

**EMERGING ORGANIZATIONAL  
FORMS AND DIGITAL  
TECHNOLOGIES:**

**Spanish State case:  
“Indignated” or 15M mobilization**

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# Empirical research

(Dec 2010 - 2011)

28 Interview

Participative observation and virtual ethnography

Web analysis 145 initiatives

*But* focus in analyzing the role of Free Culture movement in  
15M

*But* focus on Catalan case

+ Previous research on the global movement

# Warm up presentation:

1) CONTEXTUALIZATION OF THE SPANISH STATE CASE

2) ADDRESSING THE QUESTIONS OF THE SESSION

3) FINAL REFLEXIONS ON THEORETICAL FRAMES OF ANALYSIS:

# 1) CONTEXTUALIZATION OF THE SPANISH STATE CASE

1. **Disruptive change of scenario** before and after 15 May (15M) mobilization

2. In one month the **level of population support increased enormously** - 80% of the population (Elpais Survey June 2011).

3. Gaining visibility of the mobilization by synchronizing and intervening in **electoral campaigning**. Campaigning for “don't vote” or to vote disrupting bipartidism.

4. **Political message**: Slogans *“Truly democracy now” “Politics do not represent us” “This is not a crisis, is that I don't love you anymore” “We are not a commodity of politicians and bankers”*

5. **Ambivalent character** - both transmitting a **message of “protest”** for life precarization (44% of youth unemployment, housing draconian conditions, cuts in health and education budgets, ....) and a **messages of empowerment “we can”**, citizens getting organize - a more active role of active civic society as resource provider and manager (in contrast to market and state modes).

**Since 2008 high increase of “alternative” practices**: deep increase of cooperativism (workers, housing, wireless, consumers (organic food),...), increase of ethical banking, time banks and other forms of reciprocal cooperation.

On the base of 145 initiatives: **52% frame their action as “performative”/building together/cooperation** in contrast to **32% framed their action as protest** (positioning the action and changes in political institutions).

## 2) ADDRESSING THE QUESTIONS OF THE SESSION

**Which organizational forms were adopted by the movements in each case?**

From a movement of movement of the global movement to an **“informational ecosystem” or commons mobilization.**

Flexibly connect several forms, degree and layers of involvement and contributing to a common pool of moments of convergence; and which run more (in contrast to previous waves) though individual forms of belonging and connect though multi-belonging and previous modes of affinity.

1) Sum and superposition of contributions: **Scalability though “layering” of several degrees and model of involvement.**

2) **“Committed” individualism and “friend affinity” put into action:** Increase of individuals base modes of involvement and multi-belonging. Organization of the mobilization though previous networks of friendship and other forms of affinity.

3) Questions form of representation

# Scalability through “layering” of several degrees and modes of involvement

**First:** “Non-politicized” initiative to mobilize citizens coordinated through Facebook and casual bars aggregating “new” and youth people and by the new groups during the previous 4 months of 15M (inspired by Arab Spring and Iceland mobilizations).

**Second:** Convergence with the **housing movement** and **free culture movement**.

**Third:** 15M big mobilization and spontaneous occupation of square in Madrid. **Square repression** of the little occupation (and its eccos through the social media) activated the **solidarity from social movement networks, mobilizations against education and health cuts** and mobilized them coming also to the squares.

**Four:** Merging in the squares between “new” active citizens with previous (more traditional) **social movements networks** of the global movement or recent mobilizations of students. Later on, going from central squares in each city to neighborhoods.

**Five:** Square repression **arriving to mass media activated the sympathy of older generations** very sensibility in Spanish with police repression evocative of the dictatorship, and the sensibility of large population suffering life precariousness. Not mobilized in the street but supporting the mobilization.

**Six:** In the course of one month, **major trade unions and lefties political parties** also called to mobilize to the days of protest but did not converge with the squares.

**Seven:** The organizers of the first mobilization (**Truly democracy now**) did not converged with the squares either, but keep mobilizing for the shared days of protest.

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