

The role of the social movement 15M in the process of democratization of Spain

Bc. Simona Lučkaničová

Abstract: This article analyses the social movement 15M. Its main objective is to prove the research question, whether the social movement 15M plays a role in the process of democratisation of Spain. It comprises some background information related to the historic, political and economic development of the country, to help the reader understand the requirements of the social movement 15M as well as the overall situation in Spain. Moreover, the 15M development together with the description of the protesters and their requirements are explained, too. The analysis of twenty-five 15M proposals summarised in Pilar Velasco's book *No nos representan* compared with the features of democracy according to Jean Grugel prove, that the social movement 15M forms a significant part of the process of democratisation since it actually requires the fulfilment of those particular values of democracy.

Key words: democracy, social movement, 15M, Spain

Introduction

Spain as a democratic country started its path towards democracy after the death of dictator, Francisco Franco, in 1975. Even though it had to undergo various several challenges, it has reached its objective, democratic consolidation as well as the international recognition.

However, Spain has been greatly affected by the economic crisis in 2008 resulting in the blow-out of the construction bubble concluding in high levels of unemployment and overall deteriorating situation. The economic consequences of the crisis as well as the supposed crisis of representative democracy and the decreasing trust in politicians were the main incentives of the social movement 15M which emerged on May 15, 2011. It reached to join about 100 000 Spaniards expressing their indignation and outrage. A one day event surprisingly changed into a social movement that made thousands of people camp on the main squares of their cities for nearly a month, take part in the direct democracy present at the assembly meetings and working groups covering topics regarding education, politics, health, economy and many others.

However, modern social movements requiring solutions to economic situation and democratic deficit have not emerged only in Spain. The Arab Spring in Tunis and Egypt, manifestations in Portugal, Israel, Greece, Iceland and later on the Occupy movement only prove the people's anger and the global character of the issues.

The main objective of the article is to analyse the proposals of the social movement 15M and to prove the research question, "*Did the social movement 15M play any role in process of democratisation of Spain?*" This research question is to be answered in the conclusion of the article through the analysis of the 15M proposals and their comparison with the main characteristics or values of democracy according to Jean Grugel, a professor of politics.

The first part of the article presents the historical background of the country and the initiation of the process of democratisation launched by the death of Francisco

Franco in 1975. It only took three years to set the Spanish constitution with democratic values which subsequently finalised the transition of the country. Secondly, Spanish economic difficulties will be explained in the context of the construction bubble initiated in its specialisation in tourism together with the state intervention and banks taking advantage of the situation. Both, democratic and economic issues played an important role in the 15M proposals therefore they could not be omitted in the article.

The second part explains 15M comprising the most significant events and facts regarding its emergence, incentives, background, protesters and characteristics. The key authors writing about the 15M mentioned and quoted in the article are Pilar Velasco, Carlos Taibo, Donatella della Porta, Albero C. Jiménez, Adolfo Estalella, Josep Maria Anentas, Esther Vivas, Eva Anduiza, Camilo Cristancho, Jose M. Sabucedo, Andoni Alonso and Iñaki Arzoz.

The last part of the article is dedicated to the analysis of 15M proposals written in the book *No nos representan* by Pilar Velasco and compared with the characteristics of democracy according to Jean Grugel. Moreover, the term democratisation will be explained according to Andrew Heywood's and Samuel Huntington's perceptions. Subsequently, the research question will be answered in the conclusion part of the article and it will be confirmed that 15M formed a part of the process of democratisation of Spain.

Political and economic development of Spain

Political and economic development of Spain has had a great impact on the overall situation in the country nowadays. Spain's experience with the dictatorship for almost forty years significantly affected its reformist change towards democracy after Franco's death in 1975. It took only three years to draft and approve constitution with democratic values, however, according to some authors the process might still have not finished yet. The main objective of the following part is to focus on some fundamental political decisions and acts finalised in the approval of the constitution

Economic situation of the country forms a crucial basis of the 15M proposals and requirements therefore it will be described as well. It will be mainly aimed at the Spanish construction boom and its following consequences caused by the economic crisis launched in the United States in 2008 significantly affecting the overall situation.

The beginning of the Spanish path to democracy

The Spanish path to democracy launched after the forty years long regime of Dictator Francisco Franco who did not support or recognise democratic principles. Thus only after his death, Spain could undergo a long way towards democracy and actual process of democratisation which required crucial reforms. The extent of the article does not allow involving all the data related to the historic background, therefore only the crucial facts regarding the initial period of democratisation will be mentioned.

After the Civil War in 1939, Francisco Franco achieved political and military victory, which initiated a long period of authoritarian dictatorship that lasted for almost 40 years. According to an article *Fascism Anyone?* where Laurence W. Britt analysed various different regimes, there are some common characteristics also typical for Franquism (Franco's regime), which comprise fraudulent elections, corruption, obsession with crime and punishment, disdain and suppression of intellectuals and the arts, power of labour suppressed or eliminated, religion and ruling elite tied together, obsession with national security, a controlled mass media, the supremacy of military, disdain for the importance of the human rights and powerful and continuing expression of nationalism. (Britt, 2004) All the Britt's characteristics suit exactly the Spanish dictatorship.

Franco died on November 20, 1975 which definitely affected the following future of the country. Even though in 1947 the monarchy was declared by Franco, he did not support the true herein to the throne, the son of Alfonso XII, Don Juan de Borbón, because of his liberal sympathy. On the other hand, Franco was rather in favour of Juan Carlos, the son of Juan de Borbón. His decision was later on supported by Juan Carlo's swear of a personal loyalty to Franco and preservation of principles of the regime. In 1969 he was appointed the Prince of Spain. (Desfor, 1998, p. 37)

As Franco had concentrated various types of power in his hands holding at the same time the position of the Head of State, President of the Government and Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces of Spain, after his death, there was no one who would possess such powers to protect and promote the essential values of his regime. That is the point where the process of democratisation emerged with the hand of elites.

The role of Juan Carlos in the process of democratisation is rather significant, as he was one of the elites who actually moved Spain towards the democratic principles and democratic constitution set up in 1978, only three years after Franco's death.

In 1976, Adolfo Suarez was appointed as President of Government by Juan Carlos, which resulted as a very deliberate step mainly because of Suarez's no high political position during the dictatorship. Through his political reform called Ley para la Reforma Politica held in September 1976 there was a bicameral legislature based on a universal suffrage established. Due to his skilful manoeuvring, he achieved to persuade the members of the Cortes to approve the law, even though they were actually voting their corporatist institution out of existence. Later on there was a national referendum held on the reforms, which contributed into the initial process of democratisation. Approximately 94 per cent of voters approved the reforms. (Anonymous, n.d.a)

The legalisation of various parties (e.g. communist party) was another demonstration of the process of democratisation, together with adopting d'Hondt system of proportional representation which supported the formation of large parties and coalitions. (Anonymous, n.d.a)

The result of the free elections held in June 1977 was considered a victory for those longing for moderation as well as for a change. "*The domination of Spain's party system by two relatively moderate political groups marked an end to the polarization that had plagued the country since the days of the Second Republic*" (Anonymous, n.d.a, para. 13)

With Pacts of Moncloa approved in October 1977 various social and economic reforms were introduced as well as a framework of employment and social security was established. Moreover, the plan for a move towards completely free education together with a language and cultural diversity recognition was promised, too. (Desfor, 1998, p. 80-85)

However, the major task was to draft and establish a constitution suiting all the political parties. The politics of consensus had to be implemented in order to reach the objective. As stated in the article about the Spanish transition

The new 1978 Constitution is long and detailed, because of its framers' desire to gain acceptance for the document by including something for everyone. It proclaims Spain to be a parliamentary monarchy and guarantees its citizens equality before the law and a full range of individual liberties, including religious freedom. While recognizing the autonomy of the regions, it stresses the indivisibility of the Spanish state. (Anonymous, n.d.a, para. 17)

The constitution was later on approved by the people's opinion in a referendum held on December 6, 1978 by 87.8 per cent of the 67.7 per cent of the eligible voters who went to the polls. (Anonymous, n.d.a, para 18)

With the creation and people's approval of constitution with obvious democratic principles and values, the process of democratisation or transition of Spain can be considered to be completed.

The economic crisis

In September 2008 the collapse of Lehman Brothers officially launched the economic crisis in the United States. Even though the instant reaction of politicians and economists was rather fearless and swift, in 2009 it was quite obvious, that the economic crisis would significantly affect the European Union. While in the first stage the financial system was an actual axis of the problem, now the public debt amplified by the bank bailouts was appearing as a major issue. Moreover, as feared by Josep Maria Antentas and Esther Vivas (2012) later on the problem would be related to the recession of austerity measures set up back those days. They call it "*a kind of endless spiral*" (Antentas & Vivas, 2012, p.10) where created issues are covered and solved by causing the new ones. Both authors find the reasons of the European crisis in unification of various European countries with heterogeneous economies and different productivity levels. (Antentas & Vivas, 2012, p. 11)

Because of the limited scope of the article, it is not possible to describe this particular issue from a wider perspective explaining its incentives, launch, impact on American and European states and the following consequences. For the purposes of this study, a Spanish crisis will be looked at mainly by some historic background and the main outcomes of the crisis, which definitely affected people's outrage and played an important role in the 15M proposals.

Before 2008, Spain's economy was quite often admired by the Western media. Its historic specialisation in tourism seemed to suite the age of globalisation which definitely affected the process of modernising Spain that was quite often put into contrast with the rigidity of Euro-zone. López and Rodríguez (2011) describe in their article The Spanish Model the positive outcomes of Spanish development before 2008.

In the decade following 1995, 7 million jobs were created and the economy grew at a rate of nearly 4 per cent; between 1995 and 2007, the nominal wealth of households increased threefold ... Construction boomed as house prices soared, rising by 220 per cent between 1997 and 2007, while the housing stock expanded by 30 per cent, or 7 million units. (López & Rodríguez, 2011, p. 5)

The reason for the radical expansion of private home-ownership and massive construction can be seen in the programme of modernization of the Franco dictatorship in late 1950's as an effort to balance the "*industry's eternal competitive weakness*" (López & Rodríguez, 2011, p. 6) of the country. Spain continued its "*specialization in tourism, property development and construction, as 'competitive advantages' neatly adapted to the new approaches of the emerging global economy, i.e. high capital mobility and growing competition to capture financial incomes*" (López & Rodríguez, 2011, p. 8).

The overheating of the market and aggressive currency devaluations in late 1980's were caused by "*the lack of a solid foundation for growth*" (López & Rodríguez, 2011, p. 7) and the Spain's entry into the EEC after which the German, French and Italian multinationals were getting the position in Spain's production structures "*buying up most of the big-food industry companies and the public-sector firms that were being privatized*" (López & Rodríguez, 2011, p. 8).

López & Rodríguez (2011) identify some decisive factors shaping Spain's future development pointing out the framework established by Maastricht and the Euro which "*opened the door to the financial repositioning of the Spanish economy within the international division of labour and also to what was to become its central element: the property- development cycle*" (p. 10).

Even though the country was as if stuck in a vicious circle of construction with the increased demand for the house properties and their supply being risen, too, the country between 2000 and 2007 was rather successful. As López & Rodríguez (2011) state in their article, between those particular years there was an *“annual average increase of 7 per cent in private consumption ... employment, driven by both construction and consumption, recorded an accumulated growth rate of 36 per cent”* (p.12).

The state intervention played a crucial role in the construction boom. In 1998 Land Act helped to speed up the procedures for obtaining building permits. Together with various tax-relieves for home-buying, huge state investments in transport infrastructure and lax environment policy significantly contributed into the vicious circle of construction. (López & Rodríguez, 2011, p. 14)

The number of population was increased too, mainly because of the immigrants occupying low-paid jobs in construction, agriculture and domestic field. In concrete, in ten years the population increased in nearly 8 million (from 39,5 million to almost 47 million). (López & Rodríguez, 2011, p. 19)

However, since the demand for the house property increased, the prices of the households were rising too, which was in contrary with the preceding expectations. According to BBC news *“house prices rose 44% from 2004 to 2008”* (Anonymous, 2012, para. 10). Moreover, the wages had stagnated or even fallen down, which together with an under-funded pension system seemed to be ignored by the rising property value as a guaranty of an income in old age. Low wages decreasing by the expand of low-paid immigrants in the field of construction together with the easily obtained mortgages and loans in the banks taking advantage of the house-hold property demand and the rise of the value of the houses caused by the actual demand, formed a perfect circle of disaster coming in the following years.

How did the economic crisis happening in the United States in 2008 affect the Spanish case? The BBC news explains the reasons

Before the credit crunch, the banks had been thriving thanks to the rapid expansion of the property sector. But its collapse caused a plunge in the value of the assets the loans were based on, and meant borrowers had trouble making repayments. The situation has been made worse by the fact that the banks borrowed the money on the international markets to lend to developers and homebuyers, a much riskier strategy than using the deposits they get from savers. That has left many banks struggling with massive losses. (Anonymous, 2012, para. 23-26)

That is the moment when the restructuring in the banking sector launched. As BBC news continues explaining, *“many of its smaller, weaker banks have had to merge or have been rescued by larger ones. The number of branches has been cut by 15%, and 11% of the jobs in the industry have gone. Bankia, Spain's fourth-largest bank, has been part-nationalised and billions of euros of public money pumped into it.”* (Anonymous, 2012, para 29-3)

The private consumption was drastically reduced, supported by the short-term and temporary contracted workers being dismissed on a very little cost in response to falling demand, which led to rising unemployment nearly 40 per cent among under-25s. The state economic situation was affected, *“the 2006 fiscal surplus of 2 per cent of GDP turned into a 2009 deficit of over 11 per cent”* (López & Rodríguez, 2011, p. 21).

In April 2010 the European Union put a pressure on Zapatero, Spanish prime minister, requiring him to impose the austerity measures and labour-market restructuring, focused mainly on state-sector employees. Finally he ceded to such tension and announced a drastic austerity programme, which according to López & Rodríguez (2011) included: *“public sector wages slashed by 5 per cent, benefits and pensions cut, investment projects cancelled, the retirement age raised, wage bargaining restricted, sacking made simpler”*(p. 24).

Nowadays, according to Eurostat figures, Spain reached a level of 26,3 per cent of unemployment rate in February 2013, (Eurostat, n.d.), which according to an article written by Phillip Inman is a peak that Spain had not suffered even in the days of Franco dictatorship. (Inman, 2013, para. 1) Moreover, the youth unemployment has climbed to 56,6 per cent which definitely has an impact on overall situation in Spain. This number is surpassed only by Greece. However, it seems that the cuts have not reached their maximum, as stated by Inman (2013), *“unlike Italy, which has almost balanced its budget after a clampdown on spending, Spain is expected to spend more than it receives in taxes in 2013 in breach of Eurozone rules”* (para. 6). The situation is affected not only by the worsening conditions of living, but by the criticism regarding the political decisions affecting people’s lives directly. As Inman mentions in his article, *“Prime minister Mariano Rajoy has faced strong criticism after he saved some of his toughest austerity measures for regional governments, which run the health and education services, while preserving the budgets of many departments run from Madrid”* (2013, para. 7) which definitely leads to higher level of people’s outrage and suspicion of un-objectivity. Moreover, the most recent article from April 2013 brings the concrete look at an overall situation affected by the Spanish construction boom stating that nearly one from every fifth flat constructed in the last ten years is empty now. (Eldiario, 2013, para.1)

To sum up, there are many factors affecting the initial incentives of 15M manifestation. The economic crisis related to the house-hold property and construction bubble supported by the national intervention and bank conspiracies taking advantage of the current situation have a great impact on the unemployment rates and actual situation in Spain. Because of the limited scope of the article it results to be impossible to explain the whole historic and economic background of the actual crisis. Therefore, only the key events and facts have been used to sketch the link between the construction boost, economic crisis and the people’s reaction culminated in 15M success explained further on.

15M

There are numerous definitions of 15M regarding its various specific and unique characteristics, as its unexpected appearance, global character, innovation, the message of the movement - reform versus revolt, presence of no official leader, no political party in the background of the movement, the remarkable endeavour of the people unified by no common organisation, the requirements of the movement and its unusual process or development.

According to Anduiza, Sabucedo and Cristiancho (2012) 15M was a “*starting point of a wave of demonstrations that crossed Spain and expanded to other Western democracies*” (p. 3). Even though the *spanishrevolution* (as it is called in numerous articles and books) launched as a follower of the Iceland demonstrations protesting against the economic crisis, and the Arab Spring in the early months of 2011, it actually did support numerous demonstrations throughout Spain and world afterwards. As Donatella della Porta states in her article (2012) “*research has already singled out numerous examples of cross-national diffusion of frames and repertoires of action from one country to the next ... [o]n October 15th 2011, a Global Day of Action launched by the Spanish Indignados produced demonstrations worldwide: protest events were registered in 951 cities in 82 countries.*” (p. 275). A Spanish word *indignados* is frequently used to name the protesters and people participating in the 15M manifestations.

The global aspect of the movement is also mentioned in Pilar Velasco’s book “*No nos representan*” (2011) where she describes the 15M as “... *the beginning of an uprising of global citizenship, which is based on respect, transparency, assembly meetings, consensus and nonviolence*” (p. 12, own translation). Furthermore, she defends the European aspect of the movement when she states “*The outraged, the new resistance of the 21st century, are defending people’s democracy, the legacy of Europe*” (2012, p. 31, own translation).

Jiménez and Estalella (2012b) while specifying the movement take into account its **innovative contribution** into the deliberative democracy through the emergence and importance of assemblies carried out throughout the neighbourhoods. They interpret 15M as a “*new form of a political and urban innovation*” (p. 1).

Alonso and Arzoz when explaining 15M take into consideration **no presence of any leaders** who could have shaped the following development of the movement into certain direction. In their article (2011) they call 15M to be “*impressive work without any leaders*” (p. 177, own translation). Such statement is supported by the results of the research conducted by Calvo, Pastrana, Mena and Sánchez where weak importance and actual no presence of any charismatic leaders are confirmed by the questioned protesters. (2011, p. 11). The argument is widened by the ideas of the group of authors called Colectivo Madrilonia, where they point out the massive character of the movement brought by no division according to any political ideas, nor social or political groups. It was repeated various times during the assemblies and the manifestations that the main focus was put on people. (Madrilonia, 2012, p. 58) Moreover, further on they call 15M “*a network with a multitude of nodes however there is no centre*” (Madrilonia, 2012, p. 63, own translation), which stresses out the no leader factor of the movement as well as no political or social group in the background of 15M.

Considering an uncertain status of the movement in the early emergence, when politics together with the media were facing the questions regarding the strength of the crowds of people and subsequent consequences, Alonso and Arzoz define the movement as “*something between reform and revolt against a political reality that indicates to be unsustainable*” (2011, p. 177, own translation). Such

conclusion is supported by the research results carried out by Calvo, Pastrana, Mena and Sánchez (2011), where 62% of questioned protesters claim 15M represents an attempt **to reform the system, not to break it.** (p. 14) Donatella dell Porta specifies the reformation of the system calling it “*the criticism of ever-decreasing quality of representative democracy*” (2012, p. 275). Moreover, the critique of the current system is emphasized in the article written by Razsa and Kurnik (2012), where they call the present situation to be “*the crisis of representative democracy*” (para. 1).

As it has been proved by the statements of the above mentioned authors in this section, 15M can be considered to be **innovative, different and unique** considering various aspects: **its global or mass character, innovative approach, no presence of any charismatic leader and its objective- reformation of the system.**

15M protesters

It is inevitable to answer one of the first questions that must have crossed the minds of many politicians, political commentators and journalists during the demonstration on 15th of May, which is: Who are the people? Are they just “*peroflautas (a compound of the words ‘dog’ and ‘flute’, an allusion to the stereotypical image of the vagabond)*” (Jiménez & Estalella, 2001, p. 22) looking for some entertainment? However, such a huge mass of people could not have been linked together just by their juvenescence and boredom.

As it is found in the research realised by Calvo, Pastrana, Mena and Sánchez (2011) it is obvious, that the vast majority of the protesters are university students or those who have already accomplished the university studies. They are about 19 and 30 years old, and they have their own political identity, mainly the left-wing one, but do not cast votes. They require the reform of the system, not its destruction.

However, Rico (2011) sees the composition of protesters from a wider perspective emphasizing the link between the people and the goal of the 15m demonstrations. He points out the presence of the “*[u]nemployed, who have been feeling useful for the first time in their lives, hippies hooked by the happiness of the moment, activists of all colours and races clinging to the lifetime opportunity, youth without future that had been just walking by but then decided to join...*” (para. 12, own translation).

Moreover, within the whole manifestation (the days following the 15th of May) the protestors themselves tried to put a great emphasis on pointing out who or what they were and were not, as it is mentioned in the Jiménez and Estalella’s article (2011) “*... in demonstration posters, slogans and online media, there was explicit reference to the gathering not being a ‘botellon’, or open-air drinking party*” (p. 23). To support it, they tried to omit noisy talks during the night to prevent from disturbing neighbours and any unneeded police intervention. (Velasco, 2011)

Surprisingly, the people had not joined any main economic and political traditional organisations, which proves that these units are de facto not inevitable when reaching high turnout in protests, as it was concluded by Anduiza, Sabucedo & Cristancho (2012, p. 24).

Moreover, it is rather essential to sketch where the people were actually coming from. If they were not from any political or economic traditional organisation, if there were many unemployed people, old and young people, hippies, university students, activists, how did they find out about the movement? It is necessary to point out, that thousands of people gathered on the squares were not

only passers-by. To understand the situation more precisely, the part of Anduiza, Sabucedo and Cristiancho's article will be provided.

Mobilization was not triggered by a particular incident, but by the joint coordinated action of many small actors and grievances around the DRY⁴² platform, which took place outside the scope of broadcast media. These coordinated actions would not have been possible without a privileged use of digital media. The demonstration was not called by large traditional organisations, but by ad hoc platforms that acted as loose, flexible structures centred on a particular issue, that linked people and small organisations without a specific long-term commitment or formal membership. Over 400 organisations with short experience in political activism converged in the DRY platform and played an active role in staging the demonstration and following activities. (2012, p. 15)

15M launch and its following development

Many questions arise when thinking about the day 15th of May, regarding the number of people that gathered on the square, the incentives that supported their decision for the protest or the consequences of such huge masses of people concentrated on one place. After describing the social movements in general, explaining the composition of people joined in 15M, the question *What actually happened on 15th of May and the subsequent days?* will be answered in the following part. Because of the limited extent of the article it will not be possible to look closer at various demonstrations happening all over Spain on the day 15th of May or afterwards, nor the predecessors of the 15M (as various group manifestations or flash-mobs), therefore the main focus will be put on the square, *la Puerta del Sol* in Madrid starting on 15th of May, where the manifestation gathered the highest number of protesters and where the actual movement 15M was founded. The following part will explain the 15M beginning and development until its dismantling on the day 12th of June, 2011.

On the day 15th of May 2011 approximately 100 000 people all over Spain decided to express their indignation on the streets of 50-60 cities all over Spain, especially Madrid, Barcelona, Valencia and Sevilla. In the capital there were approximately 25 000 protesters gathered on the *Puerta del Sol*. (Madrilonia, 2012, p. 55) The crowd filled the whole square joined by the common anger, and the phrase *We are not merchandise in the hands of politicians and bankers!* related to the current situation in Spain suffering the economic and democracy crisis with high numbers of unemployment. (Jiménez & Estalella, 2011, p. 20) The home made banners were particularly expressing the criticism of bipartisanship, markets and the rejection of cuts and bank bailout. (Madrilonia, 2012, p. 55) *"The demonstration ... ended in a tense, intermittently violent, encounter with the police, and some arrests"* (Jiménez & Estalella, 2011, p. 20). 24 protesters were taken by the police. Pillar Velasco describes the situation *"[m]ore than 100 000 people went out to say the system is not working and the system answered them as always!"* (Velasco, 2011, p. 15, own translation) referring to the police intervention.

The very same night after the main demonstration, nearly all the protesters went back home, however, about 40 people decided to stay and camp overnight on the square as a sign of their anger related to the current situation and the police

⁴²democracia real ya = democracy real now

reaction. They decided not to leave the square until the day 22nd of May, the day of municipal and regional elections. (Velasco, 2011, p.15)

The following day, 16th of May, the 15M called its first assembly which was attended by around 1000 people and about 200 people decided to camp overnight on the square. (Madrilonia, 2012, p. 55) The protesters started to form groups such as communication team which was making a record of the assembly, as well as being responsible for communication with media. (Jiménez & Estalella, 2011, p. 20) To protect themselves from the summer heat the protesters tied a tent together with *El oso y el madroño*, the symbol of Madrid, the statue of *la Puerta del Sol*. It was basically the beginning of the “*Sol Republic*” (Velasco, 2011, p. 16, own translation) which will be later on described with more details.

The possibility of eviction from the square and various possible tactics of facing such situation were being discussed. Jimenéz & Estalella (2011) explain the potential solution of such case

[t]he puerta del Sol, for example, forms a part of an old ‘royal pastoral way’, a thoroughfare long used by shepherds to move their herds from the Castilian highlands to the lowlands. The demonstrators considering invoking an ancient convention whereby shepherds – and other – are permitted to spend up to three nights in the open air on the royal pastoral way. (p. 20)

Nevertheless, the plan did not work. On 17th of May, in the early morning, when the media and press had already gone, the police proceeded the eviction. They dragged the protesters away across the ground, beat them and took eight of them to the police station. (Velasco, 2011, p. 17) The brutality of the police intervention was recorded by many protesters who managed to upload the videos straightaway to YouTube directly from their phones. (Jiménez & Estalella, 2011, p. 20) Here, as in many other cases, it is possible to see the importance of the social media and the effect they have on the development of the social movements nowadays.

Undoubtedly, the uploaded videos and tweets contributed to the people’s anger which brought together around 10,000 people the very same day to the square again with a clear message *No tenemos casa, nos quedamos en la plaza* (we do not have home, that is why we will stay on the square. (Madrilonia, 2012, p. 55)

Pilar Velasco calls the day 17th of May to be ‘*magic Tuesday*’ as the whole movement suddenly got into a different phase. (2011, p. 18, own translation) As described in her book, people’s decision not to abandon *la Puerta del Sol* in the name of revolution got into wider dimensions. The whole place was suddenly covered by cardboards, recycling bags, wires, and posters asking for various items including blankets, water, medicine, gloves, bleach, sawdust, plastic bags, sailcloth, cars, etc. (p. 18) As it is portrayed in Jiménez & Estalella’s article (2012b), in a very short time three types of assemblies were created. Two of them, ***the infrastructure taskforce*** and ***the food commission*** were responsible for gathering the cardboard preparing it for the night, collecting food from nearby bars and restaurants. ***A communication group*** played a very important role in improvised training courses for ***spokespersons*** facing the possible media interest. (p. 2) Within the following days the camp was transformed into a “*city in miniature*” (Jiménez & Estalella, 2012b, p.2) consisting of: “***a library and a ‘reading room’, a kitchen, a nursery, a reception desk for gifts of food and drinks, a legal desk, a cleaning squad, and medical-emergency spaces***”(Jiménez & Estalella, 2011, p. 23). On top of that, there was a ***TV channel and Internet connection***. Rico (2011) describes the progress of 15M calling Madrid a “*double city*” (para.2, own translation) as a city working inside the city.

Naturally, such spontaneous logistic coordination together with people’s determination occupying *la Puerta del Sol* influenced other cities and suburbs all

over Spain. As explained in Jiménez & Estalella's article (2012b), in a very short time there was a document "*Methodology for assemblies*" drafted by the Neighbourhoods Commission that "*recommended protocols and procedures for occupying the city's public spaces. These included references to the tools necessary to set-up an assembly infrastructure*" (p. 2).

The idea of reaching consensus is very well described in Velasco's book. She points out the main objective of 15M assemblies, as to be an example of real democracy, horizontal, pacific and with consensus. (Velasco, 2011, p. 21) Seventeen ministries of the government were reflected in eleven working groups. There was no subject not covered by them. **Education, politics, health, economy, animal rights, environment, sociology and culture, were all discussed in their working group.** The decisions got into the General Assembly, where they were approved by the majority. The acts were later on passed to the group of information, which was responsible for posting them on online web page of the movement (<https://n.-1.cc/>). (Velasco, 2011, p. 21)

The movement was spreading all over Spain. On 18th of May there were about fifty two localisations of manifestations. Manifestations expressing their support spread all over the world organized by the Spanish, as in London, Buenos Aires, Paris, New York. 15M was finally recognized internationally. (Madrilonia, 2012, p. 55)

The same day the movement was prohibited officially on grounds of possibility of affecting the electoral campaign and the liberty of the citizens to cast the votes. However, the outraged decided to stay on *la Puerta del Sol*, and the number of the protesters rose to 15,000. (Madrilonia, 2012, p. 55)

The following day, 19th of May, the manifestation was prohibited again, by the law of a day for reflection, which commands to all campaigns to cease on the day before polling day in order to respect the people's free voting decision. However, it did not meet its expectations, and it only served to draw more people to the squares. (Jiménez & Estalella, 2011, p. 20) There were even more manifestations called out, and at 12 o'clock at night thousands of people greeted the day for reflection with the "*scream of silence*" (Madrilonia, 2012, p. 56, own translation).

In spite of the prohibition, on Saturday, 21st of May, thousands of people went out to the streets and squares in nearly all Spanish cities and towns. (Madrilonia, 2012, p. 56)

After the first tough week of the demonstrations, the movement went on to the neighbourhoods, discussing the topics on their local neighbourhood assemblies held on a weekly basis. On 7th of June, the General Assembly decided to dismantle the camp on Sunday 12th of June. Even though the physical camp was taken down, the General Assembly "*continued as an umbrella assembly to which neighbourhood assemblies report, and a space where common issues are discussed*" (Jiménez & Estalella, 2011, p. 20).

Ever since there have been numerous manifestations across all Spain, as 19-J (held on June 19, 2011), where about 50,000 people gathered in Madrid, 25,000 in Valencia and 75,000 in Barcelona (Madrilonia, 2012, p. 56) or October 15th a Global Day of Action.

As it is stated in the article written in August, 2011, between 6,5 and 8 million of Spanish claim to have been participating actively or passively in the 15M manifestations, visiting camps situated on Spanish squares or forming part of the assemblies. (Anonymous, 2011)

15M requirements and their motive

Every author writing about the 15M and its incentives points out tense **political** and **economic** background of the country: *Political*, in sense of absence of people's participation in political decisions, the widening gap between the political elites and ordinary people. *Economic*, referring to economic crisis and its impact on the economic situation, unemployment and financial cuts in the country. Calvo, Pastrana, Mena and Sánchez agree with the above mentioned background stating "[t]his social movement was born in an environment of general anger related to fundamental aspects of political and economic system of Spain" (2011, p. 5, own translation). Anger, as the main factor or motive of people's mobilisation is well expressed in an article written by Santiago Alba Rico asking "is it strange that we, being treated like children, despised, ... subcontracted, without any houses or future, dependent and repressed, are rebelling against the system?" (2011, para. 3, own translation).

The above mentioned statements are supported by the results of the research-survey realised in Salamanca by Calvo, Pastrana, Mena and Sánchez (2011) where they found out that the majority of the participants enrolled with the 15M activities want to express their indignation and the anger related to the banks, corruption, electoral system and media. Surprisingly, according to the results, it outweighs the concern regarding the political parties and politicians themselves.

According to Donatella Della Porta (2012), the professor of sociology in European University Institute, the main objective of the political movements in Spain, as well as of Arab Spring, is a **direct criticism**. Criticism of corruption in political class and of political parties, to which the responsibility for economic crisis is linked. She continues explaining her idea when emphasizing

[c]riticism of degeneration of representative democracy, to elected politicians, failure to 'do politics', giving up important choice to the belief in the magic capacity of the market to regulate itself and that no alternatives are available. Representative democracy is also criticised for having allowed the abduction of democracy, not only by financial powers, but also by international organisations, above all the International Monetary Fund and the European Unions. Pacts for the Euro and stability, imposed in exchange for loans, are considered as anti-constitutional forms of blackmail, depriving citizens of their sovereignty.(p. 275)

Razsa and Kurnik agree with della Porta's statements when naming the situation to be the "*crisis of representative democracy*" (2012, para. 1). Alonso and Arzo go beyond the concept of development of democracy in the country when they claim "*requirements of this crowd indicate a deepening of democracy, the need for a second transition in the country*" (2012, p. 177, own translation).

However, the proposals of 15M were slightly criticised by Anduiza, Sabucedo and Cristancho because of their abstractness, "*[t]he demonstrators were claiming for social justice, but also for more participation, transparency, accountability, and proportionality – all political and rather abstract goals*" (2012, p. 7).

A group of authors called Colectivo Madrilonia specifies the main points of the people's outrage "*lack of democracy, market dominance and excesses of politicians and bankers*" (2012, p. 59, own translation). They further on specify them more precisely naming the main proposals "*elimination of the privileges of the politicians, social measures against unemployment, favourable to property rights and public services, control of banks, tax reform and more democracy*" (p. 54, own translation).

The analytical part of the article will provide the reader with some more concrete proposals and requirement of the social movement 15M.

The analyses of the 15M proposals and the values of democracy

The main role of the article is to answer the research question whether 15M as a social movement played a role in the process of democratisation of Spain. Before providing a relevant answer it is inevitable to specify what the terms **democratisation** and democracy mean for various scholars since through comparison of the main features of *democracy* with the proposals of the movement 15M, the role of 15M in the process of democratisation will be analysed.

According to Andrew Heywood (2002), the leading writer of politics textbooks in the UK, democratisation:

...refers to the transition from authoritarianism to liberal democracy. The most important features of this process are the granting of basic freedoms and particularly political rights, the establishment of popular and competitive elections, and ... the introduction of market reforms. (p. 81)

Another influential political scientist, Samuel Huntington (1991) sees the wave of democratisation as “*a group of transitions from nondemocratic to democratic regimes that occurs within a specific period...*” (p. 579).

If democratisation is described as the process from nondemocratic regimes to regimes with democratic principles, then it is necessary to explain the term **democracy** and the way it can be characterised.

Jean Grugel, a professor of politics, describes in her book “*Democratization: A critical introduction*” (2002) *democracy* through some significant factors or principles that ensure democratic character of the country. **The rule of law** is one of the main characteristics of *democracy*, as it guarantees equality of all citizens before the law and their protection by the legal system. **Citizen participation** understood as participation in political actions together with **regular and free elections** represent a significant part of democratic features as they provide the citizens with the right to express their will and choose a political official that will stand for their needs and opinions in the government. Subsequently, **multi-party system** must be present to provide the voter with the possibility of decision. **Equality** of the people protects the citizens from being discriminated on the grounds of religion, race, gender or sexual orientation, as well as it assures equal opportunities to all. **Accountability** of elected officials being responsible for their actions forms the basis of democratic principles. Finally, **human rights** and **economic freedom** ensure democratic character of the country. (Grugel, 2002, p. 69)

To find the role of 15M in the process of democratisation of Spain, the above mentioned principles of democracy will be compared with the 15M proposals listed in the book “*No nos representan, el manifiesto de los indignados en 25 propuestas*” written by Pilar Velasco, which comprises numerous proposals and ideas collected within the first days of manifestations and assemblies created in Spain starting on the day 15th of May, 2011.

The multi-party system is expressively questioned in the demands of 15M, as the *indignados* express their anger regarding the increase of power of two main political parties, Partido Popular (PP) and Partido Socialista Obrero Español (PSOE), asking what they should do, if they do not want to lose their vote voting for a smaller party with nearly no chances to get into parliament. They ask “*What happens to those who do not feel represented by the two majority parties?*” (Velasco, 2011, p. 36, own translation). Considering the result of the parliamentary elections in 2008, (as the results of the parliamentary elections in November 2011 were affected by the demonstrations and 15M), the two main political parties, PSOE and PP shared 323 seats out of 350. (Consulta de resultados electorales)

Moreover, in Spanish case, the multi-party system is supplemented by the proportional representation and D'Hondt formula, which converts the number of votes into the number of seats. Specifically D'Hondt formula is questioned in the proposals of 15M pointing out its **unequal proportionality** providing the example with the same parliamentary elections as mentioned above, held in 2008. While in the cases of two main political parties, PSOE and PP, there were approximately 66 000 votes necessary to obtain one seat in the parliament, in case of the Izquierda Unida (IU) to obtain one seat they needed approximately 480 000 votes. (Velasco, 2011, p. 36)

The main feature of democracy, **the rule of law** and **the equality of all citizens** is significantly questioned in the proposals of 15M, as the *indignados* feel to be **treated differently** than politicians. In Velasco's book they mention the inequality of privileges provided to politicians and ordinary citizens. For every citizen in Spain it was required to have been working for 35 years to have the right for 100% of pension (meanwhile, the number of the working years due to the new labour reform in 2012 increased to 37years), however, in case of senators and members of the parliament it is only 11 years. Moreover, while the ordinary citizens can enjoy their pension after reaching 67 years, in case of senators and members of parliament it is only 60 years. In addition, meanwhile an ordinary citizen needs 15 years to be able to get 50% of its pension, a senator or member of the parliament need only 7 years to get 80% of their pension. (Anonymous, 2010, para. 2)

The *indignados* mention in their proposals the difference of salary and compensation for dismissal between ordinary people and politicians. Furthermore, the difference of pensions received by the senators together with members of the parliament and ordinary people is vast, which causes enormous basis of outrage. The opinion is supported by the belief that the politicians "*should conform to the rules they apply*" (Velasco, 2012, p. 39, own translation).

Moreover, the inequality or different treatment of citizens and politicians is backed by the rhetoric question mentioned in requirement n. 12 (propuesta 12) "*It cannot be true that the one stealing 100 euro in order to survive goes to the prison, however, the one destroying the country does not face the consequences*" (Velasco, 2012, p. 58, own translation).

The existence of **parliamentary immunity** as the privilege of the member of the parliament underlying the inequality of all citizens is doubted by the demands of 15M. Meanwhile they accept the importance of parliamentary immunity as a tool to help the member of the parliament execute their responsibilities, they ask a question "*what sense does the immunity have if it is only the privilege and refuge from potential criminal behaviour?*" (Velasco, 2012, p. 39, own translation).

The **accountability of elected officials** is mentioned in the proposals of 15M, too. They ask "*Why isn't it possible to dismiss politicians who are not fulfilling their promises, who govern badly or engage illegal actions or actions not compatible with the dignity of their position representing the popular sovereignty?*" (Velasco, 2012, p. 40, own translation). In the proposals of the *indignados* they support the idea by mentioning the consequences of the work done insufficiently or badly in case of any other ordinary citizen in any other occupation.

Furthermore, *indignados* **require sanctions and penalties** for the ones responsible for the crisis, taking into consideration and as an example the situation in Iceland, which in fact supported and fastened the process of creation of 15M.

Three of the main principles of **human rights** are **the freedom of speech**, **the right to be informed** and **the right of education**. The existence of 15M is supported by this particular freedom of speech which provides the people with the opportunity to express their outrage regarding "*the perceived corruption of the political classes, the rise in unemployment, the state's reduction of social and welfare*

benefits, and a general transfer of wealth to the rich” (Jiménez & Estalella, 2011, p. 20). As Donatella della Porta summarises in her article (2012),

[t]he attention given to the respect for different opinions aims at creating high quality discursive democracy. Highly inclusive, these spaces recognise the rights of all citizens to speak and be heard, as well as their competences and skills in the search for solutions to complex problems. (p. 276)

Obviously, these people want to speak, and want to be heard.

The **right to be informed** is questioned in the demands of 15M, where the *indignados* emphasize the **rising bias of media**, which nowadays “*opine more and inform less*” (Velasco, 2012, p. 68, own translation). They stress out the importance of unbiased media that help the citizens understand the reality around them and to have the critical awareness of reality. The media should not be any “*ideological filter*” as it “*jeopardizes the freedom of information*” (Velasco, 2012, p. 68, own translation).

Another key principle of democracy, **the right for education**, is noticeably doubted in 15M demands. They stress out the rise of private schools which are put into contrast with the promises of public education confirmed by the Constitution in 1978. (Velasco, 2012, p. 65) In fact, in the year of 2000 there were 503 private primary schools and 1,444 public primary schools in Valencia province, while in the year of 2010 the number of the private primary schools rose to 950, while in case of the public primary schools the number rose to 1,575 schools, which means the rise of nearly 100% in case of private sector which is mainly subsidized by the public funds, according to Ana Noguera, the socialist education spokeswoman in Parliament. (Caballer, 2010, para. 2) The same tendency is found in case of secondary schools and universities. The *outraged* ask the question “*if teaching is not universal, but private, how to ensure the respect to coexistence, the rights and fundamental freedoms for all?*” (Velasco, 2012, p. 65, own translation).

Finally, **the citizen participation** belongs to the most supported principles of democracy by the 15M demands. 15M requests **a more active political participation**, as the protesters are not satisfied with the limited power they possess. Santiago Rico mentions in his article (2011) the content of one of the posters on the Square Sol, which adequately supports the people’s frustration, “*Having sex once a four year time cannot be called a sex life, voting once a four year time cannot be called democracy*” (para. 2, own translation).

Donatella della Porta stresses the democratic quality of 15M in context of the effort to gain more significant political participation. As she mentions in her article (2012),

[d]emocratic quality here is in fact measured by the possibility to elaborate ideas within discursive, open and public arenas, where citizens play an active role in identifying problems, but also in elaborating possible solutions. It is the opposite of a certain acceptance of democracy of the prince, where the professionals elected to govern must not be disturbed... (p. 276)

In demands of 15M the people ask for more power ensured by **more referenda**. They mention referenda that never took place (for example referendum regarding monarchy vs. republic), the referenda which were not sufficient (for example referendum regarding the constitution in 1978, since it did not provide the citizens with any right to change concrete articles). Moreover, they point out the fact that referenda are not binding. (Velasco, 2012, p. 43) Precisely, through more referenda they want to extend the citizen participation thus contribute to Spanish democracy. They request holding a referendum on decisions that did not form a

part of a political program of ruling parties, as in case of labour reform, which precisely affects the citizens.

By analyzing the main principles of democracy stated by Jean Grugel together with the demands of 15M, it can be confirmed, that 15M is forming a significant part in the process of democratisation, as these particular requirements call for respect of those democratic principles that were set up in the Spanish society by creation of Constitution in 1978. This particular statement is supported by the argument of Alnoso & Arzoz expressed in the article “*El 15M y la quintacolumna digital*” (2011), where they conclude that “*the requirements of this crowd indicate a deepening of democracy, the need for a second transition in the country*” (p. 177, own translation).

Regardless the consequences of 15M demonstrations and actual results of their effort, comparing 15M proposals together with the principles of democracy, a significant importance, role and contribution into a Spanish society can be found.

Conclusion

The article was written to answer the research question “*Did the social movement 15M play any role in the process of democratisation of Spain*”. To provide a relevant answer, several analyses were needed.

Firstly the political development of the country was explained in its historic context. After the death of Francisco Franco and a nearly 40-years-long dictatorship, Spain launched its path towards democracy. Although, the extent of the article did not allow describing it from a wide perspective, the key events of the transformation were included.

Secondly the Spanish economic situation was sketched explaining the link between the world economy, Spain’s eternal lack in industrial competitiveness, tourism-focused economy, its entry into the EEC, vicious circle of construction, bank loans, and state intervention. A comparison between the previous state of the economy with the recent figures related to high rates of unemployment help understand the people’s outrage and actual incentives for the manifestation on a great scale.

Thirdly, the analysis of the author’s perception of 15M as a social movement based on the ideas of Jiménez and Estalella, Alonso and Arzoz, Pilar Velasco and Donatella della Porta was provided. There were various aspects considered, as the global character of the movement, its innovation, no presence of charismatic leaders, and its message – reformation of the system.

In order to describe the current movement, its launch and subsequent success, the description of the protesters together with the particular events following the day 15th of May 2011 were explained, too. The proper development of the social movement emphasised its success and mass support from the public.

The analysis of the requirements and the motives of people’s outrage described in the following part link the political and economic background of the country together. The outcome of the analysis proved that the main incentives of manifestations were related to banks, corruption, electoral system, media, powerlessness of politics to prevent or cope with economic problems as well as the criticism of representative democracy.

The research question was answered by the analysis of the 15M proposals and the main characteristics of democracy. Firstly the term democratisation was explained by Andrew Heywood’s and Samuel Huntington’s perception, describing it as a transition from authoritarianism to liberal democracy. Later on the democracy values or characteristics were described by Juan Grugel, stressing out the rule of law, citizen participation, regular and free elections, multi-party system, equality of

the people, accountability of the elected officials, human rights and economic freedom. In order to answer the research question, an analysis of both the democracy principles and 15M proposals was made.

There was a significant link proved between both sides, as the protesters were mainly requiring the fulfilment of the democratic principles set up in the 1978 constitution. The multi-party factor was doubted by the presence of two main political parties as a lack of variety and power of smaller parties. The objectivity and functionality of D'Hondt formula was questioned, too.

The equality of all the citizens was put into contrast with differences in age and number of worked years necessary for a state pension in case of ordinary citizens and politicians, together with the inequalities regarding the salaries and compensation for dismissals.

Moreover, the accountability of the elected officials is doubted as well as the right to be informed, the freedom of speech and the right for education. The protesters pointed out the bias of media jeopardising the freedom of information together with the rise of privatisation of public schools which is in contrast with the promises of public education confirmed by the 1978 Constitution.

The participatory democracy is questioned in the 15M proposals too, as the people ask for more rights in active participation and more referenda.

To conclude, a significant role of 15M as a social movement in the process of democratisation was proved by the analysis of their proposals. It is obvious, that the people are requiring the fulfilment and respect of democratic principles promised and set up in the 1978 Constitution. 15M definitely contributed to the Spanish society mainly through its capability of joining the crowds of people together. A further analysis of actual consequences of 15M on the economic and political situation is required to conclude, whether 15M had a tangible impact on certain issues.

After living in Spain for almost 14 months and numerous discussions with Spanish people actively participating in 15M, I, personally, found many different topics being included in their subjective requirements, which, from my point of view, were the reasons of the weakness of particular consequences of the movement. According to my perspective, the Spanish society needs to overcome the twice-told topics related to nationalism, independency of the provinces, state separation from the church, dictatorship past and monarchy vs. republic issues to be able to reach their common objective. However, the lesson has been learned. The Spanish know now, they can join together and show their outrage without any restrictions. Therefore, a different question reminds open "*How the social movement 15M will progress in general and more specifically in times of the following general elections?*".

Bibliography

- Alonso, A. & Arzoz, I. (2011). El 15M y la quintacolumna digital; comentarios para un laboratorio estratégico. *Teknokultura. Revista de Cultura Digital y Movimientos Sociales*, Vol 8, No. 2. Retrieved from <http://teknokultura.net/index.php/tk/article/view/9> (accessed February 20, 2013)
- Anduiza, E., Sabucedo, J., & Cristiancho, C. (2012). Mobilization through Online Social Networks: the political protest of the *indignados* in Spain. Retrieved from http://www.academia.edu/306269/Mobilization_through_online_social_networks_the_15M (accessed January 5, 2013)
- Anonymous. (n.d.a) The post-franco era. Transition to democracy. *Countrystudies*. Retrieved from <http://countrystudies.us/spain/25.htm> (accessed April 14, 2013)

- Anonymous. (n.d.b). Metodología Asamblearia. *Toma los barrios, Asamblea Popular de Madrid*. Retrieved from <http://madrid.tomalosbarrios.net/metodologia-asamblearia/> (accessed January 5, 2013)
- Anonymous. (2012). Eurozone crisis expanded. *BBC news*. Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/business-17549970> (accessed April 13, 2013)
- Anonymous. (2011). Hasta ocho millones de personas aseguran haber participado en el 15-M. *El mundo*. Retrieved from <http://www.elmundo.es/elmundo/2011/08/03/espana/1312372873.html> (accessed January 5, 2013)
- Anonymous. (2010). Las privilegiadas pensines de los diputados y senadores. *Ultimas Noticias press*. Retrieved from <http://ultimasnoticiaspress.blogspot.sk/2010/12/las-pensiones-de-diputados-y-senadores.html> (accessed January 5, 2013)
- Antentas, J. M., & Vivas, E. (2012). *Planeta Indignado*. Madrid, Spain: Ediciones sequitur.
- Bordallo, J. A. (2011). De la red a la calle: un estudio del proceso movilizador que condujo a las manifestaciones del 15 de mayo de 2011. Retrieved from <http://www.aecpa.es/uploads/files/modules/congress/10/papers/564.pdf> (accessed April 3, 2013)
- Britt, L. W. (2004). Fascism anyone? *Council for secular humanism*. Retrieved from http://www.secularhumanism.org/library/fi/britt_23_2.htm (accessed April 14, 2013)
- Caballer, N. (2010). Los colegios privados y concertados crecen casi el 100% en una década. *El país, Archivo*. Retrieved from http://elpais.com/diario/2010/10/28/cvalenciana/1288293493_850215.html (accessed January 5, 2013)
- Calvo, K. B., Pastrana, T. G.; Mena, L. & Sánchez, M. J. (2011). Especial 15 -M. *Zoom Político*. Retrieved from <http://www.falternativas.org/laboratorio/libros-e-informes/zoom-politico/especial-15-m> (accessed January 5, 2013)
- Consulta de resultados electorales. (n.d.). Retrieved from <http://www.infoelectoral.mir.es/min/busquedaAvanzadaAction.html> (accessed April 3, 2013)
- Della Porta, D. (2011). The road to Europe: movements and democracy. *Open democracy*. Retrieved from <http://www.opendemocracy.net/donatella-della-porta/road-to-europe-movements-and-democracy> (accessed November 20, 2012)
- Della Porta, D. (2012). Mobilizing against the crisis, mobilizing for “another democracy”: Comparing two global waves of protest. *Interface: a journal for and about social Movements*. Vol. 4: 274-277. Retrieved from <http://www.interfacejournal.net/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2012/05/Interface-4-1-Della-Porta.pdf> (accessed November 20, 2012)
- DifRed. (2011). Guía rápida para la dinamización de asambleas populares. *#Acampadasol*. Retrieved from <http://madrid.tomalaplaza.net/2011/05/31/guia-rapida-para-la-dinamizacion-de-asambleas-populares/> (accessed November 20, 2012)

- Desfor, E. L. (1998). *Symbol and ritual in the new Spain. The transition to democracy after Franco*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Eurostat. (n.d.). Unemployment statistics. *European Commission Eurostat*. Retrieved from http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/statistics_explained/index.php/Unemployment_statistics#Further_Eurostat_information (accessed April 12, 2013)
- Fernández, J., Sevilla, C., Urbán, M., Toussaint, E., Ezquerro, S., Antebi, A., . . . Žižek, S. (2012). *Ocupemos el mundo! Occupy the world!* Barcelona, Spain: Icaria editorial, s.a.
- Grugel, J. (2002). *Democratization: A critical introduction*. New York: Palgrave
- Hessel, S. (2011). *¡Indignaos!* Barcelona, Spain: Ediciones Destino, S.A.
- Hessel, S., & Morin, E. (2012). *El camino de la esperanza*. Barcelona, Spain: Ediciones Destino, S.A.
- Heywood, A. (2002). *Politics*. Palgrave MacMillan
- Huntington, S. P. (1991). How countries democratize. *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 106, No. 4 (Winter, 1991-1992), pp. 579-616. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2151795> (accessed March 17, 2013)
- Inamán, P. (2013). Spain hasn't seen unemployment this bad since Franco. *The guardian*. Retrieved from <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2013/mar/07/spain-unemployment-bad-franco> (accessed April 15, 2013)
- Jiménez, A. C., & Estalella, A. (2012a). What is a neighbor? Notes on #Occupying the urban relation. Draft paper. Retrieved from http://www.prototyping.es/wp-content/uploads/2012/09/Corsin_Estalella_What-Is-Neighbour.pdf (accessed April 1, 2013)
- Jiménez, A. C., & Estalella, A. (2012b). Assembling neighbours. The City as Archive, Hardware, Method. Draft paper. Retrieved from http://www.prototyping.es/wp-content/uploads/2012/07/CorsinJimenezEstalella_Assembling-Neighbours.pdf (accessed April 1, 2013)
- Jiménez, A. C., & Estalella, A. (2011). #Spanishrevolution. Front and Back Covers, Volume 27, Number 4. August 2011. *Anthropology Today*, 27: 19–23. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-8322.2011.027c4.x (accessed April 1, 2013)
- Llopis, E. (2011). Muchos de los jóvenes *indignados* han pasado del ciudadanía al anticapitalismo. *Rebelión*. Retrieved from <http://www.rebellion.org/noticia.php?id=141711> (accessed January 3, 2013)
- López, I., & Rodríguez, E. (2011). The Spanish Model. *New left review*. Retrieved from <http://newleftreview.org/II/69/isidro-lopez-emmanuel-rodriguez-the-spanish-model> (accessed April 10, 2013)
- Maeckelbergh, M. (2012). Horizontal Democracy Now: From Alterglobalization to Occupation. *Interface: a journal for and about social movements*. Volume 4 (1): 207-234 Retrieved from <http://www.interfacejournal.net/wordpress/wpcontent/uploads/2012/05/Interface-4-1-Full-PDF-no-images.pdf> (accessed November 14, 2012)
- Portella, J. R. (2011). *¡Escandalizaos!* Madrid, Spain: Ediciones Altera.
- Postill, J. (2012). Democracy in the age of viral reality: a media epidemiography of Spain's *indignados* movement. *Ethnography journal*. Retrieved from

- http://www.academia.edu/1512372/Democracy_in_the_age_of_viral_reality_a_media_epidemiography_of_Spains_indignados_movement (accessed November 16, 2012)
- Razsa, M. J., & Kurnik, A. (2012). The Occupy Movement in Zizek's hometown: Direct democracy and the politics of becoming. *American ethnologist*. Retrieved from <http://www.americanethnologist.org/2012/occupy-movement-zizek/> (accessed April 6, 2013)
- Rico, S., A. (2011). El agujero blanco. *Rebelión*. Retrieved from <http://www.rebelion.org/noticia.php?id=129588> (accessed October 15, 2012)
- Romanos, E. (2011). El 15M y la democracia de los movimientos sociales. *Books & Ideas*, 18 November 2011. Retrieved from <http://www.booksandideas.net/El-15M-y-la-democracia-de-los.html> (accessed November 19, 2012)
- Taibo, C. (2012). *España. Un gran país. Transición. Milagro y quiebra*. Madrid, Spain: Los Libros de la Catarata.
- Taibo, C. (2011). *Nada será como antes. Sobre el movimiento 15-M*. Madrid, Spain: Los Libros de la Catarata.
- Velasco, P. (2011). *No nos representan. El Manifiesto de los indignados en 25 propuestas*. Madrid, Spain: Ediciones Planeta Madrid, S.A.