

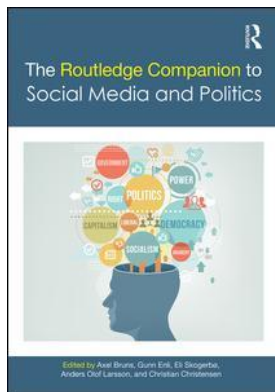
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SOCIAL MEDIA ACCOUNTS OF THE SPANISH INDIGNADOS

Camilo Cristancho and Eva Anduiza

Introduction

The role of organisations in social networks has been traditionally identified as a decisive factor in inspiring and motivating political action, from de Tocqueville (1840/1969) to the ‘resource mobilization’ approach (Edwards and McCarthy 2004; della Porta and Diani 2009). In these accounts, organisations as leaders, and organisational involvement in itself, provide opportunities for joint accomplishments by aggregating and articulating collective demands. More recently, social media use has consistently raised questions about the possibility to bypass organisations in the processes of involving like-minded people and translating shared identities, emotions, and motivations into collective action offline. The potential for social media in political mobilization has consequently received scholarly attention, especially after the Arab Spring uprisings in 2010 and the following worldwide wave of protest (Earl and Kimport 2011).

Contentious responses all over the world have followed fairly similar mobilization dynamics, with a diffuse leadership and a broad notion of membership, as in the case of the *Indignados* and of Occupy in many countries. The *Indignados* (the ‘outraged’) is an emergent social movement in Spain which first appeared following massive demonstrations in response to austerity policies and calling for ‘real democracy now’ in the spring of 2011. They have become a prototypical movement in the line of the Greek *Aganaktismenoi*, the Occupy movement in the U.S. or the Portuguese *Geração à Rasca* (Theocharis et al. 2015). Unlike the protest events mobilized by formal organisations, the *Indignados* mobilizations involved informal linkages and decentralized coordination for action. As such, they shifted away from organisational hierarchies towards leaderless networks.

Social media have provided an opportunity for organisational processes in which crowd-enabled networks are activated, structured, and maintained in the absence of recognised leaders, common goals, or conventional organisation structures (Bennett et al. 2014). However, the processes involved in this type of organisation, and how they lead to collective action, are very much still a black box, especially regarding the cognitive processes that underlie mobilisation from a framing perspective. A dynamic analysis of the activity on Twitter regarding the 15 May 2011 event (the demonstration that kicked off the *Indignados* movement) has shown that the platforms staging the

event succeeded in their mobilisation because their decentralised structure was based on coalitions of smaller organisations. This enabled the activation of a core of users who contributed to the growth of the movement by generating cascades of messages that triggered new activations (González-Bailón et al. 2011).

Following on from this analysis of the recruitment patterns in social media mobilisation to protest, this chapter examines the contents of these information flows, and how their contents relate to the cognitive processes that have been argued to spark action—namely movement frames. We are thus interested in tracing the framing dynamics of the mobilisation processes in order to shed light on the role of the organisations staging the events. To analyse framing patterns, we investigate the three main *Indignados* demonstrations that took place on 15 May 2011, 12 May 2012, and 12 May 2013. We undertake a two-fold comparison between the Twitter accounts of the organisations staging the *Indignados* events and those of other organisations that have also been involved in anti-austerity protests and have been traditionally close to social contestation on economic and political issues (leftist parties, unions), as well as the Twitter accounts of ordinary users (who do not have an explicit organisational affiliation).

Using Twitter records from the *Indignados* demonstrations we question to what extent organisations staging the first events ‘pass down’ their leadership to different types of actors in the dynamic structures of social media networks—or alternatively, to what degree emerging organisations, ordinary users, or the more formal and traditional organisations take over the control of meaning generation processes. This involves the need to explore how framing processes change over time and how users differ in their framing practices according to their network position and their initiative for leading or following in the use of movement frames.

Our approach to framing processes in the communication dynamics of social media contributes to the literature in two ways: first, it advances the research on the discursive mechanisms that drive collective action by studying framing processes in unstructured conversations in social media. Research on social media contents has focused on inferring meaning (i.e. latent topics) from tweets (Barberá et al. 2014) or has been limited to aggregated content by studying hashtags (Borge-Holthoefer et al. 2011; Aragón et al. 2013). We follow on from the scarce research that brings discursive processes into these types of analyses (Fabrega and Sajuria 2013), and focus on movement frames in order to capture discursive processes that respond to a substantive interest rather than following trending topics or the most prominent content. This approach allows us to categorize contents according to their theoretically intended purposes. It is thus an innovative way to leverage Twitter conversations for the study of mobilisation processes, as it connects social media contents to actual movement discourses and combines structural and text analyses.

Secondly, our dynamic analysis enlightens current understandings on framing processes, especially regarding the questions on organisation leadership in frame diffusion and alignment (Ketelaars et al. 2014) and the processes underlying personalization (Bennett and Segerberg 2013; Cristancho and Anduiza 2014). This approach provides unprecedented evidence for the study of framing processes in the context of social media and unstructured organisational patterns.

This chapter presents a brief review of the framing approach in the social movement literature and proposes how it can be integrated into a study of social networks and organisational leadership. It then moves on to the *Indignados* case, introducing the data and methods used in the analysis of framing in dynamic networks in social media.

We discuss the implications of our findings on the role of organisations in framing processes in the mobilisation to protest in online social media.

Framing in Emergent Organisational Forms

Framing has been regarded as a central factor in explaining collective action in contentious politics as frames underlie grievance and identity formation mechanisms that link individual interests, values, and beliefs (Benford and Snow 2000; Gamson 1988). To understand how people make sense of common grievances and whether they adapt these views and share them with social movement organisations (SMOs) is the central aim of the framing approach to explaining collective action (Snow et al. 1986). Framing implies selecting a particular definition for an issue, establishing a causal interpretation, a moral evaluation, and possible actions to influence change (Entman 1993). In this sense, SMOs use frames for diagnosing a social problem, attributing political responsibility for it, proposing a course of action towards desired solutions or expected outcomes, and providing motivations for action by referring to shared values and reasons (Snow and Benford 1988). Moreover, these functions have socialisation effects that affect collective identity formation by establishing group boundaries (Melucci 1995).

Framing processes involve the actions taken to diffuse frames across movements, cultures, and time (Snow and Benford 2000: 622). This involves three types of framing processes: discursive processes, aimed at shaping frames through their articulation and amplification; strategic processes, for adapting them to the context by bridging, amplifying, extending, and transforming movement frames; and contestation processes, for competing with alternative frames for attention and legitimation of the particular way in which the movement understands contested issues.

These cognitive processes have been traditionally attributed to SMOs as central agents in collective action. However, the assumption of organisational leadership has been revised in the last ten years in light of the progressive transformation in social organisation patterns and its implication for collective action. The centrality of formal and established organisations in providing structure and incentives for collective action has decreased as social interactions in online media tend toward more loosely coupled and informal organisation patterns (Benkler 2006; Bimber et al. 2005; Bimber et al. 2012; Shirky 2008). In a longer timeframe, decreasing associational linkages have generated great concerns over their potential effects on civic engagement, at least since Putnam's (2000) foresight of the collapse of the American community. However, alternative forms of social interaction that do not rely on organisational membership seem to have taken over three social network mechanisms that explain collective action: namely, socialization and identity formation, structural processes that connect individuals to mobilisation opportunities, and conversational processes in which meaning is shared and decisions are taken (Passy and Monsch 2014). These alternative forms of social interaction seem to adapt better to a style of democratic engagement which is "increasingly . . . an expression of personal hopes, lifestyle values, and the promise of individual opportunity that further eroded group memberships and loyalties to parties and political institutions" (Bennett and Segerberg 2013: 23).

This individualization of political action emphasizes the importance of networks for the cognitive resources of collective action. The understanding of social networks as 'islands of meaning' (White 1992) is especially relevant to make sense of how movement frames are used in the re-creation of contents in social media. Furthermore, this

perspective can illuminate as well how networks are generated through the use of movement frames; interactions in social media (network ties) reflect common understandings, conflicts, or narratives where identities emerge in a particular political context. In that sense, a network tie becomes constituted by a particular frame, which defines a common social time by its narrative of ties (White 1992). In this chapter we analyse these structural and meaning-generating processes dynamically, and determine the extent to which they depend on each other.

We are specifically interested in how framing processes evolve over time, and how different actors take part in these processes. A first relevant question is how framing processes change over time with the progression of demonstrations and changing online publics. As social media use by SMOs implies relinquishing control over the production and transformation of content, the strategic perspective of frame alignment is transferred to a fluid corpus of online publics. We thus expect that organisations delegate their leadership to social media publics who take over a process of co-creating meaning as an alternative to frame adoption or contestation. This opens up new questions regarding which publics take over, or at least assume the leading role in these meaning-generation processes enabled by social media.

Hierarchical Networks and Social Movements

Digital media have changed collective action by allowing organisation in a decentralised and more flexible manner. However, the fact that organisations leading political action do not take over information processes in a centralised manner, or design top-down strategies, does not imply that the social networks underlying collective action online become more horizontal; even more,

online networks . . . form uneven structures where some nodes are much better connected than others. It is this unequal connectivity that allows online social networks to be more efficient in the spread of information; it is also the reason why everybody in the network is at a short distance—or a few links away—from each other. (González-Bailón 2013: 1)

Consequently, it is crucial to characterize social networks in terms of their underlying structure and their change over time. This enables an understanding of the role of different types of actors in the continuous development of network structures, and of their function in the diffusion of movement frames and discursive alignment between staging organisations and other types of Twitter users. We thus question how the account hierarchy as observed in retweet networks is related to the use of movement frames. In other words, we are interested in the potential differences between central and peripheral accounts in their use of movement frames.

Leaders in Collective Action and Headless Organisations

Structural analysis provides insights into the role of actors in framing processes in social media; nonetheless, we are also interested in exploring potential changes in roles. This entails exploring the ways in which organisational patterns emerge within the fluid networks of social media interactions. We examine networks composed of multiple Twitter accounts which involve diverse types of organisations and individuals, and how

they interact as hybrid organisations (Chadwick 2007). Actor types are a continuum of organisational types ranging from those with a defined structure, clear membership criteria, and an established organisational identity to those with looser, more informal methods of coordination that rely on personal ties and informal interaction (della Porta and Diani 2009). Staging organisations for the *Indignados* are mostly of the latter type (Anduiza et al. 2014), and the more traditional leftist and labour union organisations which have usually advocated for socio-economic issues would be on the former end of the continuum. Our aim is to compare these organisational types with each other, and with Twitter accounts who do not report any organisational affiliation. More concretely, we question to what extent staging organisations ‘pass down’ their leading role regarding framing processes to other types of organisations and ordinary users—or, alternatively, we ask whether these other actors take over control of meaning-generation processes.

In summary, we address the following research questions:

1. How do framing processes change with the progression of demonstrations and the movement over time?
2. To what extent does hierarchy in retweet networks affect the use of movement frames? Do central and peripheral accounts differ in their use of movement frames?
3. To what extent do staging organisations ‘pass down’ their leading role regarding framing processes to other types of organisations and ordinary users? Or alternatively, to what degree do these other actors take over control of meaning-generation processes?

Data

In order to explore framing processes in the *Indignados* mobilisation, we collected and stored a large sample of public tweets for the three major demonstrations in Spain, filtering the Twitter API by search queries on major trending topics (see Table 11.1). We take accounts as our unit of analysis ($N \approx 376,000$) and focus on retweets ($N \approx 1,100,000$), as this guarantees that we capture the most salient content, considering that they have been validated (for topic relevance) and signalled as having content that is worthy enough to endorse by retweeting. The three protest events from the *Indignados* movement in Spain had substantial activity on Twitter.¹ The kick-off event (15M) included 50 simultaneous demonstrations and encampments in public plazas all over Spain from 15 May to 12 June 2011. Those protests were promoted by *ad hoc* platforms that operated mainly through online social media under the overall motto Real Democracy Now. More than 400 organisations were involved, calling for a reform of the Spanish political system and the adoption of measures to foster transparency, accountability and participation (Anduiza et al. 2014). They awakened strong public support among Spanish citizens since the beginning of the movement and sustained it for several consecutive years.² The *Indignados* took to the streets one year later, on 12 May 2012, to celebrate the second anniversary of the movement in the 12M15M protests with 20 simultaneous demonstrations in different Spanish cities. Another year later, in 2013, country-wide demonstrations followed important direct action such as *escraches*, resulting from a citizen initiative to change eviction laws, and the occupation of bank offices. These events took place on 12 May 2013, focusing again on anti-austerity measures.

Table 11.1 Twitter Samples for Indignados Events

Event	Identifier	Event dates	Search strings	Period of analysis	Retweets	Frames
Kick-off demo + encampments	15M	15 May to 12 June 2011	15M OR <i>Indignados</i> OR <i>acampadas</i> OR 'El 15-M' OR 'Democracia real ya' OR '15-M' OR 'Movimiento 15-M'	2011-05-01 2011-12-01	729,060	47,194
1st anniversary	12M15M 2012	12 May 2012		2012-05-01 2012-05-31	317,322	41,504
2nd anniversary	12M15M 2013	12 May 2013	15M OR <i>Indignados</i> OR <i>acampadas</i> OR 'El 15-M' OR 'Democracia real ya' OR '15-M' OR 'Movimiento 15-M' OR (manifestacion AND('segundo aniversario' AND '15M')) OR (manifestacion AND('primer aniversario' AND '15M'))	2013-05-13 2013-05-17	69,349	5,918

The distribution of our sample varied considerably between events as the demonstrations in each year evolved differently and this resulted in divergent attention cycles. In 2011, social media attention peaked four to six days after the 15 May kick-off demonstration (accounting for almost 40 per cent of the 2011 sample), when the occupation of the squares all over the country came as an unexpected demonstration of popular discontent. For the first anniversary demonstration, attention peaked on the day of the demonstrations, with 23 per cent of the tweets on 12 May 2012 and further steady activity until 15 May (with 30 per cent more of the 2012 sample occurring from 13 to 15 May). For 2013, the highest peaks took place during the 12 May demonstration and the actual anniversary day of 15 May (19 per cent and 36 per cent of the 2013 sample, respectively).

We use dynamic social network data by considering weekly periods in order to study temporal change in account involvement and framing practices. However, only one out of every 10,000 accounts in our sample tweeted about matters related to the *Indignados* in every week of the three events, and 87 per cent tweeted in fewer than four of the weeks covered by our sample. This limits our possibilities for dynamic analysis. However, identifying the endurance of accounts on Twitter is a useful proxy for considering their closeness with the *Indignados*.

The Indignados on Twitter

The organisations staging the 15 May 2011 demonstrations established the Coordination Platform for Citizen Mobilisation Groups (*Plataforma de coordinación de grupos pro-movilización ciudadana*) with the now famous slogan Real Democracy NOW! (*Democracia Real YA!*). They created a Facebook group on 20 February 2011, which brought together various organisations such as ADESORG (*Asociación Nacional de Desempleados*, National Association for the unemployed), *Juventud en Acción* (Youth in Action), *Estado del malestar* (Ill-fare State), *No les Votes* (Do not vote for them), and *Ponte en Pie* (Get on your feet). Later on, other established organisations joined the movement and led the mobilisation processes. These included *Juventud Sin Futuro* (Youth with no future), Anonymous, X.net, and some local groups of the international ATTAC movement. We identified the Twitter accounts for these organisations, and categorized them as ‘staging organisations’.

We are interested as well in the organisations that emerged from the interaction between these organisations and other individuals and groups taking part in the events. The organisational Twitter accounts were mostly established during the 2011 occupation of the squares, or emerged as belonging to local organisations in charge of the logistics of the demonstrations and encampments. Some others emerged later on, representing local assemblies and particular groups, such as the *yayoflautas*—the elderly *Indignados*. We grouped all of these types of accounts under the broad category ‘*Indignados* organisations’, which includes *Asambleas* (assemblies), *Acampadas* (encampments), *Yayoflautas* (elderly *Indignados*) and the *Plataforma de Afectados por la Hipoteca*—PAH (People affected by evictions) accounts. Our 15M categories of ‘staging organisations’ and ‘*Indignados* organisations’ also have an empirical base as they have been identified as independent communities in previous studies using community detection algorithms for Twitter networks (Borge-Holthoefer et al. 2011).

Twitter accounts for political parties and labour unions are not central communities in the networks for any of the events, but we are interested in identifying their

marginal roles in the mobilisation processes, considering their substantive importance in anti-austerity contestation. Twitter accounts which were not identified as belonging to any of the organisation categories were bundled into an ‘ordinary users’ category. This includes highly central accounts such as social movement organisations on other issues, respected activists, broadcast media, and celebrities.

Methods

In order to identify social movement frames in retweets, we used dictionary coding techniques to find keywords and phrases in each tweet (Matthes and Kohring 2008). We identified social movement frames from event manifestos as provided by staging organisations and used the central concepts in their wording in order to build keyword and phrase dictionaries. This process allowed for the automatic identification of frames in social media content (Casas et al. 2015). This type of coding provides a loose approximation of frame usage in tweets. A similar method was used for coding actor types, by mining keywords from the account names and profiles.³

We use social network analysis in order to study social movement frames on Twitter by analysing retweets as a diffusion network (Ratkiewicz et al. 2011). Retweets are direct interactions between tweeters which are used as a form of endorsement as they allow individuals to rebroadcast content generated by other accounts, thus raising the content’s visibility (Honeycutt and Herring 2009). Analysing retweet networks enables characterising accounts by establishing their hierarchy and thus their diffusion potential. The position of actors in the network is crucial to understanding their role in framing processes as the structure of communication networks explains how frames propagate through the Twittersphere.

Retweeting movement frames can have any framing process as its purpose. Staging organisations may be interested in strategic purposes such as bridging, amplifying, or extending the use of movement frames, while the accounts of unions or parties will most probably be interested in contesting or shaping movement frames. We focus on the interactions of accounts using movement frames without analysing their purpose (as this would imply coding the contents of tweets), in order to establish their relative importance in the meaning-generation process that is shared in Twitter interactions. This implies the need for a structural analysis of interactions in retweet networks.

Previous research has dealt with clusters (Aragón et al. 2013) and hashtags (Yang et al. 2012) in order to focus on community structures with high levels of interaction, or interactions based on similar topics. We follow other studies that integrate these approaches by analysing core-periphery structures in order to distinguish nodes in densely connected cores from those in sparsely connected peripheries (Conover et al. 2012; González-Bailón et al. 2011). Core analysis is a structural approach to hierarchy in retweet networks, intended to analyse meso-scale network structures. To identify the core and the periphery of the network we use the k-shell (k-core) decomposition of the network. This allows us to discover organisational patterns in framing processes that might not be apparent either at the local level of actors or at the global level of summary statistics of the social media activity relating to the *Indignados* movement. Prior research has established that the topology of the network plays an independent role from node connectivity in diffusion processes. This means that a well-connected node at the periphery of a network will have a minimal impact on the diffusion process through the core of the network, whereas a less connected node in the core of the

network will have a diffusion potential that could reach a large fraction of the network (Kitsak et al. 2010).

In order to describe the dynamic perspective of framing processes, we study retweets as streams of messages. These streams can be viewed as sequences of decisions (i.e. whether to use a certain frame or not), with later participants watching the frame adoption of earlier participants. Therefore, users are influenced by the decisions to adopt or contest movement frames that are taken by others. Using movement frames is thus a matter of social influence. This means that the actions of one user can induce others to behave in a similar way; in this case, influence appears explicitly when someone ‘retweets’ someone else (Guille et al. 2013).

Results

Movement frames are only used by 17% of the accounts in our sample. This could reveal that most of the social media conversations do not deal with framing as a meaning-generation process, or that they do so without engaging with the particular language proposed by the pioneering organisations of the movement. However, this small proportion of accounts provides useful evidence on how different types of movement frames evolve in time, and, most importantly, how Twitter accounts from multiple organisations and unaffiliated users interact in framing processes. Ordinary users account for the largest part of the use of movement frames (98 per cent), but they are mostly peripheral users. They are followed by the accounts of the *Indignados* organisations and the 15M/staging organisations (41 per cent and 35 per cent. respectively), which use frames in a similar proportion to labour union accounts (33 per cent). Parties fall behind considerably, with less than 9 per cent of their accounts tweeting movement frames.

Regarding the types of frames, motivational frames mostly based on the idea of success in changing the current situation (‘podemos’ and ‘sí se puede’—yes we can) played a marginal role in all events (see Figure 11.1). However, they followed the same temporal patterns as other types of frames, with the higher peaks occurring shortly after each event. The only exception to this pattern were prognosis frames; this signals the difficulty in finding common aspirations amongst the heterogeneous groups of followers of a fledgling movement that aimed first to build a common identity and expressed

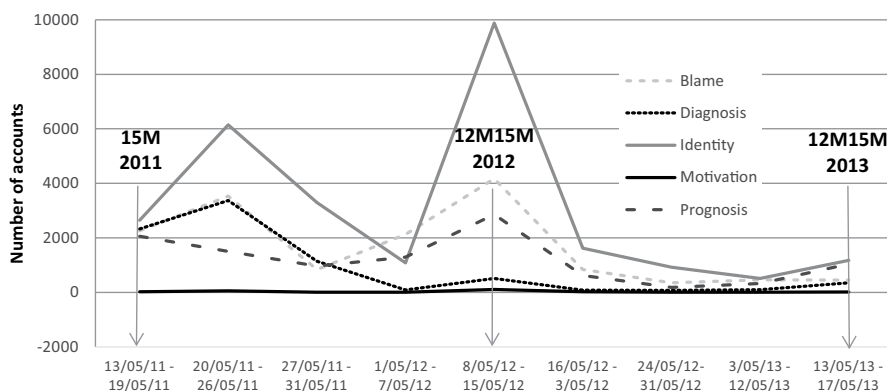


Figure 11.1 Volume of Movement Frames in Retweets

despair rather than proposing future alternatives. This is clearly evidenced by the relative distancing of identity, blame attribution, and diagnosis frames during the week of the 15M kick-off event and a few days beyond, when the squares were occupied and the movement received its highest public visibility in broadcast media.

Framing patterns changed in the first anniversary demonstrations in 2012. The reaffirmation of a broad and inclusive identity and the will to carry on was central to the movement, as signalled by the most prominent frames during the three events. There was a growth of blame attribution that peaked after the 2012 demo, while diagnosis frames, such as those focused on the inequality, corruption, unresponsiveness, and obsolescence of the system, plummeted. Prognosis frames also received the most attention across the entire timeframe, probably as a response to generalized critiques and concerns about the pointless nature of a movement with no clear claims. By 2013, the greatest attention on Twitter was devoted to identity and prognosis frames, with a similar growing tendency and a slight difference over diagnostics frames. However, the overall volume of tweets relating to the *Indignados* anniversary protests was well down compared to the previous years.

We have described the relative volume of retweets that contain movement frames. However, we are also interested in the relative involvement of accounts in retweeting movement frames. We calculated the weekly distributions of retweets containing frames by the number of accounts involved. These resulted in fat-tailed distributions, indicating how weekly retweet networks are scale free and highly hierarchical (power law distributions). We also found important differences between weeks and in user activity. This evidence provides a first description of the influence of network hierarchy over the prominence of frame types, but the volume of retweets and the number of retweets per account do not provide a complete picture of framing processes, as these depend on the interactions between accounts.

Table 11.2 presents the results of the structural analysis by indicating the network position of accounts and their role in framing processes. Accounts have a weekly indicator of their relative placement in the network, with higher 'coreness' values in the retweet networks represented by darker shades. Accounts with higher coreness values have greater diffusion potential in the network, and are consequently more important in framing processes. This implies that they have retweeted or have been retweeted by equally important users, but not necessarily by those with a higher number of retweets.

We can see important differences between accounts both between and within events. Each year involves different events, but they share mobilisation, demonstration, and post-demonstration periods in which the interaction between the most central accounts changes, as does the attention from the less central accounts to the most visible content on Twitter. The weekly networks have a similarly cohesive core, which mostly involves *Indignados* accounts as well as the 15M/staging organisations, and these patterns are similar across tweets with movement frames and other tweets (see the topmost cells in Table 11.2).

As expected, the accounts of staging organisations led the diffusion of movement frames during the first week of the 15M protests in 2011. *Indignados* accounts followed early on and took over the diffusion of movement frames for the most part of the timeframe studied. Both the accounts of staging organisations and *Indignados* played similar roles in terms of their importance in framing processes, with small differences. Staging organisations played a leading role regarding identity frames, and to a lesser extent on prognosis frames. If we interpret this as non-adoption of the central movement frames

Table 11.2 Framing Patterns in Tweets By Centrality and Type of Actor (K-Core Values Per Week)

			May 2011			May 2012				May 2013	
			13–19	20–26	27–31	1–7	8–15	16–23	24–31	3–12	13–17
			%								
No frames N = 314,817	Ordinary users	83.7	2.65	2.64	2.19	1.69	1.92	1.54	1.44	1.58	1.46
	Unions	70.3	2.44	2.84	2.09	2.19	2.92	2.21	1.45	2.05	1.82
	Indignados	70.1	8.67	11.34	9.54	7.14	9.02	3.90	3.18	4.26	3.11
	15M Staging orgs.	66.3	8.00	7.22	7.35	5.00	5.90	3.60	2.48	3.29	8.56
	Leftist parties	85.7	3.33	2.50	1.11	3.63	1.64	2.25	1.20	1.00	2.22
	Socialist parties	80.6	5.67	5.53	3.15	1.41	3.72	1.94	1.27	2.57	1.67
Blame N = 15,041	Ordinary users	3.98	6.77	6.26	5.27	2.83	4.28	2.67	3.60	2.38	3.02
	Unions	11.5	6.50	11.00	5.00	2.78	5.29	4.00	6.33	1.00	2.44
	Indignados	6.61		21.00	11.00	11.20	19.40	5.38	5.25	10.50	6.00
	15M Staging orgs.	5.71	15.50	27.33	8.50	9.00	12.56	3.67	7.25	7.00	5.00
	Leftist parties	2.52				2.00	1.00			1.00	
	Socialist parties	3.95	9.00	27.00		2.67	3.67				6.00
Diagnosis N = 8,049	Ordinary users	2.14	7.58	7.50	5.37	5.97	4.75	3.54	5.36	2.52	2.86
	Unions	0.85	24.00	12.00					12.00		1.00
	Indignados	3.19	11.00	18.14	24.00	17.00	20.00	5.67	8.00	11.50	11.00
	15M Staging orgs.	2.1	12.00	10.30	19.00			2.00			4.00
	Leftist parties	2.52	1.50					3.00			
	Socialist parties	2.37	11.00		5.00	9.00					2.00
Identity N = 27,288	Ordinary users	7.21	11.44	10.98	8.74	6.07	7.38	3.75	2.27	3.67	2.80
	Unions	9.62	19.75	20.56	19.20	7.71	11.85	5.25	1.33		3.20
	Indignados	16.9	17.00	27.87	17.00	19.13	31.85	9.50	7.50	8.83	3.50
	15M Staging orgs.	20.8	41.38	28.24	27.22	19.15	34.58	12.42	7.92	9.20	23.50
	Leftist parties	5.04		4.00			23.00	6.00			
	Socialist parties	4.35	10.00	19.50	15.00	2.00	13.75		1.00		
Motivation N = 262	Ordinary users	0.07	4.84	7.58	14.00	4.00	2.08	1.04	2.20	4.11	1.71
	Socialist parties	0.79					7.00				4.00
Prognosis N = 10869	Ordinary users	2.87	8.68	8.12	5.76	4.58	5.14	3.53	3.56	3.32	1.78
	Unions	7.69	8.00			4.92	10.54	1.67	6.00	1.00	
	Indignados	3.19	15.00	37.00	18.00	14.75	25.60	7.13	9.33		5.33
	15M Staging orgs.	5.14	24.00	20.50	19.67	8.33	28.33	11.00	14.00		10.00
	Leftist parties	4.2					7.67				18.50
	Socialist parties	7.91	14.00		12.00	3.50	5.63			3.00	1.00
Accounts per week			66,074	90,343	63,475	17,396	72,055	16,108	17,260	10,400	23,215

Darker shades represent higher k-cores in weekly retweet networks (most central users)
The % column shows the percentage of tweets using frames for each type of actor

by other actors, it seems reasonable that identity and prognosis frames were more susceptible to be personalized in the encampments and assemblies during the period where most interaction between actors took place.

Political parties have a minor involvement with movement frames, except for blame attribution and identity. There are few differences between the accounts of leftist and socialist parties. Nevertheless, accounts close to the incumbent Socialist Party (PSOE) were quite active during the 2011 event, as the party was directly blamed for democratic deficits by using a particular blame attribution frame: 'PPSOE', which claimed that there was no difference between the conservative PP and the socialist PSOE. The central role of accounts from the Socialist Party in identity framing processes during 2011 could indicate their interest in regional elections and the potential influence of the 15M on the results of these elections. Leftist parties were important in identity and prognosis framing processes only in 2012 and 2013, when they associated more closely with the *Indignados* movement. The role of Alberto Garzón, an MP from the leftist party Izquierda Unida who was acknowledged as the *Indignados*' representative in parliament (and who is also an influential Twitter user), was crucial for the involvement of the leftist parties in the *Indignados*' discursive space on Twitter.

Labour unions engaged from the beginning of the *Indignados* in blame attribution frames, but their major role was mostly with identity frames. These interactions probably had bridging and alignment purposes, considering their interest in establishing commonalities with their constituencies and with the people involved in contesting austerity measures under their leadership in previous years. The role of unions could also reflect efforts to reshape frames, aimed at changing the prevailing perception of unions as institutionalized actors close to government decisions that was part of the *Indignados* discourse.

Discussion

This chapter set out to explore the changing role of organisations in the mobilisation to protest in social media. Our approach to the increasing scholarly attention to this matter was to investigate framing processes in order to shed light on the interactions between the formal SMOs which have traditionally driven mobilisation processes, as well as labour unions or political parties, and fluid organisations, such as the ones that make up the *Indignados* movement. Our results provide an indication of the extent to which the accounts of multiple types of organisations interact with each other, and consequently take control of the framing processes that used to be led by staging organisations.

Our description of the prominence of the accounts tweeting movement frames reveals that framing varies considerably over time, and that changes in framing occur in parallel with a fluctuating involvement of users. This signals the dynamic nature of meaning-generation processes, and the importance of studying the extent to which different actors get involved in framing processes. We addressed this with the structural analysis of account 'coreness' in order to describe framing patterns.

The organisations staging the 15M and those that emerged from the occupation of the squares and the assemblies (referred to as *Indignados* organisations) have a large number of Twitter users in highly influential positions (with high-order k-cores). This

means that they enjoy structural advantages for diffusing their particular choices and perspectives of movement frames. Their dominant position signals their potential for effectively spreading information through these networks. These results corroborate the findings of existing research which indicates that highly connected actors are the most effective spreaders of information (Fabrega and Sajuria 2013). The accounts of *Indignados* organisations are more likely than others to be connected with the retweet network, and this enables them to facilitate the diffusion of movement frames on their own terms. These results point to *Indignados* organisations taking a leading role in the cognitive processes of mobilisation to protest, through a socially engaged and densely interconnected population of Twitter users who have outperformed more traditional actors and forms of organisation such as parties and unions, and to some extent, the organisations staging the 15M demonstration.

These findings raise intriguing questions regarding the nature and extent of mobilisation through online media, as they confirm the changing role of organisations by describing their involvement in the framing processes and the importance of the hierarchical structures of fluid networks. This confirms that what distinguishes contemporary movements is not the *absence* of organisation, but a particular *mode* of organisation that can be described in its own right (Agarwal et al. 2014; Nunes 2014). We can thus rest assured that there is no such thing as a headless movement that will come back to search for its lost head.

Notes

- 1 A detailed description of the Twitter activity of the *Indignados* is available from the original source: the T-Hoarder project (www.t-warder.com). We thank Mariluz Congosto for granting us access to these data.
- 2 Sympathy towards the *Indignados* reached 77.1 per cent on 23 May 2011, dropped to 66 per cent on 1 June 2011, and further to 51 per cent on 10 May 2012, according to the *Metroscopia* polls data in *El País*. A similar pattern was registered by Simple Lógica polls, with 73.3 per cent approval of the 15M demonstrations on 6 June 2011, 64.4 per cent approval on 15 June 2012, and 75.9 per cent approval on 8 April 2013.
- 3 Frame and actor dictionaries are presented in Appendix 1. Casas et al. 2015 report accuracy levels of 95.51 per cent using similar dictionaries and media sources with the same dictionary coding technique.

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Appendix 1—Coding

Frames

Motivation	
felicidad	
situacion	economi*
panorama	social
podemos cambiar	si todos nos unimos
	todos unidos
en movimiento	
echar a andar	

Blame	
PPSOE	
partito	
tecno	cracia
dictadura	
ppsoe	
partido	culpa

<i>Motivation</i>	
hora de construir	entre tod*
sociedad mejor	
llevar nuestra voz	
procura	grueso de la sociedad
	movemos el mundo
puedo	cambiar
	ayudar
unidos podemos	
sal con nosotr*	
es tu derecho	

<i>Prognosis</i>	
derecho	básico
	vivienda
	trabajo
	cultura
	salud
	educación
	participación
libre desarrollo	
bienes necesarios	vida sana y feliz
democracia	pueblo
gobierno	
demos	cracia
cauces directos	
participación	ciudadan

<i>Identity</i>	
más progresistas	más conservadores
derechas	izquierdas
unos creyentes, otros no	
ideologías	apolíticos
preocupados	político
ciudadano de a pie	
ni pp	ni psoc
somos	anónimos
	personas
	productos del mercado
	lo que compro
indignado	

Diagnosis

empresarios	
	banqueros
estado del malestar	
prioridades	sociedad avanzada
desarrollo	
bienestar	soci*
sistema económico	no atiende
beneficio	desigualdad
modelo económico	obsoleto
	antinatural
enriquec*	unos pocos
	minoría
sumi*	pobreza
	escasez
	colapso
sufrimos	carencias
acumula	dinero
despilfarr*	recursos
destru*	planeta
desempleo	
consumidores infelices	
rentabilidad	
dinero por encima	ser humano
corrupción	políticos
indefensión	
igualdad	
progreso	
solidaridad	
partidos	
sistema gubernamental	obstáculo
clase política	escucha
enriqu*	a nuestra costa
poderes económicos	atendi*

Diagnosis

	atiend*
poder	aferra*
	acumula*
	ansi*
	crispación
	injusticia
	violencia
bloquea	maquinaria social
no fiar	futuro
beneficio de la mayoría	
revolución ética	
la situación	daño a todos
libre acceso a la cultura	
sostenibilidad ecológica	
engranaje	
eliminar los abusos	

Actors

Unions	ccoo
	ugt
	cgt
	sat
	rosatristan
	jasmusatl85
	sindical
	sindicaestudian
Indignados	cnt
	asamblea
	acampada
	yayoflautas
	iaioflautas
	pah

Actors

15m Staging organizations	adesorg
	dry
	democraciareal
	juventud_accion
	nolesvotes
	ponte_en_pie
	anonymous
	juventudsin
Leftist parties	iunida
	iu_
	llamazares
	agarzon
	cayo_lara
	revillamiguela
	syriza_es
	equo
	comunista
pce	
Socialist parties	socialista
	psoe
	psc
	psv