

Media Coverage of a “Connective” Action: The Interaction Between the 15-M Movement and the Mass Media

La cobertura mediática de una acción «conectiva»: la interacción entre el movimiento 15-M y los medios de comunicación

Andreu Casas, Ferran Davesa and Mariluz Congosto

Key words

- Social Communication
- Mass Media
- Social Movements
- Social Protest
- Social Networks

Palabras clave

- Comunicación social
- Medios de comunicación
- Movimientos sociales
- Protesta social
- Redes sociales

Abstract

This article uses Twitter messages sent in May 2011 to study the ability of the so-called 15-M movement, a “connective” movement, to place their demands on the media agenda and maintain control over their own discourse. The results show that the activists’ discourse included many issues, although greatest attention was given to three: electoral and party systems, democracy and governance, and civil liberties. Moreover, the study reveals that the media covered all the movement’s issues and that activists maintained their plural discourse throughout the protest. This article contributes to the literature on ‘connective’ social movements, showing that in certain circumstances these movements have the capacity to determine media coverage.

Resumen

En este artículo utilizamos mensajes de Twitter enviados en mayo de 2011 para analizar la capacidad de un movimiento «conectivo» como el 15-M para introducir demandas en la agenda de los medios y mantener el control sobre su discurso. Los resultados muestran que los activistas discutieron sobre un elevado número de temas aunque especialmente debatieron sobre el sistema electoral y de partidos; el sistema de gobierno y democracia; y sobre libertades civiles. Además, el estudio indica que los medios de comunicación cubrieron la totalidad de los temas y que los manifestantes mantuvieron un discurso plural durante el transcurso de las protestas. El artículo contribuye a la literatura sobre movimientos sociales ‘conectivos’ al mostrar que en ciertas circunstancias demuestran una alta capacidad para determinar la cobertura mediática.

Citation

Casas, Andreu; Davesa, Ferran and Congosto, Mariluz (2016). “Media Coverage of a ‘Connective’ Action: The Interaction Between the 15-M Movement and the Mass Media”. *Revista Española de Investigaciones Sociológicas*, 155: 73-96. (<http://dx.doi.org/10.5477/cis/reis.155.73>)

Andreu Casas: University of Washington | acasas2@uw.edu

Ferran Davesa: Vrije Universiteit Brussel | fdavesa@vub.ac.be

Mariluz Congosto: Universidad Carlos III | mariluz.congosto@gmail.com

INTRODUCTION¹

In May 2011, thousands of Spaniards took to the streets under the slogan ‘*Democracia Real Ya!*’ to express their outrage over the political, economic and social situation of the country and to make demands and debate reforms in many areas, such as education, health care and the political and the financial systems. The protest had a major public impact; however, unlike previous demonstrations, the movement of the ‘indignados’ did not have the support of traditional agents of protest, such as political parties and unions, but was an initiative of more than 400 small organizations created shortly beforehand, and coordinated mainly through the Internet (Anduiza *et al.*, 2014: 757).

As the literature suggests (Garrett, 2006), the organizational success of social movements such as the 15-M movement would not have been possible without the intensive use of new information and communications technologies (ICTs). Therefore, authors like Anduiza *et al.* (2014) and Bennett and Segerberg (2012) have described the 15-M movement as an example of a “connective” action, a new paradigm in social movements based on the ability to capture a diversity of followers by using new interactive tools and online repertoires (see Bennett and Segerberg, 2012). The great power of online mobilisations has given rise in recent years to mass “connective” actions such as the Occupy Wall Street movement in the United States in 2011, or the protests over the price of public transport in Brazil in 2013. Both

protests, like the 15-M movement, based their strategy on coordinating actions in public space with online mobilization (Fernández-Planells *et al.*, 2013: 131).

Despite its great mobilizing potential, the increasing organizational and communicative complexity of this new model of social protest (see Borge-Holthoefer *et al.*, 2011) has generated extensive academic debate over the ability of activists to articulate a coherent discourse and place their political demands on the media agenda (Casero-Ripollés and Feenstra, 2012). For this reason, we ask: did the “connective” nature of the 15M movement condition the media coverage of its discourse? Specifically, this study examines: 1) what the activists’ demands were and how they evolved and, 2) the extent to which the media provided accurate coverage of those demands. To carry out the study, we analyzed the content of Twitter messages sent from the accounts of the 15-M camps and from the media.

A review of the literature suggests that because of the organizational and communicative nature of online social movements, 15-M had great difficulty in articulating a coherent message and in getting their demands onto the media agenda. However, the results of our analysis partly contradict this conclusion, as we found that the message of the activists, which included diverse demands, was quite consistent throughout the protest, avoiding the influence of external actors such as the media. The media coverage, in contrast, was itself largely conditioned by the indignados’ debate.

The article is structured as follows: in the two following sections the context of our research is discussed and our initial conjectures are formulated. This is followed by a description of the data and methodology used. Then, the results of our analysis are presented, and finally, their implications are discussed and new theoretical proposals are put forth for future research.

¹ The authors are grateful for the advice and comments of Lance Bennett, Laura Chaqués, Marta Cruells, Emiliano Grossman, Luz Muñoz, Anna Palau, Mark A. Smith, Peter Van Aelst, Stefaan Walgrave, John Wilkerson and to those who attended the Media and Policy-making panel at the 2013 CAP Conference (Amberes, 27-29 June 2013), and EDGE Open Research Seminar de la VUB (Bruselas, 30 May 2015). The authors would also like to thank the Spanish Ministry of Science and Innovation (CS02009-09397), AGAUR (SGR 536) and the Fundación La Caixa for their financial support.

15-M as a paradigm of “connective” action

The extensive use of ICTs by contemporary social movements has profoundly altered their organizational, mobilizational and communicational structures (Garrett, 2006; Laer and Aelst, 2010). Some of the main obstacles to achieving the collective goals traditionally identified in the literature have been reduced thanks to the emergence of technological tools designed primarily to improve connectivity between people. Some of the positive impacts of these tools include: facilitating a critical mass of individuals with shared interests, extending the formulas or ways to contribute to a particular cause (distributed contribution), and facilitating the coordination of various forms of mobilization (Bimber *et al.*, 2012: 3).

With the development of new forms of Activism 2.0, the costs traditionally associated with mobilization have been drastically reduced (Lupia and Sin, 2003: 316). In a context of abundant information channels, a proliferation of resources for personal expression (such as blogs, photologs, online forums, wikis, new social networks and video and streaming platforms) and the great immediacy in communication, the barriers to collective action faced by groups and activists today are less decisive (Naughton, 2001; Laer and Aelst, 2010). In addition, the development of the Internet has made it possible to effectively aggregate small online expressions of support for a social movement despite differences in form, content, origin or their final objective. While the coordination costs of these ‘micro-contributions’ have traditionally been greater than their benefits, with the development of ICTs, the organizational effort has also decreased (Garrett, 2006: 206).

To maximize its support network, the 15-M movement prioritized communicative flexibility over internal hierarchy, the co-authorship of discourse over charismatic leadership, and the co-distribution of resources over the size of the organization (Bennett and Segerberg,

2012: 752). The multiplier effect of this 2.0 strategy - identified as keyboard activism by Laer and Aelst (2010: 17) - generated significant advantages in terms of the participatory potential of the public (Jenkins, 2006). While technology was already a key mobilizing element in prior protests, such as in the “mobile phone revolt” against the government in 2004 (Castells, 2009; Fernández-Planells *et al.*, 2013), the 15-M movement consolidated this trend and emerged as the paradigmatic example of a “connective” social movement (Anduiza *et al.*, 2014), that is: “individualized and technologically organized sets of processes that result in action without the requirement of collective identity framing or the levels of organizational resources required to respond effectively to opportunities” (Bennett and Segerberg, 2012: 750).

However, the low costs of participation attributed to the use of ICTs, the absence of a formal hierarchy and the removal of filters in communications can generate certain harmful dynamics for the success of a protest. According to the theory of organizational hybridity developed by Bimber *et al.* (2005) and Chadwick (2007, 2011), online social movements, by relying on the free interactions of activists on the Internet, are at risk of losing control of their discourse and becoming fragmented. In this regard, previous research has identified potential risk factors such as giving visibility to poorly informed opinions or with unclear demands, incorporating conflicting voices against the backdrop of the protest, or weakening the narrative coherence of the activists’ discourse due to diverging messages (Garrett, 2006: 213; Micó and Casero-Ripollés, 2014: 860-62). According to Bennett and Segerberg (2012: 761), the mobilization against the G20 that took place in Pittsburgh in 2009 set a clear precedent in this regard. On that occasion, protesters unleashed such a cacophony of protest repertoires that it prevented the media from understanding and covering what was happening on the streets and online.

Our main objective in studying the agenda of 15-M is to determine to what extent this social movement reproduced the 'Pittsburgh effect'. Taking into account the 'connective' character of the protest, and in agreement with the above mentioned studies, we expect the 15-M discourse to contain a large number of demands.

The relationship between social movements and the media

Social movements are characterized by articulating their proposals in the absence of formal or direct institutional channels connecting them to the decision-making process (Jenkins, 1983). Traditionally, to spread their message, influence public opinion, get followers and convey their demands to the political class, they have had to get media coverage of their demands, and more so than other socio-political actors (Gitlin, 1980; Koopmans, 2004). However, abundant literature on the relationship between the media and social movements shows that while in some cases the media have faithfully channeled their demands, they have on many occasions ignored their messages, distorted their discourse and discredited their demands.

Numerous and diverse analyses indicate that the ability of social movements to set the media agenda is weak (McCarthy *et al.*, 1996; Oliver and Maney, 2000; Vliegenthart and Walgrave, 2012 for an extensive review). Traditionally, it has been organizations with the greatest number of members and with centralized internal structures that have had a greater capacity to set the agenda for the media and to ensure accurate coverage of their demands (Gamson, 1990). This was not the case, as explained above, for 15-M; the movement of the 'indignados' developed a very decentralized organizational structure based on the absence of a communicative hierarchy and great flexibility in mobilization repertoires, many of them carried out online (Anduiza *et al.* 2014).

The initial mobilizations on the 15th and 16th of May were organized almost exclusively on the Internet, a channel through which a critical mass of citizens was brought together in public space and consolidated in camps (Anduiza *et al.*, 2014: 751). However, as pointed out by Casero-Ripollés and Feenstra (2012: 7) and by González-Bailón *et al.* (2013), despite the success of the mobilization, it was not until the movement of the 'indignados' occupied *Puerta del Sol* in Madrid on the so-called 'magic Tuesday' of May 17th that the media finally focused on the protest. This fits with the literature, which indicates that traditionally, the relationship between activists and the media is not one-way, but that the media also need social movements to generate information content (Gitlin, 1980). But this raises the question, to what extent can we expect that the media would provide accurate coverage of what was happening in the squares?

The authors that have analyzed the relationship between social movements and the media highlight the limited capacity of public and media agendas. In their classic research on the information content of the media, Shaw and McCombs (1977) revealed that most of the media only cover between five and seven topics at a time. In a 1992 article, Zhu attributed the limited capacity of the media agenda not so much to material, temporal or spatial constraints of each medium – at that time, press, radio and television – but linked it to the cognitive capacity of public opinion. According to this thesis, people are able to focus and pay attention to a very limited number of topics (Zhu, 1992: 829; see also Miller, 1956; Norman and Bobrow, 1975, or Brosius and Kepplinger, 1992). These studies show that, despite the evolution of the media and the profound changes that the communications industry has undergone, the need to prioritize a small number of issues has remained almost constant over the past decades. Due to this tendency, it is not surprising that the media coverage of 15-M did

not accurately reproduce the real agenda of the activists but rather focused its attention only on certain issues.

In formulating this assumption, we have also taken into account other factors that might have hindered the work of journalists and their ability to communicate the demands of 15-M to the public. As argued by Fuchs (2012) and Bakardjieva (2012), due to the reductionist or sensationalist bias of media coverage and the oppositional nature of social movements, the latter have tended to be very critical of the corporate interests of the media. In line with this thesis, the empirical work on 15-M presented by Micó and Casero-Ripollés (2014: 867) shows how difficult it was for journalists to find representatives or spokespersons of the protest, as well as the hostility of the activists who addressed the media. Tensions between the 'indignados' and journalists from the major media outlets at the camps could have exacerbated the 'Pittsburgh effect' of the protest on journalists; that is, saturating, distracting and disorienting the media agenda due to the important fragmentation of the messages (Jenkins, 2006).

The influence of the media coverage on activists

Studying the left-wing movements that took place in the United States during the 1960s, Todd Gitlin (1980) noted that media coverage focused primarily on isolated violent episodes, which transmitted to the public a negative image of the protests. Similarly, Lance Bennett (1983) linked the increasing commercialization of the media and the economic pressure they are under to the tendency that journalists have to give greater attention to violent or sensationalist news. Additionally, Smith *et al.* (2001) observed that during the social protests that took place in Washington D.C. between 1982 and 1991, the media focused primarily on reporting on the events, rather than on their political demands (see also Gamson and Modigliani, 1989; Oliver and Maney, 2000), giving

preference to the most violent events. Given that protests are fertile ground for clashes or violent incidents with the police and other public security forces, the likelihood that the media will focus their coverage on such events is very high, even when most protests are carried out peacefully (Della Porta *et al.*, 2006). In this regard, 15-M was no exception, as police actions regarding the legality, safety and health standards of the camps were of paramount importance over the course of the protests. Therefore, it is to be expected that the media coverage of 15-M would focus on those events that generated greater social alarm (e.g. the debate surrounding the police eviction of the camps).

This being the axis of media coverage, to what extent is it to be expected that the activists, similarly to the media, would abandon certain issues to focus on what attracted media attention and therefore public opinion? Although the literature on how social movements determine the information content of the media is abundant, today there are almost no studies analyzing the inverse relationship, that is, how what the media publishes on a social movement can ultimately alter the agenda of the activists. While the ability of the media to influence public opinion in general has been extensively researched (Iyengar and Kinder, 1987; or Druckman, 2001), so far no attention has been paid to how this framing-effect affects the debates and discussions of social movements.

Given the intensive use of new technologies by activists, the 'indignados' movement generated large amounts of information and debate on social networks and microblogging platforms such as Twitter. Furthermore, the content of these online debates was crucial, as argued above, for media coverage of the movement. Consequently, applying the appropriate methodology and sampling, it is possible to study the relationship between the agendas of different social groups in far more detail than in the past. For this reason, we believe that 15-M offers a perfect oppor-

tunity to carry out this type of analysis and help fill in a gap in the literature. Basing ourselves on research on 'media-effects', it is to be expected that the media coverage of 15-M would have influenced the activity of the activists during the protests.

DATA AND METHODOLOGY

To analyze the agenda of the 15-M movement we have used messages sent from the 13th to the 31st of May from three different types of Twitter accounts. First, we have looked at all the messages sent from the camps' accounts in different Spanish cities; secondly, all the messages sent from the main Spanish media outlets' accounts; and finally, those sent by a representative sample of the Spanish political class. By analyzing this data, we determined the issues that were discussed in the squares and that shaped the agenda of the social movement, the issues that the media gave greatest coverage to and which therefore gained greater public attention, and the issues that politicians gave the most attention to. In order to reach statistically significant conclusions, special attention was given to the process of data collection, the identification and categorization of the different groups analyzed (activists, media and politicians), and the identification and categorization of the different demands debated within the 15-M movement. In what follows we describe in detail the methods that were used.

DATA COLLECTION

The collection of Twitter messages was carried out during the course of the protests in May 2011 using the Twitter Streaming API. Since the group '*Democracia Real Ya!*' had announced May 15 2011 as the date of the initial protest, we collected messages starting from May 13 in order to capture those generated by users during the days just prior to the protest.

To distinguish the messages concerning 15-M from other messages sent on Twitter during those days, we only captured those which contained the key word "15-M" or one of the main hashtags of the movement, that is: #15M, #tomalacalle (take the street), #nolesvotes (don't vote for them), #indignados, #spanishrevolution, #acampadabcn (camp Barcelona), #acampadasol (camp Sol), #nosvamos (we are not leaving), #yeswecamp, #democraciarealya (real democracy now), #notenemosmiedo (we are not afraid).

Identification and categorization of the groups: activists, media and politicians

All Twitter messages are associated with an account or a user name, which allowed us to create the necessary filters and work only with messages from the users which were of interest to us. In order to establish the agenda of the activists, we used the messages sent from the accounts of all of the camps in Spain. These accounts were mainly used by those responsible for communications in the camps to inform other camps and citizens about everything that was taking place and being debated in the assemblies. To identify the accounts, we took into account the parameters set by the activists registering on Twitter. These accounts began with the word 'acampada' (camp) or with the initials "dry" (referring to '*Democracia Real Ya!*') followed by the name of each city (e.g. @acampadagirona, @acampadadonosti, @acampadahuelva).

To capture the media coverage of 15-M, we used the messages sent by the official accounts of the main Spanish media outlets, taking as the starting point a list made by Aragón *et al.* (2013). To ensure that there was not an over-representation of small media outlets in the sample, we only took into account Spanish media outlets with greater impact. For television media, we selected the accounts of channels with a daily viewing share over 1% (Televisión Española (RTVE), Televisión de Catalunya (TVC), Antena 3, Intereconomía, La

Sexta, Televisión de Andalucía (RTVA), Televisión de Madrid (RTVM), Telecinco, Cuatro, Veo7, Televisión de Galicia (TVG), Televisión de Canarias, Televisión Valenciana (RTVV), EITB). For print media, we included only newspapers with a circulation over 50,000 copies daily (20 minutos, El País, El Mundo, ABC, La Vanguardia, El Periódico de Catalunya, La Razón, El Correo, La Voz de Galicia, La Gaceta, El Diario Vasco, La Nueva España, Diario de Navarra, El Heraldo de Aragón). Finally, for radio, we included stations with a minimum of 100,000 daily listeners (Ser, Onda Cero, Cope, RNE, RAC 1, Catalunya Radio, Canal Sur Radio, Radio Euskadi)².

To measure the political agenda, we looked for Twitter messages related to 15-M that were sent from the accounts of political representatives. We did this using two different methods: First, looking at users that identified themselves as politicians on their Twitter profile and secondly, using a list developed by Aragon *et al.* (2013) of users who were politicians and sent messages during 15-M, which we completed by adding two lists of politician accounts on Twitter developed by David Alvarez³ (“parliamentarians on Twitter”) and by Politweets (“the 100 Spanish politicians most active on Twitter”). In order to prevent the sample from being biased in favor of parties with little or no parliamentary representation at the state or regional level, we developed a new sample that was representative of the composition of the Spanish political elite (see Table I).

Identification and classification of the issues debated in the camps

To identify the issues debated by the activists, we analyzed five random samples of

1,000 messages and classified them according to the nature of the political demands contained in them. In order to do this, we followed the classification developed by the Grupo de Análisis Comparado de la Agenda Política en España (‘Spanish Policy Agendas Project’), a coding system that includes 23 codes and 247 sub-codes and which adapts the methodology of the Comparative Agendas Project to the Spanish case⁴. There were 18 issues identified in the agenda of the activists (see Table III). Lastly, we also analyzed the messages from the media and politicians following the same methodology.

To classify all of the Twitter messages, we used a semi-automatic coding method with a dictionary including a list of key positive and negative words associated with each of the 18 issues (see Appendix I). The positive words are used to identify messages that refer to each issue and the negative words are used to indicate false positives (i.e. when a message does not refer to a particular issue despite containing a positive word). To gradually improve the reliability of the dictionary and to obtain a homogeneous distribution of the errors, we developed different versions until we achieved high levels of reliability. To validate this reliability, once the semi-automatic coding with the latest version of the dictionary was carried out, we manually coded a random sample of 1,141 messages detected by the dictionary with political content and a sample of 1,000 messages discarded by the dictionary for not containing any content of political relevance (e.g. “We are offering water and cookies to the police of @acampadamalaga #notenemosmiedo# yeswecamp”). On the one hand, the comparison between the manual and the semi-automatic system reveals that in 95.4 % of the cases the dictionary correctly identified the messages with political content and assigned 95.9 % of these

² To know the audience for each media outlet in May 2011, we used data from the Estudio General de Medios (General Study of the Media) from February to November of 2011.

³ See the Parliament 2.0 project of David Alvarez at: <http://parlamento20.es>

⁴ www.comparativeagendas.net

TABLE 1. System to obtain samples of politician users

Party	Votes	Votes	Media-Avg.	Users	User
	2008 (%)	2011 (%)	08/11 (%)		
PP	39.94	44.62	42.28	528	528
PSOE	43.87	28.73	36.3	1,067	454
IU-ICV	3.78	6.92	5.35	331	66
CiU	3.03	4.17	3.6	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	1.1	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
Compromís	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

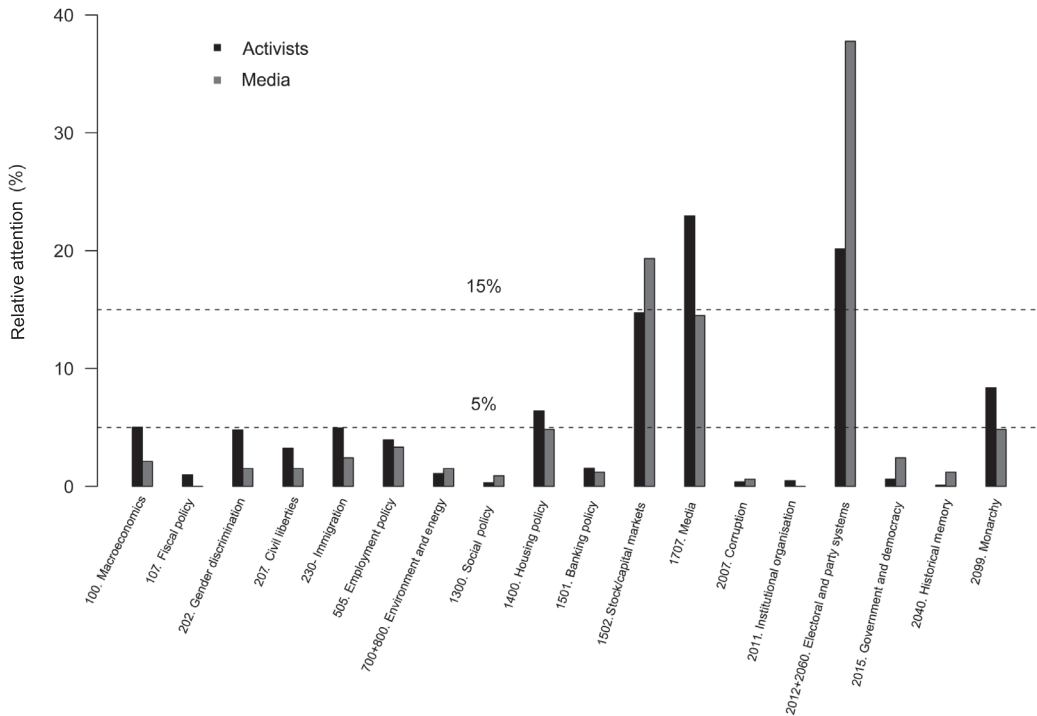
to the correct issue with a homogeneous distribution of errors (see Confusion Matrices I and II in Tables II and III). On the other hand, the comparison between manual and semi-automatic coding of the second random sample indicates that only 4.3% of the messages discarded by the dictionary contained political demands (see Table II). In conclusion, the validation of the final version of the dictionary indicates that the semi-automatic coding system used is highly reliable.

TABLE 2. Confusion Matrix I

		Manual	
		Positive	Negative
Automatic	Positive	1,088	43
	Negative	53	957
		95.40%	95.70%

RESULTS

An initial descriptive analysis of the results shows that the 15-M discourse was composed of a large number of demands (see Graph 1). Specifically, Twitter messages indicate that the 'indignados' discussed 18 political issues: macroeconomics; fiscal policy; banking policy; stock markets; employment policy; social policy; housing policy; environment and energy; corruption; functioning of political institutions; electoral and party system; democratic quality; historical memory; monarchical system; civil liberties; gender discrimination; immigration; and finally, the media. These results confirm our first premise: that due to its very decentralized and socially transversal nature, the 'indignados' movement brought together a large number of demands that fragmented their message. These results confirm previous studies (Bennett and Segerberg, 2012) that indicate that "connective" actions, by being structured

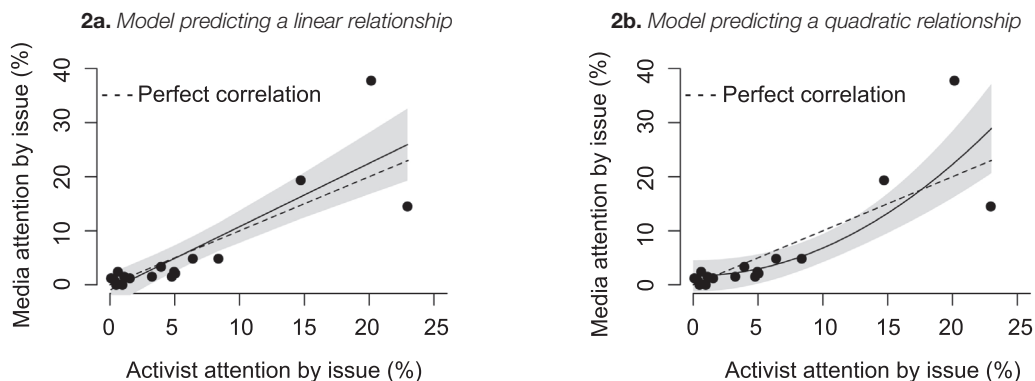
GRAPH 1. *Issues discussed by the 15-M activists and their media coverage*

horizontally and utilizing social networks as one of their main channels of political communication, generate a very diverse, participatory and plural debate.

However, the initial results also indicate that the activists did not pay equal attention to all issues. They particularly focused on the electoral and party system, the functioning of the democratic system and the exercise of civil liberties. Each of these issues took up more than 15% of the movement's agenda, a fact that helped focus the debate and defined the priority issues. Among the remaining issues, two levels of relevance can be distinguished: First, issues to which activists dedicated approximately 5% of their messages (5 topics: macroeconomics, banking policy, employment, corruption, and media) and secondly, those issues that occupied less than 5% of their agenda (10 issues: fiscal policy, the stock market, social

policy, housing, environment and energy, institutional organization, historical memory, monarchy, gender discrimination, and immigration).

Contrary to our second premise, the descriptive analysis in Graph 1 indicates that the media did pay attention to all of the demands discussed by the activists, which shows that in the case of the 15-M movement, there was not a disconnect between the media and the activists (similar to what happened in the demonstrations in Pittsburgh in 2009), despite the tensions that occurred in the squares between the 'indignados' and the press (Micó and Casero-Ripollés, 2014: 867). Unlike previous studies, these results show that "connective" actions on certain occasions can have a greater capacity to set the agenda of the mainstream media. However, the results also indicate that the media tended to

GRAPH 2. Relationship between the attention paid to each of the issues by the activists and the media

overstate the main issues and to give less coverage to the secondary issues, therefore introducing a certain reductionist bias in their coverage of the 15-M movement. Particularly, as expected in formulating our third premise, one of the most overstated issues by the media was that of civil liberties. This included debates such as the right of protesters to camp in the squares, the complaints by business owners in the areas affected by the camps, the police presence around the protests, the views of different electoral boards and governments (central and regional) on the legality of the camps and also the violent eviction of camps such as that in Plaça Catalunya in Barcelona. The media coverage of 15-M confirms the results of previous research: the media tend to focus their attention on the most violent events linked to police intervention; and they also tend to show more interest in actual events than in the content of the protests. In the case of the 'indignados', this was reflected in the fact that the debate on civil liberties accounted for nearly 40% of the media coverage.

Beyond the particular attention the media paid to this issue, in analyzing the correlation between the discussions among the activists and media coverage, we found that the relationship between the two agendas is

quadratic and nonlinear. Therefore, as shown in Graph 1, as activists began to pay more attention to a particular issue, their ability to set the media agenda also increased (see Graph 2). Specifically, the results indicate that when an issue received around 15% of the activists' attention, at that point the media stopped largely ignoring these demands and began to over-emphasize them. Thus, the ability of activists to shape the media agenda was subject not so much to the content of their demands but to the relative importance that activists gave each issue, 15% representing the threshold for significant media coverage.

To further analyze the mutual influence between the media and the activists, in what follows we model the agenda of the two actors using time series with autoregressive moving average models (ARMA). Because the political class's response to the protest could also have conditioned both agendas, we use this influence as a control variable. In the first model (Model 1) we predict the percentage of attention that the activists gave to each issue day to day, and in the second one (Model 2) we predict the percentage of media coverage that each issue occupied daily. In both models the dependent variable was constructed by adding up by days the relative importance of each issue and introducing

a dichotomous variable for each of the issues. That is, we use a model with issue-level fixed effects. In this way, we consider the possibility that the independent variables do not affect with the same intensity the attention given to each subject by the activists or the media. The independent variables in both models are: the attention that the activists (Model 1) or the media (Model 2) gave to each of the issues in the previous three days-AR(3)-; the possible external shocks that marked the agenda of the activists (Model 1) or the media (Model 2) the two previous days-MA(2)-; and the attention that the political class gave to the different subjects on that same day and the day before⁵. In addition, in Model 1 we also consider the possibility that the media agenda on that same day or the previous day could have impacted the activists' debate and, in Model 2, how the activists' debate in the previous days could have impacted the media coverage. The specification of the models is the following:

$$\text{ACT} = \text{act}_{t-1}\phi_1 + \text{act}_{t-2}\phi_2 + \text{act}_{t-3}\phi_3 + \varepsilon_{t-1}\rho_1 + \varepsilon_{t-2}\rho_2 + \beta_1\text{med}_t + \beta_2\text{med}_{t-1} + \beta_3\text{med}_{t-2} + \beta_4\text{pol}_t + \beta_5\text{pol}_{t-1} + \beta_6\text{tema}_{1\dots} + \beta_{23}\text{tema}_{17} + \varepsilon_t$$

$$\text{MED} = \text{med}_{t-1}\phi_1 + \text{med}_{t-2}\phi_2 + \text{med}_{t-3}\phi_3 + \varepsilon_{t-1}\rho_1 + \varepsilon_{t-2}\rho_2 + \beta_1\text{act}_t + \beta_2\text{act}_{t-1} + \beta_3\text{pol}_t + \beta_4\text{pol}_{t-1} + \beta_5\text{tema}_{1\dots} + \beta_{22}\text{tema}_{17} + \varepsilon_t$$

The coefficients of Model 1 (see Table IV, coefficients ar1, ar2 and ar3) show that the activists' debate is mainly explained by their own discussion in the previous three days. The results indicate that when the activists decided to pay attention to an issue (or increase their attention toward that it), in the two following days it was highly likely that the protesters would continue to increase the attention given to that same issue. In addition, we can see that the agenda of the 'indignados' was also affected by unexpected or sudden events (see coefficient ma2 of

Model 1, Table IV) that took place during the two previous days (e.g. evictions, pronouncements of Electoral Boards and election results) and also by the media coverage of the protests on that same day and the day before (med_t and med_{t-1} coefficients). Finally, the model indicates that to a lesser extent what politicians discussed also affected the activists' debate (pol_t and pol_{t-1} coefficients).

On the other hand, the coefficients of Model 2 show that the media agenda can also be explained by the nature of the media coverage in the previous days (see coefficients ar1, ar2 and ar3). However, given that the activists' debate had a daily impact on the selection of issues that the media paid attention to, this implies that the effect of the media coverage itself was none other than the result of the activists' influence in the previous days. At the same time, the results indicate that the political debate did not affect the media's coverage of the movement (pol_t and pol_{t-1} coefficients Model 2).

Consequently, the activists did have a great capacity to affect the media agenda, and although the media also influenced the protesters' debate (to a lesser extent), basically the effect was based on minimizing or maximizing the attention protesters paid to certain issues (as we have seen in Graph 2).

⁵ The decision to use an auto-regressive component (AR(3)) and a moving average model (MA(2)) was made after analyzing the *parallelogram* of the two dependent variables (the activists' agenda and the media's) and Akaike's Information Criterion (AIC) for different specifications. In this case the specification ARMA (2,3).

TABLE 4. Coefficient of ARMA models which predict the attention the activists and the media give to each of the issues

	Model 1 (ACT)		Model 2 (MED)	
	coef	std. error	coef	std. error
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)*
constant	0.044	(0.005)*	-0.018	(0.015)
Observations	342		342	
R ²	0.75		0.33	
Ajusted R ²	0.73		0.29	

Notes: *Statistically significant coefficient (p. value < 0.05).

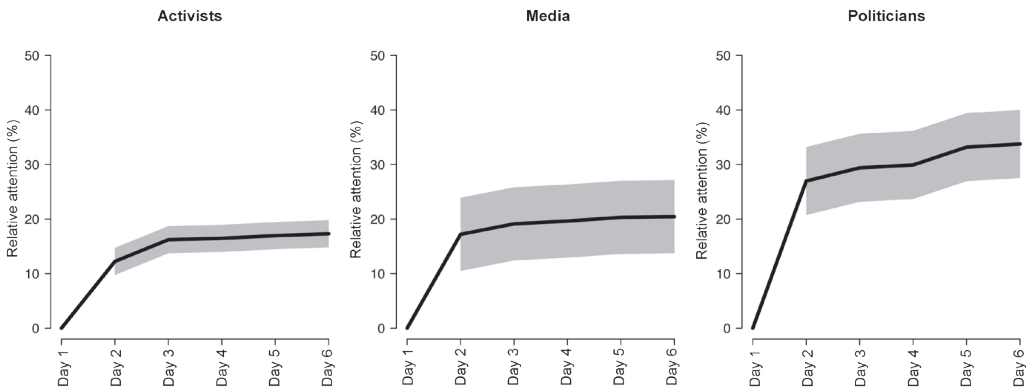
Coefficients and standard errors of dichotomous variables for each issue (fixed effects) not presented in the table.

In order to visualize the dynamics of this influence, in Graph 3 we simulate the interaction between the activists', the media's and the politician's agenda with regard to two different issues: first of all, the electoral and party system, and secondly, housing policy. Specifically, in the two graphs (Graph 3a and Graph 3b) we simulate that on day 1 no group paid attention to these two issues, to then introduce a 10% increase in the attention paid by the activists on day 2. From here, we simulate the reaction of the media and the politicians using the coefficients from models 1 and 2 (controlling for other changes in attention and/or external shock). Finally, we also calculate how the reaction of these two

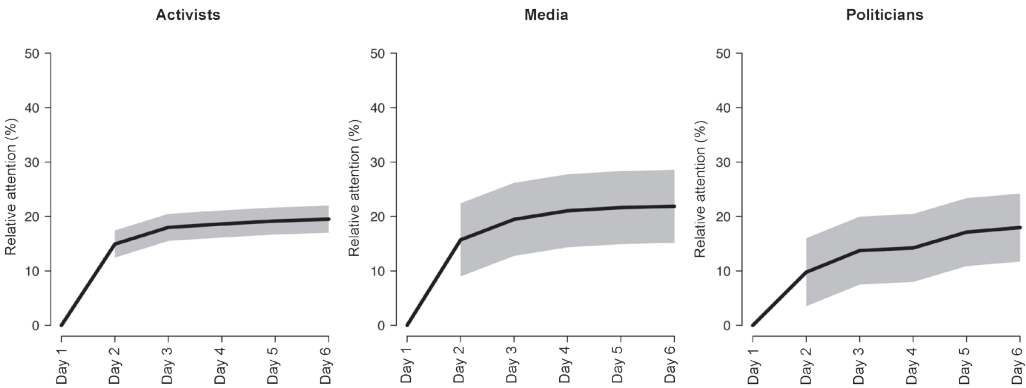
groups retroactively affects the attention of the protesters.

The results of this simulation show that the media are sensitive to the changes in the attention given by the activists to specific issues and that they end up giving relatively similar attention to those issues. We also see that the attention of the media, in turn, influences the activists' debate, who, without the echo of the media, would continue to devote only 10% of their messages on Twitter to these issues. However, as a result of media coverage the activists end up giving 18% of their attention to the issue of the electoral and party system and 20% to the issue of civil liberties. If we compare the capacity of the activists to in-

GRAPH 3. Results of the simulation of a 10% increase in the relative attention given to 2 issues by the activists (Confidence interval of 1 standard deviation)



3a. Electoral and party system

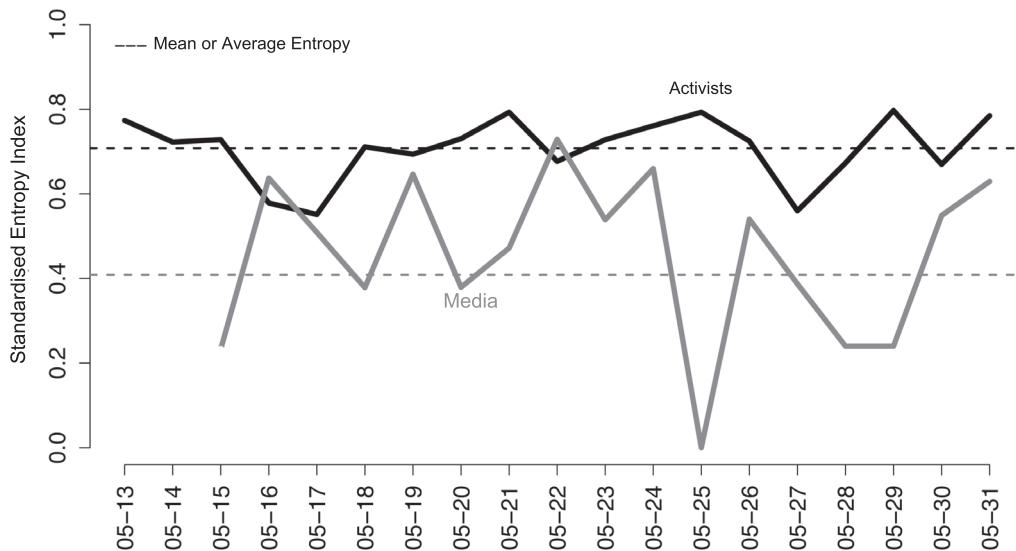


3b. Civil liberties

fluence the media's agenda with the capacity of the media to influence the activists' agenda, we see that the activists have greater influence. As the graph shows, after the first shift of attention generated on Twitter (from 0 to 10%), the media increased their attention towards the two issues from 0 to 18%. This 18 point influence of the activists on the media is much greater than the shifts in attention from 10 to 18% (electoral system and party system) and 10 to 20% (civil liberties) generated by the media (and politicians), although in fact ultimately engendered by the demonstrators themselves. Furthermore, although the media coverage tended to overstate certain

issues, we see that the evolution of the activists' debate throughout the month of May remained very diverse (see Graph 4). In part, this could be due to the specific form of protest adopted by 15-M: the creation of thematic commissions during the camps in the city squares probably facilitated the diverse and active discourse of the movement. Although at times the media focused their attention on a minority of issues (see May 25 in Graph 4), the fact that different groups of activists actively maintained the thematic assemblies at all times could have minimized the capacity of the media to influence the activists' agenda.

GRAPH 4. *Standardized Entropy Index (0-1) indicating the distribution of attention toward issues by the activists during the 15-M protests*



DISCUSSION

In this article we have studied the 15-M movement and its discourse between the 13 and 31 of May 2011 to see to what extent this “connective” movement was able to convey its demands to the mass media. Based on the existing literature, our initial assumptions were that the 15-M movement’s discourse was very plural, that the media only covered a part of the movement’s demands, that the media paid special attention to those issues related to police violence and that media coverage ended up affecting the debate among activists taking place in city squares. The results of our analysis corroborate the first assumption, showing that the activists discussed a total of 18 issues. To a large extent, they also corroborate our third assumption, revealing that the media tended to give greater attention to the issue of civil liberties, as it was related to the eviction of activists from city squares and numerous violent episodes on the streets. However, the results reveal the

opposite of our second and fourth assumptions: the media gave coverage to all the demands of the 15-M movement, and this coverage did not influence the content of activists’ discussion in the squares.

As this is a case study, in this article it has not been possible to examine the extent to which other variables associated with a “connective” social movement or its context might condition the capacity of such a movement to transfer its demands to the agenda of the media and to maintain the plurality of its discourse. However, in terms of the fourth assumption, we believe that the creation of thematic commissions in the squares during the protests helped the movement maintain a plural discourse uninfluenced by the media coverage. Regarding the second assumption, basing ourselves on the results of other research on social movements and the review of the literature carried out by Benford and Snow (2000), we propose three possible theories to explain why we have found the opposite of what we initially expected.

First of all, authors such as McAdam *et al.* (1996) and Benford and Snow (2000) suggest that certain political opportunities (such as changes in the institutional structure or the calling of elections) can facilitate social mobilization. These authors suggest that during these political episodes, citizens feel that they have a greater capacity to influence decision-making; this facilitates the mobilization of citizens by social movements that are ideologically close to them. Following this logic, a possible theory to explain the great capacity of the 15-M movement to set the media agenda is that the mass media, knowing the great potential for social mobilization during an electoral period, paid greater attention to 15-M and its demands to decipher which party this might favor. In fact, a recent precedent in this regard exists in Spain. In March 2004, the polls carried out a week before the general election pointed toward a comfortable victory for the People's Party⁶. However, after the terrorist attacks (train bombings in Madrid) and the subsequent mobilization of citizens (known as the mobile phone revolt), the course of the elections changed completely, and the Socialist Party ended up winning. It is possible, therefore, that in May of 2011 the media covered the discourse of 15-M more rigorously because the mobilization was taking place in an election period.

Secondly, other authors such as Tarrow (1998), Goodwin *et al.* (1999) and Benford and Snow (2000) also suggest that social movements have a greater mobilizing capacity when there is cultural exhaustion. Citizens are more likely to be mobilized when they perceive that the hegemonic culture has failed and social movements propose a new alternative culture. In this regard, in May 2011 the culture that existed prior to the fi-

nanacial crisis of 2008 had collapsed completely (there was high political disaffection, distrust of the financial system, a significant rejection of neoliberal postulates, etc.), and the movement of the 'indignados' became a laboratory of ideas with the objective of forging a new culture. From this perspective, the media may have believed that their readers would also be attracted by the debate on the new political ideas that were emerging and, for this reason, covered the large number of proposals coming from the 15-M movement extensively.

Finally, authors such as Walsh *et al.* (1993), Evans (1997) and Benford and Snow (2000) argue that the characteristics of the public to whom the social movement is directed are important in determining the discourse and the success of the mobilization. Different discourses draw the attention of different publics. Likewise, a certain public draws the attention of the political class and the media more than others. In this regard, it can be argued that the media paid special attention to the movement of the 'indignados' and its demands because it was able to mobilize not only a large number of persons but also a plural public. Although Anduiza *et al.* (2014) show that the average age of the activists was statistically lower than that found for participants in non-connective mobilisations, other authors such as Fernández-Planells *et al.* (2013: 131) note that "with the *yayoflautas*, three generations of grandparents, parents and children – four if we count the strollers with babies accompanying their parents – joined the movement of the Indignados". Therefore, it is possible that the media gave extensive coverage to the discourse of the 15-M movement because it captured the attention of a large and plural public, which included a large part of the audience of the mass media itself.

The political evolution following May 2011 partly confirms the existence of two of these contextual factors. First, the success of new political parties that have incorporated the

⁶ Ximénez de Sandoval, Pablo (February 29, 2004). "La Reválida de las Encuestas" ("The Revalidation of Surveys"). *El País*.

demands of the 15-M movement suggests that the previous political culture was worn out and that new political principles were being demanded. Although the first political formations that were created just after 15-M were not able to connect with the general public (e.g. Partido X, Asamblea Ciudadana and Confluencia), other parties such as Podemos, Guanyem Barcelona and Ahora Madrid have achieved great electoral success (in European elections in 2014 and municipal elections in 2015) through incorporating a large number of political principles proposed by the 'indignados' movement, such as implementing citizen audits of public debt, increasing processes of direct democracy (e.g. binding referendums) and stopping evictions. In addition, these new left political parties have been able to attract the attention of a large, plural public. For example, recent surveys on the general elections of 2015 show that voter expectancy for Podemos is similar between citizens aged between 18-34, 35-54 and 55-64, suggesting that the 'indignados' movement had the support of a varied public⁷.

Summarizing, our results show that "connective" social movements with a decentralized organization, which develop intensively on the Internet and on social networks, are able to bring together a large number of demands without sacrificing their ability to set the media agenda. In future research it will be necessary to analyze a larger number of "connective" actions to determine what other factors (such as the creation of thematic assemblies offline, the existence of a political opportunity, cultural exhaustion and a plural public) may have an influence on the relationship between "connective" actions and the media.

⁷ "Votantes de los partidos por edad y sexo". ("Voters for parties by age and sex") (August 24, 2015). *El País*. Available at: http://elpais.com/elpais/2015/08/22/media/1440261779_288461.html, consulted on September 14, 2015.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Anduiza, Eva; Cristancho, Camilo and Sabucedo, José M. (2014). "Mobilization through online Social Networks: The Political Protest of the Indignados in Spain". *Information, Communication and Society*, 17(6): 750-764.
- Aragón, Pablo et al. (2013). "Communication Dynamics in Twitter During Political Campaigns: The Case of the 2011 Spanish National Election". *Policy and Internet*, 5(2): 183-206.
- Bakardjieva, Maria (2012). "Reconfiguring the Mediapolis: New Media and Civic Agency". *New Media and Society*, 14(1): 63-79.
- Benford, Robert D. and Snow, David A. (2000). "Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment". *Annual Review of Sociology*, 26: 611-639.
- Bennett, W. Lance (1983). *News: The Politics of Illusion*. White Plains, New York: Longman.
- Bennett, W. Lance and Segerberg, Alexandra (2012). "The Logic of Connective Action. Digital Media and the Personalization of Contentious Politics". *Information, Communication and Society*, 15(5): 739-768.
- Bimber, Bruce; Flanagin, Andrew J. and Stohl, Cynthia (2005). "Reconceptualizing Collective Action in the Contemporary Media Environment". *Communication Theory*, 15(4): 365-388.
- Bimber, Bruce; Flanagin, Andrew J. and Stohl, Cynthia (2012). *Collective Action in Organizations: Interaction and Engagement in an Era of Technological Change*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Borge-Holthoefer, Javier et al. (2011). "Structural and Dynamical Patterns on Online Social Networks: The Spanish May 15th Movement as a Case Study". *PLoS One*, 6(8): e23883.
- Brosius, Hans-Bernd and Kepplinger, Hans M. (1992). "Linear and Nonlinear Models of Agenda-setting in Television". *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media*, 36(1): 5-23.
- Casero-Ripollés, Andreu and Feenstra, Ramón A. (2012). "The 15-M Movement and the New Media: A Case Study of how New Themes Were Introduced into Spanish Political Discourse". *MIA. Media International Australia*, 144: 68-76.
- Castells, Manuel (2009). *Communication Power*. New York: Oxford University Press.

- Chadwick, Andrew (2007). "Digital Network Repertoires and Organizational Hybridity". *Political Communication*, 24(3): 283-301.
- Chadwick, Andrew (2011). "The Political Information Cycle in a Hybrid News System: The British Prime Minister and the "Bullygate" Affair". *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 16(1): 3-29.
- Della Porta, Donatella; Peterson, Abby and Reiter, Herbert (2006). *The Policing of Transnational Protest*. Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate.
- Druckman, James N. (2001). "The Implication of Framing Effects for Citizen Competence". *Political Behavior*, 23(3): 225-256.
- Evans, John H. (1997). "Multi-Organizational Fields and Social Movement Organization Frame Content: The Religious Pro-Choice Movement". *Sociological Inquiry*, 67(4): 451-469.
- Fernández-Planells, Ariadna; Feixa, Carles and Figueras-Maz, Mònica (2013). "15-M en España: diferencias y similitudes en las prácticas comunicativas con los movimientos previos". *Última Década*, 21(39): 115-138.
- Fuchs, Christian (2012). "Behind the News. Social Media, Riots, and Revolutions". *Capital and Class*, 36(3): 383-391.
- Gamson, William A. (1990). *The Strategy of Social Protest*. Belmont, California: Wadsworth.
- Gamson, William A. and Modigliani, Andre (1989). "Media Discourse and Public Opinion on Nuclear Power: A Constructionist Approach". *American Journal of Sociology*, 95(1): 1-37.
- Garrett, R. Kelly (2006). "Protest in an Information Society: A Review of Literature on Social Movements and New ICTs". *Information, Communication and Society*, 9(2): 202-224.
- Gitlin, Todd (1980). *The Whole World Is Watching: Mass Media in the Making and Unmaking of the New Left*. Berkeley, California: University of California Press.
- González-Bailón, Sandra; Borge-Holthoefer, Javier and Moreno, Yamir (2013). "Broadcasters and Hidden Influentials in Online Protest Diffusion". *American Behavioral Scientist*, 57(7): 943-965.
- Goodwin, Jeff; Jasper, James M. and Khattra, Jaswinder (1999). "Caught in a Winding, Snarling Vine: The Structural Bias of Political Process Theory". *Sociological Forum*, 14(1): 27-54.
- Iyengar, Shanto and Kinder, Donald R. (1987). *News That Matters: Television and American Opinion*. Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press.
- Jenkins, J. Craig (1983). "Resource Mobilization Theory and the Study of Social Movements". *Annual Review of Sociology*, 9: 527-553.
- Jenkins, Henry (2006). *Convergence Culture. Where Old and New Media Collide*. New York: New York University Press.
- Koopmans, Ruud (2004). "Movements and Media: Selection Processes and Evolutionary Dynamics in the Public Sphere". *Theory and Society*, 33: 367-391.
- Laer, Jeroen van and Aelst, Peter van (2010). "Internet and Social Movement Action Repertoires". *Information, Communication and Society*, 13(8): 1146-1171.
- Lupia, Arthur and Sin, Gisela (2003). "Which Public Goods are Endangered?: How Evolving Communication Technologies Affect the Logic of Collective Action". *Public Choice*, 117(3-4): 315-331.
- McAdam, Doug; McCarthy, John D. and Zald, Mayer N. (1996). *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements. Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- McCarthy, John D.; McPhail, Clark and Smith, Jackie (1996). "Images of Protest: Dimensions of Selection Bias in Media Coverage of Washington Demonstrations, 1982 and 1991". *American Sociological Review*, 61(3): 478-499.
- Micó, Josep-L. and Casero-Ripollés, Andreu (2014). "Political Activism online: Organization and Media Relations in the Case of 15M in Spain". *Information, Communication and Society*, 17(7): 858-871.
- Miller, George A. (1956). "The Magical Number Seven, Plus or Minus Two. Some Limits on Our Capacity for Processing Information". *Psychological Review*, 63(2): 81-97.
- Naughton, John (2001). "Contested Space: The Internet and Global Civil Society". In: Anheier, H.; Glasius, M. and Kaldor, M. (eds). *Global Civil Society 2001*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Neuman, Russell; Bimber, Bruce and Hindman, Matthew (2011). "The Internet and Four Dimensions of Citizenship". In: Edwards, G.; Jacobs, L. R. and Shapiro, R. Y. (eds). *The Oxford Handbook of American Public Opinion and the Media*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Norman, Donald A. and Bobrow, Daniel G. (1975). "On Data-limited and Resource-limited Processes". *Cognitive Psychology*, 7(1): 44-64.
- Oliver, Pamela E. and Maney, Gregory M. (2000). "Political Processes and Local Newspaper Coverage of Protest Events: From Selection Bias to Triadic Interactions". *American Journal of Sociology*, 106(2): 463-505.
- Shaw, Donald L. and McCombs, Maxwell E. (1977). *The Emergence of American Political Issues: The Agenda-Setting Function of the Press*. Saint Paul, Minnesota: West Publishing Co.
- Smith, Jackie *et al.* (2001). "From Protest to Agenda Building: Description Bias in Media Coverage of Protest Events in Washington D.C.". *Social Forces*, 79(4): 1397-1423.
- Tarrow, Sidney G. (1998). *Power in Movement*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Vliegenthart, Rens and Walgrave, Stefaan (2012). "The Interdependency of Mass Media and Social Movements". In: Semetko, H. A. and Scammel, M. (eds.). *The Sage Handbook of Political Communication*. London: Sage Publications.
- Walsh, Edward; Warland, Rex and Smith, D. Clayton (1993). "Backyards, NIMBYs, and Incinerator Sitings: Implications for Social Movement Theory". *Social Problems*, 40(1): 25-38.
- Zhu, Jian-H. (1992). "Issue Competition and Attention Distraction: A Zero-Sum Theory of Agenda-Setting". *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*, 69(4): 825-836.

RECEPTION: February 10, 2015

REVIEW: July 7, 2015

APPROBANCE: September 2, 2015

APPENDIX 1. DICTIONARY

Issue	Keyword expressions	Negative words/ expressions
100. Macroeconomy	Capitalism, capitalist, rich, poor, poor people, inequality, inequalities, injustices, revolution, economic democracy, economic system, social justice, social injustice, "those at the bottom"	
107. Fiscal Policy	Sicav, sicavs, tax, taxes, evasion, fiscal, tobin, taxation, income tax, VAT, underground, re-classify, military, debt, debts, armies	
202. Gender discrimination	Gender, patriarchy, women, sexist, sexism, feminism, feminist, abortion, discrimination	
207. Civil liberties	Expression, freedom, right, rights, freedoms, gathering, , SGAE, CEDRO, open data, voice, Sinde Law/Ley Sinde, JEC, veto, reflection, evict, eviction, evict, evicted, prohibition, dignity, keep quiet, silent, detainees, express ourselves, express, express yourself, we express, they express, express oneself, expression, open data, electoral board, passive resistance, free culture	Prohibit, freed with charges, released on bail, rule of law, Voz de Galicia
230. Immigration	Foreigners, immigrant, immigrants, immigration, boat, boats, free circulation, we are all different	
505. Employment policy	Unemployment, unemployed, employment, emigrate, emigrated, emigrants, opportunities, flight, dismissal, dismissals, dismiss, layoffs, benefit, subsidy, salary, remuneration, contract, subcontract, subcontracted, contribute, contributed, unions, "mileurista", workers, dismissal, dismissals, employees, working, lost generation, labour reform, labour force, no future, job insecurity, right to work, dignified employment, without work, against layoffs	Police unions, employed
700 + 800 Environment and Energy	Sustainable, sustainability, ecology, ecological, nuclear, environment	

Issue	Keyword expressions	Negative words/expressions
1300. Social policy	cuts, cutbacks, austerity, "funcionariaz", pensions, retirees, retirement, health care, hospital, hospitals, doctor, doctors, health care workers, education, Bologna, school, schools, degree, degrees, university, universities, enrolment, students, educational, privatising, privatise, privatisations, privatisation, privatised, public services, social services, social change	
1400. Housing policy	house, houses, apartment, apartments, housing, mortgage, mortgages, evict, eviction, evictions, evicted, small apartment, occupation, homeless, payment in kind, without housing, we have no housing, real estate bubble	
1501. Bank policy	bank, banks, banker, bankers, rescue, Bankia, loot	
1502. Stock market	crisis, crises, speculation, speculate, market, markets, stock market, ibex, capital, IMF, financial	Capital
1707. Communication media	media, newsstand, informed, pundits, pundit, we televise, petitions, news, opinion makers, television, journalism, ignore, newspapers, national press, televised, right-wing media, five or six, disgusting news, media manipulation, unacceptable silence, weekly news report, learn to count, you do not hear	Telecinco news, working the media
2007. Corruption	privileges, corrupt, the corrupt, corruption, pork, gurtel, millet, hold-up, life-long, accused, accuse, the accused, ipad, limousine, limousines, quit, to quit, fire, fired, transparency, judged, fed up, recititude, responsibilities, robbing us, nerve, official car, honest politician, your loot, my crisis, political class, political responsibility, against politicians, the government that we have, Mercedes class, pension for life	
2011. Institutional organization	Church, religion, episcopal, justice, judges, judicial, court, courts, secularism, mass, separation	To the courts
2012+2060 Electoral and party system	Parties, two party system, bipartisan, nonpartisan, nonpartisans, nonpartisanship, PP, PSOE, PPSOE, PP-PSOE, PSOE-PP, PP+PSOE, PSOE+PP, barrier, you will vote, ballot, blank, null, abstention, abstentions, voting, vote, take advantage, voter, hondt, hont, proportional, primaries, party, electoral law, electoral reform, electoral system, do not vote for them, if you do not go, rajoy nor zapatero, rajoy or zapatero, zapatero nor rajoy	

Issue	Keyword expressions	Negative words/ expressions
2015. Government and democracy	Democracy, referendum, regeneration, generation, dream, to dream, accomplice, accomplices, system, layoffs, reflect, listen, listen to us, deafness, change of course, they do not represent us, popular initiative, traditional politicians, traditional politics, deaf politicians, change of era, they do not get it, citizen proposals, public space, citizen participation, popular legislation, active participation, passive accomplices	
2040. Historical Memory	Francoism, Franquista, Franco, dictatorship, historical memory, civil war	
2099. Monarchy	Monarchy, republic, republican, republican, Zarzuela, royal family	