Working Papers

15M: The movement in its third anniversary

Arnau Monterde (amonterde@uoc.edu)
IN3-Universitat Oberta de Catalunya

Antonio Calleja-López (acallejalo@uoc.edu)
IN3-Universitat Oberta de Catalunya

Daniel Blanche (dblanchet@uoc.edu)
IN3-Universitat Oberta de Catalunya

Mireia Fernández-Ardèvol (mfernandezar@uoc.edu)
IN3-Universitat Oberta de Catalunya

Working Paper

R&I

Universitat Oberta
de Catalunya

Universitat Oberta
de Catalunya

☺Arnau Monterde, Antonio Calleja-López, Daniel Blanche &
Mireia Fernández-Ardèvol

Table of contents

15M: The movement in its third anniversary

Arnau Monterde (amonterde@uoc.edu)
IN3-Universitat Oberta de Catalunya

Antonio Calleja-López (acallejalo@uoc.edu)
IN3-Universitat Oberta de Catalunya

Daniel Blanche (dblanchet@uoc.edu)
IN3-Universitat Oberta de Catalunya

Mireia Fernández-Ardèvol
(mfernandezar@uoc.edu)

Abstract

The emergence of networked social movements in 2011 has opened a new door in the social movements' literature. By adopting a technopolitical and situated approach, in this paper, we explore the case of the 15M movement three years after its formation in May 2011. Through an online survey and a nonprobabilistic sampling procedure, we pay special attention to the perceptions and opinions of the movement's participants. We distinguish seven thematic sections: the relationship with the movement, previous political participation and motivations, the use of information and communication technologies (ICTs), the emotions experienced, the evolution of the movement, its influence on elections, and the impacts on several aspects of social life. The results show that the respondents (N=1320) are to a large extent adherent to the movement and largely prompted into action due to political issues. Also, they mostly believe that the movement remains alive yet in new forms, and perceived impacts on different areas, institutions, behaviours, and ideas. We conclude by describing 15M as a case that adequately fits the concept of a networked social movement.

Finally, we suggest future steps in the understanding of these movements by further applying the online survey designed for this study and complementing analyses via other research methods.

Keywords

15M, Networked social movements, Technopolitics, Information and communication technologies (ICTs), Spain

Introduction

In 2011, networked protests emerged in Tunisia, Egypt, Greece, Portugal, Spain and the US. A common feature was their innovative and performative connections of social media and urban spaces for collective action. The emergence of these movements and their strategic use of information and communication technologies (ICTs) (defined as the converging set of technologies that process information and communication by electronic means, including transmission and display [Castells, 1996; OECD, 2011]) constitutes a key factor in the transformation of the practices of contentious politics, which, in cases like Spain, is also transforming the political culture and State institutions. New public spheres appear, connected to the spaces of autonomy (Castells, 2012) that movements create on the basis of the possibilities offered by the Internet. Labelled as "networked social movements" (Castells 2012; Juris, 2004), there are numerous analyses of their relationship to digital practices and social media, both with the case of 15M (Aguilera, Morer, Barandiaran & Bedia, 2013; Alcazan et al., 2012; Linares, 2013; Peña-López, Congosto, & Aragón, 2014; Toret et al., 2015), and beyond (Bennett & Segerberg, 2012; Castells, 2012; Chadwick, 2013; Gerbaudo, 2012; Juris, 2012; Postill, 2014). In this paper we follow a technopolitical approach (Toret et al., 2015) that takes into account the intensification and complexification of the technological mediation of collective action (Bennett & Segerberg, 2012; Castells, 1996, 2009, 2012; Earl & Kimport, 2011) and situates social practices around digital communication technologies at the centre of the analysis (Couldry, 2012).

In this line, we focus on the 15M movement (or indignados movement) in its third anniversary, which depicts fundamental characteristics of the forms of collective action arising with the wave of networked social movements since 2011 (Castells, 2012), and displays a rich history of evolution (Monterde, 2015). The movement emerged in May 2011 in the midst of a deep economic and political crisis in Spain, and took the form of a multitudinous and networked self-organized process (Toret et al., 2015) probably unique in the world. 15M operates through a multi-layered structure that connects offline interactions with mass and digital social media (Toret et al., 2015). The movement is particularly relevant as it opened a cycle of contention (Tarrow, 1989) that has shaped the social and political dynamics of the Spanish society since 2011. Born within digital networks, it evolved and multiplied in relation to them. Due to their novelty and relevance, there is a need for a closer examination of social media and emerging technopolitical practices in social movements of the likes of 15M.

1. Background and conceptual framework.

The first collective initiative that can be safely labelled as "15M" is the grassroots platform DRY (Democracia Real Ya!, or Real Democracy, Now!), which on March 2011 called for demonstrations on May 15th, 2011, to

demand "real democracy". Much of the organization took place in a web forum and Facebook groups. The DRY label was soon appropriated by citizens all over Spain who were encouraged to create their local nodes, without any central authorization or supervision (Toret et al., 2015). On May 15th, 2011, simultaneous demonstrations took place in 60 cities, with 130,000 participants (Serrano, 2012). Afterwards, between May 16th and 22nd, a small sit-in in Madrid's main square, Puerta del Sol, evolved into a camp (Acampada Sol) that operated as the first node of a network of camps that soon reached over 130 cities across Spain. The camps spread, multiplying the 'camp' form via socio-technologically structured processes of replication (Toret et al., 2015). A vast network of connected camps and squares emerged within which information, calls, and actions circulated and reverberated engaging between 6 and 8 million people in the protests (Garea, 2011). When compared with forerunners such as the alternative globalization movement (Juris, 2004), 15M exhibits an increase in the range and variety of participants' networked practices, for example, viral campaigns on Facebook, activity coordination on Twitter, or protest live-streaming (Pérez & Gil, 2014). In line with these practices, Internet traffic in Spain increased by 17% from April to May 2011, and there was a 20% increase in smartphones' data traffic (Monterde & Postill, 2014).

In the following years, the movement evolved through a continuous renewal of its repertoire of practices, combining periods of latency with periodical outbreaks of massive mobilizations, displacing the centre of gravity from DRY and the camps to new or renewed initiatives. Some acquired special importance within the 15M ecosystem and became permanent spaces for action (e.g., the teachers and public health workers mobilizations under the label "mareas" [tides] or the fight against housing evictions by the Platform of Mortgage Victims, the PAH). These practices entailed intensive use of social media and digital tools, open labels (easily appropriated by social media users) and transversal calls to action not centred on ideological premises (Candón Mena, 2013; Monterde & Postill, 2014; Toret et al., 2015). The first post-15M political party to emerge was the X Party, in 2013. It was followed by Podemos, which obtained 1.2 million votes in the May 2014 European elections, nearly 8% of all casted votes, and ranking fourth among Spanish parties. Both parties made intensive use of social network sites (SNS) for the construction and spreading of their narratives and organization (Tormey & Feenstra, 2015). From 2011 to 2014, participants maintained part of the initial technopolitical practices of the movement, but transformed and adapted them into new goals and needs (Monterde, 2015). It is, therefore, relevant to examine the 15M movement across time to understand its evolution and its social and political impacts.

The unfolding of movements such as 15M leads us to reassess the study of social movements in the information and knowledge age. The proliferation and massive extension of technopolitical practices for the organization of collective action, the availability of open and distributed communication, the role of emotions in the main events as drivers of networked communication, the emergence of self-organizing forms at a large scale, or the hybridization of layers (physical and digital) in the movement's development are some of the factors that guide us towards new approaches in the study of social movements in the network society. In this sense, we aim at further developing the notion of networked movement (Monterde, 2015) as a concept that extends and includes most of the characteristics of these emerging social movements, which are articulated both by hyper-connected and complex dynamics. This development would enable new arguments for a better understanding of these movements, arguments that neither allude to technocentric ideas nor neglect the essential role of technologies in these movements. Such a novel and broader approach is captured in the term

UOC R&I
Universitat Oberta de Catalunya

Working Papers is a research monograph series promoted by the Universitat Oberta de Catalunya

Working Papers (2017)
ISSN 2462-7461
working-papers.uoc.edu

7

☺Arnau Monterde, Antonio Calleja-López, Daniel Blanche &
Mireia Fernández-Ardèvol

"technopolitics", which has been defined as the strategic and tactical use of digital tools in the organization and communication of collective action (Toret et al., 2015). These new conceptual developments in the intersections of social movements and information and communication technologies literatures pave the way for new directions in the analysis of social movements in the context of the current network society. Therefore, we adopt these new advancements in the examination of the 15M movement in Spain.

2. Research goals.

In this study, we primarily approach 15M from the viewpoint of its participants. This provides extremely valuable information to understand how they conceive the movement. We believe that their experience and views are crucial for a better understanding of 15M. Having this said, our main goal in this paper is to look into the practices, evolution and impacts of the 15M movement from the perspective of its participants, in a transdisciplinary and situated manner. Furthermore, we define several specific goals that delve into greater detail on the experiences and perceptions of the 15M participants. First, to identify the degree of adherence of 15M participants to the movement. Second, to examine their previous political participation and motives to participate. Third, to identify the forms of participation and the technological means used in relation to the movement. Fourth, to explore the emotions experienced by participants regarding the movement. Fifth, to examine the perceived persistence or evolution of the movement through time. Sixth, to explore the influence of the movement on political elections. Finally, to look into the perceived effects of the movement on different domains and institutions in the social and political spheres. In the following section, we describe in greater detail the methodology applied in this study.

3. Methods.

Given the increasing pervasiveness of information and communication technologies in Spain, and, especially, the intensive use of digital technologies by the 15M movement (which is a distinctive characteristic of networked social movements), we designed an online survey to collect the desired information. Accordingly, we deem this method to be adequate to reach our main target audience (participants in the movement), who are presumably frequent users of digital technologies or frequently exposed to digital contents. An encouraging precedent is the online survey conducted by Linares (2013), who gathered 6,000 responses in a very short period (from May 14th to May 15th, 2013) thanks to the involvement of 15M participants. This

experience demonstrated that it was possible to get a considerable amount of in-depth information on 15M participants through a non-randomized online survey.

Our survey relies on a similar strategy. We first involved 15M participants in the design phase through several survey pilots. The goal was to include the perspective of the movement's participants, test the questionnaire and software repeatedly, and obtain their support in sharing the survey. Once the tools reached an optimal level, we released the survey through the main information channels and social network accounts of the movement. We circulated the survey through 15M key diffusion and communication networks, in which members of our research group are deeply involved in. By using some key 15M accounts in social network sites (SNS) we expected to generate a (network of) trust effect, therefore increasing the probabilities of a larger sample and completed questionnaires. The dissemination strategy proved to be successful since in a few days we collected more than a thousand answers, despite of its length (20 minutes in average to be completed).

Although successful in the data collection stage, we are aware of the limitations of conducting an online survey based on a snowball sampling strategy, especially in terms of a lack of representativeness of the target population. In addition, the sampling procedure entails difficulties in terms of the replicability of the results, meaning that our data cannot offer full certainty of its robustness. In spite of these problems, we believe this strategy is adequate to collect a relatively high amount of data, in a standardized form, and to appeal, primarily, the 15M participants and supporters.

3.1. Data collection and processing.

The survey was conducted through an electronic questionnaire available on a web server and reproduced in Annex 1. The questionnaire was written in Spanish as it is the predominant first language in Spain. A self-selected, non-probabilistic sample was generated by making an open invitation through digital means, making use of social network sites. Most part of the distribution channels were related to the movement's ecosystem of communication, so we expected participants would mostly identify themselves as part of it. Three channels were used to disseminate the survey: email, Twitter and Facebook. For each channel, an access link to the questionnaire was created, which allowed us to identify the source of the questionnaires filled (yet filled by unknown respondents). In addition, the questionnaire could be also accessed through the research group's website, Tecnopolítica.net. The questionnaires answered through this channel were homologated with those reached by email, since the main purpose was to classify responses according to the three channels of interest. In Twitter, we used the hashtag #Encuesta15M2014 in every tweet along with the link to the questionnaire. Some of the key Twitter accounts related to the movement that participated in the dissemination of the survey were @democraciareal, @Datanalysis15m, @Acampadasbd, @Psicodromo, @15MBruselas, @iaioflautas, and @bufetalmeida, among some highly followed profiles.

Fieldwork was conducted between May 13th, and May 22nd, 2014. A proprietary digital platform called Survey Manager (NetQuest) was used for data collection. The electronic questionnaire could be viewed in computers, smartphones and tablets, although it was better suited for the first two devices. The platform only registered responses if the questionnaire was opened in one browser window or tab. We received a total of

1,330 responses (434 from the questionnaire distributed via email and website, 797 via Twitter, and 99 via Facebook). Subsequently, we checked the quality of gathered data by analysing outliers, response patterns, and inconsistent answers (e.g., answering "stable job" along with "I have no income" as "Economic situation:"). Cases with failed system records and odd selection of answers in different questions were excluded from the sample. In addition, data entries of cases that submitted inconsistent answers in multiple choice questions were recoded as missing entry points. After data cleaning, the final sample size consists of 1,320 observations. The database, the data dictionary, and the questionnaire are available under an open license at http://tecnopolitica.net/content/encuesta15m2014.

Regarding statistical techniques, in this working paper we conducted descriptive statistics: frequency tables, contingency tables, and chi-square tests for significant differences. All data analyses were carried out in the statistical package SPSS 23.

3.2. Basic characteristics of the sample.

Table 1 below gathers the basic socio-demographic characteristics of the survey respondents[1]. As the data was not collected to reproduce the Spanish society, their characteristics differ from the country population. Gender distribution of respondents is unbalanced, with more men (59.8%) than women (39.5%). Level of studies is above the Spanish average, as 72.9% declares holding, at least, a university degree. With ages ranging between 17 and 75 years old, the median age of participants in the survey is 36. The sample concentrates in young adults and medium-age adults: 25% of participants are under 30 years old, while 75% of the sample is under 46. Most respondents were born and live in Spain (92.9% and 93.0%, respectively). Finally, 65.8% of respondents report to currently participate in the labour market either as paid-employees, self-employed, or business owners, while up to 18.6% report being unemployed (see table 34 in Annex 2).

---

[1] For a comparison of basic socio-demographic characteristics between self-reported 15M participants and non-participants ("Others"), see table 32 in Annex 2.

☺Arnau Monterde, Antonio Calleja-López, Daniel Blanche & Mireia Fernández-Ardèvol

Table 1. Basic socio-demographic characteristics of the sample (N=1320)

	PERCENTAGE	YEARS
Male	59.8	
Female	39.5	
Other	0.4	
Don't know/No answer	0.3	
Mean age		38.2
Standard deviation		11.7
Minimum-Maximum		17-75
Percentile 25		30
Percentile 50 (median)		36
Percentile 75		46
University	72.9	
Secondary School	24.8	
No schooling/Primary studies	2.1	
Don't know/No answer	0.2	
Place of birth		
Spain	92.9	
Europe	3.4	
America	3.3	
Africa	0.2	
Don't know/No answer	0.2	
Place of residence		
Spain	93.0	
Europe	4.6	
America	2.0	
Africa	0.1	
More than one place	0.2	
Don't know/No answer	0.1	

Note. Categories sorted in descending order (except for "don't know/no answer").

4. Results.

In this paper, we select the most relevant results of the survey. We present them in seven sections or blocks according to the specific research goals: the adherence of the sample participants to the movement, the previous organized political participation and motivations for participation, the forms of participation and technological means used, the reported emotional experiences, the perceived persistence or evolution of the movement, the influence of 15M on the upcoming European Parliament Elections of May 2014, and the perceived social and political impacts of the movement on areas and institutions. In addition, we mainly present results of those respondents who reported having participated in the 15M movement. When appropriate, we compare this group to Others of the sample[2]. Whenever the case, results are divided into three groups: "15M participants", "Others" and "Total sample".

4.1. The 15M movement and me.

The goal of this set of questions is to identify the involvement of respondents with the 15M movement at different levels. They look at actual participation, personal identification, level of interest, degree of agreement with 15M's demands, and degree of involvement in the movement.

Beginning with the most determining question in our survey, up to 76.8% of respondents (n=1014) report having participated in the 15M movement in some way (see table 2). As expected, this relatively high proportion of self-reported participants represents over three quarters of the obtained sample. In contrast, 21.7% of respondents (n=286) report not having taken part of the movement in any way. Lastly, a 1.5% report either not knowing the answer, or decided not to answer the question (n=20). From here on, it will be possible to delve into specific questions addressed to 15M participants, as well as compare answers between participants and "Others" (combining those who did not participate and who did not know or did not answer).

Table 2. Participation in the 15M movement (N=1320)

	PERCENTAGE
Have participated in 15M in some way	76.8
Have not participated in any way	21.7
Don't know/No answer	1.5

Note. Categories sorted in descending order (except for "don't know/no answer").

---

[2] Some questions were valid only for those who reported having participated in the 15M movement.

☺Arnau Monterde, Antonio Calleja-López, Daniel Blanche & Mireia Fernández-Ardèvol

Table 3 shows three different degrees of 15M participants' personal identification with the movement: "general identification" (93.5%), "identification with demands and proposals" (95.4%) and "identification with actions and strategies" (78.8%). Support for 15M's demands and proposals is higher than support to actions and strategies across all three groups. It is also interesting to notice that almost 70% (68.6%) of people falling within the "Others" category identify themselves with the movement.

Table 3. Relationship with the 15M movement by participation in 15M (%)

RESPONDENTS WHO…	15M PARTICIPANTS (N=1014)	OTHERS (N=306)	TOTAL SAMPLE (N=1320)
Identify with the 15M movement*	93.5	68.6	87.7
Identify with 15M's demands and proposals*	95.4	79.1	91.6
Identify with 15M's actions and strategies*	78.8	45.4	71.7

Note. *Chi-Square Test p-value 0.000.

Table 4 shows the extent to which respondents were interested in the movement in the course of time. Most 15M participants report to be interested (and involved) three years after its emergence (85.0%), while nearly a quarter of 15M participants report having been interested only during the movement's early days (13.0%). In addition, a majority of non-participants ("Others") report being still interested and, somehow, involved in the movement, although not participating in any way.

Table 4. Degree of interest in the 15M movement across time by participation in 15M* (%)

RESPONDENTS FOR WHOM THE 15M MOVEMENT…	15M PARTICIPANTS (N=1014)	OTHERS (N=306)	TOTAL SAMPLE (N=1320)
Has never interested her or him	0.2	8.2	2.0
Interested her or him back in 2011, but not anymore	13.0	27.1	16.3
Did not interest her or him then, but now it does	1.2	5.6	2.2
Still interests her or him and is still involved	84.5	52.6	77.1
Don't know/No answer	1.1	6.5	2.3

Note. *Chi-Square Test p-value 0.000.

UOC R&I
Universitat Oberta de Catalunya

Working Papers is a research monograph series promoted by the Universitat Oberta de Catalunya

Working Papers (2017)
ISSN 2462-7461
working-papers.uoc.edu

13

Table 5, shows the level of agreement with demands, divided in a scale from 5 (totally agree) to 1 (totally disagree), and the main result indicates that 48.1% of 15M participants totally agree (5) with the demands of the movement, while 39.0% simply agrees (4) with them. That means nearly 90% of participants show a clear support (summing up 4 and 5) for 15M's demands. Among those not participating, the number is still high, reaching nearly 70%. In other words, all respondents show a high degree of support towards 15M, which compared to degree of support at the national population level at the moment of the survey, is somewhat above the Spanish average (see, for instance, Ferrándiz, 2014).

Table 5. Degree of agreement with 15M's demands by participation in 15M* (%)

	15M PARTICIPANTS (N=1014)	OTHERS (N=306)	TOTAL SAMPLE (N=1320)
5 (Totally agree)	48.1	25.8	43.0
4	39.0	43.1	39.9
3	7.1	18.3	9.7
2	2.3	3.9	2.7
1 (Totally disagree)	2.8	3.3	2.9
Don't know/No answer	0.8	5.9	1.9

Note. *Chi-Square Test p-value 0.000.

Table 6 shows 15M participants' type of involvement across time. One of the most interesting results suggests that the permanent core may have been composed by an 18.4% of respondents who remained intensively involved for the first three years. On the other hand, we see that a considerable percentage of Others has supported the movement even if they were not involved (60.8%).

Table 6. Involvement in 15M by participation in 15M* (%)

	15M PARTICIPANTS (N=1014)	OTHERS (N=306)	TOTAL SAMPLE (N=1320)
I have never been involved	0.4	35.9	8.6
I have supported and sympathized with the movement (without direct involvement)	26.8	60.8	34.7
I have been involved intermittently	26.8	2.0	21.1
I was very involved at some point	10.3	0.3	8.0
I was very involved at the beginning and less so afterwards	16.7	0.0	12.8
I have been very involved since the beginning of the movement	18.4	0.0	14.2
Don't know/No answer	0.6	1.0	0.7

Note. *Chi-Square Test p-value 0.000.

4.2. Issues and political participation before 15M.

The second block of the survey looked at public issues that contributed to the mobilization of 15M participants, as well as their previous political experience. Since collective action is grounded on motives and previous experiences, examining the motivations and background of 15M participants is relevant to understand the political orientation and formation of the movement.

As for table 7, "lack of democracy" was the most cited motivation among 15M participants (88.8%), with corruption coming second (77.6%), and the economic crisis in third place (66.6%).

☺Arnau Monterde, Antonio Calleja-López, Daniel Blanche & Mireia Fernández-Ardèvol

Table 7. Issues that fostered participation in the 15M movement. 15M participants (N=1014)

PROBLEMS*	PERCENTAGE
Lack of democracy	88.8
Corruption	77.6
Economic crisis	66.6
Social cuts	64.2
Unemployment	53.0
Housing	46.4
Other	28.9
None	0.5
Don't know/No answer	0.4

Note. *Non-exclusive categories.

Table 8 shows the role of Democracia Real Ya as a key actor in the beginning of the movement (45.6%). Another point to notice is the shared relevance of other previous movements (all of them cited as influences by around 20-30% of participants): the No War movement, the Global movement, the Ley Sinde (Movement for Internet neutrality defence), Wikileaks, Anonymous or the Arab Spring.

Table 8. Movements that influenced 15M participants. 15M participants (N=1014)

INFLUENCES*	PERCENTAGE
Democracia Real Ya	45.6
No War	32.7
Global movement	23.3
Ley Sinde/Don't vote for them	23.1
Wikileaks/Anonymous	22.9
Arab Spring	20.4
Other	20.3
V de Vivienda	17.2
None	0.7
Don't know/No answer	3.0

Note. *Non-exclusive categories. Categories sorted in descending order (except for "don't know/no answer").

Table 9 indicates a clear increase in political participation in Internet and social movements, a minor rise in participation in political parties or unions, and a drop in the levels of involvement with solidarity, third sector, associations, and NGOs.

16

☺Arnau Monterde, Antonio Calleja-López, Daniel Blanche & Mireia Fernández-Ardèvol

Table 9. Political participation before the emergence of 15M in 2011 and on May 2014. 15M participants (N=1014) (%)

PARTICIPATION IN…*	BEFORE 15M	MAY 2014
Solidarity, third sector, associations, NGOs	48.4	42.0
Social movements	42.4	58.2
Internet and cyber activist movements	27.1	48.9
Political parties or unions	19.4	22.9
None	19.5	10.3
Others	16.6	16.5
Don't know/No answer	0.2	0.7

Note. *Non-exclusive categories.

4.3. 15M practices and uses of ICTs.

ICTs are central to the 15M movement. Probably, 15M is one of the most important movements in the last decade in terms of uses of networked digital technologies for collective action. In this sense we examine 15M's different uses of media, devices, the role of social networks, and the influence of the movement in the uses of social networks.

The analysis of 15M practices in table 10 shows the pre-eminence of demonstrations (79.5%) as the most frequent form of participation in the movement, closely followed by participation in assemblies (65.6%) and digitally mediated practices such as signing an online petition (63.3%), using SNS (61.5%), and, perhaps more crucially, using SNS while attending face to face activities (58.8%). We can see the similar levels of participation in face to face and digitally mediated activities, and, more importantly, the high frequency of combination between the two. Also, only 19.2% of participants camped at a square. We can identify two subgroups of activities as for their level of engagement is concerned: those in which it is easier to participate, such as demonstrations, assemblies, or SNS activities (80%-50%), and those in which a higher level of involvement or commitment is required, such as camping, stopping evictions or organizing an action (30%-10%).

UOC R&I
Universitat Oberta de Catalunya

Working Papers is a research monograph series promoted by the Universitat Oberta de Catalunya

Working Papers (2017)
ISSN 2462-7461
working-papers.uoc.edu

17

Table 10. 15M practices.* 15M participants (N=1014) (%)

FORMS OF PARTICIPATION	PERCENTAGE
Demonstration	79.3
Assembly	65.6
Signing an online petition	63.2
Social Network Sites (SNS)	61.5
In SNS from demonstrations, camps...	58.8
Tide	31.3
Organizing an action	28.4
Email bombing politicians	24.5
Making a banner	23.3
Donating money to a crowdfunding	21.8
Stopping an eviction	20.3
Writing a blog post	20.2
Camping in a square	19.2
Recording a video / streaming	11.6
"Escrache"	11.3
Others	0.5
None	0.1
Don't know/No answer	0.1

Note. *Non-exclusive categories.

When it comes to the use of channels to share information on the protest movement, it is worth stressing the extremely high use of SNS among 15M participants (93.0%, see table 11), which is remarkably higher than the use among Others (69.8%, table 12). Among the former, word of mouth and digital media are also notably higher, while the use of both television and print media is lower. This suggests a much stronger presence of peer to peer, high involvement, interactive channels among 15M participants compared to Others. Yet, within this group, there is higher frequency of use of SNS (69.8%) and digital media (68.9%) than traditional media such as television (51.1%) or print media (44.6%), being also relevant word of mouth (45.6%).

Table 11. Use of channels to get or send information on 15M* (%)

	15M PARTICIPANTS (N=1011)
Social networking sites	93.0
Word of mouth	78.5
Digital media	77.3
Print media	38.9
Television	30.7
Radio	27.9
Others	8.9
None	0.1
Don't know/No answer	0.1

Note. *Non-exclusive categories.

Table 12. Use of channels to get information on 15M* (%)

	OTHERS (N=305)
Social networking sites	69.8
Digital media	68.9
Television	51.1
Word of mouth	45.6
Print media	44.6
Radio	26.6
Others	3.9
None	2.6
Don't know/No answer	0.3

Note. *Non-exclusive categories.

Attending to the role of communication technologies and their uses, we highlight the intensive use of tech devices by 15M participants to share information about the movement (table 13), well ahead of Others (table 14) in the uses of laptops (79.1% vs 59.9%), mobile phones (73.4% vs 53.6%) or computer desktops (59.3% vs 49.7%). These data give us an initial confirmation of the intensive uses of electronic devices in 15M. The social media uses of the whole sample is another relevant aspect. In terms of mainstream social media, the use of Facebook is slightly lower among 15M participants (78.4%) than among Others (83.2%), but we find significantly higher levels in the use of Twitter (75.6% versus 60.1%) and Youtube (54.0% versus 49.5%) among 15M participants. Another significant difference can be found in the use of N-1 among 15M

participants (17.9%) in relation to Others (1%); this is a social network used almost exclusively by the movement. If we focus on social media uses only among 15M participants (see table 15), we can point out the relevance of commercial digital services such as Facebook (78.8%), Twitter (72.0%) and Youtube (46.9%), instant messaging applications such as WhatsApp (46.7%), and mailing lists (42.3%), but also other technologies which is a key feature of 15M, such as the streaming platform Bambuser (26.9%), N-1 (26.0%), etherpads (22.9%) or the voice over IP service Mumble (16.9%). All of these figures show the heterogeneous ecosystem generated around 15M technopolitical practices.

Table 13. Use of devices to access or spread information about 15M* (%)

	15M PARTICIPANTS (N=1011)
Laptop	79.1
Mobile phone	73.4
Computer desktop	59.3
Tablet	22.6
Other	3.2
Smart TV	1.4
None	0.3
Don't know/No answer	0.4

Note. *Non-exclusive categories.

Table 14. Use of devices to access information about 15M* (%)

	OTHERS (N=305)
Laptop	59.9
Mobile phone	53.6
Computer desktop	49.7
Tablet	23.4
None	6.6
Other	2.6
Smart TV	1.3
Don't know/No answer	1.3

Note. *Non-exclusive categories.

Similarly, we looked at 15M as a tech-diffusion phenomenon: some technologies were first used because of 15M (see table 16). Note the relevance of Twitter (31.9%), N-1 (19.7%), Bambuser (19.4%) or Pads (16.3%)

☺Arnau Monterde, Antonio Calleja-López, Daniel Blanche &
Mireia Fernández-Ardèvol

among those who identify themselves as 15M participants. Finally, the increase in frequency in the use of technologies (43.6%) and the higher number of technologies used (41.8%) (see table 17) indicates the contribution of the movement to the penetration of communication technologies in social practices. Our hypothesis is that some digital practices of the movement spread to everyday life practices of participants and, through them, to other sectors of society.

Table 15. Social media uses in 15M* (%)

	15M PARTICIPANTS (N=1013)
Facebook	78.8
Twitter	72.0
Youtube	46.9
WhatsApp	46.7
Mailing lists	42.3
Webs	38.1
Blogs	37.3
Bambuser	26.9
N-1	25.0
Internet forum	23.3
Pads	22.9
Livestream	20.2
Mumble	16.9
Skype	9.2
Flickr	6.4
Instagram	5.2
Tumblr	4.9
Line	4.0
Chat/IRC	3.9
Other	3.8
None	1.1
Don't know/No answer	0.5

Note. *Non-exclusive categories.

Table 16. Technologies used for the first time during 15M (%)

	15M PARTICIPANTS (N=980)
Twitter	31.9
None	24.5
N-1	19.7
Bambuser	19.4
Pads	16.3
Mumble	13.7
Livestream	11.0
Facebook	9.6
Mailing lists	8.2
WhatsApp	5.5
Blogs	2.8
Webs	1.8
Internet forum	1.6
Flickr	1.5
Youtube	1.5
Tumblr	1.2
Instagram	1.2
Line	1.0
Skype	0.7
Chat/IRC	0.6
Other	0.1
Don't know/No answer	2.1

Note. *Non-exclusive categories.

Table 17. Digital technologies use evolution. 15M participants (N=997) (%)

	FREQUENCY OF USE	NUMBER OF TECHNOLOGIES USED
Higher	43.6	41.8
The same	42.4	52.2
Lower	13.7	5.4
Don't know/No answer	0.2	0.6

22

Note. Categories sorted in descending order according to frequency of use values.

4.4. Emotions in the 15M movement.

This block of the survey is oriented to explore the role of emotions in 15M. Emotions are crucial in social life in general, and in collective action in particular (Goodwin, Jasper, & Polleta, 2001; Jasper, 1998, 2011; Melucci, 1996). This is especially true in a movement associated with a concrete affection: outrage. Analysing emotions, especially in a retrospective manner, is plagued with difficulties[3]. In spite of those caveats, we believe this block provides some broad, valuable information about emotional aspects of the movement both in 2011 and 2014, including variations between those years.

The first question concerns the emotional importance of the early days of 15M. Remarkably, 95% of participants reported affirmatively (see table 18). In contrast, only 64% of participants considered 15M to be a relevant emotional experience in March 2014 (see table 19).

Table 18. The early days of 15M were an important emotional experience to me by participation in 15M (%)

	15M PARTICIPANTS (N=1014)	OTHERS (N=306)	TOTAL SAMPLE (N=1320)
Yes	95.0	72.5	89.8
No	4.1	21.6	8.2
Don't know/No answer	0.9	5.9	2.0

Note. Categories sorted in descending order according to 15M participants' values.

Table 19. 15M, in its current form, is an important emotional experience to me by participation in 15M (%)

	15M PARTICIPANTS (N=1014)	OTHERS (N=306)	TOTAL SAMPLE (N=1320)
Yes	64.0	32.7	56.7
No	28.6	57.8	35.4
Don't know/No answer	7.4	9.5	7.9

Note. Categories sorted in descending order according to 15M participants' values.

---

[3] Some of these difficulties are specific to this survey: it is problematic to approach emotions 3 years after they were felt, since memory constructs and reconstructs them in fundamental ways (Reisberg & Hertel, 2004).

When it comes to the primary emotions felt by 15M participants at the time of the encampments, it is worth stressing that the four most frequently reported ones were of a positive kind: hope (85.6%), excitement (83.7%), joy (78.3%) and empowerment (56.3%) (see table 20). Only one arguably negative emotion (i.e., outrage) felt by 42.4% of respondents, holds a comparable relevance. Interestingly, the three most common emotions among Others were the same, albeit mentioned less frequently.

Table 20. Emotions felt at the time of 15M at the time of the encampments in 2011 by participation in 15M (%)

	15M PARTICIPANTS (N=1013)	OTHERS (N=306)	TOTAL SAMPLE (N=1319)
Hope*	85.6	69.9	82.0
Excitement*	83.7	58.5	77.9
Joy*	78.3	44.8	70.5
Empowerment*	56.3	17.6	47.3
Outrage*	42.4	20.9	36.6
Rage*	17.0	8.2	14.9
Fear*	7.6	3.6	6.7
Frustration*	7.1	7.2	7.1
Other*	6.5	9.2	7.1
Nostalgia*	5.9	6.5	6.1
Sadness*	4.0	7.2	4.8
Disgust**	1.0	2.3	1.3
Indifference*	0.7	5.6	1.8
Don't know/No answer**	0.5	2.0	0.8

Note. Non-exclusive categories. Chi Square Test *<1% **<5% ***<10%.

Three years later (see table 21), the predominance of such positive emotions clearly decreased among 15M participants. Although the encampments in squares evoked emotions at a relatively high intensity, these were not equalled by new political initiatives sprouting from 15M at the time of the survey, such as the case of the electoral formation Podemos. Arguably negative emotions, on the other hand, are on the rise among participants in 2014, wherein nostalgia climbed to the third most frequent emotion experienced (34.4%). Also, frustration (24.7%), outrage (22.8%) and disappointment (19.5%) were reported more frequently compared to the early days of 15M. In a broader sense, we observe a larger number of emotions close or surpassing the 20% threshold among respondents, as well as a less spread distribution in terms of percentages of participants reporting to feel them. Among the sample, it is worth noticing a sharp rise of disappointment (30.2%) and indifference (19.3%) as well as a strong drop in rather positive emotions.

UOC R&I
Universitat Oberta de Catalunya

Working Papers is a research monograph series promoted by the Universitat Oberta de Catalunya

Working Papers (2017)
ISSN 2462-7461
working-papers.uoc.edu

24

Table 21. Emotions three years after 15M by participation in 15M (%)

	15M PARTICIPANTS (N=1011)	OTHERS (N=305)	TOTAL SAMPLE (N=1316)
Hope*	60.2	40.0	55.5
Excitement*	36.7	16.1	31.9
Nostalgia*	34.4	16.1	30.2
Empowerment*	34.1	8.9	28.3
Joy*	26.9	6.6	22.2
Frustration*	24.7	21.0	23.9
Outrage*	22.8	9.8	19.8
Disappointment*	19.5	30.2	22.0
Sadness*	12.7	11.8	12.5
Rage*	9.1	5.2	8.2
Other*	7.9	6.6	7.6
Indifference*	7.0	19.3	9.9
Fear*	3.5	1.3	3.0
Disgust**	1.1	2.3	1.4
Don't know/No answer*	1.7	5.2	2.5

Note. Non-exclusive categories. Chi Square Test *<1% **<5% ***<10%.

4.5. The evolution of the 15M movement.

Many studies of social movements focus on their general political views or their dynamics for short periods of time. One of our initial intuitions was that 15M was radically changing from the very beginning. We have translated this intuition into a set of questions concerning how this transformation is perceived, and who have been the main actors in the different stages of the movement.

Table 22 shows that an overwhelming majority of 15M participants (85.5%) agree with the idea that 15M has mutated into other events, actions, projects or processes. Likewise, 60.7% of Others believe the same. However, the differences between participants and Others are significant and suggest a clear impact of participation in ideas concerning the persistence of the movement. 15M participants show to be inclined to believe the movement is still relevant and alive in other forms, while a sizeable proportion of Others tends to believe it disintegrated with time.

Table 22. Degree of agreement with following statements by participation in 15M (%)

	15M PARTICIPANTS (N=1012)	OTHERS (N=306)	TOTAL SAMPLE (N=1318)
15M has mutated into other events, actions, projects, or processes*	85.5	60.7	79.7
15M is still relevant*	36.8	13.4	31.4
15M had a great impact at first, but then disintegrated*	26.0	41.0	29.4
15M ended when the encampments did*	2.4	7.9	3.6
Don't know/No answer**	0.5	3.9	1.3

Note. Non-exclusive categories. Chi Square Test *<1% **<5% ***<10%.

In table 23 we can see a list of activist collectives, events and initiatives emerged between 2010 and 2014 and the percentage of respondents that associate them with 15M. Unsurprisingly, we see a statistically significant effect of participation over the responses, with a higher percentage of participants associating collectives, events and initiatives with the 15M movement. Noteworthy, an absolute majority of 15M participants associate 12 out of 15 specified groups or events to the movement, remarkably high in the case of the Platform of Mortgage Victims (PAH) and the older people's activist group, Iaioflautas. In contrast, an absolute majority of Others links only these two activist groups to the 15M movement.

Table 23. Association of 15M with the following groups or events by participation in 15M (%)

	15M PARTICIPANTS (N=1011)	OTHERS (N=303)	TOTAL SAMPLE (N=1314)
Platform of Mortgage Victims (PAH)*	87.1	69.0	83.0
Iaioflautas*	85.2	55.4	78.3
Neighbourhood Assemblies*	77.7	49.8	71.3
15MpaRato*	76.3	43.2	68.6
Tides*	76.3	41.6	68.3
25s - Surround Congress*	74.5	47.2	68.2
Dignity Rallies*	73.6	47.9	67.7
12M15M Anniversary*	71.0	35.6	62.9
Nudge to Bankia*	68.5	36.6	61.2
15O demonstration*	56.4	16.8	47.3
Debt Audit*	54.4	17.5	45.9
Gamonal Effect*	50.9	25.1	45.0
Valencian Spring*	46.9	15.5	39.6
29M - General Strike*	28.8	12.5	25.0
14N - General Strike*	24.5	7.3	20.5
Other	6.5	5.6	6.3
None***	0.4	1.3	0.6
Don't know/No answer*	0.6	8.6	2.4

Note. Non-exclusive categories. Chi Square Test *<1% **<5% ***<10%.

In regards to actual participation in these associated acts, the overall figures are, unsurprisingly, lower compared to mere associations (see table 24). Most 15M participants report having participated also in demonstrations (i.e., 15O, Tides), in 15M's first anniversary, in strikes (i.e., 14N and 29M general strikes), and in neighbourhood assemblies. Among Others, participation in both strikes are the most frequently reported acts; yet, a great majority of this group reports not having participated in any of the listed groups or events (53.0%).

Table 24. Participation in the following groups or events by participation in 15M (%)

	15M PARTICIPANTS (N=1013)	OTHERS (N=302)	TOTAL SAMPLE (N=1315)
15O demonstration	50.8	7.9	41.0
Anniversary 12M15M	48.0	5.3	38.2
14N - General Strike	45.5	19.2	39.5
Tides	45.4	10.3	37.3
29M - General Strike	44.4	19.9	38.8
Neighbourhood Assemblies	42.5	6.0	34.1
Dignity Rallies	36.7	7.6	30.0
Platform of Mortgage Victims (PAH)	34.6	4.3	27.6
25s - Surround Congress	27.0	2.0	21.3
15MpaRato	19.8	1.3	15.6
Nudge to Bankia	15.7	0.0	12.1
Debt Audit	8.6	0.3	6.7
None	7.7	53.0	18.1
Gamonal Effect	7.5	1.3	6.1
Iaioflautas	6.9	0.0	5.3
Valencian Spring	4.8	1.3	4.0
Other	4.7	4.0	4.6
Don't know/No answer	1.7	7.6	3.0

Note. Non-exclusive categories. Chi Square Test *<1% **<5% ***<10%.

4.6. The 15M movement and institutional politics.

A frequent question in the literature on social movements concerns the issue of their influence on institutionalized politics. This block of questions is oriented to map the relation between the movement and several political parties in the European Elections to be celebrated a few days after the closure of this survey, in May 2014. Table 25 shows that most 15M participants believed the movement would have an impact on the results (64.9%), whereas a relatively lower proportion of Others believed so as well (42.2%).

Table 25. "I think 15M will influence the 2014 European Parliamentary Elections" by participation in 15M* (%)

	15M PARTICIPANTS (N=1014)	OTHERS (N=306)	TOTAL SAMPLE (N=1320)
	64.9	42.2	59.6

Note. Chi Square Test *<1% **<5% ***<10%.

In terms of associated political parties or electoral formations with 15M (see table 26), the X Party is the party most frequently linked to the movement (63.6%), closely followed by Podemos (56.0%, see Table 26), while the rest of electoral formations are associated by less than 22% of 15M participants (and less than 13% of Others). As a matter of fact, the X Party disappeared after the European elections, while Podemos achieved important result. At the moment we write this paper, Podemos is a relevant player in the Spanish political arena.

Table 26. "I perceive the following electoral formations as associated with 15M" by participation in 15M (%)

	15M PARTICIPANTS (N=1009)	OTHERS (N=304)	TOTAL SAMPLE (N=1313)
X Party*	63.6	35.5	57.1
Podemos*	56.0	34.9	51.1
European Spring (Compromís, Equo, CHA…)*	21.2	12.8	19.3
Pirates' Confederation - European Pirates*	17.1	7.6	14.9
White Seat *	15.8	10.5	14.5
Plural Left (IU, ICV, Anova…)*	15.2	12.2	14.5
Cero Cuts*	12.3	7.9	11.3
None*	11.6	22.4	14.1
Citizen movement of Democratic Renewal (RED)*	11.4	12.2	11.6
Animalist Party (PACMA)*	3.8	3.3	3.7
People Decide (Bildu, BNGa…)*	3.2	2.0	2.9
Ciudadanos (C's)*	2.6	3.3	2.7
L'esquerra pel dret a decidir (ERC…)**	0.8	2.3	1.1
UPyD**	0.6	0.0	0.5
VOX***	0.6	0.7	0.6
PSOE**	0.5	1.3	0.7
Citizen Forum (Asturias Forum)***	0.3	0.3	0.3
PP**	0.1	1.0	0.3
Coalition for Europe (CIU, PNV, CC and CxG)***	0.1	0.0	0.1
Don't know/No answer*	5.9	14.8	8.0

Note. Non-exclusive categories. Chi Square Test *<1% **<5% ***<10%

4.7. 15M impacts.

Finally, the last block of the questionnaire focused on general impacts of the movement. One set of questions (see table 27) asked about several social and political phenomena that may have potentially been affected by the movement. Among 15M participants, the most cited aspect were the practices of social movements (77.3%), and the participants' own forms of political participation came in third place as the most frequently reported aspects (58.1%). Perhaps even more noteworthy is the considerable percentage of participants (significantly higher compared to Others) reporting that 15M changed the ability of people to change things (66.0%), while around half of the participants (51.6%) also noted a change in their ways of understanding politics. On the other hand, the impact seems to have been much smaller (although potentially relevant) when it comes to changing the respondents' vote intention (26.1% among participants, 13.0% among Others).

Table 27. "I think 15M has changed…" by participation in 15M (%)

	15M PARTICIPANTS (N=1012)	OTHERS (N=300)	TOTAL SAMPLE (N=1312)
The practices of social movements	77.3	55.0	72.2
The ability of people to change things	66.0	34.3	58.8
My forms of political participation	58.1	18.0	48.9
My way of understanding politics	51.6	25.3	45.6
The media agenda	35.9	18.3	31.9
What I consider intolerable in a society	27.5	16.3	24.9
What I consider desirable in a society	27.2	23.3	26.3
My vote intention	26.1	13.0	23.1
The issues that interest me	19.1	9.0	16.8
Other	4.8	2.7	4.3
None	2.6	17.7	6.0
Don't know/No answer	0.8	4.3	1.6

Note. Non-exclusive categories. Chi Square Test *<1% **<5% ***<10%.

15M participants tend more frequently than Others to think that the legitimacy of political institutions, parties, unions, media, and financial institutions has deteriorated, while that of social movements has improved (see table 28). Regarding the several institutions listed in the table, the response patterns provided by both 15M participant and Others are significantly different: 15M participants believe that the legitimacy of these institutions has either deteriorated or improved significantly more compared to Others.

Table 28. "I think the legitimacy of…" by participation in 15M (%)

	15M PARTICIPANTS (N=995)	OTHERS (N=299)	TOTAL SAMPLE (N=1294)
Political institutions*			
Has deteriorated	90.4	78.6	87.6
Has remained the same	8.2	18.4	10.6
Has strengthened	0.9	1.0	0.9
Don't know/No answer	0.5	2.0	0.9
Political parties*			
Has deteriorated	94.4	85.3	92.3
Has remained the same	5.1	12.4	6.8
Has strengthened	0.5	1.3	0.7
Don't know/No answer	0.0	1.0	0.2
Unions*			
Has deteriorated	87.6	78.3	85.5
Has remained the same	10.5	16.4	11.8
Has strengthened	1.2	2.7	1.5
Don't know/No answer	0.7	2.7	1.2
Social movements*			
Has deteriorated	2.3	12.0	4.6
Has remained the same	7.2	12.0	8.3
Has strengthened	89.5	74.6	86.1
Don't know/No answer	0.9	1.3	1.0
Media*			
Has deteriorated	74.5	59.9	71.1
Has remained the same	22.2	34.1	25.0
Has strengthened	2.1	3.3	2.4
Don't know/No answer	1.2	2.7	1.5
Financial institutions and banks *			
Has deteriorated	91.1	80.6	88.6
Has remained the same	7.2	14.4	8.9
Has strengthened	1.7	3.0	2.0
Don't know/No answer	0.0	2.0	0.5

Note. Chi Square Test *<1% **<5% ***<10%.

When it comes to the areas that the movement has influenced the most (see table 29), both 15M participants and Others point to democracy, housing, and political parties. There are statistically significant differences

between the two groups, with a clear higher percentage of participants perceiving the influence of the movement on several areas.

Table 29. "I think 15M has influenced the following areas" by participation in 15M (%)

	15M PARTICIPANTS (N=1003)	OTHERS (N=302)	TOTAL SAMPLE (N=1305)
Democracy*	68.3	41.7	62.1
Housing*	65.0	32.8	57.5
Political Parties*	58.5	32.1	52.4
Media*	55.3	27.5	48.9
Transparency*	54.8	29.1	48.9
Health*	49.3	16.6	41.7
Education*	47.9	15.6	40.4
Economy*	31.4	9.3	26.3
Others*	5.2	5.0	5.1
None*	3.6	19.2	7.2
Don't know/No answer*	3.9	7.9	4.8

Note. Non-exclusive categories. Chi Square Test *<1% **<5% ***<10%.

When it comes to the achievement of objectives (see table 30), it is worth noticing that 15M participants seem not to be over optimistic: over 60% think 15M has achieved few or none of its objectives, compared to a 28.4% who think that it achieved quite enough objectives, and to a 5.9% that believe it achieved many of them. Among Others, the percentage that thinks that few or none of the objectives were achieved rises up to nearly 80%.

Table 30. "Do you think 15M has achieved its objectives?" by participation in 15M* (%)

	15M PARTICIPANTS (N=1014)	OTHERS (N=306)	TOTAL SAMPLE (N=1320)
Few	57.6	66.7	59.7
Quite	28.4	11.4	24.5
Many	5.9	2.0	5.0
None	4.6	12.7	6.5
Don't know/No answer	3.5	2.7	4.3

Note. Chi Square Test *<1% **<5% ***<10%.

Views shift considerably when the analysis moves from past achievements to future changes. With different declinations (see table 31), 96% of participants and 80% of Others responded affirmatively to the question of whether they believed if 15M contributes to social and political change or not. This reveals an overall strong perception of efficacy of the movement that seems to be shared also by those who did not participate in the movement.

Table 31. "15M contributes to a social and political change" by participation in 15M** (%)

	15M PARTICIPANTS (N=1014)	OTHERS (N=306)	TOTAL SAMPLE (N=1320)
No	3.3	17.6	6.6
Yes	42.8	24.5	38.6
Yes, in part	28.2	35.9	30.0
Yes, but only in the long term	24.9	19.6	23.6
Don't know/No answer	0.9	2.3	1.2

Note. Chi Square Test *<1% **<5% ***<10%.

5. Conclusions.

In the survey, 76.8% of respondents affirm they participated in 15M, and 91.6% of the total identifies with 15M's demands and proposals. This means almost the whole sample has a relation to, or shows some degree of agreement with, the movement. The issues that fostered participation in the movement were, pre-eminently, lack of democracy (88.8%), the economic crisis (66.6%) and social cuts (66.4%). This suggests that the question of democracy has been at the very root of the movement. Regarding one of our main topics of attention, movement practices, we found a more intensive use of communication technologies by 15M participants in terms of electronic devices and social media uses in general. 15M grew into a technological ecosystem of practices combining several kinds of technologies, from commercial SNS to autonomous tools developed by the movement itself. An important group of 15M participants started to use some technologies thanks to their involvement in 15M, while Others increased the frequency of their use of technologies as well as their variety. This situates the movement as a relevant technological (or technopolitical, rather than only political) actor in society.

It is also important to mention the role of emotions in the movement. An important result regards respondents who affirmed that the early days of 15M were an important emotional experience to them (95.0%). Looking at concrete emotions, we see hope, joy, excitement or empowerment, all of them positive emotions, occupying the highest positions in the ranking (>50%). The block of questions on the evolution of the movement has provided us evidence that, according to its participants, 15M has mutated into other events, actions, projects, or processes (85.5%). This continuity has gone hand in hand with a diversification of the scope of the movement into several fields (housing, corruption, public health, education...). In the last block of questions, it is noticeable the perceived impact of 15M on social movements, politics and political participation, the contribution of the movement to the loss of legitimacy of the main actors in our political system (political parties, unions, media and financial institutions or banks) and its clear perceived contribution to a social and political change.

The possibility of splitting the results based on participation or otherwise in the 15M movement allowed us to get a broader picture as well as a finer interpretation of what characterizes networked social movements. A preliminary view of the results shows, for example, a hybridization of physical and digital participation. The differences in these patterns could be, perhaps, more related to the different degrees of involvement by 15M participants than to the conventional opposition between physical and digital participation. At the same time, we could observe the central role of digital technologies in the organization and communication of actions. Another relevant issue is the blurred borders of aggregated groups and collectivities around 15M. Many of them were largely identified with the movement, suggesting changes in the notion of identity and how this identity operates at higher levels, whether meso or macro (Monterde et al., 2015). Emotions are another crucial aspect: results reflect how mainly positive emotions are experienced during the protests in May 2011. We would be unable to understand these feelings during the protests if we neglect their networked dimension and the way in which the technologically structured contagion works (Toret et al., 2015). These initial and

preliminary results suffice to continue and extend the task opened by Castells (2012) and other scholars in characterizing networked social movements, in this particular study, via quantitative techniques.

Our technopolitical approach helped us to frame the blocks in which the survey is divided. Although the thematic blocks proved us useful to focus attention on several aspects of participation in 15M, we wish to highlight some aspects of this division to be improved in future works. Firstly, we initially designed three similar questions to identify the involvement of the respondent with the movement. However, the distinction between identification (table 3) and interest (table 4) does not provide us any relevant difference information-wise, suggesting we could have chosen just one of them. Secondly, the set of questions about impacts of the movement may appear somewhat confusing, specially table 28, concerning the change in the perceived legitimacy of different political actors. Perhaps an alternative would be to present it as a binary, rather than as a range of options. At the same time, the list of predefined answers in table 27 could be more systematic or exhaustive, having clear indicators to identify the impacts of the movement. Nonetheless, we stress the appropriateness of the rest of questions, which provide us with relevant information and constitute a starting point for a rich and complex analysis of the 15M movement.

Open online surveys face limitations in justifying their sample in terms of representativeness of the target population and robustness of the data. In this work, however, it becomes an excellent tool to gather, analyse, and interpret a networked social movement. By launching our survey on communication networks that are essential for the unfolding of 15M, and by focusing on those who identify themselves as "participants", we have been able to look into a relevant social group in order to better understand the movement. In this sense, participation works as a key independent variable to interpret the results. At the same time, the filter allows us to focus on the "practitioners" and their relation with the rest of the sample, allowing an important remark to the analysis of the practices according to our situated approach. In this sense, we believe our methodological approach has been appropriate, while we strongly recommend comparing or complementing its results with other data sources based on qualitative analysis or network analysis.

To conclude, we wish to note that this working paper is an initial descriptive analysis of the survey. It is aimed to liberate the data and to contribute to the understanding of 15M three years after its emergence. In parallel, we are working on two similar studies: one related to the Occupy Wall Street movement, and another to the Journeys of June in Brazil. Both studies are based on the present one and adapted to the American and Brazilian contexts. Our next step is to carry out a comparative study of these movements in the near future. We also aim to establish the survey designed for this study as a prototype for other networked social movements, in order to have a broader base for comparison and to better understand them.

Acknowledgments

Bibliographic references

AGUILERA, M., MORER, I., BARANDIARAN, X. E., & BEDIA, M. G. (2013). Quantifying political self-organization in social media: Fractal patterns in the Spanish 15M movement on Twitter. In P. Liò, O. Miglino, G. Nicosia, S. Nolfi & M. Pavone (Eds.), *Advances in artificial life: ECAL 2013, 2-6 September 2013, Taormina, Italy. Proceedings of the 12th European Conference on the Synthesis and Simulation of Living Systems* (pp. 395-402). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. doi:10.7551/978-0-262-31709-2-ch057

ALCAZAN, ARNAUMONTY, AXEBRA, QUODLIBETAT, SIMONA LEVI, SUNOTISSIMA, TAKETHESQUARE, & TORET. (2012). *Tecnopolítica, internet y R-evoluciones: Sobre la centralidad de redes digitales en el #15M* [Technopolitics, internet and R-evolutions: On the centrality of digital networks in #15M]. Barcelona, Spain: Icaria.

BENNETT , W. L., & SEGERBERG, A. (2012). The logic of connective action: Digital media and the personalization of contentious politics. *Information, Communication & Society*, 15(5), 739-768.

CANDÓN MENA, J. (2013). *Toma la calle, toma las redes: El movimiento #15M en internet* [Take the streets, take the networks: The #15M movement in the Internet]. Andalusia: Atrapasueños Editorial.

CASTELLS, M. (1996). *The information age: Economy, society and culture. The rise of the network society* (Vol. 1). Oxford, United Kingdom: Blackwell.

CASTELLS, M. (2009). *Communication power*. United Kingdom: Oxford University Press.

CASTELLS, M. (2012). *Networks of outrage and hope: Social movements in the Internet age*. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Polity Press.

UOC R&I
Universitat Oberta de Catalunya

Working Papers is a research monograph series promoted by the Universitat Oberta de Catalunya

Working Papers (2017)
ISSN 2462-7461
working-papers.uoc.edu

37

CHADWICK, A. (2013). *The hybrid media system: Politics and power*. United Kingdom: Oxford University Press.

COULDRY, N. (2012). *Media, society, world: Social theory and digital media practice*. Cambridge, MA: Polity.

EARL, J., & KIMPORT, K. (2011). *Digitally enabled social change: Activism in the internet age*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

FERRÁNDIZ, J.P. (2014, May 15). El apoyo ciudadano al 15M tres años después [Citizens' support towards 15M three years after]. *Metroscopia*. Retrieved from http://metroscopia.org/el-apoyo-ciudadano-al-15m-tres-anos-despues/

GAREA, F. (2011, June 5). Apoyo a la indignación del 15-M [Support towards 15M's indignation]. *El País*. Retrieved from http://politica.elpais.com/politica/2011/06/05/actualidad/1307231940_787459.html

GERBAUDO, P. (2012). *Tweets and the streets: Social media and contemporary activism*. London, United Kingdom: Pluto Press.

GOODWIN, J., JASPER, J. M., & POLLETTA, F. (Eds.). (2001). *Passionate politics: Emotions and social movements*. IL: University of Chicago Press.

JASPER, J. M. (1998). The emotions of protest: Affective and reactive emotions in and around social movements. *Sociological Forum*, 13(3), 397–424.

JASPER, J. M. (2011). Emotions and social movements: Twenty years of theory and research. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 37(1), 285–303.

JURIS, J. S. (2004). Networked social movements: global movements for global justice. In M. Castells (Ed.), *The network society: A cross-cultural perspective* (pp. 341-362). Cheltenham, United Kingdom: Edward Elgar.

JURIS, J. S. (2012). Reflections on #Occupy Everywhere: Social media, public space, and emerging logics of aggregation. *American Ethnologist*, 39(2), 259-279.

LINARES, J. (2013). *El 15-M en España y los flujos de información: Medios, entornos y relatos. Del 9 de febrero al 19 de junio de 2011* [15M in Spain and information flows: Media, environments and stories. From February 9 to June 19, 2011] (Master's thesis). Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona, Spain.

MELUCCI, A. (1996). *Challenging codes: Collective action in the information age*. United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press.

MONTERDE, A. (2015). *Emergencia, evolución y efectos del movimiento-red 15M (2011-2015): Una aproximación tecnopolítica* [Emergence, evolution and effects of the 15M networked movement (2011-2015): A technopolitical approach] (Doctoral dissertation). Universitat Oberta de Catalunya, Barcelona, Spain.

MONTERDE, A., CALLEJA-LÓPEZ, A., AGUILERA, M., BARANDIARAN, X. E., & POSTILL, J. (2015). Multitudinous identities: a qualitative and network analysis of the 15M collective identity. *Information, Communication & Society*, 18(8), 930-950.

MONTERDE, A., & POSTILL, J. (2014). Mobile ensembles: The uses of mobile phones for social protest by Spain's indignados. In G. Goggin & L. Hjorth (Eds.), *The Routledge companion to mobile media* (pp. 429-438). New York, NY: Routledge.

OECD. (2011). OECD guide to measuring the Information Society 2011. Paris, France: OECD Publishing. http://doi.org/10.1787/9789264113541-en

PEÑA-LÓPEZ, I., CONGOSTO, M. L., & ARAGÓN, P. (2014). Spanish Indignados and the evolution of the 15M movement on Twitter: Towards networked para-institutions. *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies*, 0(0), 1-28.

PÉREZ, B., & GIL, J. (2014). ¿Mercantilización o revolución? Reflexiones en torno a la figura del streamer como nuevo sujeto prosumidor [Commodification or revolution? Reflections on the streamer as a new prosumer subject]. In E. Serrano, A. Calleja-López, A. Monterde & J. Toret (Eds.), *15MP2P: Una mirada transdisciplinar del 15M* (pp. 16-36). Barcelona, Spain: IN3-UOC.

POSTILL, J. (2014). Democracy in an age of viral reality: A media epidemiography of Spain's indignados movement. *Ethnography*, 15(1), 51-69.

REISBERG, D., & HERTEL, P. (Eds.). (2004). *Memory and emotion*. United Kingdom: Oxford University Press.

SERRANO, E. (2012). Social movements and new media: New technologies, social networks and media: Spanish Revolution. *Revista Romana de Jurnalism si Comunicare*, 7(3-4), 27-34.

TARROW, S. G. (1989). *Struggle, politics, and reform: Collective action, social movements and cycles of protest*. Ithaca, NY: Center for International Studies, Cornell University.

TORET, J., CALLEJA-LÓPEZ, A., MARÍN MIRÓ, Ó., ARAGÓN, P., AGUILERA, M., BARANDIARAN, X. E., ... MONTERDE, A. (Ed.). (2015). *Tecnopolítica y 15M: La potencia de las multitudes conectadas. Un estudio sobre la gestación y explosión del 15M* [Technopolitics and 15M: The power of connected multitudes. A study on the emergence and explosión of 15M]. Barcelona, Spain: UOC Ediciones.

©Arnau Monterde, Antonio Calleja-López, Daniel Blanche & Mireia Fernández-Ardèvol

TORMEY, S., & FEENSTRA, R. A. (2015). Reinventing the political party in Spain: The case of 15M and the Spanish mobilisations. *Policy Studies*, 36(6), 590-606. doi:10.1080/01442872.2015.1073243.

Annex 1

Questionnaire #Encuesta15M2014

Legend
- SCQ: Single choice question
- MCQ: Multiple choice question
- SCQ PLUS: Single choice question with open option "Others"
- MCQ PLUS: Multiple choice question with open option "Others"
- MATRIX SCQ: Single choice question in matrix form
- NUMERIC: Numerical question

General aspects

Title: #Encuesta15M2014
Subtitle:

Content

1 – COMMENT

Esta es una encuesta sobre el 15M en su tercer aniversario. El objetivo es recoger las opiniones y percepciones que tienes sobre el 15M, sin importar el grado de conocimiento o de participación.

Todas las respuestas son ANÓNIMAS (no sabemos quién contesta). Los datos que nos proporciones los trataremos de forma totalmente confidencial. Los resultados de la encuesta serán públicos y abiertos.

No te llevará más de 10 minutos y te estaremos eternamente agradecidos. :)

En caso de duda, o si quieres ampliar información: civilsc@uoc.edu

UOC R&I
Universitat Oberta de Catalunya

Working Papers is a research monograph series promoted by the Universitat Oberta de Catalunya

Working Papers (2017)
ISSN 2462-7461
working-papers.uoc.edu

41

☺Arnau Monterde, Antonio Calleja-López, Daniel Blanche & Mireia Fernández-Ardèvol

Este proyecto es una iniciativa del Grupo de Investigación "Redes, Movimientos y Tecnopolítica" vinculado al IN3-UOC, en colaboración con la red @Datanalysis15M.

ATENCIÓN! Comprueba que tienes la encuesta abierta en una única pestaña.

La encuesta se puede contestar desde cualquier dispositivo, si bien recomendamos utilizar una pantalla grande (12 pulgadas o más) para una mayor legibilidad.

2 – PAGE BREAK

3 – COMMENT

Para empezar, unas preguntas sobre ti

4 – v_1 SCQ

Phrasing   Soy:

Codes

1   Hombre

2   Mujer

3   Otros

999   NS/NC

5 – v_2 NUMERIC

Phrasing   Tengo: _____ años

6 – v_3 SCQ

Phrasing   He nacido en:

Codes

1   España

2   Otro país de la Unión Europea

3   Otro país de Europa

4   América
5   África
6   Asia
7   Oceanía
999   NS/NC

7 – v_4 SCQ
Phrasing   Vivo en:
Codes
1   España
2   Otro país de la Unión Europea
3   Otro país de Europa
4   América
5   África
6   Asia
7   Oceanía
8   Varios
999   NS/NC

8 – PAGE BREAK

9 – v_5 NUMERIC
Only shows if v_4 = 1
Phrasing   Indica tu código postal:

10 – v_6_1 SCQ
Only shows if v_4 = 2
Phrasing   ¿En qué país?
Codes
1   Alemania
2   Austria
3   Bélgica
4   Bulgaria

5	Chipre
6	Croacia
7	Dinamarca
8	Eslovaquia
9	Eslovenia
10	Estonia
11	Finlandia
12	Francia
13	Grecia
14	Hungría
15	Irlanda
16	Italia
17	Letonia
18	Lituania
19	Luxemburgo
20	Malta
21	Países Bajos
22	Polonia
23	Portugal
24	Reino Unido
25	República Checa
26	Rumanía
27	Suecia
999	NS/NC

11 – v_6_2 SCQ

Only shows if v_4 = 3

Phrasing   ¿En qué país?

Codes

1	Albania
2	Andorra
3	Armenia
4	Azerbaiyán
5	Bielorrusia
6	Bosnia-Herzegovina
7	Georgia
8	Islandia
9	Kazajistán
10	Liechtenstein

44

11	Macedonia
12	Moldavia
13	Mónaco
14	Montenegro
15	Noruega
16	Rusia
17	San Marino
18	Serbia
19	Suiza
20	Turquía
21	Ucrania
22	Vaticano
999	NS/NC

12 – v_6_3 SCQ
Only shows if v_4 = 4
Phrasing   ¿En qué país?
Codes

1	Anguila
2	Antigua y Barbuda
3	Argentina
4	Aruba
5	Bahamas
6	Barbados
7	Belice
8	Bermudas
9	Bolivia
10	Brasil
11	Canadá
12	Caribe Neerlandés
13	Chile
14	Colombia
15	Costa Rica
16	Cuba
17	Curazao
18	Dominica
19	Ecuador
20	El Salvador
21	Estados Unidos

R&I
Universitat Oberta
de Catalunya

Working Papers is a research monograph
series promoted by the Universitat Oberta
de Catalunya

Working Papers (2017)
ISSN 2462-7461
working-papers.uoc.edu

45

22	Granada
23	Groenlandia
24	Guadalupe
25	Guatemala
26	Guayana Francesa
27	Guyana
28	Haití
29	Honduras
30	Isla Clipperton
31	Isla de Navaza
32	Isla de Saba
33	Islas Caimán
34	Islas Georgias del Sur y Sandwich del Sur
35	Islas Malvinas
36	Islas Turcas y Caicos
37	Islas Virgenes Británicas
38	Islas Vírgenes de los Estados Unidos
39	Jamaica
40	Martinica
41	México
42	Montserrat
43	Nicaragua
44	Panamá
45	Paraguay
46	Perú
47	Puerto Rico
48	República Dominicana
49	San Bartolomé
50	San Cristóbal y Nieves
51	San Eustaquio
52	San Martín
53	San Pedro y Miquelón
54	San Vicente y las Granadinas
55	Santa Lucía
56	Sint Maarten
57	Surinam
58	Trinidad y Tobago
59	Uruguay
60	Venezuela
999	NS/NC

13 – v_6_4 SCQ

Only shows if v_4 = 5

Phrasing   ¿En qué país?

Codes

1	Angola
2	Argelia
3	Benín
4	Botsuana
5	Burkina Faso
6	Burundi
7	Cabo Verde
8	Camerún
9	Chad
10	Comoras
11	Costa de Marfil
12	Egipto
13	Eritrea
14	Etiopía
15	Gabón
16	Gambia
17	Ghana
18	Guinea
19	Guinea-Bisáu
20	Guinea Ecuatorial
21	Kenia
22	Lesoto
23	Liberia
24	Libia
25	Madagascar
26	Malaui
27	Malí
28	Marruecos
29	Mauricio
30	Mauritania
31	Mozambique
32	Namibia
33	Níger
34	Nigeria

UOC R&I
Universitat Oberta
de Catalunya

Working Papers is a research monograph
series promoted by the Universitat Oberta
de Catalunya

Working Papers (2017)
ISSN 2462-7461
working-papers.uoc.edu

47

35	República Árabe Saharaui Democrática
36	República Centroafricana
37	República del Congo
38	República Democrática del Congo
39	República de Somalilandia
40	Ruanda
41	Santo Tomé y Príncipe
42	Senegal
43	Seychelles
44	Sierra Leona
45	Somalia
46	Suazilandia
47	Sudáfrica
48	Sudán
49	Sudán del Sur
50	Tanzania
51	Togo
52	Túnez
53	Uganda
54	Yibuti
55	Zambia
56	Zimbabue
999	NS/NC

14 – v_6_5 SCQ

Only shows if v_4 = 6

Phrasing   ¿En qué país?

Codes

1	Afganistán
2	Arabia Saudita
3	Armenia
4	Azerbaiyán
5	Bahréin
6	Bangladesh
7	Brunéi
8	Bután
9	Camboya
10	China
11	Corea del Norte

12	Corea del Sur
13	Emiratos Árabes Unidos
14	Filipinas
15	Georgia
16	India
17	Indonesia
18	Irán
19	Iraq
20	Israel
21	Japón
22	Jordania
23	Kazajistán
24	Kirguistán
25	Kuwait
26	Laos
27	Líbano
28	Malasia
29	Maldivas
30	Mongolia
31	Myanmar
32	Nepal
33	Omán
34	Pakistán
35	Qatar
36	Singapur
37	Siria
38	Sri Lanka
39	Tailandia
40	Tayikistán
41	Timor Oriental
42	Turkmenistán
43	Turquía
44	Uzbekistán
45	Vietnam
46	Yemen
999	NS/NC

15 – v_6_6 SCQ

Only shows if v_4 = 7

Phrasing   ¿En qué país?

Codes

1   Australia

2   Fiyi

3   Guam

4   Hawái

5   Isla de Navidad

6   Isla de Pascua

7   Islas Cocos

8   Islas Cook

9   Islas Marianas del Norte

10   Islas Marshall

11   Islas Pitcaim

12   Islas Salomón

13   Islas ultramarinas de EE.UU.

14   Kiribati

15   Micronesia

999   NS/NC

16 – v_7 SCQ

Phrasing   ¿Cuál es el nivel educativo más alto que has completado?

Codes

1   Sin estudios

2   Estudios Primarios

3   Estudios Secundarios (ESO, Bachillerato, Ciclos Formativos...)

4   Estudios Universitarios (Diplomatura, Grado, Máster, Doctorado...)

999   NS/NC

17 – v_8 MCQ

Phrasing   ¿Cómo definirías tu situación actual? (Puedes marcar más de una)

Codes

1   Asalariado/a

2   Autónomo/a

3   Empresario/a

4   Parado/a

5   Pensionista

6   Estudiante

7	Trabajo doméstico no remunerado (cuidador/a, ama/o de casa…)
8	Otros
999	NS/NC

18 – PAGE BREAK

19 – v_9 MCQ
Phrasing ¿Cuál es tu situación económica o laboral? (Puedes marcar más de una)
Codes

1	No tengo ingresos
2	Estoy endeudado/a
3	Trabajo estable
4	Trabajo precario
5	Trabajo sin contrato
6	Trabajo indefinido
7	Trabajo temporal
8	Trabajo a tiempo completo
9	Trabajo a tiempo parcial
10	Otros
999	NS/NC

20 – v_10 MATRIX SCQ
Phrasing ¿Cómo consideras tu situación económica?
v_10 Valoración:
Codes

1	Muy buena
2	Buena
3	Ni buena ni mala
4	Mala
5	Muy mala
999	NS/NC

21 – v_11 MATRIX SCQ

Phrasing   Económicamente…
v_11_1   Soy dependiente de mi familia o pareja
v_11_2   Tengo personas a mi cargo
Codes
0   No
1   Sí
999   NS/NC

22 – v_12 MATRIX SCQ
Phrasing   ¿Crees que…
v_12_1   Mejorará tu situación económica en el futuro?
v_12_2   Mejorará la situación económica general?
Codes
0   No
1   Sí
999   NS/NC

23 – PAGE BREAK

24 – COMMENT
A continuación, vienen una serie de s sobre el 15M

25 – v_13 MATRIX SCQ
Phrasing   Sobre el 15M y tú:
v_13_1   ¿Te identificas con el 15M?
v_13_2   ¿Y con sus demandas y propuestas?
v_13_3   ¿Y con sus acciones y estrategias?
Codes
0   No
1   Sí
999   NS/NC

26 – v_14 SCQ

Phrasing   ¿Cómo describirías tu grado de interés por el 15M?

Codes

1   Nunca me ha interesado

2   Me interesó cuando surgió en 2011 pero ya no

3   No me interesó cuando surgió pero ahora sí

4   Sigo manteniendo el interés y/o la vinculación

999   NS/NC

27 – v_15 SCQ

Phrasing   ¿Has participado de alguna forma en el 15M?

Codes

0   No

1   Sí

999   NS/NC

28 – PAGE BREAK

29 – v_16 MCQ

Only shows if v_15 = 1

Phrasing   Antes del 15M, había participado en... (Puedes marcar más de una)

Codes

1   Movimientos vinculados a internet y activismo online

2   Partidos políticos o sindicatos

3   Movimientos sociales

4   Solidaridad, tercer sector, asociacionismo, ONGs

5   Otros

6   Ninguno

999   NS/NC

30 – v_17 MCQ

Only shows if v_15 = 1

Phrasing   Actualmente participo en... (Puedes marcar más de una)

Codes

1   Movimientos vinculados a internet y activismo online

2   Partidos políticos o sindicatos

3   Movimientos sociales

4   Solidaridad, tercer sector, asociacionismo, ONGs

5   Otros

6   Ninguno

999   NS/NC

31 – v_18 MCQ

Only shows if v_15 = 1

Phrasing   ¿Te influyó algún movimiento a la hora de participar en el 15M? (Puedes marcar más de una)

Codes

1   Movimiento Global

2   Primavera Árabe

3   No a la Guerra

4   Democracia Real Ya

5   V de Vivienda

6   Wikileaks/Anonymous

7   Lucha contra la Ley Sinde/NoLesVotes

8   Otros

9   Ninguno

999   NS/NC

32 – v_19 MCQ

Only shows if v_15 = 1

Phrasing   Los problemas que me llevaron a participar en el 15M fueron: (Puedes marcar más de una)

Codes

1   La crisis económica

2   La corrupción

3   La falta de democracia

4	Los recortes
5	La vivienda
6	El desempleo
7	Otros motivos
8	Ningún motivo
999	NS/NC

33 – PAGE BREAK

34 – COMMENT

<div align="center">Continuamos con el 15M</div>

35 – v_20 MATRIX SCQ

| Phrasing | Respecto a las reivindicaciones del 15M (donde 1 es totalmente en desacuerdo y 5 es totalmente de acuerdo)… |
| v_20 | estoy: |

Codes

1	Totalmente en desacuerdo
2	2
3	3
4	4
5	Totalmente de acuerdo
999	NS/NC

36 – v_21 SCQ

Only shows if v_15 = 1

| Phrasing | Respecto a tu implicación en el 15M: |

Codes

1	No he estado implicado/a
2	He apoyado a distancia y he simpatizado con el movimiento
3	He estado implicado/a de manera intermitente
4	He estado muy implicado/a en algún momento
5	He estado muy implicado/a al principio y menos posteriormente

6   He estado muy implicado/a desde que empezó el movimiento

999   NS/NC

37 – v_22 SCQ

Only shows if v_15 = 0

Phrasing   Ya nos has dicho que no has participado en el 15M, pero nos interesa conocer tu implicación:

Codes

1   No he estado implicado/a

2   He apoyado a distancia y he simpatizado con el movimiento

3   He estado implicado/a de manera intermitente

4   He estado muy implicado/a en algún momento

5   He estado muy implicado/a al principio y menos posteriormente

6   He estado muy implicado/a desde que empezó el movimiento

999   NS/NC

38 – v_23 SCQ

Only shows if v_15 = 999

Phrasing   Entendiendo que participación e implicación son diferentes, nos interesa conocer tu implicación con el 15M:

Codes

1   No he estado implicado/a

2   He apoyado a distancia y he simpatizado con el movimiento

3   He estado implicado/a de manera intermitente

4   He estado muy implicado/a en algún momento

5   He estado muy implicado/a al principio y menos posteriormente

6   He estado muy implicado/a desde que empezó el movimiento

999   NS/NC

39 – v_24 MCQ

Only shows if v_15 = 1

Phrasing   En el 15M, he participado... (Puedes marcar más de una)

Codes

1   En una manifestación

2   Acampando en una de las plazas

3	En una asamblea
4	A través de las redes sociales online
5	En redes sociales online desde manifestaciones, acampadas...
6	Grabando un vídeo/haciendo un streaming
7	Haciendo un cartel
8	Escribiendo un post en un blog
9	Organizando una acción
10	En un desahucio de la PAH
11	Firmando una petición online
12	Donando en un crowdfunding (microfinanciación colectiva)
13	Enviando emails masivos a políticos
14	En un escrache
15	En una marea
16	Otros
17	No he participado en ninguna actividad relacionada con el 15M
999	NS/NC

40 – PAGE BREAK

41 – COMMENT

Ahora, unas preguntas sobre el uso de medios y de las tecnologías digitales

42 – v_25 MCQ

Only shows if v_15 = 0 o v_15 = 999

Phrasing ¿Has usado alguno de estos canales para informarte sobre el 15M? (Puedes marcar más de una)

Codes

1	Televisión
2	Radio
3	Prensa impresa
4	Medios digitales
5	Boca a boca
6	Redes sociales
7	Otros
8	Ninguno

UOC R&I
Universitat Oberta
de Catalunya

Working Papers is a research monograph
series promoted by the Universitat Oberta
de Catalunya

Working Papers (2017)
ISSN 2462-7461
working-papers.uoc.edu

57

999   NS/NC

---

43 – v_26 MCQ

Only shows if v_15 = 1

Phrasing   ¿Has usado alguno de estos canales para informarte/informar sobre el 15M? (Puedes marcar más de una)

Codes

1   Televisión
2   Radio
3   Prensa impresa
4   Medios digitales
5   Boca a boca
6   Redes sociales
7   Otros
8   Ninguno
999   NS/NC

---

44 – v_27 MCQ

Only shows if v_15 = 1

Phrasing   ¿Has usado alguno de estos dispositivos con acceso a Internet para informarte o difundir sobre el 15M? (Puedes marcar más de una)

Codes

1   Móvil
2   Tablet
3   Ordenador portátil
4   Ordenador de sobremesa
5   Smart TV
6   Otros
7   Ninguno
999   NS/NC

---

45 – v_28 MCQ

Only shows if v_15 = 0 OR v_15 = 999

Phrasing   ¿Has usado alguno de estos dispositivos con acceso a Internet para informarte sobre el 15M? (Puedes marcar más de una)

UOC R&I
Universitat Oberta de Catalunya

Working Papers is a research monograph series promoted by the Universitat Oberta de Catalunya

Working Papers (2017)
ISSN 2462-7461
working-papers.uoc.edu

58

Codes

1	Móvil
2	Tablet
3	Ordenador portátil
4	Ordenador de sobremesa
5	Smart TV
6	Otros
7	Ninguno
999	NS/NC

46 – v_29 MCQ

Phrasing ¿Utilizas alguna de estas redes sociales online? (Puedes marcar más de una)

Codes

1	Twitter
2	Facebook
3	Google+
4	Tuenti
5	N-1
6	Instagram
7	Youtube
8	Otras
9	Ninguna
999	NS/NC

47 – v_30 MCQ

Only shows if v_15 = 1

Phrasing Para cuestiones relacionadas con el 15M he utilizado: (Puedes marcar más de una)

Codes

1	Twitter
2	Facebook
3	Listas de correo
4	Pads
5	WhatsApp
6	Line
7	N-1
8	Mumble
9	Skype

10	Tumblr
11	Foros
12	Chat/IRC
13	Blogs
14	Webs
15	Flickr
16	Youtube
17	Instagram
18	Bambuser
19	Livestream
20	Otros
21	Ninguno
999	NS/NC

48 – v_31 SCQ

Only shows if v_15 = 0 OR v_15 = 999

Phrasing ¿Has compartido información u opiniones relacionadas con el 15M en las redes sociales online?

Codes

0	No
1	Sí
999	NS/NC

49 – PAGE BREAK

50 – v_32 MATRIX SCQ

Only shows if v_15 = 1 AND v_30 ≠ 21 AND 30 ≠ 999

Phrasing Nos has dicho que has usado algunas tecnologías para cuestiones relacionadas con el 15M.

v_32_1	Tu frecuencia de uso después del 15M es...
v_32_2	El número de tecnologías que usas es...

Codes

1	Mayor
2	Igual
3	Menor

60

999   NS/NC

51 – v_33 MCQ

Only shows if v_15 = 1 AND v_30 ≠ 21 AND 30 ≠ 999

Phrasing   De las que has marcado en la página anterior, indica si has empezado a utilizar alguna por el 15M: (Puedes marcar más de una)

Codes

1	Twitter	(Only shows if v_30 = 1)
2	Facebook	(Only shows if v_30 = 2)
3	Listas de correos	(Only shows if v_30 = 3)
4	Pads	(Only shows if v_30 = 4)
5	WhatsApp	(Only shows if v_30 = 5)
6	Line	(Only shows if v_30 = 6)
7	N-1	(Only shows if v_30 = 7)
8	Mumble	(Only shows if v_30 = 8)
9	Skype	(Only shows if v_30 = 9)
10	Tumblr	(Only shows if v_30 = 10)
11	Foros	(Only shows if v_30 = 11)
12	Chat/IRC	(Only shows if v_30 = 12)
13	Blogs	(Only shows if v_30 = 13)
14	Webs	(Only shows if v_30 = 14)
15	Flickr	(Only shows if v_30 = 15)
16	Youtube	(Only shows if v_30 = 16)
17	Instagram	(Only shows if v_30 = 17)
18	Bambuser	(Only shows if v_30 = 18)
19	Livestream	(Only shows if v_30 = 19)
20	Otros	(Only shows if v_30 = 20)
21	Ninguno	
999	NS/NC	

52 – PAGE BREAK

53 – COMMENT

Sobre las emociones en el 15M

54 – v_34 SCQ

    Phrasing   ¿Fueron los primeros días del 15M una experiencia emocional relevante para ti?

    Codes

    0   No

    1   Sí

    999   NS/NC

55 – v_35 SCQ

    Phrasing   ¿Y en la actualidad?

    Codes

    0   No

    1   Sí

    999   NS/NC

56 – v_36 MCQ

    Phrasing   ¿Qué emociones sentiste respecto al 15M en el momento de las acampadas en 2011? (Puedes marcar más de una)

    Codes

    1   Alegría

    2   Asco

    3   Empoderamiento

    4   Esperanza

    5   Frustración

    6   Ilusión

    7   Indiferencia

    8   Indignación

    9   Miedo

    10   Nostalgia

    11   Rabia

    12   Tristeza

    13   Otras

    999   NS/NC

57 – v_37 MCQ

Phrasing ¿Qué emociones sientes respecto al 15M en la actualidad? (Puedes marcar más de una)

Codes

1 Alegría
2 Asco
3 Decepción
4 Empoderamiento
5 Esperanza
6 Frustración
7 Ilusión
8 Indiferencia
9 Indignación
10 Miedo
11 Nostalgia
12 Rabia
13 Tristeza
14 Otras
999 NS/NC

58 – PAGE BREAK

59 – COMMENT

Sobre la evolución del 15M

60 – v_38 MCQ

Phrasing Pienso que el 15M... (Puedes marcar más de una)

Codes

1 Ya no existe
2 Se ha debilitado
3 Ya no es tan inclusivo
4 Sigue igual que hace tres años

UOC R&I
Universitat Oberta de Catalunya

Working Papers is a research monograph series promoted by the Universitat Oberta de Catalunya

Working Papers (2017)
ISSN 2462-7461
working-papers.uoc.edu

63

5	Ha evolucionado/se ha transformado
6	Se ha diversificado
999	NS/NC

61 – v_39 MCQ

Phrasing   A partir de tu experiencia, ¿con cuál de las siguientes afirmaciones estás de acuerdo? (Puedes marcar más de una)

Codes

1	El 15M tuvo un gran impacto al principio pero después se disgregó
2	El 15M sigue vigente
3	El 15M se acabó con las acampadas
4	El 15M se ha transformado en otros acontecimientos, acciones, proyectos o procesos
999	NS/NC

62 – v_40 MCQ PLUS

Phrasing   ¿Relacionas con el 15M alguno de los siguientes eventos, acciones o procesos? (Puedes marcar más de una)

Codes

1	Plataforma de Afectados por la Hipoteca (PAH)
2	Toque a Bankia
3	Asambleas de barrio
4	Auditoría de la deuda
5	25S - Rodea el Congreso
6	Manifestación del 15º
7	Mareas
8	Huelga general del 29M
9	Huelga general del 14N
10	Aniversario 12M15M
11	Iaioflautas
12	Marchas por la dignidad
13	Efecto Gamonal
14	15MpaRato
15	Primavera valenciana
16	Ninguno/a
999	NS/NC
0	(Open field) Otros

63 – v_41 MCQ PLUS

Phrasing   ¿Has participado en alguno de ellos? (Puedes marcar más de una)

Codes

1   Plataforma de Afectados por la Hipoteca (PAH)
2   Toque a Bankia
3   Asambleas de barrio
4   Auditoría de la deuda
5   25S - Rodea el Congreso
6   Manifestación del 15º
7   Mareas
8   Huelga general del 29M
9   Huelga general del 14N
10   Aniversario 12M15M
11   Iaioflautas
12   Marchas por la dignidad
13   Efecto Gamonal
14   15MpaRato
15   Primavera valenciana
16   Ninguno/a
999   NS/NC
0   (Open field) Otros:

64 – PAGE BREAK

65 – COMMENT

Sobre las elecciones europeas del 25 de mayo de 2014

66 – v_42 SCQ

Phrasing   ¿Crees que el 15M va a influir en las elecciones?

Codes

0   No
1   Sí

999   NS/NC

67 – v_43 MCQ PLUS
Phrasing   ¿Vinculas alguna de las siguientes formaciones electorales con el 15M? (Puedes marcar más de una)

Codes
1   PP
2   PSOE
3   Coalición por Europa (CIU, PNV, CC y CxG)
4   Izquierda Plural (IU, ICV, Anova...)
5   UPyD
6   L'esquerra pel dret a decidir (ERC...)
7   Los pueblos deciden (Bildu, BNGa...)
8   Primavera Europea (Compromís, Equo, CHA...)
9   Foro de Ciudadanos (Foro Asturias)
10   Ciudadanos (C's)
11   Confederación Pirata - European Pirates
12   Agrupación de electores Recortes Cero
13   Escaños en Blanco
14   Partido X
15   Podemos
16   Movimiento de Renovación democrática de la ciudadanía (RED)
17   VOX
18   Partido Animalista (PACMA)
19   Ninguna
999   NS/NC
0   (Open field) Otra/s (ver lista completa): (link to full list of political parties)

68 – v_44 SCQ
Phrasing   ¿Vas a votar en las próximas elecciones al Parlamento Europeo?
Codes
0   No
1   Sí
999   NS/NC

UOC R&I
Universitat Oberta de Catalunya

Working Papers is a research monograph series promoted by the Universitat Oberta de Catalunya

Working Papers (2017)
ISSN 2462-7461
working-papers.uoc.edu

66

69 – PAGE BREAK

70 – v_45 SCQ

Only shows if v_44 = 1

Phrasing   ¿A qué partido vas a votar?

Codes

1	Alternativa Republicana (ALTER)
2	Proyecto Europa (ACNV-BAR-PRAO-R.E.P.O-UNIO)
3	Coalición por Europa (CIU, PNV, CC y CxG)
4	Ciudadanos Libres Unidos (CILUS)
5	Ciudadanos (C's)
6	Democracia Nacional (D.N.)
7	Discapacitados y Enfermedades Raras (D.E.R.)
8	Escaños en Blanco
9	Los pueblos deciden (Bildu, BNGa...)
10	L'Esquerra Pel Dret a Decidir (ERC...)
11	Izquierda Plural (IU, ICV, Anova...)
12	Extremadura Unida
13	Foro de Ciudadanos (Foro Asturias)
14	Falange Española de Las J.O.N.S. (FE de las JONS)
15	Iniciativa Feminista (I.Fem)
16	Impulso Social
17	Extremeños por Europa Coalición Electoral (IPEX-PREX-CREX)
18	La España en Marcha (LEM)
19	Movimiento Corriente Roja (M.C.R.)
20	Movimiento Social Republicano (MSR)
21	MOVIMIENTO RED - Movimiento de Renovación democrática de la ciudadanía (RED)
22	Partido Comunista de los Pueblos de España (P.C.P.E)
23	PP
24	Primavera Europea (Compromís, Equo, CHA...)
25	PSOE
26	Partido Andalucista
27	Partido Animalista (PACMA)
28	Partido X
29	Partido Humanista (PH)
30	Confederación Pirata - European Pirates
31	Partido de la Libertad Individual (P-LIB)
32	Podemos
33	Salamanca-Zamora-León (PREPAL)

34 Partido da Terra (PT)

35 Agrupación de electores Recortes Cero

36 Por la República, Por la Ruptura con la Unión Europea (RRUE)

37 Solidaridad y Autogestión Internacionalista (SAIN)

38 UPyD

39 VOX

40 Voto en blanco

41 Voto nulo

999 NS/NC

71 – PAGE BREAK

72 – COMMENT

Finalmente, unas s sobre tu percepción de los efectos del 15M

73 – v_46 MCQ

Phrasing Creo que el 15M ha cambiado… (Puedes marcar más de una)

Codes

1 Los temas que me interesan

2 La agenda de los medios de comunicación

3 Mi forma de entender la política

4 Las prácticas de los movimientos sociales ciudadanos

5 Mi intención de voto

6 La capacidad de la gente para cambiar las cosas

7 Mis formas de participación política

8 Lo que considero deseable en una sociedad

9 Lo que considero intolerable en una sociedad

10 Nada

11 Otros

999 NS/NC

74 – v_47 MATRIX SCQ

Phrasing Creo que la legitimidad de…

v_47_1	Las instituciones públicas
v_47_2	Los partidos políticos
v_47_3	Los sindicatos
v_47_4	Los movimientos sociales
v_47_5	Los medios de comunicación
v_47_6	Las entidades financieras y bancos

Codes	
1	Se ha deteriorado
2	Sigue igual
3	Se ha reforzado
999	NS/NC

75 – v_48 MATRIX SCQ

Phrasing	¿Y en qué medida crees que ha sido por el 15M? (donde 1 es nada y 5 es todo)
v_48_1	Las instituciones públicas
v_48_2	Los partidos políticos
v_48_3	Los sindicatos
v_48_4	Los movimientos sociales
v_48_5	Los medios de comunicación
v_48_6	Las entidades financieras y bancos

Codes	
1	Nada
2	2
3	3
4	4
5	Todo
999	NS/NC

76 – v_49 MCQ PLUS

Phrasing	Creo que el 15M ha influido en… (Puedes marcar más de una)

Codes	
1	Vivienda
2	Transparencia
3	Democracia
4	Partidos políticos
5	Educación
6	Sanidad

7	Medios de comunicación
8	Economía
9	Nada
999	NS/NC
0	(Open field) Otros:

77 – PAGE BREAK

78 – v_50 SCQ

Phrasing	¿Crees que el 15M ha conseguido sus objetivos?
Codes	
1	Ninguno
2	Pocos
3	Bastantes
4	Muchos
5	Todos
999	NS/NC

79 – v_51 SCQ

Phrasing	¿Crees que el 15M contribuye a un cambio social y político?
Codes	
0	No
1	Sí
2	Sí, en parte
3	Sí, pero sólo a largo plazo
999	NS/NC

80 – PAGE BREAK

81 – COMMENT

Gracias por participar en la #Encuesta15M2014.

Te recordamos que esta encuesta es una iniciativa del Grupo de Investigación "Redes, Movimientos y Tecnopolítica" vinculado al IN3-UOC, en colaboración con la red @Datanalysis15M y en el marco del proyecto Balzan.

Todas las respuestas son ANÓNIMAS (no sabemos quién contesta). Los datos que nos proporciones los trataremos de forma totalmente confidencial.

Los resultados de la encuesta se harán públicos en esta página web (link) y en Twitter con el HT #Encuesta15M2014.

Te invitamos a difundir esta encuesta entre tus contactos.

Puedes seguirnos en @civilsc y @datanalysis15M.

En caso de duda, o si quieres ampliar información: civilsc@uoc.edu

Annex 2

Table 32. Basic socio-demographic characteristics by 15M participation (%)

	15M PARTICIPANTS (N=1014)	OTHERS (N=306)	TOTAL SAMPLE (N=1320)
Male	59.6	60.8	59.8
Female	39.7	38.6	39.5
Age (mean)	38.1	38.6	38.2
University	73.8	69.9	72.9
Secondary School	24.3	26.8	24.8
No schooling/Primary studies	1.9	2.9	2.1
Place of birth			
Spain	93.0	92.5	92.9
Europe	3.2	6.5	3.4
America	3.5	2.9	3.3
Africa	0.2	0.0	0.2
Place of residence			
Spain	92.7	93.8	93.0
Europe	5.0	3.6	4.6
America	1.8	2.6	2.0
Africa	0.1	0.0	0.1
More than one place	0.2	0.0	0.2

Note. Values do not add 100%. Some categories with low frequencies, don't know/no answer among others, are not displayed. Full tables available under request. There are no statistical significant differences among groups, as for Chi-Square tests (gender, education, place of birth and place of residence) and ANOVA test (age).

Table 33. Job status by participation in 15M (%)

	15M PARTICIPANTS (N=1014)	OTHERS (N=306)	TOTAL SAMPLE (N=1320)
Paid-employment	48.2	52.3	49.2
Unemployed	18.7	18.0	18.6
Self-employed	14.3	11.8	13.7
Business owner	2.6	3.9	2.9
Pensioner	4.6	4.2	4.5
House worker, caregiver (unpaid)	3.9	3.6	3.8
Student	15.6	15.0	15.5
Other	9.3	2.3	7.7

Note. Non-exclusive categories. Values do not add 100%. Some categories with low frequencies, don't know/no answer among others, are not displayed. Full tables available under request.

73

☺Arnau Monterde, Antonio Calleja-López, Daniel Blanche &
Mireia Fernández-Ardèvol

Resumen

La aparición de movimientos sociales en red en 2011 ha abierto una nueva puerta en la literatura de los movimientos sociales. Mediante la adopción de un enfoque tecnopolítico y situado, en este artículo, exploramos el caso del movimiento 15M tres años después de su formación en mayo de 2011. Por medio de una encuesta en línea y un procedimiento de muestreo no probabilístico, prestamos especial atención a las percepciones y opiniones de los participantes en el movimiento. Hacemos distinción de siete secciones temáticas: la relación con el movimiento, la participación política previa y las motivaciones, el uso de las tecnologías de la información y la comunicación (TICs), las emociones sentidas, la evolución del movimiento, su influencia en las elecciones, y los impactos en diversos aspectos de la vida social. Los resultados muestran que los encuestados (N=1320) son en su mayoría adherentes al movimiento y en gran parte impulsados a participar por asuntos políticos. Además, la mayoría cree que el movimiento sigue vivo aunque bajo nuevas formas, y perciben impactos en diferentes áreas, instituciones, comportamientos e ideas. Concluimos describiendo el 15M como un caso que se ajusta adecuadamente al concepto de movimiento social en red. Por último, sugerimos pasos futuros en la comprensión de estos movimientos mediante la aplicación de la encuesta en línea diseñada para este estudio a la vez que complementando los análisis a través de otros métodos de investigación.

Palabras clave

15M, Movimientos sociales en red, Tecnopolítica, Tecnologías de la información y la comunicación (TICs), España

Resum

L'aparició de moviments socials en xarxa el 2011 ha obert una nova porta en la literatura dels moviments socials. Mitjançant l'adopció d'un enfocament tecnopolític i situat, en aquest article, explorem el cas del moviment 15M tres anys després de la seva formació al maig del 2011. Per mitjà d'una enquesta en línia i un procediment de mostreig no probabilístic, posem-hi especial èmfasi a les percepcions i opinions dels participants en el moviment. Fem distinció de set seccions temàtiques: la relació amb el moviment, la participació política prèvia i les motivacions, l'ús de les tecnologies de la informació i la comunicació (TICs), les emocions sentides, l'evolució del moviment, la seva influència en les eleccions, i els impactes en diversos aspectes de la vida social. Els resultats mostren que els enquestats (N=1320) són majoritàriament adherents al moviment i en gran part impulsats a participar per assumptes polítics. A més, la majoria creu que el moviment segueix viu encara que en noves formes, i hi perceben impactes en diferents àrees, institucions, comportaments i idees. Concloem descrivint el 15M com un cas que s'ajusta adequadament al concepte de moviment social en xarxa. Finalment, suggerim pasos futurs en la comprensió d'aquests moviments per mitjà de l'aplicació de l'enquesta en línia dissenyada per a aquest estudi alhora que complementant les anàlisis amb altres mètodes d'investigació.

Paraules clau

15M, Moviments socials en xarxa, Tecnopolitica, Tecnologies de la informació i la comunicació (TICs), Espanya

☺Arnau Monterde, Antonio Calleja-López, Daniel Blanche & Mireia Fernández-Ardèvol

Arnau Monterde

amonterde@uoc.edu

Communication Networks & Social Change Research Group (CNSC)

IN3-Universitat Oberta de Catalunya

Arnau Monterde has a PhD in the Information and Knowledge Society at the Universitat Oberta de Catalunya. His research focuses on two main fields: the study of emerging social movements and their relationship with technology, and forms of political participation and network democracy.

More information about the author at: <http://tecnopolitica.net/ArnauMonterde>.

Antonio Calleja-López

acallejao@uoc.edu

Communication Networks & Social Change Research Group (CNSC)

IN3-Universitat Oberta de Catalunya

Antonio Calleja-López is BA in Philosophy, MA in Political Science, Philosophy and Sociology, and PhD in Sociology at the University of Exeter. He works as a researcher at the Communication Networks & Social Change Research Group (CN&SC).

More information about the author at: <http://tecnopolitica.net/antonio-calleja-lopez>.

Daniel Blanche

dblanchet@uoc.edu

Communication Networks & Social Change Research Group (CNSC)

IN3-Universitat Oberta de Catalunya

Daniel Blanche is BA in Communication, MA in Sociology, MA in Socio-Demography, and currently PhD candidate in Political and Social Sciences at the Universitat Pompeu Fabra in Barcelona, Spain. He is research assistant at the Communication Networks & Social Change Research Group (CN&SC).

More information about the author at: <http://www.communicationchange.net/en/daniel-blanche/>.

Mireia Fernández-Ardèvol

mfernandezar@uoc.edu

Communication Networks & Social Change Research Group (CNSC)

IN3-Universitat Oberta de Catalunya

Mireia Fernández-Ardèvol is interested in the impacts of mobile communication in our societies, and one of her areas of interest is their role in networked social movements. With a background on economics and econometrics, she holds a PhD from the University of Barcelona.

More information about the author at: <http://www.communicationchange.net/en/mireia-fernandez-ardevol/>.