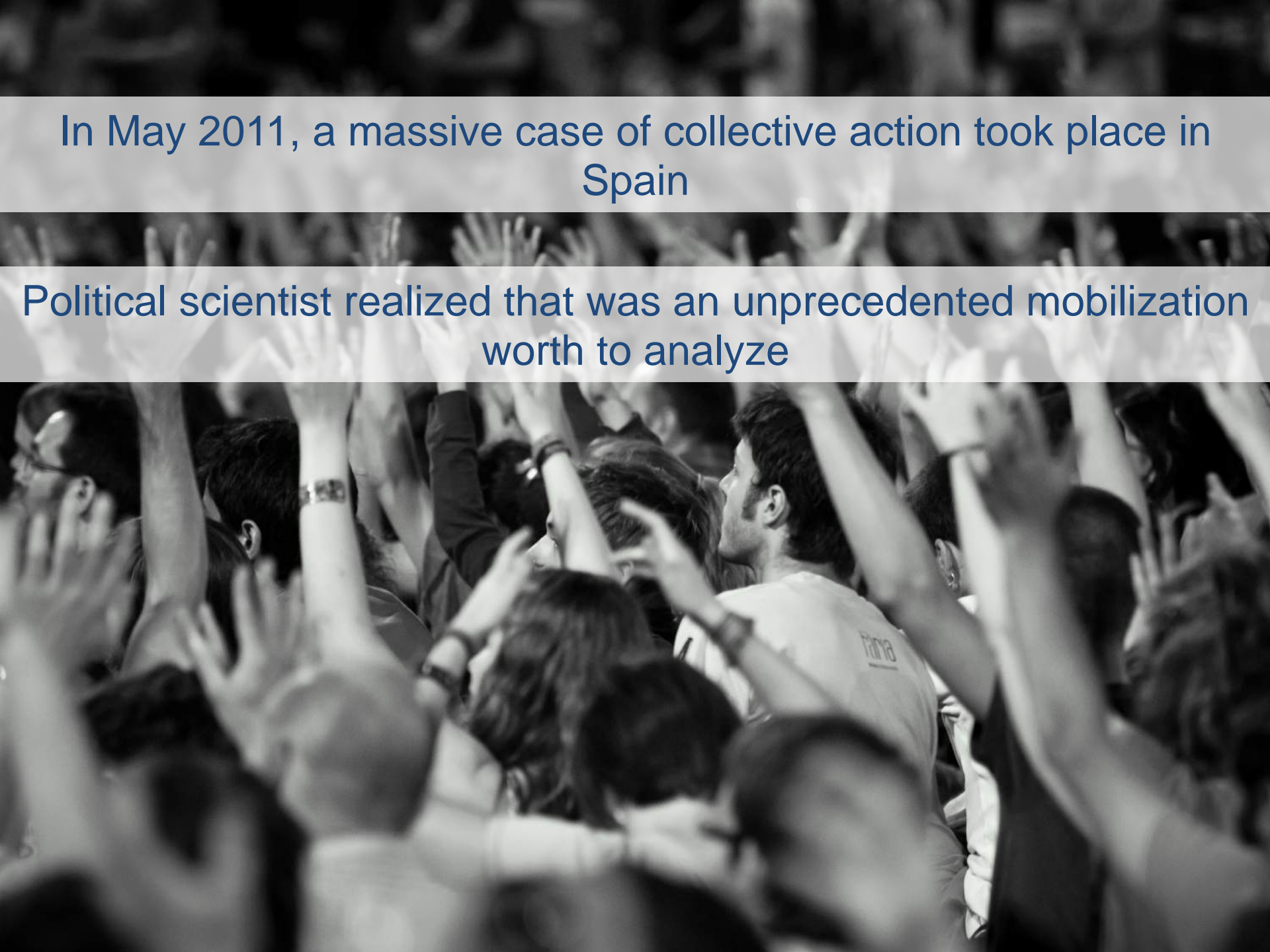


In May 2011, a massive case of collective action took place in Spain

Political scientist realized that was an unprecedented mobilization worth to analyze





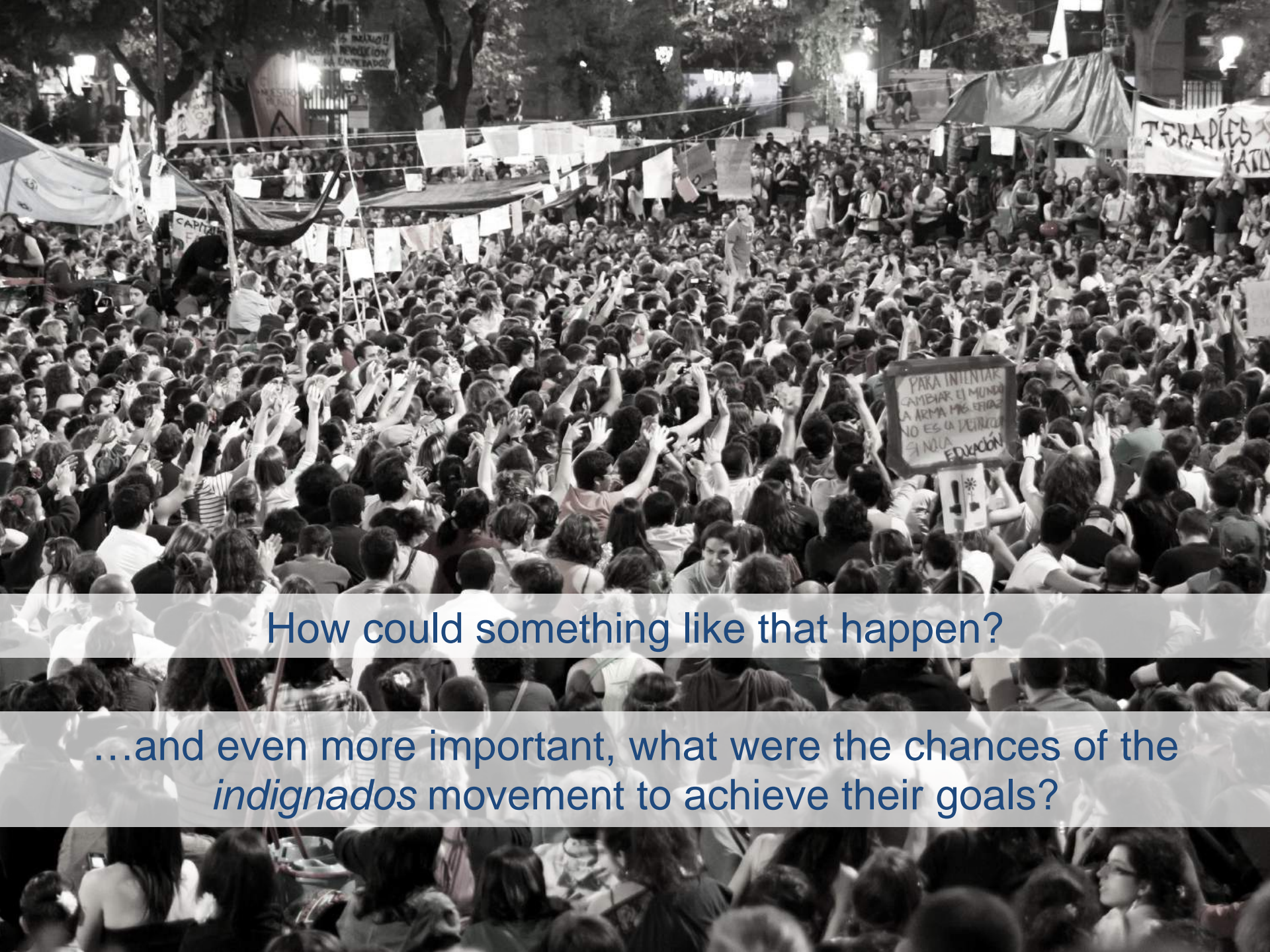
Traditional social, political and economic actors were not involved in the organization

“Democracia Real Ya!” (Real Democracy Now!) was the original motto more than 400 small organizations used for mobilizing a critical mass



The movement was initially organized only through online-based communications

There was no media or political attention during the previous nor the first two days of the “*acampadas*”



How could something like that happen?

...and even more important, what were the chances of the *indignados* movement to achieve their goals?

Mass protest. Chaotic message?

The interaction between the Spanish
indignados and the mass media

Andreu Casas

University of Washington

Ferran Davesa

Vrije Universiteit Brussel (VUB)

Institute for European Studies (IES)

Mariluz Congosto

Carlos III University

Outline

- 1) Literature & hypothesis**
- 2) Methods & data**
- 3) Results**
- 4) Conclusions**
- 5) Discussion**

First Research Question

To what extent did the 15M followed the patterns of the G20 protests in 'Pittsburg' in 2009?

First Research Question

Context

- Social movements need abundant resources to turn from a latent group into a mobilized force (Olson, 1965)
- With the Internet, the costs for taking action are much lower (Lupia & Sin, 2003)

First Research Question

Context

- From collective to ‘connective’ action (Bennett & Segerberg, 2012)

Trade-offs:

- | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------|
| + Communication flexibility | - Internal hierarchy |
| + Co-authoring discourse | - Charismatic leadership |
| + Co-distribution resources | - Dimension of the org. |

First Research Question

Context

- ‘Connective’ action appears as a powerful mobilizing agent, especially among youth
- However, it can compromise the coherence and control of the message → **‘Pittsburgh effect’**

“Disrupted by police assaults and weak organizational coordination, the Pittsburgh protests displayed a cacophony of political messages that were poorly translated in the press and even became the butt of late night comedy routines”

Bennett, L. & Segerberg, A. (2012). “The Logic of Connective Action”,
Information, Communication & Society, 15(5), pp.761



We hypothesized that (H1):

The absence of leadership, hierarchy and informational control **impeded the 15M to create a coherent discourse** but an eclectic, diffused & segmented one

Second Research Question

How was covered the discourse of the 15M movement by Spanish mass media?

Second Research Question

Context

- All social movements need the media to expand their networks (and reach the political agenda) (Tilly, 2004)
- Interdependency → The media need from social movements to generate content (Gitlin, 1980)

Second Research Question

Context

- There is a significant “asymmetry” between social movements and mass media (Tilly, 2004)
- Social movements have a weak capacity to influence the media (McCarthy et al., 1996; Oliver & Maney, 2000; Vliegenthart & Walgrave, 2012)

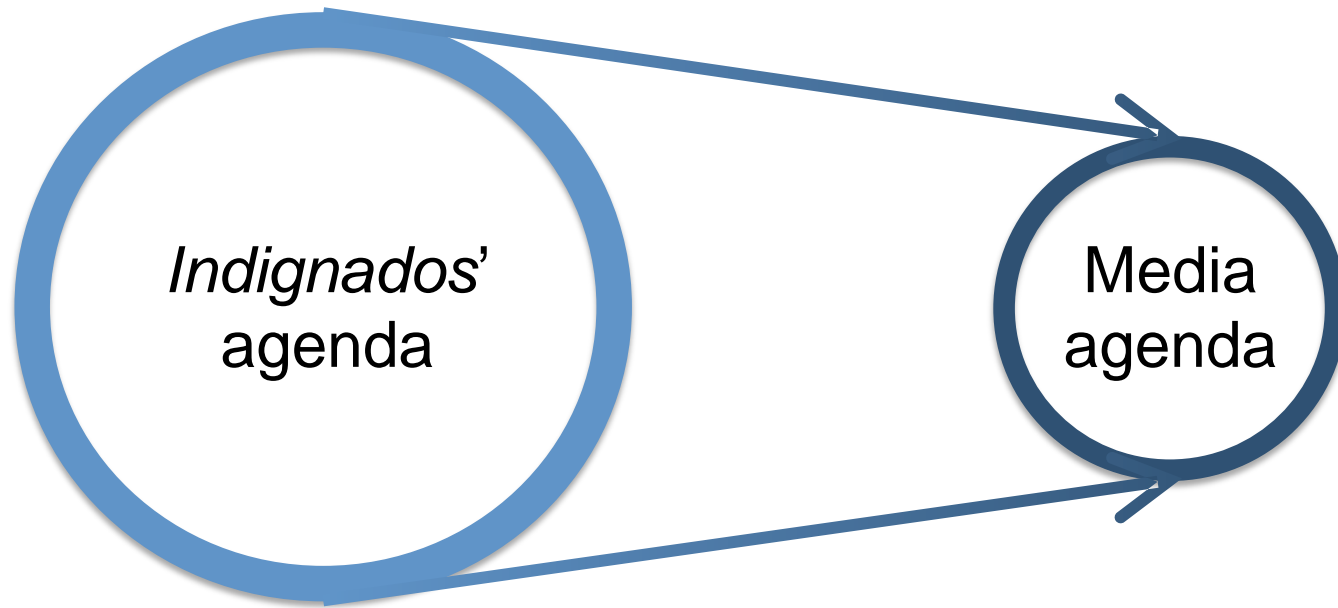
Second Research Question

Context

- *The more, the merrier:*
“organization, professionalism, strategic planning and division of labor” (Gamson & Wolfsfeld, 1993: 528)
- Mass media agenda have limited capacity (Brosius & Kepplinger, 1992; Miller, 1956; Shaw & McCombs, 1977; Zhu, 1992)

We hypothesized that (H2):

Spanish mass media's coverage did not offer a trustworthy portray of *indignados*' discourse but a **narrow and biased selection** of themes



Other factors:

- Reluctance from activists to talk to the media
- Journalists used Social Media to reach the 15M

*Evidence from interviews to 8 journalists from the Spanish newspapers **El País** and **El Mundo** in May 2012*

Third Research Question

Which debates did the media focus their attention onto?



We hypothesized that (H3):

Media coverage focused on dramatic events, violent episodes, and police-related incidents

(Bennett, 1983; Della Porta et al., 2006; Gitlin, 1980; Smith et al., 2001)



“After decades of apparent ‘normalization’ of the confrontation between police and protest, what had been considered by many as a generally accepted ‘post1968 standard’ proved fragile [...] clashes between police and demonstrators have been frequent”

Della Porta et al. (2006). *The Policing of Transnational Protests*, pp.761

Fourth Research Question

Was media coverage influencing back the *indignados* agenda by simplifying and narrowing it down?



- There were no precedent analysis in the literature
- Only about ‘media effects’ upon regular citizens (Entman, 2004; McCombs, 1972, 2013)
- Common use of digital repertoires: ‘Organizational hybridity’ (Bimber et al., 2005; Chadwick, 2007, 2011)

We hypothesized that (H4):

Spanish mass media's coverage had a **strong influence** upon *indignados'* discourse, thus simplifying and narrowing it down

Outline

- 1) Literature & hypothesis
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Content analysis of Twitter interactions

- **DRY** accounts
- **Mass Media** accounts
- **Politicians** accounts
- *Systematic and representative*

Tabla I: Sistema de obtención de muestras de usuarios políticos

Partido	Votos el. 2008 (%)	Votos el. 2011 (%)	Media 08/11 (%)	Usuarios	Muestra Usuarios
PP	39,94	44,62	42,28	528	528
PSOE	43,87	28,73	36,30	1067	454
IU-ICV	3,78	6,92	5,35	331	66
CiU	3,03	4,17	3,60	383	45
UPyD	1,19	4,69	2,94	238	37
EAJ-PNV	1,19	1,33	1,26	30	16
ERC	1,16	1,05	1,10	568	14
BNG	0,83	0,75	0,79	14	10
AMAIUR	0	1,37	0,68	23	8
CC	0,68	0,59	0,64	22	8
Compromis	0,12	0,51	0,32	83	4
FAC	0	0,4	0,2	18	2
NA-BAI	0	0,17	0,08	12	1

The background of the slide is a large, white Twitter bird logo on a blue background. The bird is facing right, with its wings spread and its tail feathers visible.

Twitter streaming API

(Application programming interface)

- **Tweets:** 13th to 31st May 2011
- **Keyword:** “15M”
- **Hashtags:**

#15M, #tomalacalle, #nolesvotes, #indignados, #spanishrevolution, #acampadabcn, #acampadasol, #nonosvamos, #yeswecamp, #democraciarealya, #notenemosmiedo.

List of major topic codes in the Spanish Agendas Project

Topic	Description
1	Economy
2	Rights
3	Health
4	Agriculture
5	Labor
6	Education
7	Environment
8	Energy
10	Transport
12	Justice
13	Social
14	Housing
15	Business
16	Defense
17	Science
18	Foreign trade
19	International
20	Government
21	Public lands
23	Culture
27	Weather
29	Sports
30	Death notices

Example of a dictionary for claims on ‘corruption’ and ‘international markets’

2007. Corrupción	privilegios, corrupto, corruptos, corrupta, corrupción, chorizo, chorizos, gurtel, gürtel, millet, atraco, vitalicio, vitalicia, forráis, imputada, imputadas, imputado, imputados, ipad, limusina, limusinas, malaya, dimite, dimisión, dimitir, dimita, transparencia, juzgó, hartazgo, rectitud, responsabilidades, fabra, robarnos, caraduras, camps, políticos, coche oficial, político honesto, tu botín, mi crisis, casta política, responsabilidad política, contra los políticos, clase política, gobierno que tenemos, mercedes clase a, pensión vitalicia	
1502. Mercados de valores	crisis, crisi, especulación, especular, mercado, mercados, bolsa, ibex, capital, FMI, mercads, financieros, financiero	la capital

Tabla II: Matriz de Confusión I

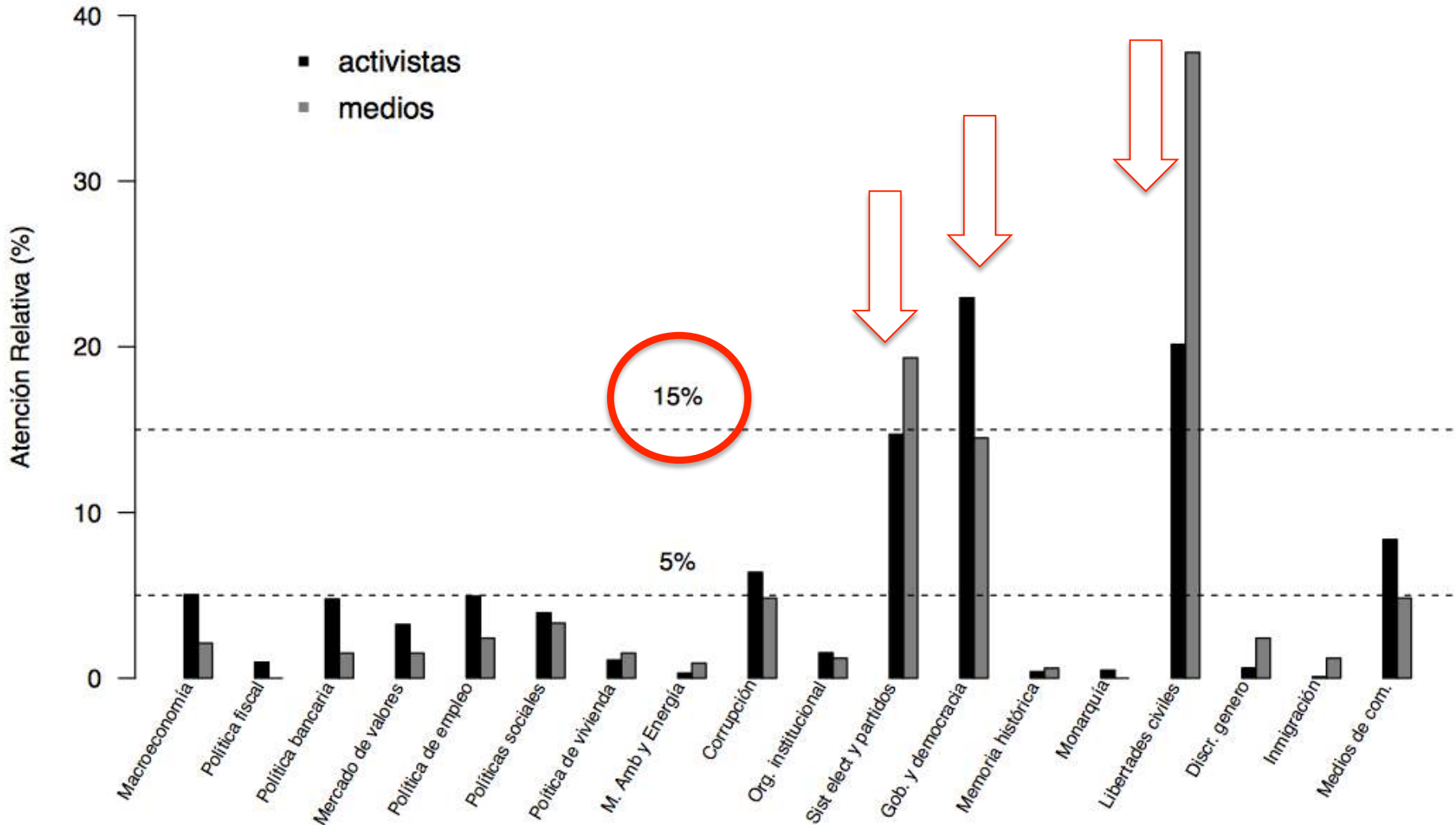
		<i>Manual</i>	
		Positivo	Negativo
<i>Automática</i>	Positivo	1088	43
	Negativo	53	957
		95,4 %	95,7 %

Outline

- 1) Literature & hypothesis
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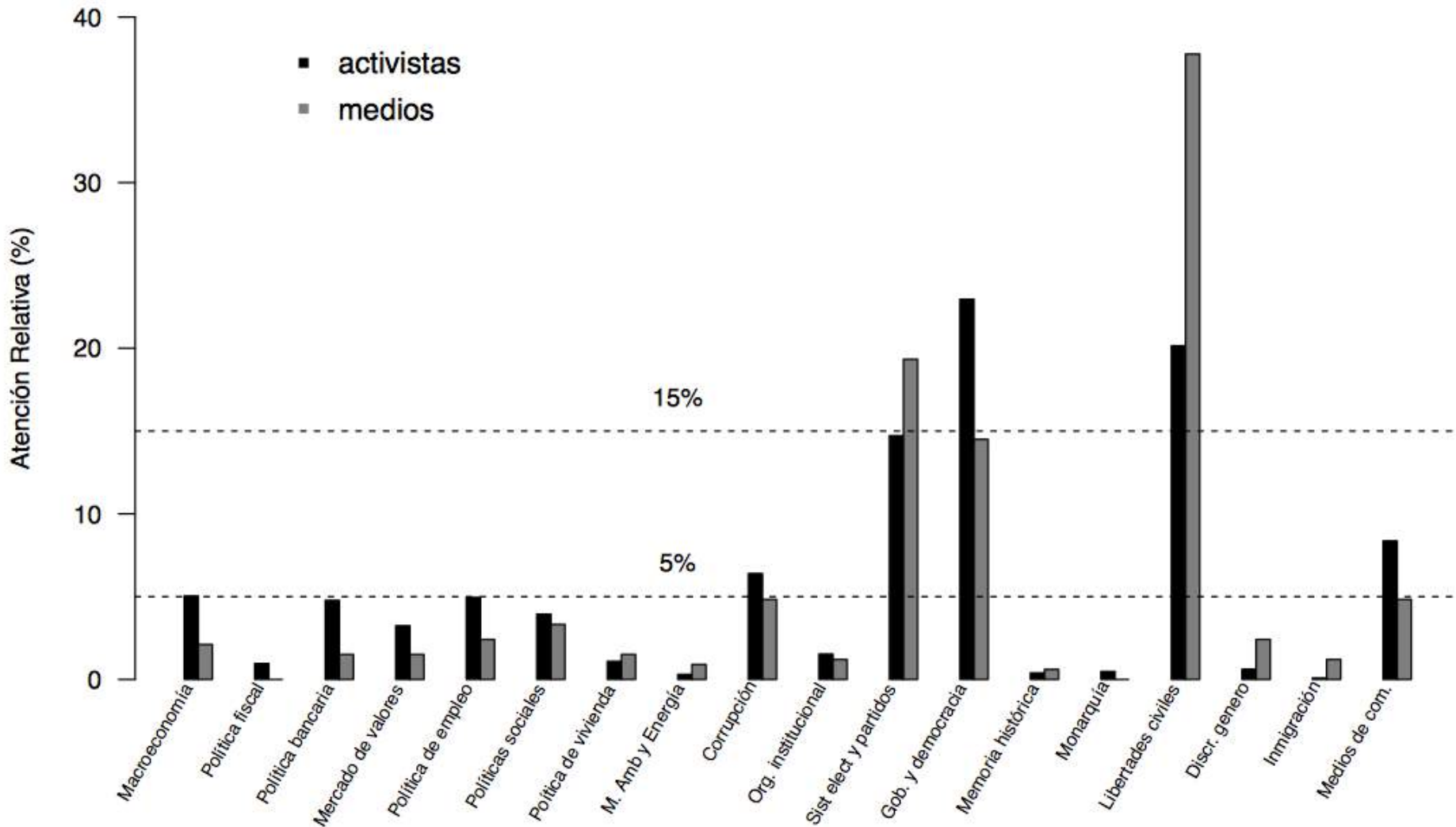
We partially CONFIRM (H1):

The absence of leadership, hierarchy and informational control impeded the 15M to create a coherent discourse but an eclectic, **diffused** & **segmented** one



We cannot CONFIRM (H2):

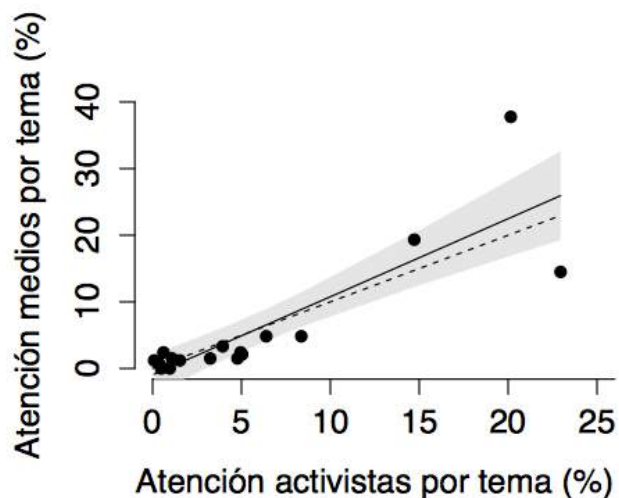
Spanish mass media's coverage did not offer a trustworthy portray of *indignados'* discourse but a **narrow and biased selection** of themes



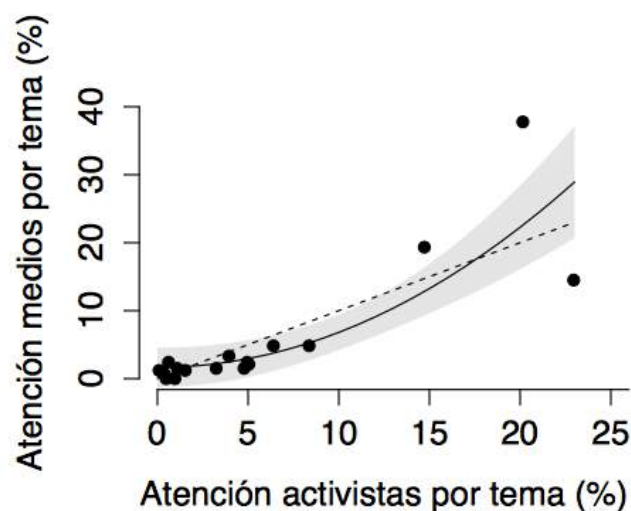
We cannot CONFIRM (H2):

Spanish mass media's coverage did not a trustworthy portray of *indignados'* discourse but a **narrow and biased selection** of themes

2a: Modelo prediciendo relación lineal

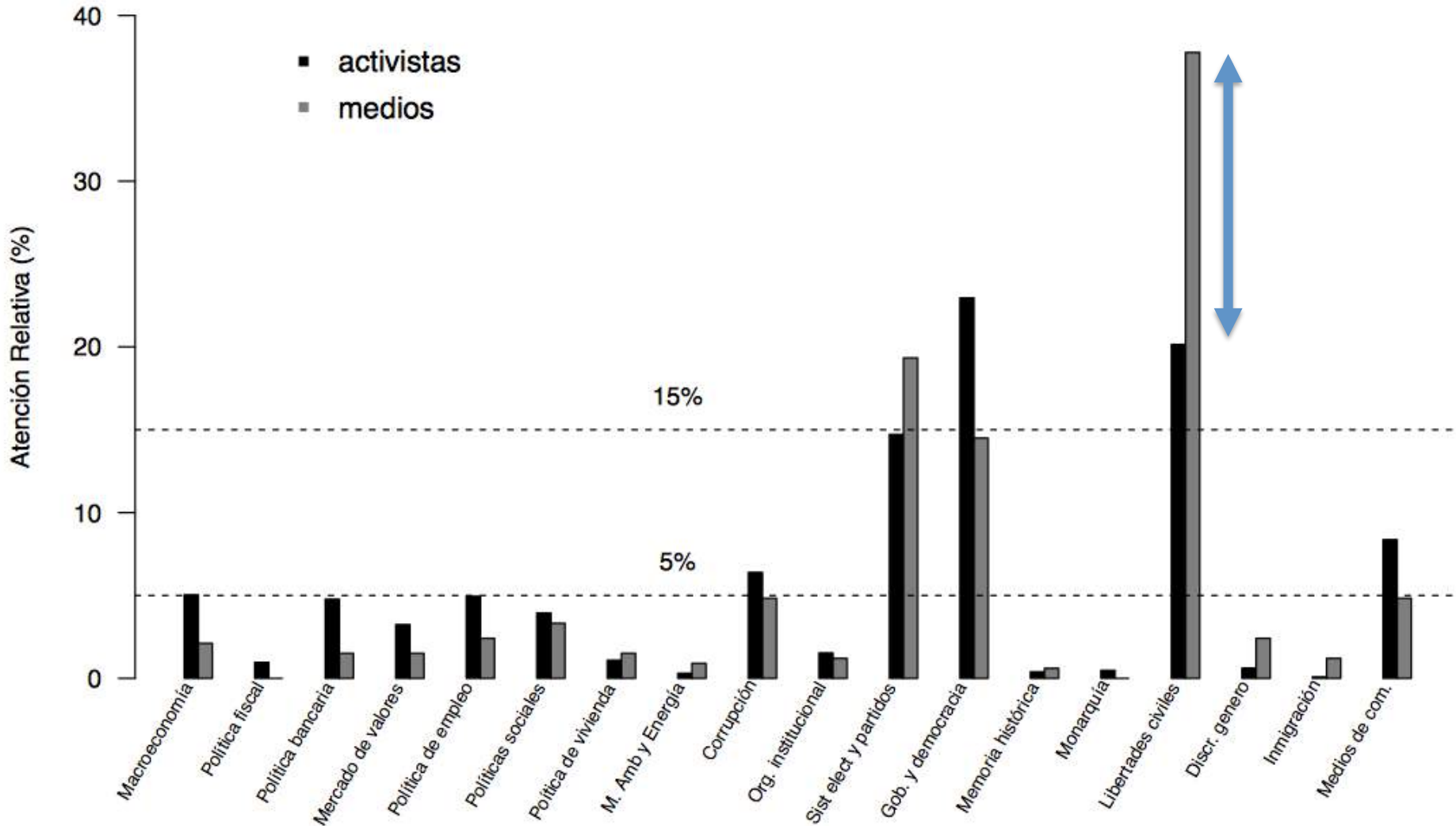


2b: Modelo prediciendo relación cuadrática



We CONFIRM (H3):

Media coverage will **focused on dramatic events, violent episodes, and police-related incidents**



We cannot CONFIRM (H4):

Spanish mass media's coverage had a **strong influence upon *indignados***' discourse, thus simplifying and narrowing it down

- **Linear (OLS) Regression**

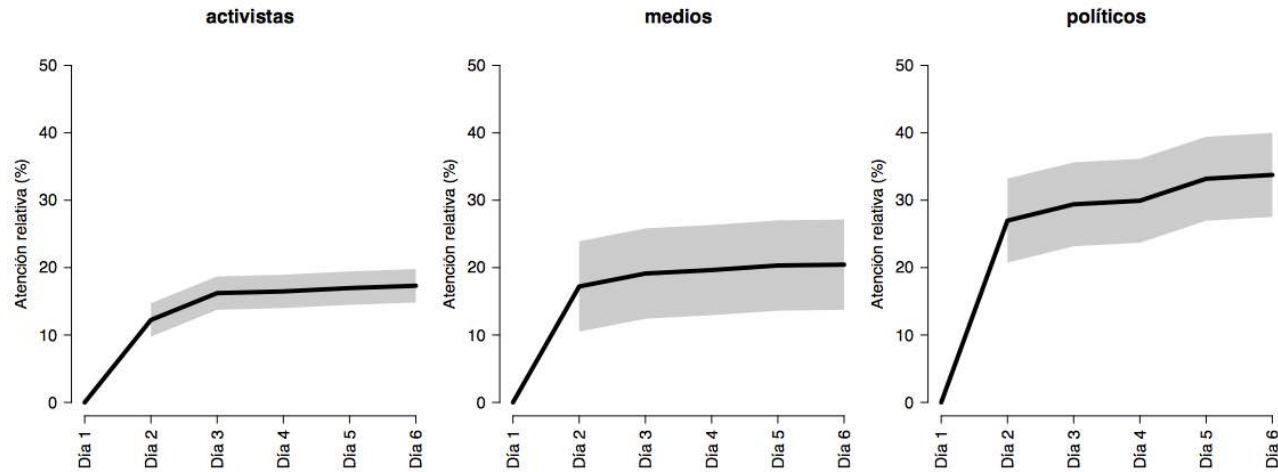
$$ACT = \beta_0 + \beta_1 med_t + \beta_2 med_{t-1} + \beta_3 pol_t + \beta_4 pol_{t-1} + \epsilon$$

- **Serial correlation - ARMAX Models**

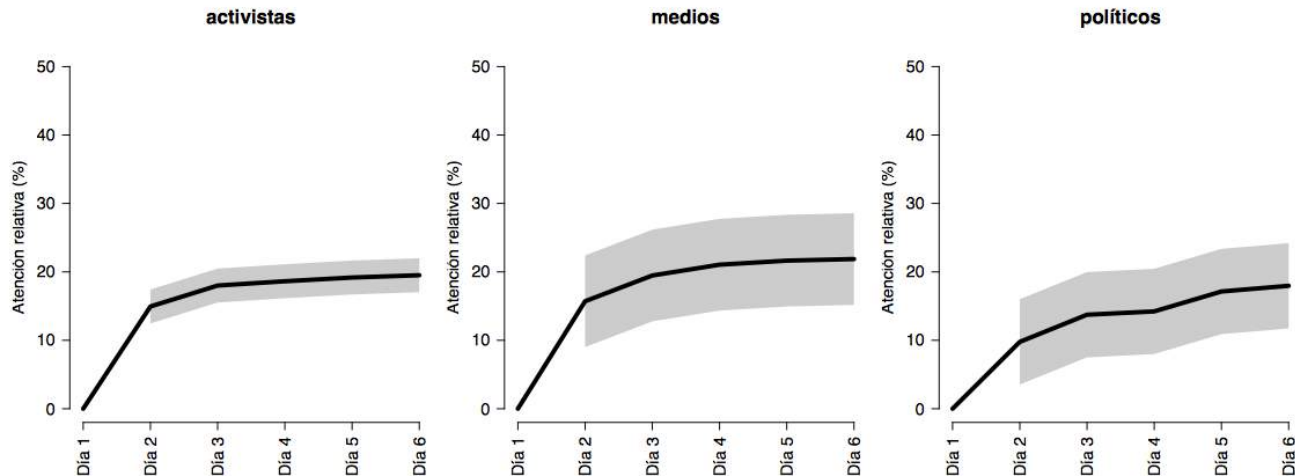
$$ACT = \underbrace{act_{t-1}\phi_1 + act_{t-2}\phi_2 + act_{t-3}\phi_3}_{\text{AR}} + \underbrace{\beta_0 + \beta_1 med_t + \beta_2 med_{t-1} + \beta_3 pol_t + \beta_4 pol_{t-1}}_{\text{MAX}} + \underbrace{x_t \beta_5}_{\text{AR}} - \underbrace{22}_{\text{AR}} + \underbrace{\epsilon_{t-1}\rho_1 + \epsilon_{t-2}\rho_2 + \epsilon_t}_{\text{AR}}$$

	ACT		MED	
	coef	se	coef	se
ar1	0.305	(0.125)*	0.446	(0.212)*
ar2	0.695	(0.126)*	0.483	(0.178)*
ar3	-0.351	(0.059)*	-0.221	(0.055)*
act _t	-	-	0.458	(0.150)*
act _{t-1}	ar1	ar1*	0.184	(0.141)
act _{t-2}	ar2	ar2*	-	-
act _{t-3}	ar3	ar3*	-	-
med _t	0.058	(0.020)*	-	-
med _{t-1}	0.116	(0.022)*	ar1	ar1*
med _{t-2}	-	-	ar2	ar2*
med _{t-3}	-	-	ar3	ar3*
pol _t	0.116	(0.023)*	-0.035	(0.061)
pol _{t-1}	0.058	(0.025)*	-0.061	(0.068)
ma1	-0.148	0.120	-0.529	(0.219)*
ma2	-0.852	(0.120)*	-0.471	(0.218)*
intercept	0.044	(0.005)*	-0.018	(0.015)

3a: Sistema electoral y de partidos

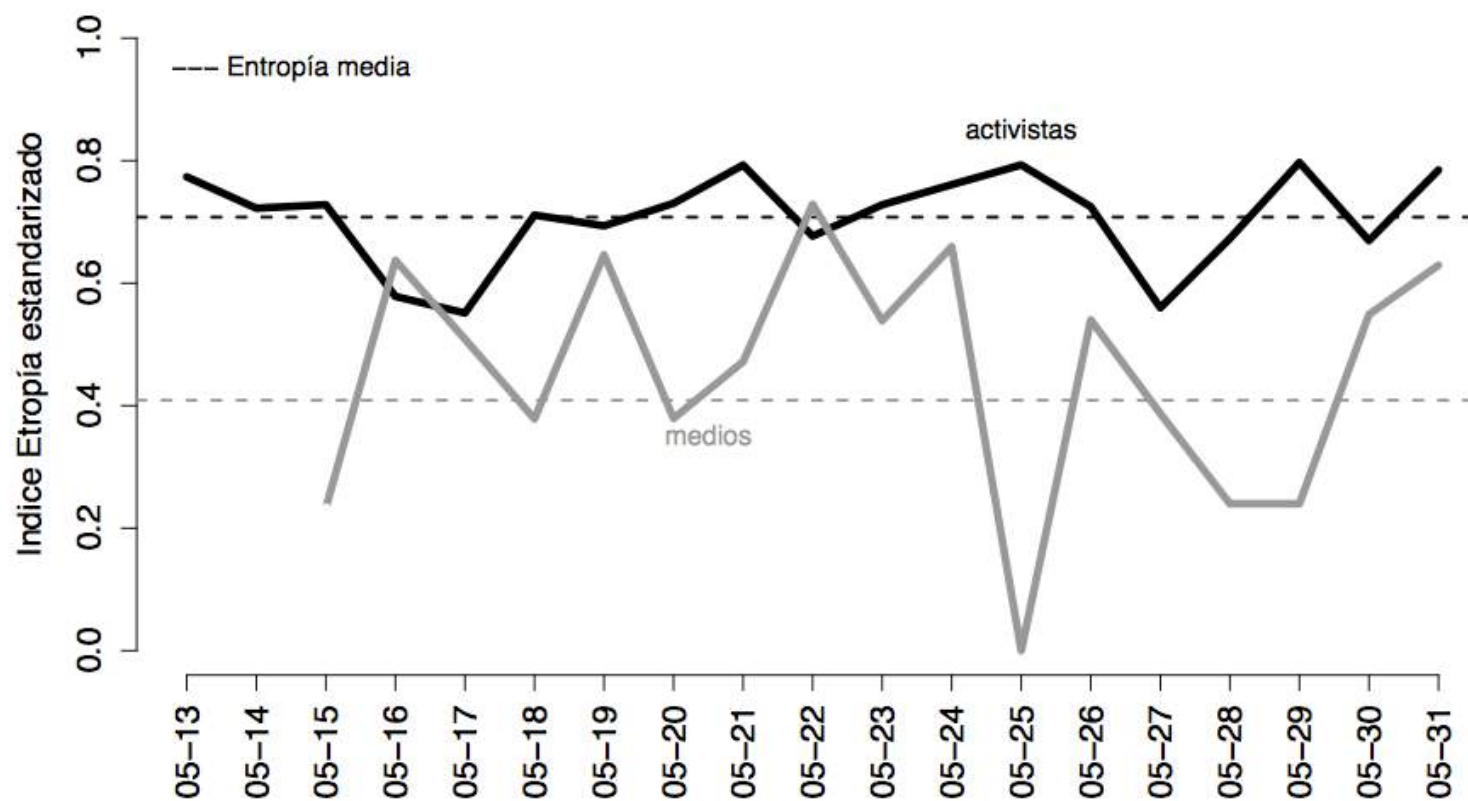


3b: Libertades Civiles



- The media talk an **18%** more about an issue on a given day because of the activists. The day after, these talk a **3%** more about it due to the media

Gráfico 4: Índice de Entropía Estandarizado [0-1] indicando la distribución de la atención a través de los temas por parte de activistas durante las protestas del 15-M



Outline

- 1) Literature & hypothesis
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Conclusions

- 1) A 'connective action' such as the 15M → **Fragmentation**
- 2) ... but not **cacophony** or diffusion (3 main topics)
- 3) No '**Pittsburgh effect**'

Conclusions

- 4) **Trustworthy** media coverage
- 5) ... **reductionist bias** based on *indignados* own priorities
- 6) Media have a clear preference for **drama and violence**

Conclusions

- 7) Media agenda can still be very much **influenced by 'new' activism**
- 8) ... we found **little influence back from the media to activists**

Outline

- 1) Literature & hypothesis
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Discussion

- 1) Can this study help us to better understand the assets of **online-based deliberative democracy**?
- 4) Is the **methodology** (re/ap)plicable to other(your) research fields?

Andreu Casas

University of Washington

acasas2@uw.edu

Ferran Davesa

VUB/IES

fdavesa@vub.ac.be

Mariluz Congosto

Universidad Carlos III

mcongosto@inv.it.uc3m.es



#spanishrevolution

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Thank you for your attention!!