

#IDP2013

Spanish indignados and the evolution of #15M:
Towards networked para-institutions

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Spanish indignados and the evolution of #15M: Towards networked para-institutions

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Internet and politics

- Participation + Internet =
 - More participation (Rainie, 2011; Christensen, 2011).
 - More extrarepresentative participation (Cantijoch, 2005).
- Non-participation + Internet = Participation, interest (Norris & Curtice, 2006; Borge & Cardenal, 2012)
- Change of values (Inglehart, 2008).
- Change of paradigm (Sampedro, 2012).

Spanish users and politics on the Internet

- Political institutions use the Internet as usual (Criado & Martínez Fuentes, 2009; Peña-López, 2011).
- People use critically the Internet for political purposes (Padró-Solanet, 2010)
- Very important role of Twitter in politics (Izquierdo Labella, 2012; Lotan et al., 2011).
- Emergent component of Twitter use in politics (Guadián Orta et al., 2012)

The indignados movement: 15M, 12M15M, 29S

- Indignados: young, digitally competent, politically competent, left-wing bias, not trusting institutions (Anduiza, Cristancho & Sabucedo, 2012; Anduiza, Martín & Mateos, 2012).
- Decentralized structure, coalitions of smaller organizations (González-Bailón et al., 2011).
- Hybridization of the virtual-urban space (Martínez Roldán, 2011; Castells, 2012).

Research questions

- What are the characteristics of the movement?
- How did it evolve?
- How did it set relationships with other organizations/institutions?
- **What is the inner and outer structure of the movement?**

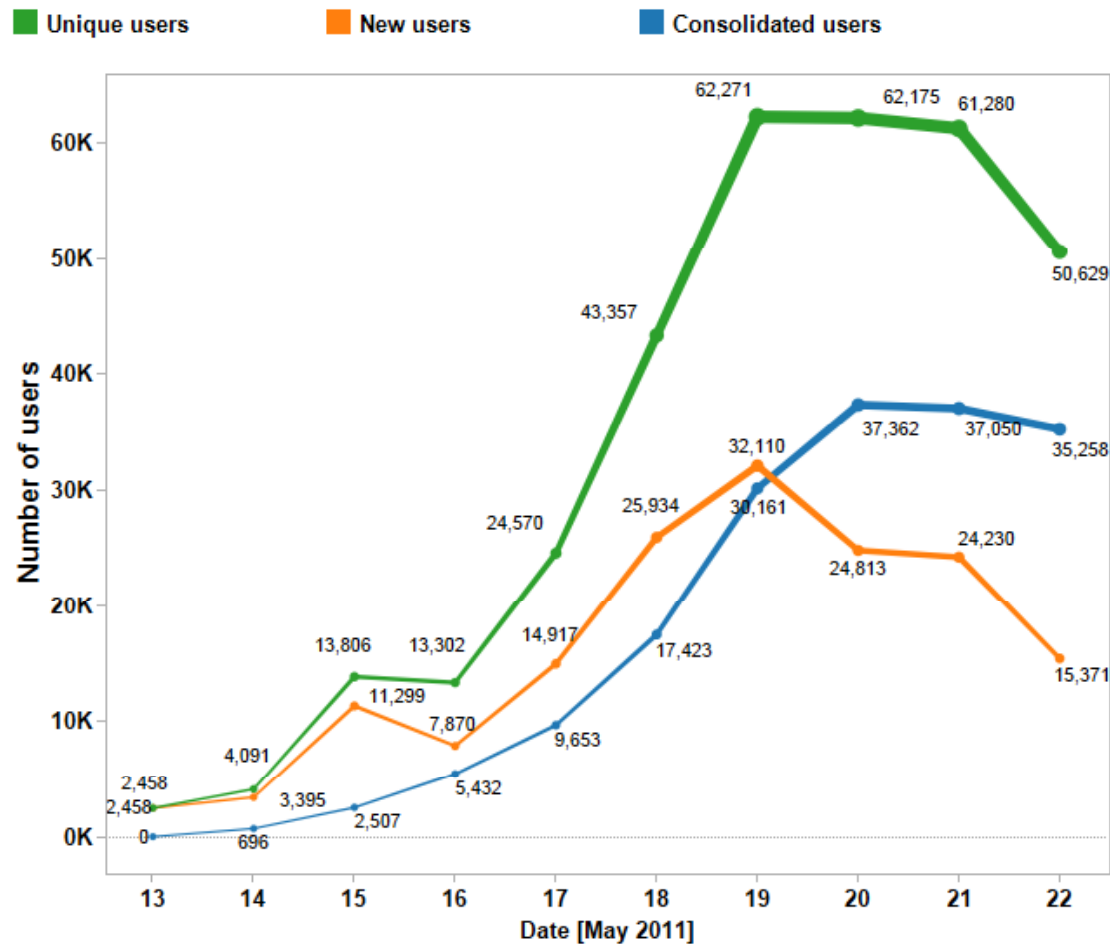
Hypotheses

- H1: Extra-representative movements are initiated by gathering a **critical mass on social networking sites** and evolve, on the outside, into a para-institution, while they keep an emergent and decentralized network-like structure on the inside.
- H2: Unlike institutions, that have a usually exclusive membership, **citizen networks create para-institutions** that share members among them.
- H3: The **dialogue** between political institutions and network para-institutions is weak, but existing, and concentrates on the **left-side** of the political arena.
- H4: **When dialogue is non-existing, mass media act as the channel** through which political institutions (normally on the right) and network para-institutions speak with each other.
- H5: Dialogue and lack of tension smoothes online participation. **Lack of dialogue and tension sparks participation** and boosts it beyond representational participation

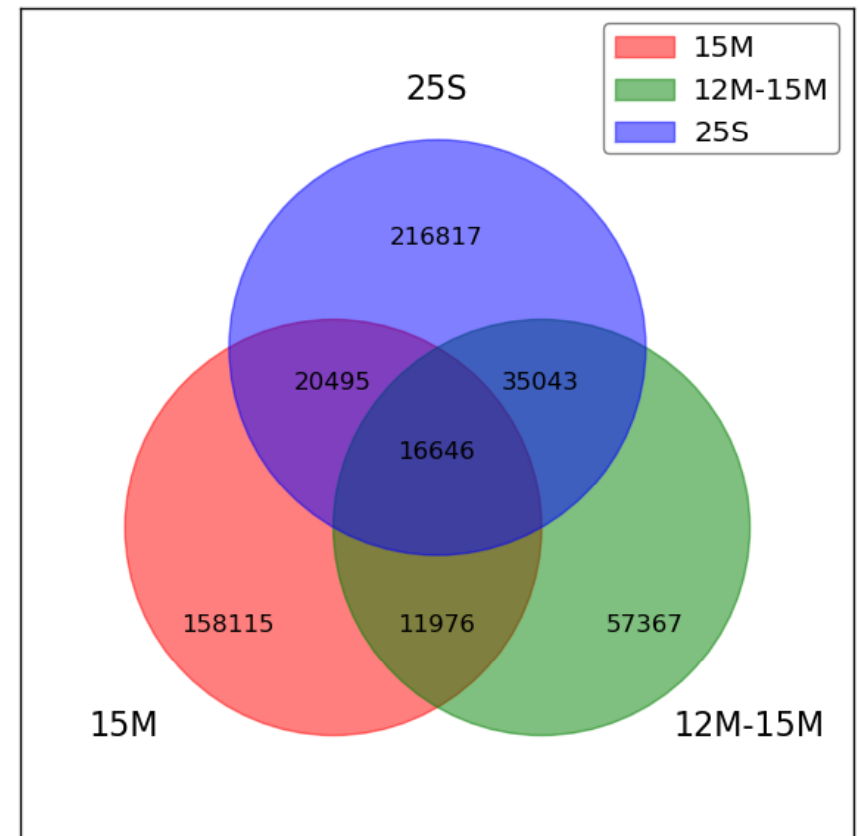
Methodology

- Three phases: 15 May 2011 (15M); first anniversary and the global movement of 12 May 2012 (12M15M); events of 25 September 2012 (25S).
- Monitoring of words on Twitter: 3.4M tweets; 580,000 users.
- Categorization: gender, location, occupation, “tribe”, join.
- Relationships based on RT: directed graphs.
- Measurement of influence of tribes by connectivity through k-core decomposition (Seidman, 1983; Kitsak et al., 2010).
- Community detection through Louvain method (Blondel et al., 2008).

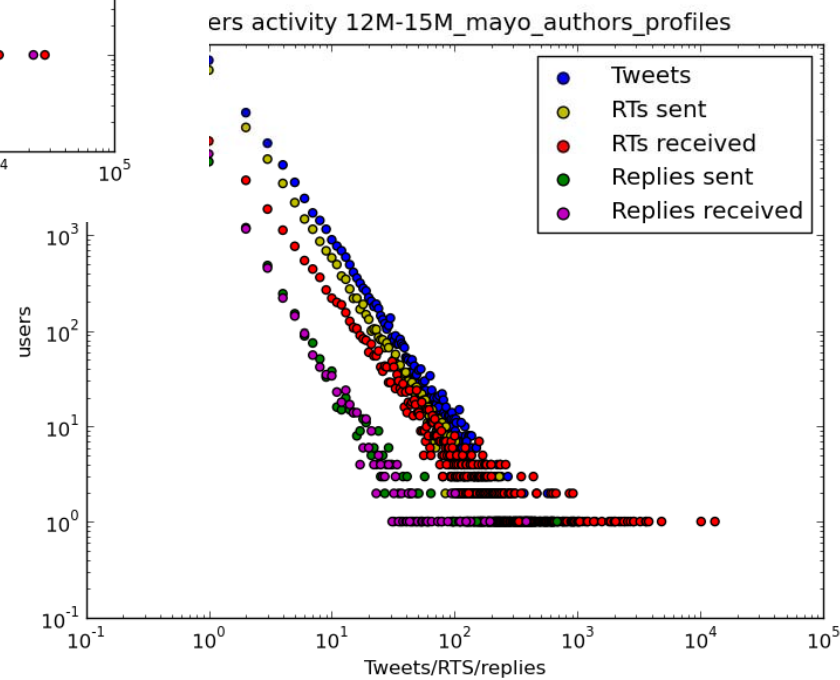
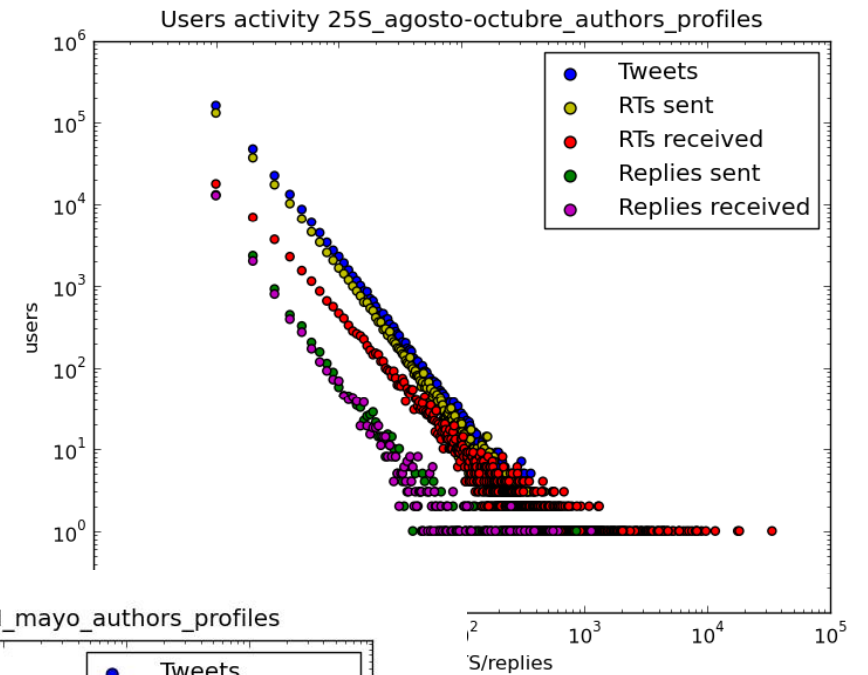
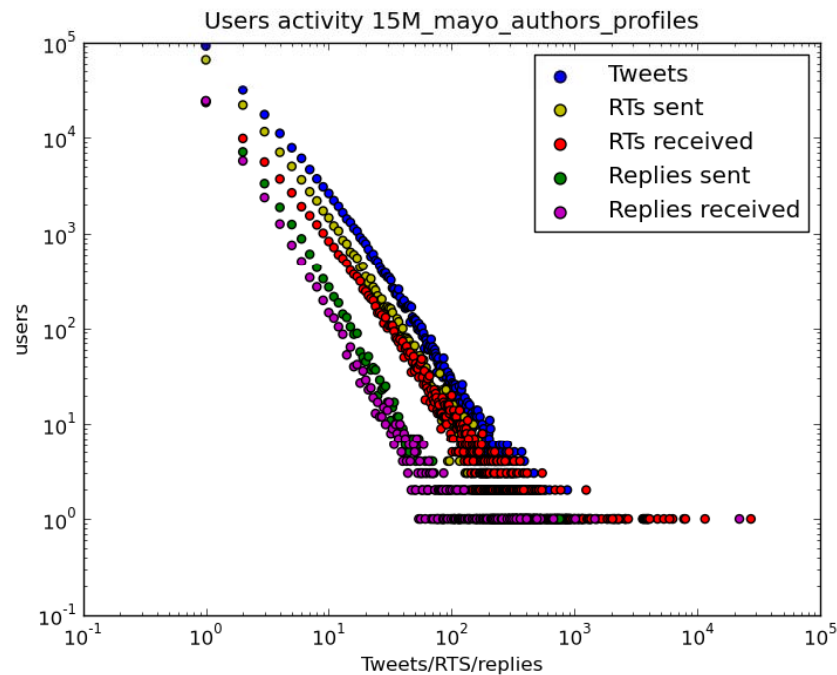
Participation (I/II)



15M-25S_users_group: usuarios únicos

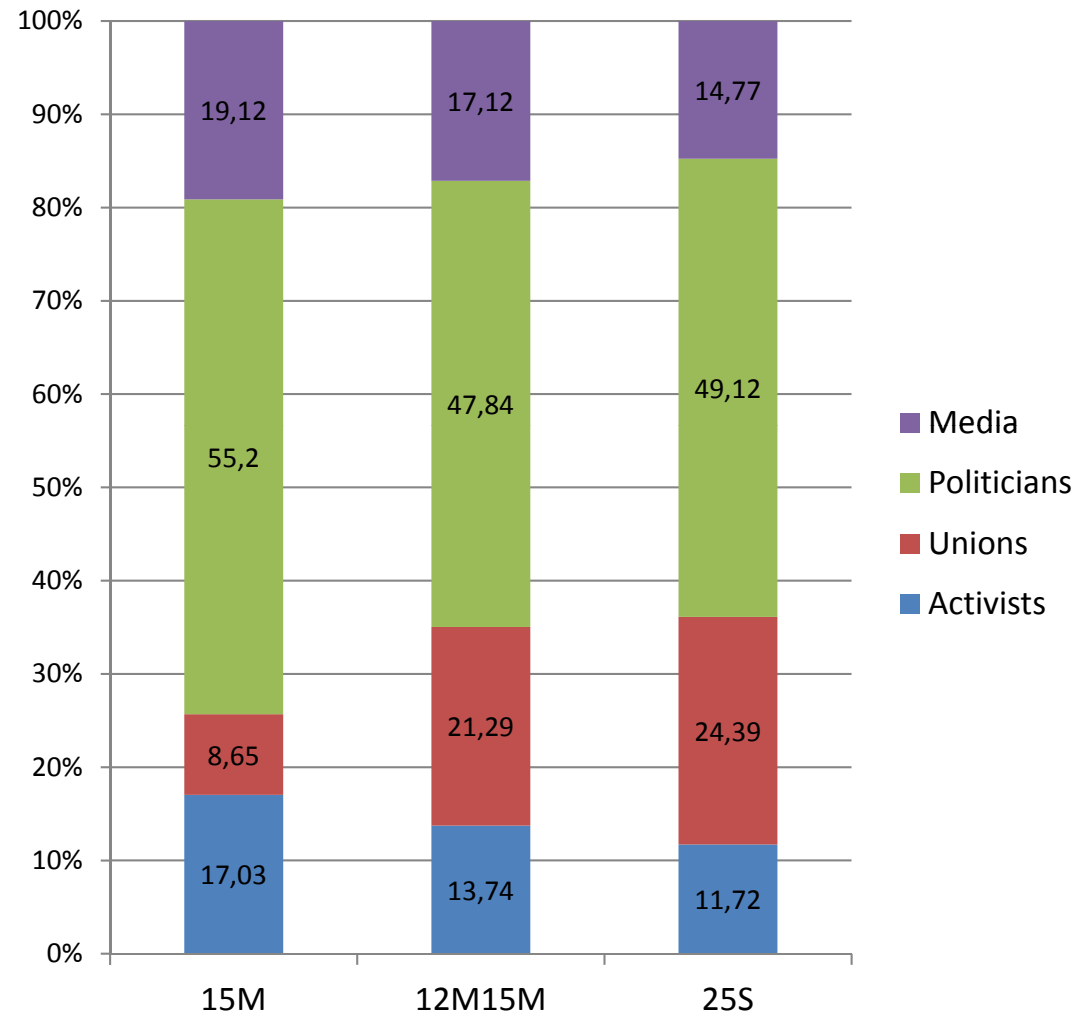


Participation (II/II)



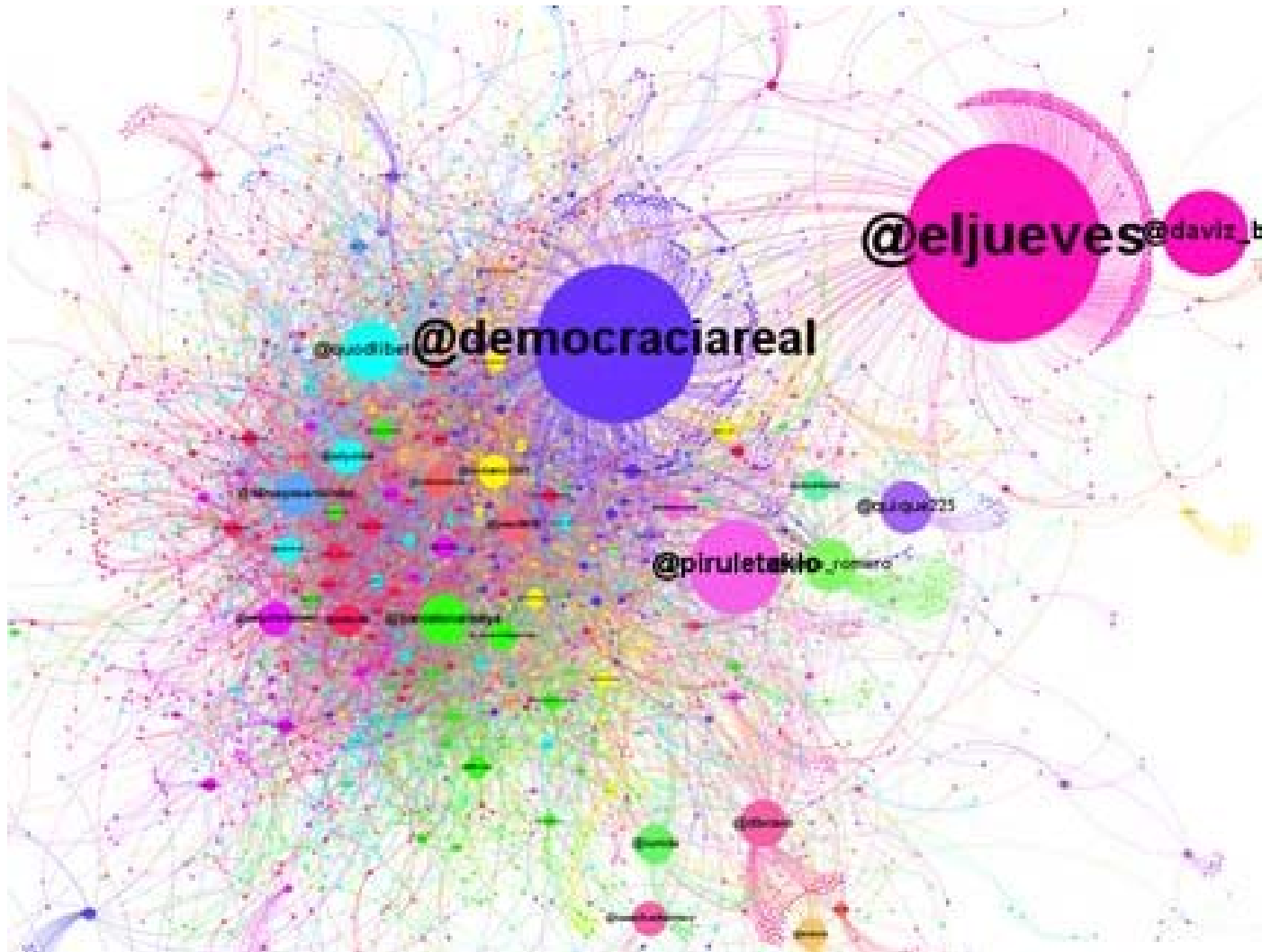
Characterization of the participants

- Unbalanced men/women (but evolving towards balance), youngster, student, high educational level, involved with communications or technology, urban.
- Evolves into a more typical profile liked with activism and labor unions.
- Spreads out of big cities.

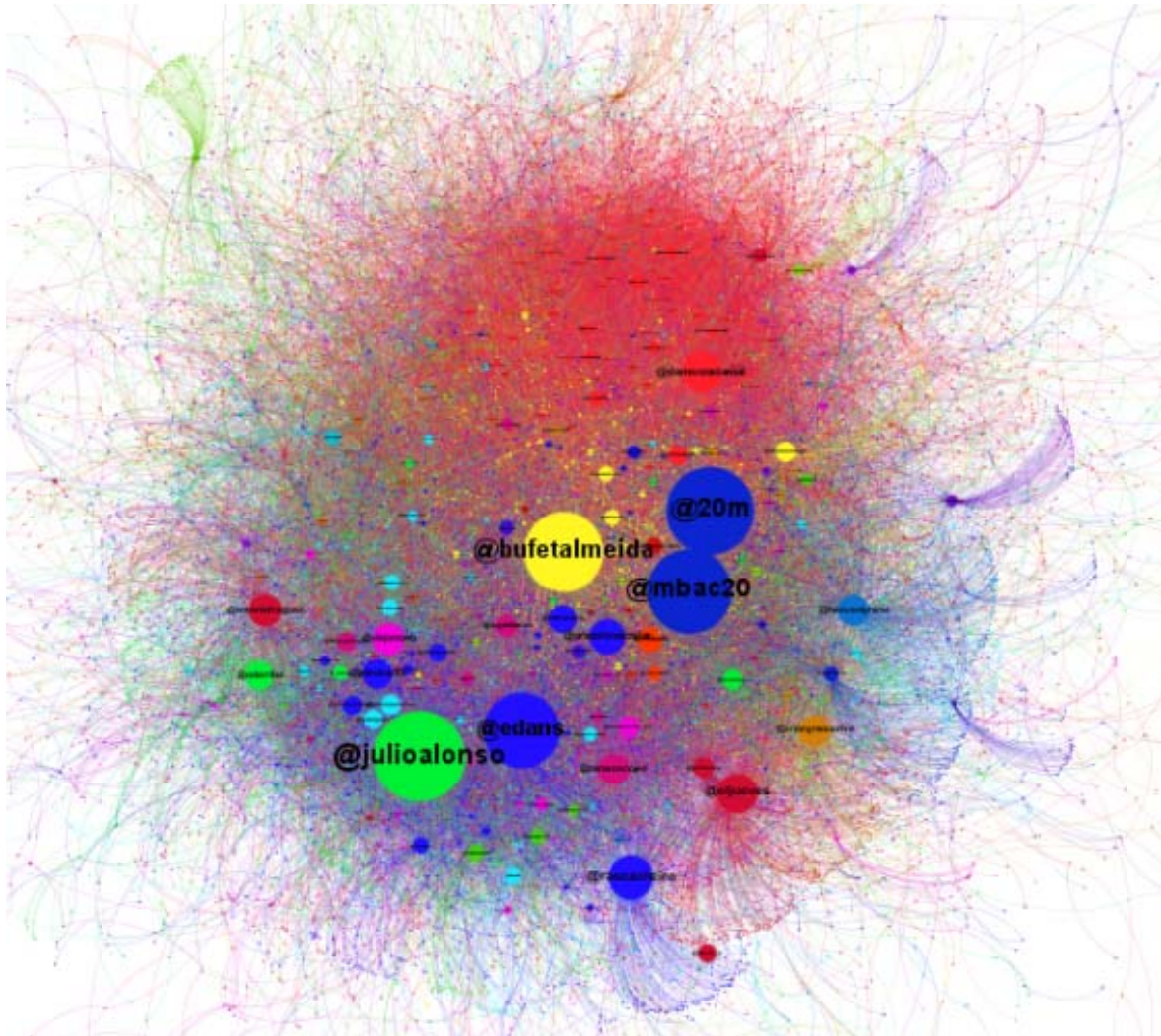


Selection of users grouped in tribes.

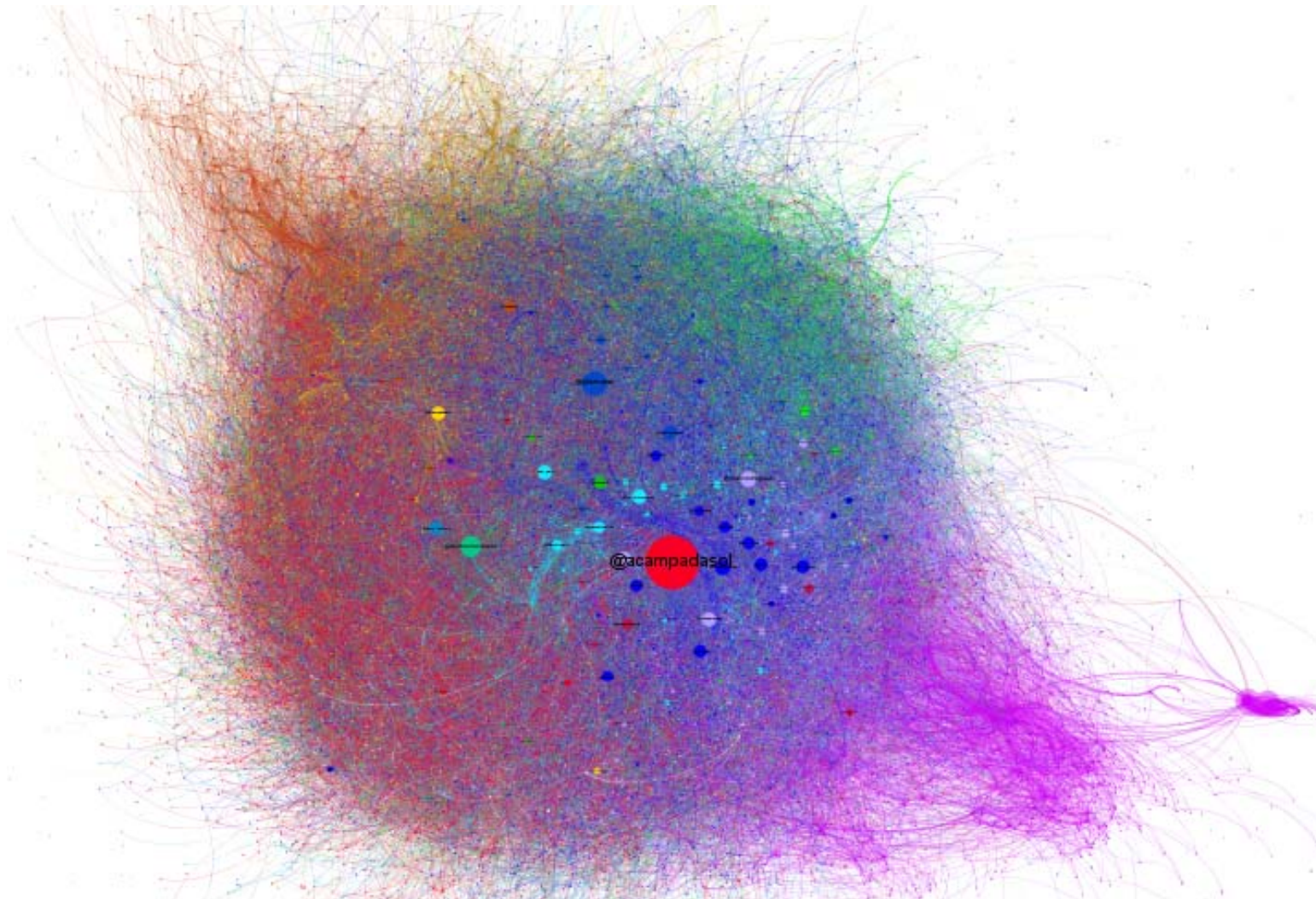
Evolution of the movements: 15M (origin)



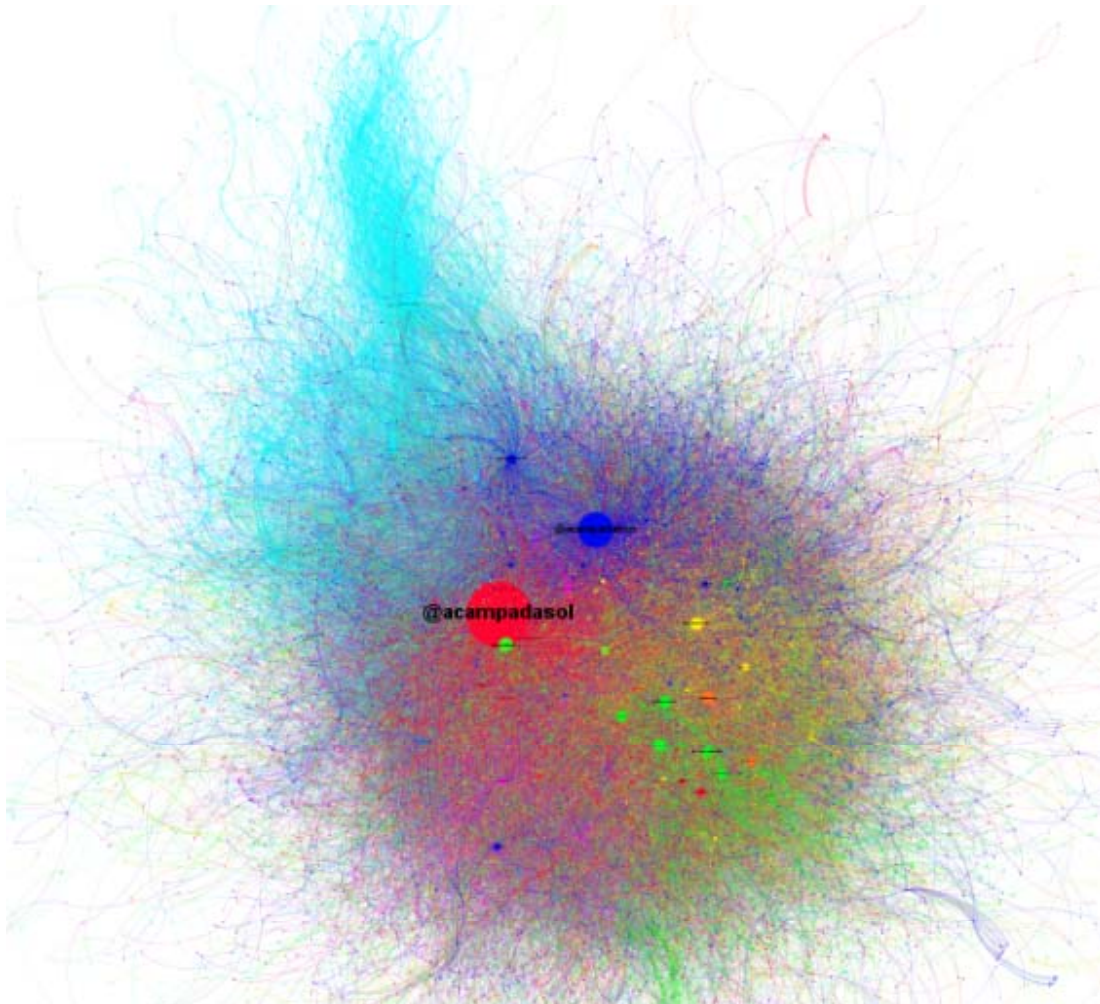
Evolution of the movements: 15M (early)



Evolution of the movements: 15M (boom)



Evolution of the movements: 15M (late)

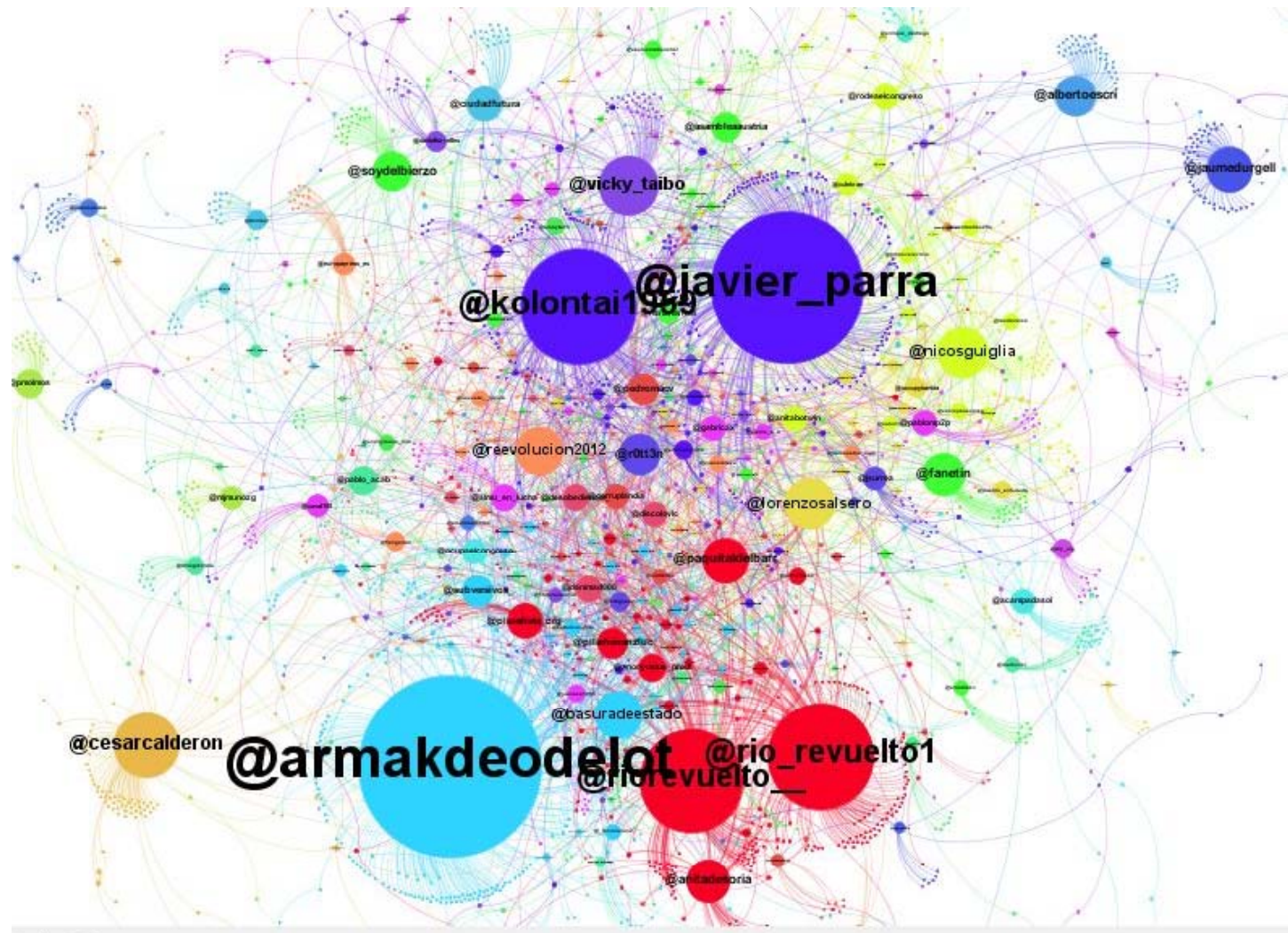


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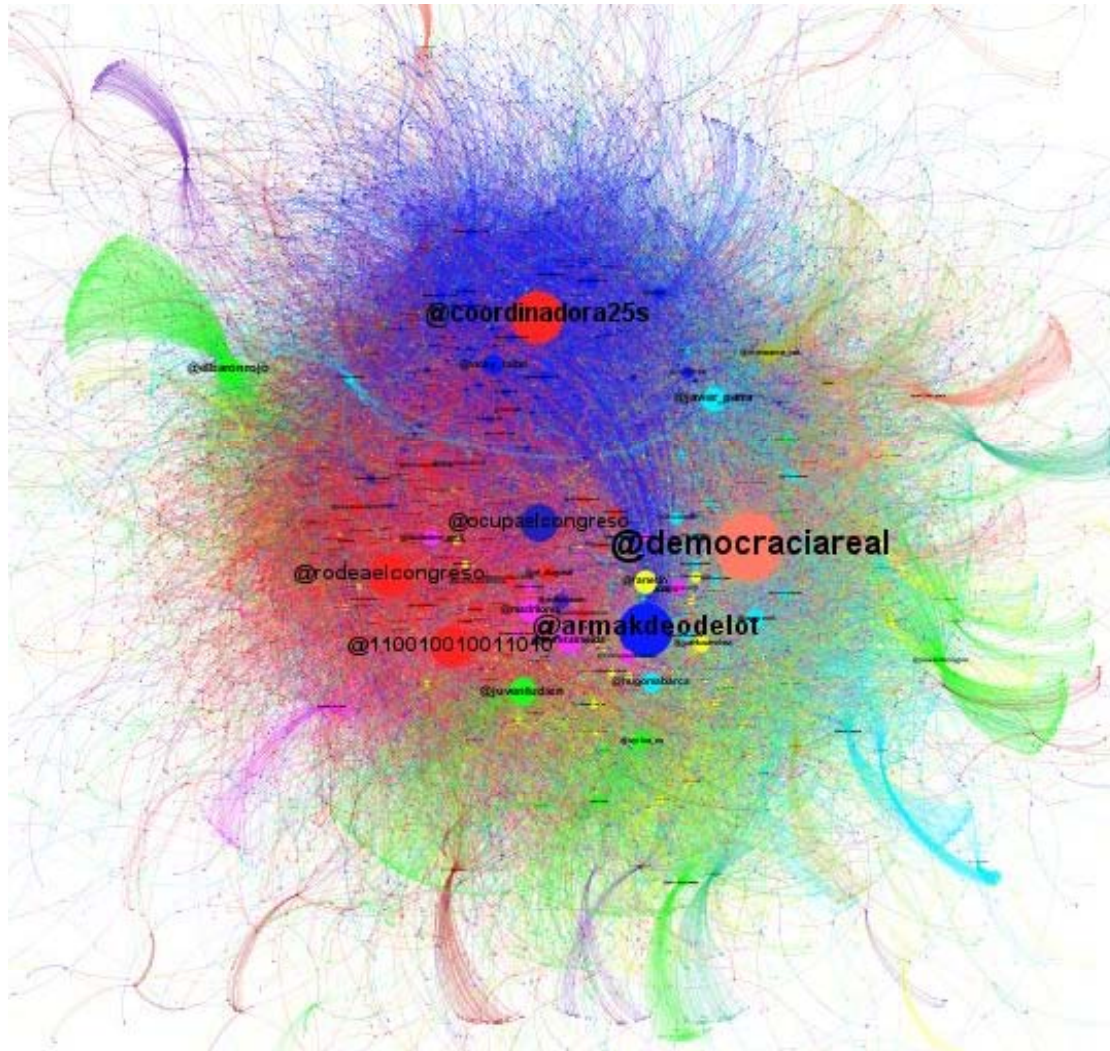
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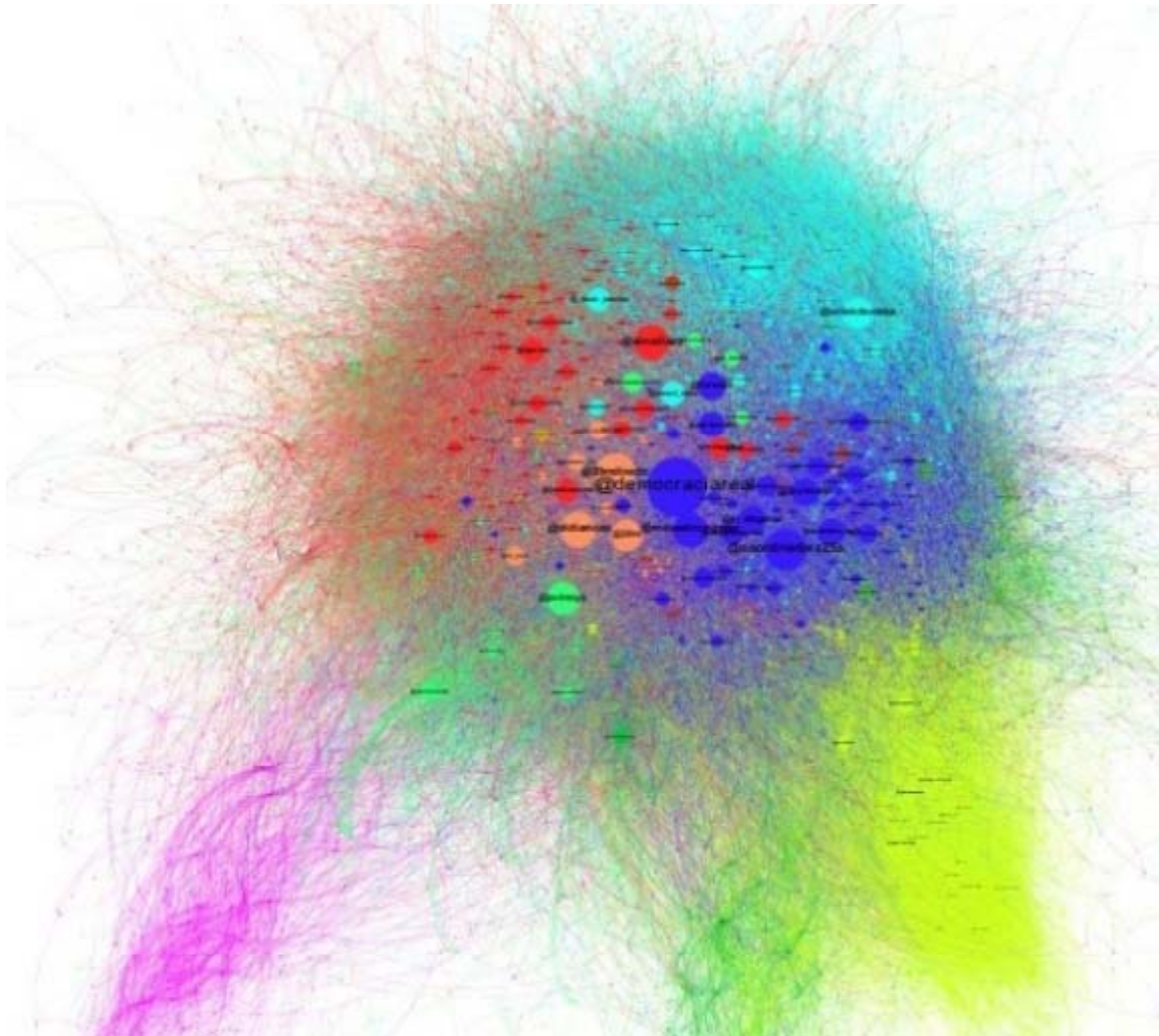
Evolution of the movements: 25S (origin)



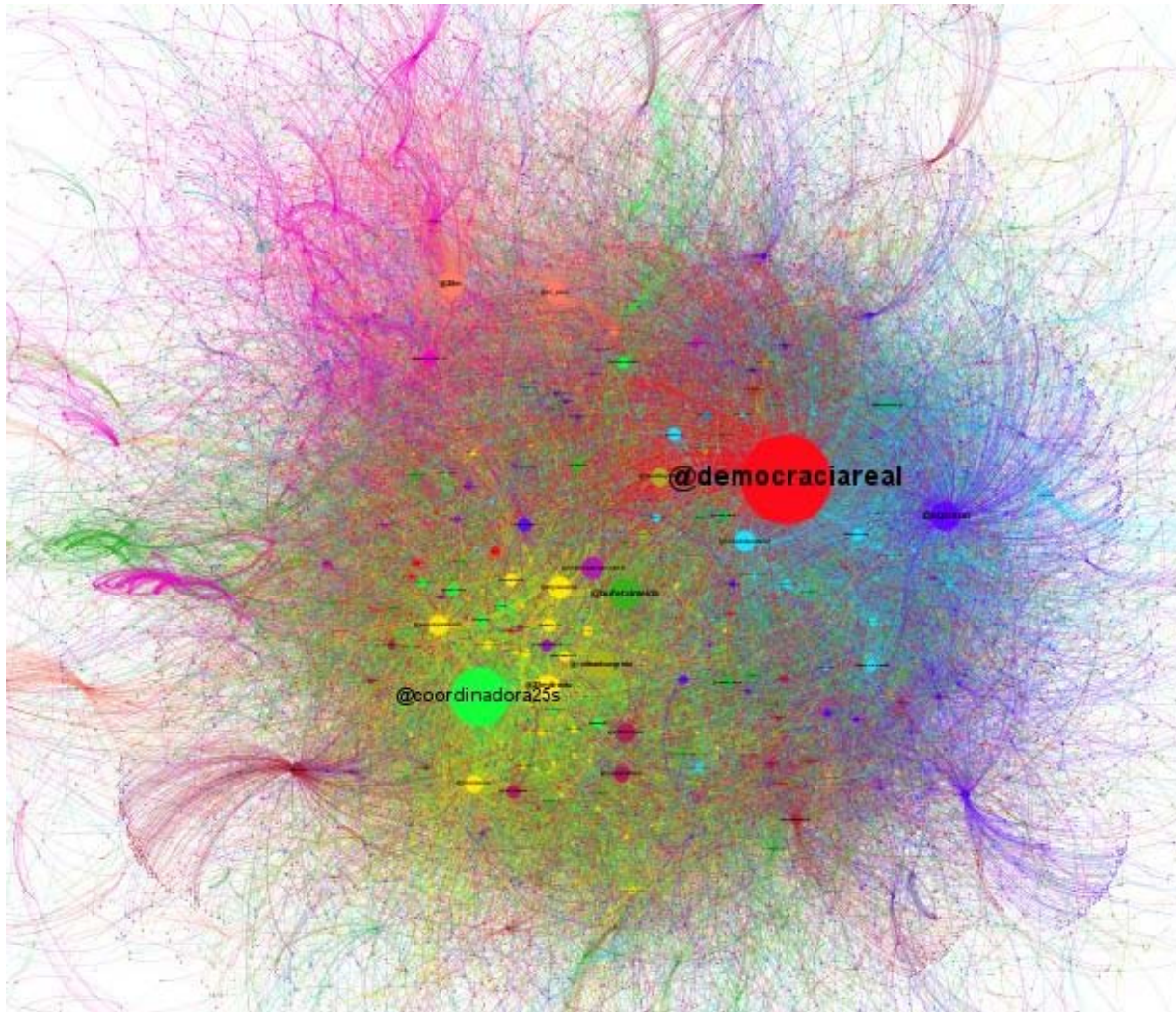
Evolution of the movements: 25S (early)



Evolution of the movements: 25S (boom)



Evolution of the movements: 25S (late)

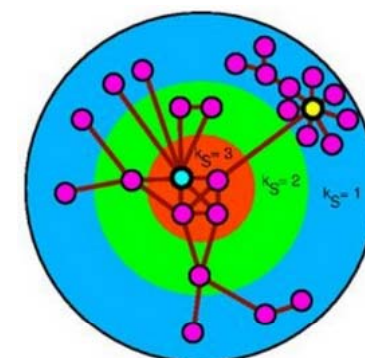


Relationship 15M/25S vs. institutional politics (I)

15M			
group	k _{max}	k _{avg}	k _{std}
acampada	12	7,6	4,11
media	12	7,31	4,28
dry	12	7,23	4,94
pah	12	7	5
equo	12	5,67	4,87
pirata	12	4,41	4,17
upyd	12	3,28	3,63
iunida	12	2,89	3,26
pp	12	2,51	2,78
psoe	12	2,09	2,76
icv	12	1,81	2,5
ugt	12	1,81	2,81
ciu	12	1,68	2,46
ccoo	7	1,36	1,85
cup	3	1,25	0,83
compromis	8	1,13	2,36
erc	12	0,97	1,87

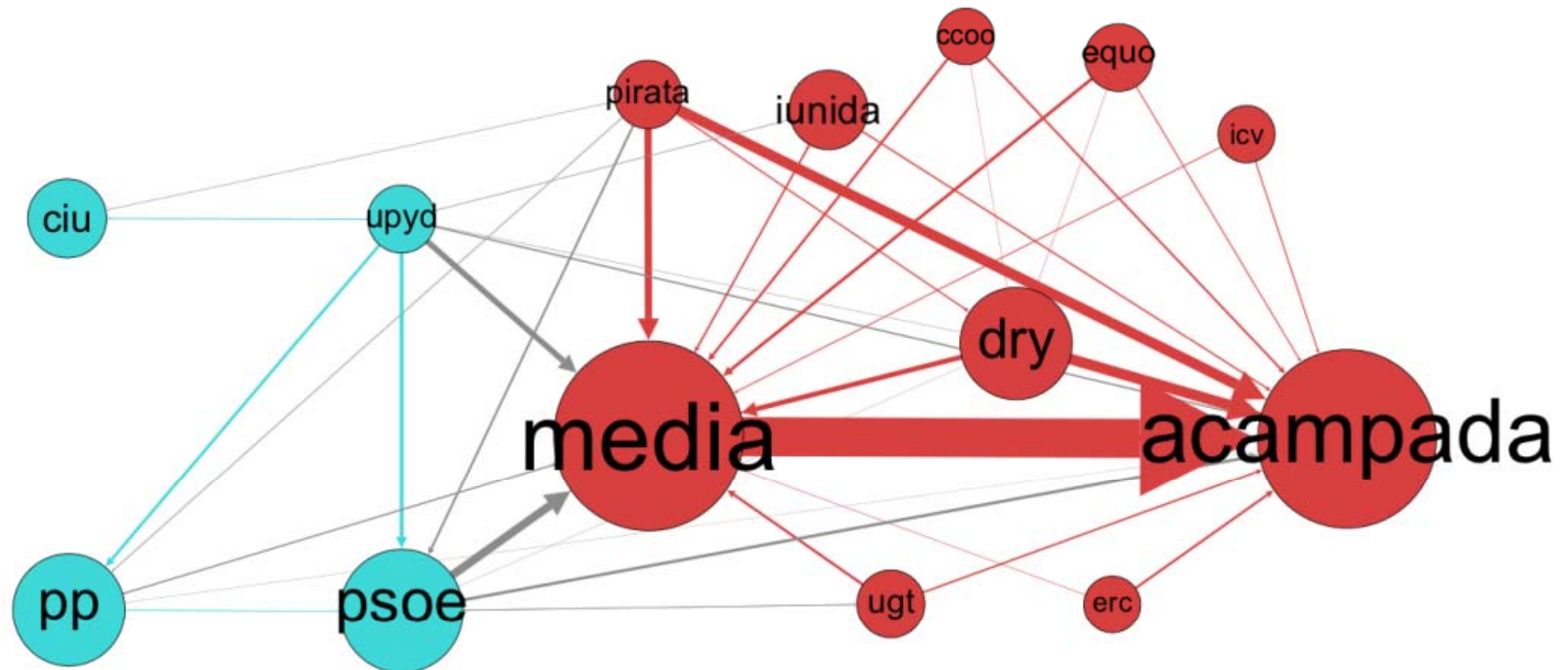
12M15M			
group	k _{max}	k _{avg}	k _{std}
dry	19	8,02	8
pah	17	6,04	5,95
acampada	19	6	6,79
pirata	17	4,3	3,85
equo	17	3,88	3,45
icv	13	3,2	3,28
iunida	16	3,18	3,26
ccoo	17	2,82	2,98
ugt	15	2,69	3,22
media	19	2,16	3,44
compromis	6	1,78	1,79
cup	6	1,53	1,79
upyd	5	1,45	1,13
psoe	17	1,19	1,75
erc	14	0,99	1,95
pp	5	0,54	0,88
ciu	3	0,5	0,7

25S			
group	k _{max}	k _{avg}	k _{std}
25s	22	21,67	0,75
dry	22	10,34	8,8
acampada	22	9,65	8,45
media	22	6,92	7,53
equo	20	6,15	6,51
pah	22	5,14	6,48
iunida	22	5,11	6,74
ciu	13	4,16	5,2
pp	22	4,13	5,89
icv	22	3,77	5,73
pirata	22	3,11	5,61
psoe	20	2,48	4
upyd	21	2,16	3,98
compromis	18	1,84	4,55
cup	6	1,82	2,21
ccoo	22	1,53	3,28
ugt	22	1,4	3,07
erc	22	1,17	3,81



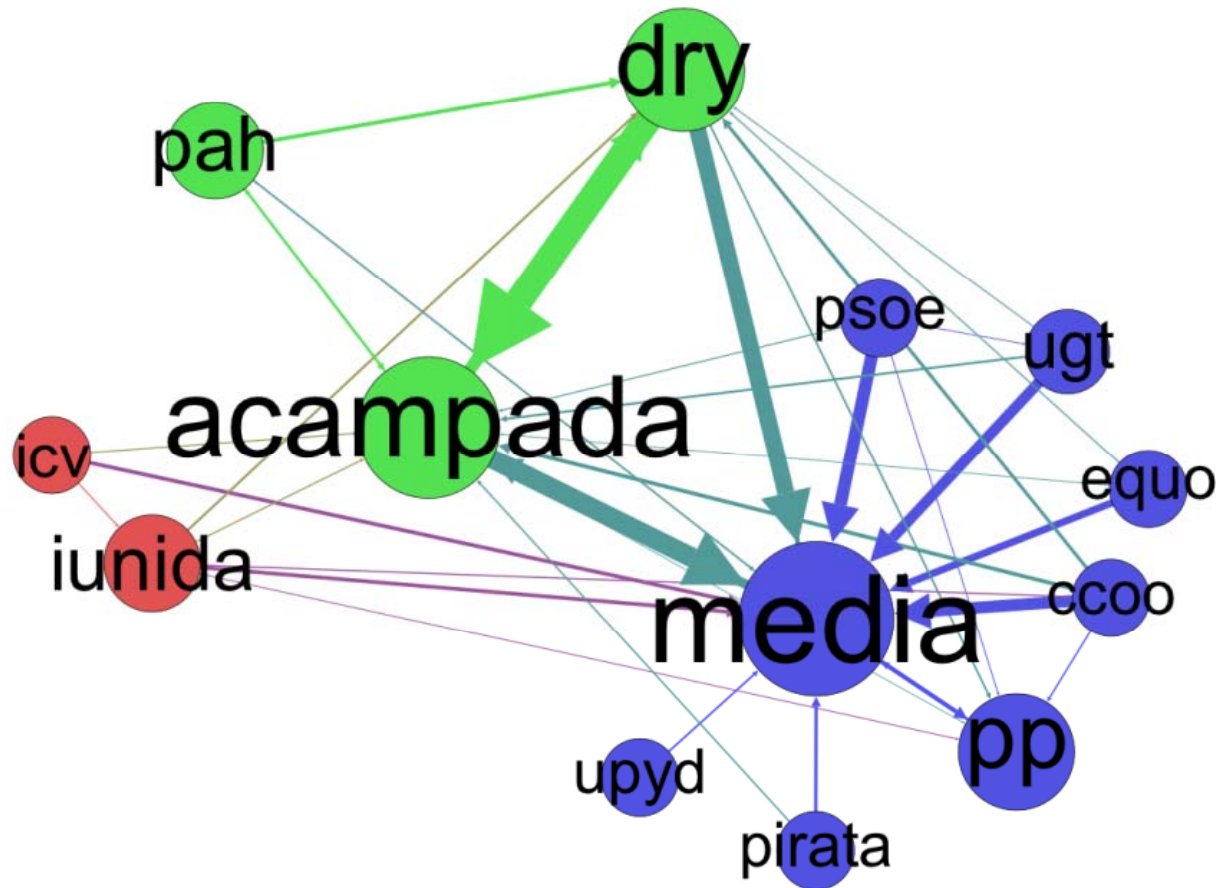
Max k-index, average k-index and standard deviation of the k-indexes of the nodes that formed the analysed groups during the 15M, 12M15M and 25S periods.

Relationship 15M/25S vs. institutional politics (II)



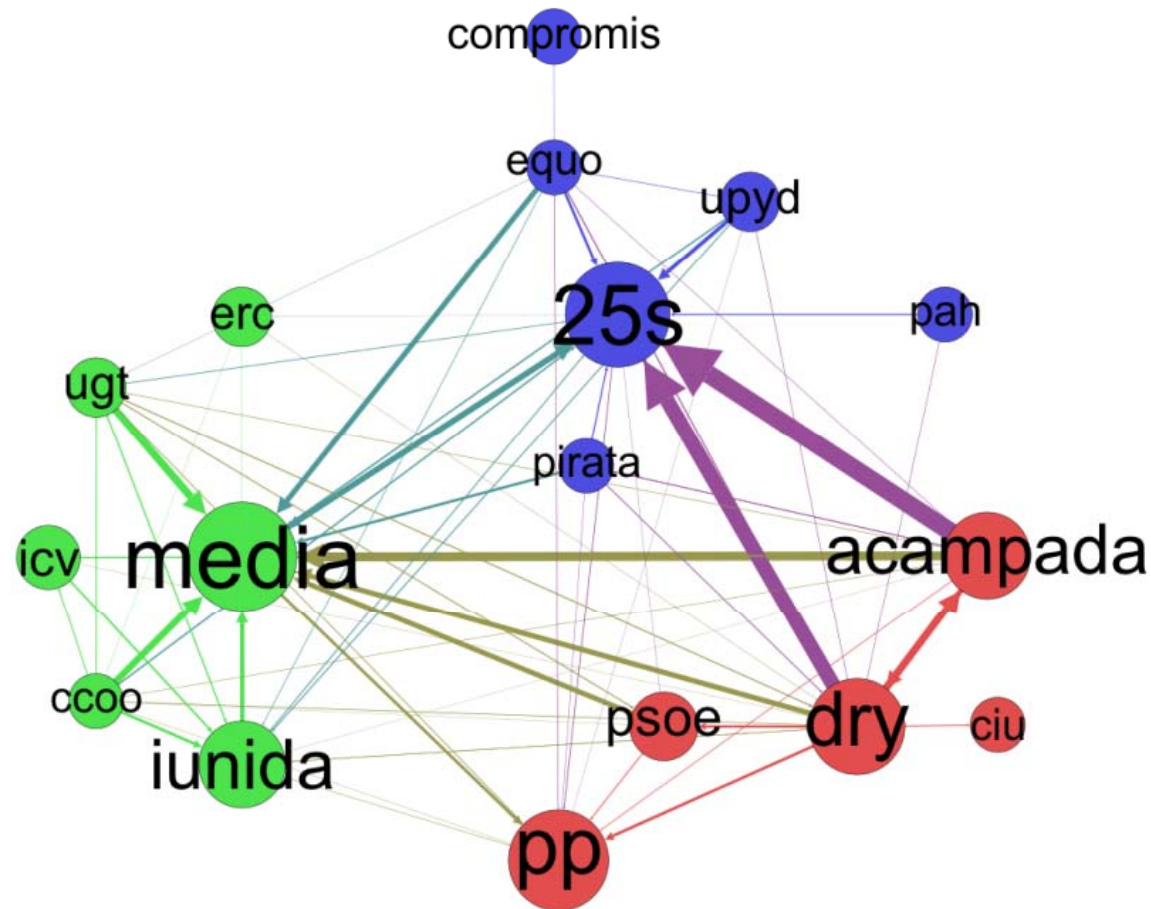
Mention graph of the analysed groups in the 15M period.
Note: The size corresponds to the in-degree of the node.

Relationship 15M/25S vs. institutional politics (III)



Mention graph of the analysed groups in the 12M15M period.
Note: The size corresponds to the in-degree of the node.

Relationship 15M/25S vs. institutional politics (&IV)



Mention graph of the analysed groups in the 25S period.
Note: The size corresponds to the in-degree of the node.

Conclusions (I)

- Strong bound between online and offline.
- Movements are para-institutions: institutions on the outside, horizontal and decentralized constructs on the inside.
- The movement survives despite evolution of core and rotation of members.

Conclusions (&II)

- Close resonance with similar movements.
- Close relationship with ideologically similar institutions.
- Difficult relationship with other institutions.
- New relationships with media.
- The role of media as intermediators between movement and other institutions.
- Advancement of extra-representative participation.

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Full paper and slides: <http://w.ictlogy.net/2450>

Bibliography: <http://b.ictlogy.net/85>

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