfill was included in the SIN mapping[43], authorities started soil analysis and characterization to then start the land remediation process. Circa 20'000 euros funding were given by the central government, but

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[43] SIN stands for Site of National Interest, which defines a geographical area where land remediation must be implemented due to the environmental damage caused by previous management and use. On the contrary, SIR stands for site of Regional Interest and is a declassification to the regional level of competence.
[Available online at: http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:CFxvZfx-qAgJ:www.infoparlamento.eu/index.php%3Foption%3Dcom_mtree%26task%3Datt_download%26link_id%3D3589%26cf_id%3D444+&cd=1&hl=it&ct=clnk&gl=se. Accessed on: April 25, 2016].

then they were diverted somewhere else. In addition, then the landfill was declassified to SIR and it seems like the regional administration has no idea of what has been done until now...can you imagine extremely costly analysis just lost in the bureaucratic process? What is the future of this? Where are the land remediation money?" wonders A2.

Many are concerned there will never be a land remediation process at all. For instance, A5 says "nothing is moving, the site has been simply declassified two years ago. Maybe somewhere at the Court House of Napoli someone is studying on the materials collected by the investigations". And also A3 believes "It's very unlikely that there will be land remediation, the actual landfill site is huge and it will cost millions and it will be so complicated to work on the characterization of each and every cm of land ...so maybe it is better to just forget about the existence of the landfill and simply avoid the worse scenarios". "What we lost is the chance to keep up the good work and follow up with the land remediation work but the site was declassified from SIN to SIR" adds A4. However, P1 believes "demanding land remediation is the natural request of seeing the basic right being recognized after Pianura has been the dumpsite of Italy" and continues "when there was the need to dump toxic material the site was of national strategic interest...but now that land remediation is needed it has been declassified to site of regional interest. Eventually it will become *SIP* as for site of Pianura's interest". "At the present, we know what kind of waste was legally and illegally dumped in the landfill, we have had an ongoing trial to define the responsibilities for the environmental disaster and we have seen the birth of a critical community. The work I am doing with the Provincial Commission of Inquiry[44] is to also keep the memory alive, so that it won't fade away" says P1.

Table 7. One of the old entrances of the landfill from via Montagna Spaccata, as it looked in August 2012. Source: Google Maps.

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[44] Commissione di Inchiesta Provinciale was constituted on January 2011 to investigate the management of the Di.Fra.Bi. Landfill.

6. Discussion

"We've always been sure and aware that peripheries are constructed because they are favourable to this model of society we are in. They are increasingly similar in the global south. They are the social dumps and the hazardous dumps for industrial waste. [...] We have nothing left to do. We must react together, to invert such tremendous tendency." (Zaccaria 2008: 85)

"Mais l'histoire d'aujourd'hui, par ses constetations, nuos force à dire que la révolte est l'une des dimensions essentielles de l'homme. Elle est notre réalité historique." (Camus 1951: 37)

The mobilization around the reopening of Pianura's landfill has been the initial topic of scrutiny for this research project. The strategy was to study the actors involved, their forms of activism and motivations. The attempt was to deconstruct the dominant narrative over the 2008 events and create a story of everyday environmentalism (Loftus 2012), to explore how the collective identity of Pianura's movement was constructed on the battleground of social, environmental and political struggles. The aim was to understand how multiple actors and groups existed and resisted in Pianura's social milieu, each with their context-embedded memories, discourses and ideals of mobilization and justice. The crucial and focal experience through which the story would have been uncovered was the riot, as the resisting community's complex response to the manifest State-led violence of 2008. Moreover, the investigation over activism forms and activists' narratives was part of the attempt to create a counter-narrative, a history from below which would investigate on how narration and storytelling allow and produce a sense of belonging.

At the peak of a 20 years long waste emergency, an unprecedented resistance was performed in refusing to accept the top-down decision of re-opening the local landfill. The rupture with the past was strongly expressed by the movement, when the local community engaged in claiming the right to prevent the umpteenth disparity and injustice in the distribution of social, economic and environmental burdens that the reopening of the facility would have brought along.

The history and creation of a marginalized neighbourhood - identified with a polluting landfill and sited at the outskirts of the metropolis – was initially supposed to be the background upon which the grievances and forms of environmental justice activism that Pianura's citizens undertook would be unfolded. The theoretical framework that was intended to be used for the case study was Urban Political Ecology (Heynen and Swyngedouw 2003; Heynen, Kaika and Swyngedouw 2006) and Environmental Justice (Bullard 1993; Martinez-Alier 2002).

However, what happened while doing field work was unexpected. During the collection of oral histories of those who lived the neighbourhood and the movement, the aim was to allow temporal and narrative space for personal, group and peculiar themes of narration, speed and interpretations. I have collected oral histories over two months of field work, interviewing activists, politicians and experts from academia. In analyzing the data, I came to realize that a major contribution both in terms of time and information given by the interviewees would not be about the days of resistance but about the history of Pianura. At first, I thought I would investigate over what happened in 2008 when instead, one way or another, I had to come to terms with history being the leitmotif for the majority of narrations. The actual time spent talking about the transformations Pianura went through and the quantity of information I gathered on what is previous to 2008 made me reconsider few things.

Neither I could, nor I wanted to force the narration to go somewhere I was interested in at the beginning, whereas something else was so powerfully breaking out. Hence, the approach was to give stories the temporal and narrational space to arise and therefore draw on what people felt important to say, in order see patterns in their oral histories. The strategy of approaching the data as a lively body of stories, allowed me to uncover why the tales from Pianura are a crucial case of Urban Political Ecology investigation. In a qualitative research project, the odds of the systematic appearance of a definition in each and single contribution are resounding. The term used by all interviewees, from local activists, to politicians and academics, to define Pianura, whether that will be a current characteristic or a process, was *dorm*. The history of Pianura is embedded with tales of injustice, marginalization, disaggregation. Such socio-environmental inequalities are a fundamental part of the urbanization process (Cook & Swyngedouw 2012) and it is crucial to denaturalize the scalar political and economic inequalities played out through the history of Pianura. I had to acknowledge what this meant for the community's narration, perceptions and for the story I wanted to tell.

6.1 The metabolism of Napoli

When you look at the suburban cyborg (Swyngedouw 2006) and what went wrong, you see a landscape of isolation and specialization: that fragmentation of the city and the isolation of uses are part of the city metabolism (Heynen, et al., 2006a). Pianura, within the city of Napoli and more broadly at the regional and also national scale, is produced and reproduced as a social dump through flows of waste, humans, capital, services, piperno and concrete (Coe et al., 2007). These socio-environmental flows constitute the hybrid assemblage of the city (Swyngedouw 2006). From Greek and Roman times, the volcanic morphological composition of the area shaped specific land uses. On one hand, resources such as piperno[45] were used as building material for the construction of the majority of Napoli's buildings which, therefore, defined the local labor force to be employed in quarries up until the first decade of the 20th century (Přikryl and Smith 2007). This, in turn, shaped the very morphology of the area which was characterized by hills and quarries. On the other hand, being a volcanic area composed of ancient craters and mountains, also very close to the city centre, Pianura was easily chosen to become the dumpsite of Napoli in 1956. After building materials flew out of the area and waste was delivered and dumped in the ancient Senga crater, a new flow intersects the history of the neighbourhood. Urbanization brought along the need to accommodate a growing population, which profited from the cheap housing provided by real estate developers investing in illegal construction.

Pianura was primarily chosen for the vast not-yet urbanized spaces, and for the proximity to the city, while taking advantage of the absence of an urban development plan. Hence, the flow of citizens into the neighbourhood transformed the monetary value of the area, throughout the transformation from rural village to the concrete jungle. While more and more people moved to the neighbourhood, waste was flowing into the ancient crater shaping the physical, social and economic environment by providing income to some families of the area. In the meantime, waste made its way to the very physical bodies of those who inhabited the area. The quality of waste changed over decades when the management of the landfill moved from municipal to private business until tons of industrial, toxic and hazardous waste were both

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[45] The building of the city of Napoli has been historically tied to the exploitation of piperno stone in the Phlegarean fields , specifically in Pianura and Soccavo. Přikryl R., Smith B. J., (2007). *Building Stone decay: From Diagnosis to Conservation.* The Geological Society of London [Available online at: http://sp.lyellcollection.org/content/271/1/local/front-matter.pdf. Accessed on: March 2, 2016]

legally and illegally dumped, buried and burned in Pianura. Also the human migration changed over time: during post-war times many young middle class families moved to the neighbourhood; whereas specifically with the 1980's earthquake, low-income and disadvantaged residents from the historical centre of Napoli were forced to resettle in Pianura. At the interplay between human, social, and capital flows there are two major actors controlling the territory. Many of those I interviewed, in one way or another, defined them: the State and the *other State*. Following Cook and Swyngedouw: "the state plays a pivotal role in the process of environmental injustice. Whether deliberately or not, it helps to shape who is exploited, ignored, rewarded and listened to, and how this privileging is exercised. It also has considerable power to exacerbate, displace or alleviate existing socio-environmental injustices or create entirely new ones" (Cook & Swyngedouw 2012: 1969). In Pianura, the State's absence in the forms of services, infrastructures and social security made space for the *other form of polity* to govern and hegemonize the neighbourhood. Camorra had a pivotal role in controlling the territory, its economy, politics, development, sociality. The organized crime use of the neighbourhood is a *de facto* privatization of resources in the hands of few clans.

Pianura found itself at the forefront of the rural merging with the urban. The dialectical relation between matter, humans, capitals is expressed through the expansion of the city in material and physical sense when its boundaries expand; but also in terms of the interconnected emptying and filling flows, trades, displacements. Moreover, the externalization, expulsion and consequential siting of materials, waste and humans produced a peculiar conjunction of profit and oppression (Heynen, Kaika and Swyngedouw 2006). The waste is disposed and people are displaced, and they interact over time, when those inhabiting the neighbourhood drink the locally produced wine or breathe the air whose pungent odour rises at some time during the day or when wind blows. These processes, in turn, forge and produce changes and outcomes, such as long term soil contamination and biogas emissions that enter the food chain, deposit in the bodies of humans, animals and plants. The production and reproduction of the urban nature (Heynen, Kaika and Swyngedouw 2006) are triggered by *hidden* political processes of exploitation: the history of Pianura's territory and community is embedded in strongly uneven power relations, which allowed a little populated, peripheral community to become both the environmental and social dump. Environmental injustice is exercised through capitalist circulative processes of commodification, extraction and disposal of socio-ecological flows, and contests the "differential exposure to environmental bads and access to environmental goods experienced by different social groups" (Bickerstaff et al. 2009: 592).

The environmental dump is embodied in the landfill with its stench, contamination and

modification of the biophysical space. Whereas, the social dump is so powerfully described as the abandoned, borderline, defined by a weak sense of community, concrete jungle and dorm. The uneven and unjust urban landscape and social *milieu* of both the environmental and social dump are co-produced along the lines of the metabolic process driven by the forces of capitalist exploitation and accumulation. Understanding the co-production of the social and environmental dump also implies going beyond the Environmental Justice literature debate (Holifield et al. 2009) insisting on: "were the hazards disproportionately sited in minority communities or did minority residents move in after hazards were sited?" (Pastor, Sadd and Hipp 2001:2). The interconnected circulation and metabolism processes between the city and the dorm, Pianura's inhabitants and the *munnezza*, soil and capital are the contested battlefield where socio-natural relations are rearranged, reinvented, narrated and transformed.

6.2 The structural, slow and environmental violence of creating a social dump

The *metabolic flows*, in urban political ecology terms, or transformation processes, as the interviewees recalled, co-produced a geography of exclusion (Sibley 1995) defining Pianura as the repository of a controlled displacements of socio-environmental bads. In people's memories these processes were perceived as an act of violence performed by powerful actors such as the State, Camorra, industrialists and the rich part of town. Following Heynen, Kaika and Swyngedouw (2006) the political processes of exploitation, which trigger the production and reproduction of a peculiar urban nature, are *hidden*. The invisibility or difficulty to detect such processes is their feature. They are naturalized and not questioned, often not perceived as unjust and violent at all.

In the case of Pianura, the violence people felt to be victims of is an indirect form of violence. Johan Galtung's "structural violence is silent, it does not show" (1969: 173) goes beyond and widens what is the vastly accepted and recognized definition of violence. This kind of violence is "built into the structure and shows up as unequal power" (Galtung 1969: 171). In Pianura, the presence of a polluting landfill, little income sectors, disaggregated social groups, the strong presence of Camorra, the absence of services, the rising health issues detected on the territory and all the attempts to displace socio-environmental bads, which occurred through decades, sketch a history of marginalization and oppression, which constitute structural violence (Galtung 1969).

The injustice embedded in the landscape, bodies, memories and narrations of Pianura uncover a story of social and environmental injustice that can easily be imperceptible (Nixon

2011). However, the violence that Pianura experienced and continues to is not static, on the contrary the question of time is crucial. The temporal scale and span, through which the effect of the process of accumulation by contamination (Demaria and D'Alisa 2013), marginalization and exclusion in Pianura, allow these processes to be imperceptible changes whereby violence continues to be reproduced and fueled. On the contrary, the very instant, resounding, visible and manifest violence deployed by the community in 2008 has been the dominant narrative of medias and authorities, who take advantage and are dependent on the immediacy and spectacular forms. In the history of Pianura, the concept of slow violence (Nixon 2011) is stretched as not only contaminants build up in people and ecosystems' bodies but also in narratives, conceptions, perceptions, injustices and exploitation, producing a physical and discursive marginalization and toxicity.

The visible and unprecedented violence of 2008 comes to be collectively motivated as a consequence of "social conflict, accumulation by dispossession, corporate/State recourse to violence" […] "premised on the production of sacrifice zones and disposable bodies." (Barca 2014: 5). In other words, environmental violence "acts according to configurations of environmental injustice" (Barca 2014: 5)

In Pianura, the history of sediment exclusion and injustice, stretched through decades, played a crucial role in giving meaning and grounding to the bricolage of struggles and protests developed during early 2008. In the history of social and environmental struggles, it is precisely through violence that marginalized groups often gain access to public spaces of democracy and decision-making in the urban space (Mitchell 2003) where participation is triggered by coexisting and conflicting interests and power relations. The visibility and spectacularity of Pianura's riots allowed a fairly easy definition of the protest as a violent act of rebellion, out of the ordinary participative definition of the public debate over decision-making. However, "the seemingly irrationality of violence […] becomes a *rational* means for redressing the *irrationality* of injustice" (Mitchell 2003: 53), when violence is the only way to "set the scales of justice right again" (Arendt 1972: 161).

In the tales from Pianura, violence has not been the only practice of resistance, nor it is crucial for this research project to investigate whether it really was the only option at hand for activists and protesters. Nonetheless, the memories of past structural violence, such as the Camorra socio-economic hegemony, the absence of services often promised as traded commodities in the face of continuous environmental degradation, the heterogeneity of population and the concrete jungle, the continuous State violence deployed every time the future of the landfill was at stake, all conflated into a narrative of injustice. Hence, during the

peak of the waste emergency in 2008, when the waste conflict hit the city and the CWE proposed to reopen the historical landfill, a community was ready to resist and a transformative experience erupted, re-signifying the physical and discoursive space through the struggle. The struggle was also an endeavour to counter the monopoly of legal violence, which is a crucial feature of the State, even more so when a "state of emergency blurs the borders between what has been considered a ''proper'' use of violence and its abuse" (Armiero and D'Alisa 2012: 61).

The 2008 conflict in Pianura has been narrated and constructed by activists as a response to the understanding of the historical events, social relations, political and economic policies played out on the territory. What was important to them was to uncover the naturalized and silenced governmental and criminal violence playing out through policies, criminal interests and profit, which is at the core of environmental violence (Peluso and Watts 2001). The very material outcomes of such kinds of violence are played out over houses, vineyards, mountains, craters and people's bodies. Nonetheless, environmental, slow and structural violence have a deeper and even more silent level of repercussions on people and ecosystems' memories, agency and voices. Narrative violence plays out through the silencing and hiding of evidence, stories and information (Barca 2014), and is deployed by State apparatuses, corporations and experts. The voices that such kind of violence has been tried to silence are those from the local dwellers of Pianura and beyond, who may be radical Marxists or fascists, teachers or unemployed, academics or housewives. The repression of such stories has been functional to the construction of the social dump, nonetheless it is precisely through the emergency and the struggle that the counter-hegemonic response of the resisting community came to be in all its peculiarity and undisciplined obstreperousness.

6.3 The imagined community and the rising of toxic narratives

Place and space are always a stratification and continuous field of contestation among peculiar memories and tales which, in turn, are co-produced by those who inhabit, dwell, imagine, trespass, use and are shaped by them (Mitchell 2003; De Certeau 1985). The suburban cyborg (Swyngedouw 2006) of Pianura is a bricolage of piperno, commuters, craters, Camorra, churches, concrete illegal buildings and streets, smells, peasants, waste and too few schools or sewage system. From the agrarian village to the current urban jungle it went through massive

socio-economic-environmental transformations that produced different meanings, imaginaries and understanding of the neighbourhood. The urban metabolism of the city of Napoli at large constituted the material and narrative space where people, stories and waste co-existed. The oral histories I have collected in Pianura and the city of Napoli are a canvas of conflicting, opposing and sometimes merging imaginaries. The memories are informed and embedded in the current context as much as draw upon shared histories. Pianura has been defined a dorm, a disaggregated space where injustice and exploitation were the red thread connecting all the historical processes. The perception of Pianura as an ugly place is shared among both local dwellers and people from outside the neighbourhood. However, the inhabitants of the suburb elaborate this narrative as opposed to a previous historical phase of a luscious agrarian society, where social ties and local identity were a strong feature. Whereas, people from outside Pianura do not recall any history previous to the social dump. What occurred in Pianura is bound to the construction of the periphery over time, where there are no unifying rites and collective practices.

Waste has materially produced and shaped the spatialization of winners and losers. Once produced somewhere it must be dumped, hence it ends up polluting and contaminating the places it goes to, building up into human, water and animal bodies. Capitalism profits and accumulates and consumes on the basis of creating geographies of exclusion and exploitation (Bullard 1990; Hofrichter 1993; Martínez-Alier 2005). Moreover, waste affects places and imaginaries, redefines identities and creates toxic autobiographies (Newman 2012). The imagined community (Anderson 1991; Harper 2001) of Pianura as a narrative tool was specifically constructed around the wasted opportunities and socio-economic relations as much as on wasted lands and lives.

2008 is the event when the discursive construction of a shared identity, biography, belonging and practices became a political opportunity to imagine "radically different urban socio-ecological assemblages" (Kaika and Swyngedouw 2012: 24). The role of social histories, the local political economy, the symbolically mediated perceptions and power relations (Timura 2001) played a crucial role in the outbreak of the movement, and in its peculiar manifestations. The imagined community made sense of what happened to Pianura and embroider a common history of segregation, marginalization that everybody from the neighbourhood could be part of and refer to. In turn, the stratification of memories and toxic autobiographies (Newman 2012) conflated into a very material action when the CWE proposed to reopen the historical landfill again.

In 2008, the emergency discourse of cleaning up the streets of the city of Napoli and the

very material use of riot police clashed with the practices, resistances and struggles of Pianura's community that "was ready to resist" and that "was not there before". But "how [...] to illuminate both historical processes of subalternity and possible ways forward in the struggle over difference?" (Escobar 2008: 10).

6.4 The riot: epiphany of the resisting community's subaltern environmentalism

When I realized the importance of such hidden and silenced story, I could see the picture clearly: historicizing the movement of Pianura was to understand and commit to a toxic autobiography (Newman 2012) of the neighbourhood.

2008 did not happen in a vacuum. Understand what, how and why such an unprecedented resistance came to be, must be rooted within a temporal and discursive frame that I did not understand before. People's narratives, imaginaries and significance of the 2008 resistance were diverse and also conflicting; however, 2008 was given a common, shared meaning through the history of the neighbourhood. The past is both a discursive and material flashback. During interviews, in approaching the topic of the 2008 riots, many of the interviewees detoured to recall the historical marginalization, oppression and violence as what brought such outcome about. 2008 was perceived as the consequence of historical, political and economic processes. The riot was narrated by those who experienced it as a response to continued political and economic "marginalization, struggles over identity and concerns for quality of life and the continued degradation of the physical environment" (Pulido 1996: 3).

The environmental justice perspective provides a lens through which understanding and unwrapping how environmental burdens of industrial production and waste disposal have uneven effects along the different lines of society, politics, gender, space and race (Bullard 1990; Faber 1998; Harvey 2001; Merchant 2005). It arose in the United States of America, however it went beyond its historical and geographical roots to then expand to movements, struggles and communities all over the world, who recognize common features along the lines of their subaltern status in differential political, economic and social environments. Subalternity as a framework goes beyond the categories of class, gender, ethnicity age and it is all of them at the same time too. People's identities are simultaneous, multiple and co-existing, not only among people but also within the actual single self (Hall 1991).

The tales from Pianura are a case of environmental justice because, they are a story of uneven distribution of environmental risks and gains; there is a strong connection between the struggle for environmental and health protection; moreover, the call for justice goes beyond the

compensation principle and the struggle is an attempt to reclaim self-determination. The riot in Pianura is subaltern because it goes beyond the fracture lines of class struggle and brought together different individuals, groups, experiences and practices, from hooligans groups belonging to extreme right wing political movements to extra-parliamentary radical left party, to mid-upper class entrepreneurs from Pozzuoli to local dwellers from Pianura – both young and older in age – and people belonging to the local catholic church, all facing, in one way or another, a "relationship of structured and institutionalized inequality" (Pulido 1996: 4). Initially, I was obsessed with the idea of searching for the radical, politically appealing, ecologically sound and cohesive movement.

However, I had to come to terms with the stories, the narratives and motivations and meanings I was introduced to and only then I discovered something far more resounding that what I hoped for at first.

The red thread of marginalization and exploitation brought together people from completely different backgrounds, political affiliations and cultural references. Some of them could not be classified as environmentalists, others were far distant from being interested in radically change the neo-liberal business as usual of the Camorra-industrialists-authorities' criminal partnership. What they all shared was the construction of a shared interpretation of who they were for the city of Napoli and 2008 is the event through which they transformed a history of division into a practice of resistance. I was not aware of my very quest for a social movement to romanticize (Rangan 1993; Pulido 1996) until I didn't find one.

The struggle over waste disposal in Pianura was the upsurge of a subaltern environmentalist movement, which exposed the distributional injustices (Guha 2000) embedded in the histories, memories, bodies and socio-natures of the neighbourhood. It is subaltern because "it is simultaneously about both material concerns and systems of meaning" (Pulido 1996: 13). The subalternity of Pianura is played out on different terms and levels. It is explicated in how the neighbourhood is perceived in the metabolic narrative of the city of Napoli, always being considered as a synonym of dumpsite, landfill, place where waste ends up to. Subalternity is perceived by local dwellers, fighting for a recognition coming from the outside of being more than just a social dump. Pianura's territory was in the hands of powerful Camorra families that played out a crucial role in making the sense of place difficult to be constructed beyond the categories of violence and predatory attitude towards the territory. A lively, dynamic and active community could not be constructed outside the Camorra's control. The lack of public infrastructure triggered the sense of alienation towards the public sphere, also seen as something that you would have to defend yourself from. In many oral histories,

authorities were perceived to appear in the neighbourhood only when the umpteenth exploitation or violence had to be imposed over the territory. Moreover, the commuting feature of the the local inhabitants' majority historically thwarted the possibility of constructing a collective sense of belonging.

No matter the differences in the ideals, motivations, hopes, forms of activism and political affiliation, 2008 was the epiphany of the material and discursive patterns of domination, exploitation and injustice Pianura is constituted of. Moreover, 2008 is the consequential construction of a shared biography, a narrative of belonging, existence and justification of a resisting community in opposition to prevailing powers, injustices, violence and inequity. It is in the very barricades, the filing of petitions, collection of medical records, the hijacking and setting on fire of public transportation buses that the subaltern resisting community was constructed and built. The struggle was embodied and performed in all the different forms of activism deployed in Pianura that constitute the case of a subaltern environmentalist fight over the recognition of the historical injustices played out. The imagined community transformed into a community of practices with a collective narrative and history to shout out loud and fight for.

7. Conclusions

When did I think this was a good idea? How could someone possibly believe to be able to do this? How could I merge all these stories in a coherent and impeccable dissertation structure and be able to contribute to the enhancement of academic research?

Pianura is far away from where I am writing this thesis, both geographically and time-wise. It has taken me very much time and energy to work on this project, that I strongly believed it would turn into failure. However, each time I tried to keep this project away from me, it would get back and remind me how much I feel engaged towards it. Informed by the feminist critical methodology, I was aware that "fieldwork is intensely personal, in that the positionality [i.e. position based on class, gender, race, etc.] and biography of the researcher plays a central role in the research process, in the field as well as in the final text" (England 1994: 251). However, I did not and could not know how much this project would reflect into my everyday life and vice versa.

Through the different stages of research, I attempted at conducting an ethnographic action research project over the case study of Pianura a neighbourhood in the western periphery of Napoli, Italy. Pianura has been constructed and reproduced as a social dump, through

historical processes of marginalization and subordination to the metabolic flows within the socio-economic-environmental power relation of the city of Napoli. Violence as a red thread that connects the whole history of the neighborhood has been discussed, imposed, shared, narrated. Contrary to the mainstream interest on the violent events of the powerful protest against the re-opening of the landfill in 2008, this research showed the importance of silenced and structural environmental and narrative violence. It is important to uncover the history of violence played out in Pianura, to both give voice to the subversive stories and narratives but also to understand how the resisting community came to be constructed. The violent transformations processes Pianura went through were the very story the whole community could refer to and feel part of. In this sense, oral histories and memories about the neighborhood's marginalization and injustices constitute the common ground upon which Pianura's multiple and variegated struggle – composed of mothers, hooligans, radical students from Centri Sociali, local dwellers, fascists and catholic associations – was built and performed. However, it is in the very focal experience and epiphany of the 2008 struggle that the oral histories and memories were transformed into a practice of resistance. The resisting community, its identity and its claims were constructed, assembled, discussed and fought for in the very struggle.

Something that arises from the tales from Pianura is crucial to whoever investigates environmental conflicts in the field of political ecology. People make an identity as they make a living. Communities resist and rise up against hegemonic powers and build collective institutions, redistribute benefits and risks and struggle to maintain their dignity. Local actions provide alternative visions of politics and decision-making processes. By accepting or refusing "on their own terms" some forms of modernization, communities present an active face that challenges the homogenization and exploiting forces of globalization (Iengo, January 22nd 2015).

Pianura was chosen as a path of least resistance (Armiero 2008). The marginalized, poor and socially weak community of Pianura has been a testing ground for a capitalist process of accumulation by contamination (Demaria and D'Alisa 2013) that through decades of structural violence redefined the socio-environmental geography of the neighbourhood. As a response to the sedimentation of structural, slow and perpetrated violence maybe less noisy and resounding compared to the street riots and guerrilla attacks of the activists the identity of Pianura has changed and transformed. The conflict over waste disposal uncovered the uneven distribution of burdens, and allowed the construction of a resisting community which was not there before. Maybe the tales from Pianura is not the cornerstone case of traditional urban environmental

justice. Maybe Pianura is not the story of a local community that takes back the spaces of discussion and decision over the territory. However, it is the crude tale and complex and ever-changing history of a periphery that experiences the enthusiasm of a process through which a community comes to be and is shaped. Whether it was a brief sporadic or a long-lasting rooted process is controversial and still up for discussion.

But the bodies and the narratives talk out loud, revolt and fight a violent system that oppresses, silences and destroys. In the struggle, Pianura went from the social disruption to the experience of sociality, which is discovered and experienced during the crisis. Bodies and narratives adapt and then scatter. A common sense of belonging and a shared history are crucial as propulsive momentum for the resistance and existence of knowledges, identities, memories that structural, narrative, slow and environmental violence of social decay, illegal construction, organized crime and "development" did not arrested nor destroyed or eroded. Socio-environmental conflicts are producers of communities: through the conflict new identities are shaped, narratives are drawn and collective stories and practices unfold. In the struggle, the resisting community rediscovers the agora in the picket and democracy in the rule of the people: the disenfranchised, the subaltern at the forefront of the barricades.

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9. Appendices

Appendix I.

N. Interviewee A (activist) P (politician) EA (expert/activist) ES (expert/scientist)	Interviewee	Gender	Age (at the time of the interview: June-July 2014)	Education/ Profession
A1	A1	Male	42	Under-graduate Bank accountant
2	A2	Female	53	Under-graduate Veterinary
3	A3	Male	25	Master student in Political Sciences
4	A4	Female	56	High school diploma Housewife
5	A5	Male	53	Post-graduate Middle school teacher
6	A6	Male	39	Under-graduate Works at the local airport
7	A7	Male	51	High-school diploma Sales executive
8	A8	Male	44	Undergraduate Priest
9	A9	Male	54	High-school dimploma Traders Union
10	A10	Male	mid-70s	Post-graduate Physician
11	A11	Male	24	Undergraduate student of Economics
12	A12	Male	33	Undergraduate Journalist
13	P1	Male	31	Member of the provincial administration of Napoli; Vice president of the Municipality IX in 2008
14	P2	Male	53	Member of the Municipal District Council of Pianura; President of Municipality IX in 2004

15	P3	Male	mid-40s	City councilman; Member of the Municipal District Council of Pianura in 2008
16	EA1	Male	mid-70s	Doctoral Professor of Geology
17	EA2	Male	46	Post-graduate Lawyer and journalist
18	EA3	Male	41	Post-graduate Lawyer
19	EA4	Male	40	Post-graduate PhD student in Philosophy
20	EA5	Female	33	Under-graduate Editor
21	ES1	Female	57	Doctoral Epidemiologist
22	ES2	Female	57	Post-graduate Architect Vice president of Campania's division of one among the main Italian environmental NGOs
23	ES3	Female	mid-40s	Post-graduate Journalist
24	ES4	Male	52	Doctoral Oncologist