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Digitally networked movements as problematization and politicization

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ABSTRACT

This paper develops the concepts of politicization and problematization using two case studies from Spain. Politicization involves the process of interest articulation and demands for identity recognition whereas problematization concerns placing into question and taking action with respect to otherwise naturalized aspects of politics and society. These concepts are studied in the context of a demonstration by the Indignados as well as a general strike in Spain. The data analysis involves the collection and analysis of tweets produced in relation to both demonstrations using natural language processing. The results indicate a higher degree of calls for problematization during the Indiginados protest whereas there is more evidence of politicization during the general strike. These communications suggest that each movement engages politics on different terms with the Indignados embracing more of a problematization discourse centred on taking action and operating from within the political system whereas the unions have engaged in more of a politicization discourse aimed at petitioning political elites from outsize the political system and eschewing political action themselves.

Introduction

Under the strain of the financial crisis and the austerity measures subsequently imposed, from 2010 Spain has experienced frequent and massive demonstrations in its major cities. The 15 May 2011 demonstrations gave rise to the widespread mobilization of the Indignados movement. Soon after, momentum developed for the Occupy movement, which began staging demonstrations. These demonstrations reached a high point with a 'global day of rage' on 15 October 2011 which drew an estimated 400,000 and 500,000 participants to public squares in Barcelona and Madrid, respectively. While the emergence of the Indignados has been widely discussed (Bennett and Segerberg 2013; Castells 2012), the Indignados were not the only movement active at that time. The implementation of the austerity programmes and the changes to labour laws also mobilized the labour movement. On 14 November 2012, largely union-backed demonstrations were held in major cities across Spain, along with rallies of solidarity in other European cities. Unions estimated the turnout at over 1 million participants in the streets of both Barcelona and

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Madrid, though government authorities reported numbers of 110,000 and 35,000 respectively (*La Vanguardia* 2012).

Movements such as the Indignados are distinguishable from traditional social movements in ways that require the development of new models for movement research. In particular, since the 1960s research into social movements has been identified with various forms of collective action. The main focus was on collective action in search of alternative forms of: (1) civil society engagement, for generating social capital and solidarity; and (2) participation in political decision-making, for keeping the state legitimate and responsive to the public good. What we term 'new' movements are not born by civil society to *politicize* wants as demands, that are then turned into issues which force themselves upon the political agenda. Rather, their members connect for the sake of *problematizing*, from inside political systems themselves, how authoritative (or binding) policies are articulated, performed and delivered to 'the 99%', and with what outcomes. Unlike 'old' movements, new movements are not 'collective challenges based on common purposes, in sustained interaction with elites, opponents and authorities' (Tarrow 1998, 4). New movements are neither individualistic, nor collectivistic, in their organization and mode of communication. They are, as Bennett and Segerberg show (2013), *connective* in nature. They are constituted by 'concerned citizens [who have] found pathways to engagement through simple, everyday discourses anchored in life styles and shared with social networks' (2013, 2).

This paper is a study of these two different forms of political movement, based either upon politicization or problematization. We analyse new and old movement forms through a comparison of the communications produced during nation-wide demonstrations by Spain's Indignados and during a nation-wide general strike organized by the country's unions. Conceptually, the paper builds upon Bennett and Segerberg's account of connected action as loosely coupled movement forms composed of 'broadly inclusive, easily personalized, action frames as a basis for technology assisted networking' (2013, 2). Our results indicate that new connective action movements like the Indignados approach politics through problematizing the manner in which policy elites articulate and manage issues which affect everyday life. By contrast, traditional movements operating within civil society tend to engage more in politicization, focusing upon the articulation of interests and demands for identity representation.

The paper is divided into three sections. In the first section we explore the distinction between politicization and problematization as distinct approaches to politics. The second section then outlines the research design and data utilized here, before the final substantive section discusses the results.

Problematization and politicization as distinct approaches to politics

Connective action movements approach politics in a different way than collective action movements. Tarrow (1998, 4) best summarizes traditional movements as 'collective challenges based on common purpose and social solidarities, in sustained interactions with elites, opponents, and authorities'. Such collective movements either: (1) operate in civil society; or (2) attempt to press themselves upon political systems from the outside to influence, or affect the way conflicting demands are aggregated and integrated into collective decisions. New connective movements principally connect with the output side of political

processes, surveying and scrutinizing how values are authoritatively articulated for, and allocated to, the populations *outside*. Problematizing connective movement action is political in nature and conducted from the *inside-out*. Politicizing collective movement action is social in nature, approaching political systems from the *outside-in*.

As such, politicization is oriented to the input side of politics. It concerns the process of free and equal interest articulation and identity representation as it is transformed into binding collective decisions. This is the traditional approach to thinking about democracy developed by a diverse range of thinkers, such as Dahl (1956), Almond and Verba (1963), Habermas (1996) and Mouffe (2000, 2013), who have all proffered theories regarding the empirical and normative conditions of political contestation and decision-making. Problematization, on the other hand, concerns risk management and problem solving working from inside politics outward. Problematization involves the creation of a political identity oriented to the output side of politics; that is, to taking action to in some way transform one's political world. It is aimed at questioning otherwise naturalized sets of relationships and processes by posing problems, rather than taking sides in a political debate already established through partisan contestation between political authorities (Foucault 1984, 384). Problematization involves a contextually shaped response, rather than a generalized response of the type ideology would dictate.

Politicization and problematization signal different approaches to politics which implicate their identities, goals and relationship to political authorities. In contrast to politicization's emphasis on collective identities in the traditional mode of collective action, connective action eschews both collectivism and individualism, creating instead a political community. Politicizing collective action movements aim to achieve emancipation for their identity group, whereas problematizing connective action movements seek to effect some transformation in the organization of society. Finally, politicization directs movements to attain elite representation of their interests before political authorities, whereas problematizing connective action movements reject representation, rather emphasizing taking action on their own. We look in turn at the two type of movements' identities, goals and relationships to political authorities.

Identities

Old collective action and new connective action movements involve different political identities, which give rise to politicization and problematization respectively. Collective action engages political life from the outside-in. Either by embracing *legitimizing* or *resistance* identities, such movements demand that authorities take action on behalf of a defined constituency in civil society. Resistance identities denote those who are in positions 'devalued and/or stigmatized by society', acting in opposition to a hegemonic 'logic of domination' which otherwise maintains them in a relation of subjugation (Castells 2004, 8). Legitimating identities are those which are 'introduced by the dominant institutions in society to extend and rationalize their domination' (Castells 2004, 8). Such identities are often found within counter-movements which emerge in opposition to a social movement, countering the challenges posed by an original movement (Lind and Stepan-Norris 2011; Meyer and Staggenborg 1996). Whether involved in resistance or legitimation, these movements involve the representation of organized elements of civil society petitioning

elites to render decisions favourable to their particular set of interests and identities as opposed to others.

Connective action is most closely associated with what Castells terms a 'project identity', rather than with the representation of interests and identities. A project identity is enacted 'when social actors, on the basis of whatever is available to them, build a new identity that redefines their position in society and, by so doing, seek the transformation of overall social structure' (2004, 8).[1] Project identities transform individuals into subjects, constructing their identities in ways that are situationally and biographically meaningful, selected through lifestyle choices and in a process of becoming, rather than transmitted through membership in one or another of society's cleavages. Project identities seek to reconfigure societal order, not through the defeat of the prevailing hegemonic order and the imposition of a new one, but by making use of what the system has made available. Connective action is motivated through a peer-production logic, whereby the persons are motivated to act by the recognition they receive from others of their contributions and the satisfaction which derives from participation in a division of labour through which a good output, or set of outputs, is/are produced (Bennett and Segerberg 2013, 34).

Connective action is a way of understanding the creation of project identities which are irreducible to either individualism or collectivism. Despite the role of personalized identity frames in the organization of connective action (Bennett and Segerberg 2013), the motivational structure of connective action gives rise to identities that derive from participation in a common project (Jensen and Bang 2013). This common project creates a symbolic 'we' composed of those identified with participation in the realization of a political project. Unlike a collective identity, the identity of this 'we' is not totalizing, but rather reflects a functional relationship: an identity linked to a provisional coming together making possible a conditional acting-together (cf. Burke 1969, 21). The terms of that identification constitute the terms of engagement and the organization of the division of labour inside a movement. The composition of the Indignados involved a diverse range of individual and group identities under the heading of 'real democracy now!' ('¡democracía real ya!') (Anduiza, Cristancho, and Sabucedo 2014). Whereas collective action identities derive from common origins, such as class, religion and ethnicity, connective action identities derive from a common destiny or project which defines who they are.

Goals

The particular sets of movement goals held by collective and connective action movements differ given that they have distinct, politicizing and problematizing approaches to politics and political life. Politicization is aimed generally speaking at securing equal freedom. Labour movements emerged as a response to unequal industrial relations; various civil rights movements and religious movements likewise sought to secure equal freedom and recognition of their respective group identity. The collectivities of collective action thus often have a resistance identity, and support, or oppose, legislation under consideration that may advantage or disadvantage their individual group (Castells 2004). As such, social movement organizations are important aspects of the formal organizational infrastructure.

New movements do not primarily operate in this old reality of state vs. civil society, private vs. public, capital vs. workers, individualism vs. collectivism and national vs.

international. They confront a political world composed of multiple networking and over-lapping political authorities from the public, private and quasi-public domains whose policies are not very transparent, and who cannot be held accountable for what they do using conventional democratic means. New movements are directed at problematization, more than politicization. Therefore, they call into question organized domains of life such as the economy, for example, challenging whether, despite legal authority, banks should be evicting persons and families from their homes. Their goals are not directed at agenda-setting, rather they desire a transformative change in their society (Castells 2004; Giddens 1991).

Relationship to political authorities

Prevailing practices and theories of democracy envision some role for, or form of, representation. For this reason, political parties (PP) emerged from the cleavages within society (Lipset and Rokkan 1967). Schattschneider (1942, 1) went so far as to argue, 'modern democracy is unthinkable save in terms of parties'. The old collective action model of movement politics likewise presumes a representative function for movement organizations. Traditional collective action movements often, but not always, spawn, or are otherwise represented by, a social movement organization (SMO) 'which identifies its goals with the preferences of a social movement or a counter-movement and attempts to implement those goals' (McCarthy and Zald 1977, 1218). These organizations fit within pluralistic accounts of politics, competing with various other formal interest groups in an effort to set agendas and influence binding decisions, and take shape through organizations such as labour unions. Collective action movement members therefore turn to representatives to represent the movement to political authorities. In the absence of formal SMOs, which sometimes take time to emerge, the task of representation falls to movement leaders directly. The representation function is critical for collective action, as movements in this mode operate outside politics. Such movements can only have influence through politicization and politicization occurs through sustained engagement with authorities in order to place something on the political agenda or agitate for one, or another, issue on the agenda.

Connective action movements take place in a context of weakening ties to formal representatives. Research shows that there is declining party identification across almost every advanced industrial democracy (Dalton 2013, 179). Today, as Tormey (2015, 125) argues, 'we trust politicians … less than virtually every other profession, including … second-hand car salesman, journalists, and lawyers'). Increasingly, political and civil society organizations have less influence on political engagement as lifestyle concerns are becoming highly personalized motivational grounds for connective action movements (Bennett and Segerberg 2013, 56). As problematization approaches politics from the inside-out, participants are not in need of representation, they represent themselves. Movements like the Indignados refused to name specific representatives to the media, as no one could speak for the movement (Tormey 2015). In contrast to collective action movements which act on behalf of, and represent, an identifiable constituency in placing demands before authorities, connective action movements are more concerned with taking action than with representing a constituency. Connective action movements are more about output politics than input politics. They focus more on taking action, rather than representation.

How are we empirically to distinguish the connective from the collective, or problematization from politicization, when they typically will overlap and be very ambiguous in their relationship to one another? Our argument is that, although movements are heterogeneous entities (Tarrow 1998), the Indignados will exhibit more attributes of politics from the inside-out, whereas communications surrounding the general strike will more closely correspond to politics from the outside-in. We examine three differences between the inside-out and outside-in approach. Firstly, there is a difference in their relationship to formal political authorities: politics from the outside-in needs to petition the system's formal authorities to be heard and for those authorities to take action, whereas politics from the inside-out involves an understanding of the capacity of members of a political community to take action. Secondly, whereas politics from the inside-out emphasises the capacity to act politically in common, politics from the outside-in depends on the forming of interests and identities outside the arena in which politics takes place. This difference is predicated on varied forms of subjectification, in which persons are positioned with (inside-out) or without (outside-in) *steering capacity*. Thirdly, the inside-out participants are directly engaged in action and therefore need not rely on organizations to articulate their interests. Outside-in participants rely on organizations to articulate interests. These organizations are the infrastructure of a conflictual cleavage system which binds persons in solidarities corresponding to their positions in civil society; that is, as representatives of various oppositional or legitimizing identities (Castells 2004).

Data and research design

Here, we analyse the extent to which the distinction between politics from the inside-out and politics from the outside-in is useful in analysing both a Spanish collective action movement, a union organized general strike and a Spanish connective action movement, a demonstration organized by the Indignados. The Indignados demonstration was held 15 October 2011 and the general strike 13 months later on 14 November 2012. Opposition to austerity and labour reforms were common themes in both movements. Furthermore, the major political figures remained the same, despite an intervening election, which led to a new government which accelerated the pace of austerity and further curtailed labour protections. These two demonstrations provide paradigm cases of collective and connective action movements which allow us to investigate whether organizational differences give rise to engagement with politics from the inside-out or the outside-in.

Although actors within the Indignados and labour movements made use of a wider communication repertoire than social media or tweeting, analysing tweets provides an insight into the movement themes that is not otherwise easily accessible. Social media provide a window into a movement's overall communications. They form a significant part of the overall communication flows produced by the movement. Therefore, social media communications provide critical insights into the distribution of a movement's messaging. The Indignados demonstration was collected using Twitter's search application programming interface (API), queried every 30 minutes during a 24-hour interval, beginning 6 hours before the main march of the protest began. Search terms included Indignados, Indignats (translated into Catalan), Real Democracia Ya (the name of one of the main Indignados organizations with chapters in Barcelona and Madrid), 15M, in

reference to the 15 May 2011 demonstrations which brought the Indignados movement to prominence in Spain, and 15O, in reference to the demonstrations on 15 October 2011. Although the search API is not comprehensive, the tweets are filtered for those most relevant and are generally thematically representative of the overall production of tweets.[2] There were 21,678 tweets collected during this time.

In addition, tweets from the general strike were collected using the streaming API. The collection started the day before the general strike and terminated the day following. During this time there were 1,048,575 retrievable tweets collected, using the terms 14N, for the date of the demonstration, and huelga and vaga, the Spanish and Catalan/Valencian words for 'strike' respectively. Both Spanish and Catalan were collected as Spanish tends to be the predominant language in all of Spain's regions apart from Catalonia. Inspection of the tweets revealed these collections drew in demonstrators in Italy and Portugal during both sets of data collection, with additional participation across Latin and South America in support of the indignados. Tweets were processed, normalizing text as lower case, removing punctuation, numbers and Spanish language 'stop words', which are very common words which usually do not discriminate meanings, except in context. Because Spanish is by far the predominant language and the majority of the stop words are the same between Spanish and the other predominant languages spoken in Spain, only Spanish stop words were removed as the removal of terms from multiple languages risks sabotaging substantive meanings for the majority of the tweets. This pre-processing rendered the text easier to manage computationally for memory intensive operations.

Why Spain?

Spain constitutes a hard case given the significant disconnect between the public and political authorities. This may be linked to historical patterns involving a cultural deference to authority, but there may be historically more proximate sources as well, including the manner in which Spain's transition to democracy consolidated. Gunther, Montero, and Botella (2004) attribute the decoupling of formal political elites and members of the public to the aftermath of Spain's transition to democracy which they argue led to a decoupling between the political community and political authorities. They write,

> The depolarization and mass demobilization that were essential components of the 'politics of consensus' … may have contributed decisively to the establishment of a stable, consolidated democracy … but they also contributed to weak institutionalization in certain secondary organizations and low levels of interest and involvement in politics. (Gunther, Montero, and Botella 2004, 14)

Whatever the source of the decoupling, Spanish patterns of political participation are less elite-directed than other advanced democracies, Spaniards tend to express lower levels of conviction regarding their self-efficacy and capacity to make a difference, and those who use social media in Spain are just as likely as the wider population to express a lack of external political efficacy (Jensen and Anduiza 2012). Nevertheless, social media use for political engagement tends to be less stratified by socioeconomic status than other mediations of participation, particularly face-to-face engagement with political authorities (Jensen and Anduiza 2012).

Operationalizations

Movement themes are operationalized in three different ways. Firstly, we measure the instance of movement identity attributes as a proportion of the overall number of tweets collected for each demonstration. Although Spain has several regional languages, word choices were selected covering terms commonly used in Catalan and Castilian Spanish. This selection was made on account of the author's linguistic competence as well as the fact that Spanish remains the dominant language in all regions apart from Catalonia. Additionally, there is significant overlap between Catalan and Valencian, as well as between Spanish and Galician. Though the analysis of Basque language tweets is not included in this research, the Basque language is a minority language even in the Basque country (Basque Country Department of Education, Language, Policy, and Culture, 2013) and, given its fiscal autonomy and relative economic strength in relation to the rest of Spain (Pozuelo-Monfort, 2013), residents of this region did not experience the same level of cuts which gave rise to the demonstrations elsewhere in the country. Additionally, in a human analysis of a random sample of 5000 tweets subject to human inspection in both the Indignados and the general strike corpora, there was no evidence of Basque language tweets.

Problematizing connective action and politicizing collective action movements have distinct relationships with political authorities. To operationalize these differences, we focused on the two major parties which have dominated Spanish politics since democratization – at least until very recently (Badcock 2015). As the Spanish party system was dominated by two parties, a subject of critique advanced by some members of the Indignados, *political authorities* were coded in terms of references to the two main parties, the Partido Popular and Partido Socialista Obrero Español, and their respective party leaders, Mariano Rajoy and Jose Zapatero, as well as the latter's designated successor (by the time of the 15 October 2011), Alfedo Rubalcaba. This enables us to distinguish the movements with respect to the extent each movement emphasizes demands directed towards political elites.

The politicizing approach of collective action movements means political authorities are necessary to transform their demands into binding decisions. Problematization was operationalized with respect to criticism of banks and the manner in which they operate, as well as of wealth distribution – aspects of life that are normally not political, but governed by contracts. The terms used to code instances of problematization include references to economic stratification and the problem of homelessness, as a consequence of widespread mortgage foreclosures. Whereas the banking system, particularly with respect to the contractual obligations of mortgage holders, was normally considered a non-political issue, given the voluntary nature of the agreement between the lender and the home buyer, a key theme of the Indignados movements was the problematization of this relationship. Given that the labour movement engaged in a wider range of politicizing claims than budget cuts and changes to labour laws, and the Indignados sought to problematize more than the banking sector, we use these two as salient examples of politicization and problematization as they were critical themes which were enduring throughout these movements. These demands are not directed at political authorities, but rather at banks and the financial system, which is fully capable of implementing

changes in the absence of government decisions. The full text of these operationalizations can be found in the Appendix.

Politicization is operationalized with respect to the dominant policy topics which formed the context in which both of the demonstrations occurred: austerity; and a weakening of Spain's labour laws. These changes were initiated under the Zapatero government (PSOE) and intensified after Rajoy's Partido Popular took over following elections in December 2011. Contestation over these laws brought the organized interests of workers in conflict with proposed policies and pressure from the European Union to enact structural reforms in Spain's labour laws to make it more economically competitive. The labour movement organized under this context as a resistance movement to oppose these changes, which, in their view, constituted an extension of power relations, further subjugating the class interests of workers.

Politicizing and problematizing movements involve different goals. Politicizing collective action in its resistance form aims to achieve emancipation from domination. In this case, the labour movement sought to secure the interests of the working class against pressures to weaken labour laws and the reduction of the welfare state, which those workers depend on more than other sectors of society. This class-based approach to politics is indicated by calls for social solidarity. Social solidarity was operationalized by reference to solidarity with workers. Class-based solidarity is evidence of a collective identity, tied to organization around social cleavage, rather than the creation of a political identity derived from participation in a division of political labour.

Connective action movements are predicated on a peer-production logic involving identification with a project and the extension of acceptance and recognition (Bennett and Segerberg 2013, 34). This we operationalize in terms of retweeting, or forwarding on, a message. There are many reasons for retweeting, but it is most often associated either with the articulation of support for the particular content of the communication or with signifying its value to a wider audience, even if the retweeter does not necessarily agree with the content (boyd, Golder, and Lotan, 2010). Independent of whether the specific content is endorsed by the retweeter, retweeting functions as a way of drawing attention to a set of memes by reintroducing them to a series of communications thematically organized around hashtags. In the context of each demonstration, retweeting is a process involving crowd identification of a tweet as having thematic relevance to the demonstration. Retweets were identified by whether they contained 'RT' (signifying 'retweet') in the text. As the tweets were captured in real time, retweet totals for a given time frame were unavailable. However, the API automatically appends a RT to any tweet that is retweeted. Retweets are a useful metric indicating that a message contains value for a community of users. The retweet designation is automatically appended and displayed when using both the search and the streaming APIs. The content of tweets that were retweeted appears more frequently in the data, providing a measure of the thematic content retweeted scaled for the frequency with which it was retweeted.

Thirdly, we examine whether each movement considers politics from the inside-out or the outside-in with respect to the terms each associates with 'politics' and 'the political' ('política' which signifies both terms in Spanish and all regional languages, apart from Basque). Project identities involve practicing politics from the inside-out. They emphasize the capacity for the demonstrators to take action to bring about change and treat power not only as a power over, but also as a transformative power to. On the other hand, politics

from the outside-in treats political authorities as gatekeepers. Politics from the outside-in involves resistance or legitimizing movements. Evidence of politics from the outside-in situates the movement in opposition to, or in support of, political authorities and their actions. The manner in which the word politics is used across the demonstrations is operationalized in terms of association rules (Feinerer and Hornik 2015).

Association rules identify terms statistically clustered with a specific indicated term. These terminological clusters indicate the manner in which an individual organizes objects and events in his or her world. Meanings are disclosed through the statistical relationships between various terms (Burke 1974, 18–19; Butler 2011). We use this technique to discover the manner in which the word 'política' was used in each of the demonstrations. Varied political discourses may invoke the same words very differently, linking objects and events to distinct evaluative terms and domains of political life. Clusters reveal which terms represent others and this statistical relationship systematically enables the grouping of individuated acts with larger orders of political activity. The higher the correlation between terms over the corpus of tweets, the more centrally they form part of the frame.

Results: tweeting the demonstrations

To detect differences in the valuation of the inside-out and outside-in approaches to politics, we firstly consider the frequency distribution for attributes of both the inside-out and outside-in orientations to politics, for both of the demonstrations. These categories were mined from tweets based on sets of identifying words and phrases listed in the Appendix. Although the party in government changed between these demonstrations, the parties and the major figures linked to the parties generally remained the same. We included attributes about movement relations to political authorities, their emphases on politicization or problematization, and also references to resistance identities in the form of unions and class solidarity. As there are significant differences in the number of tweets collected for the Indignados demonstration and the general strike, we look at the proportion of tweets mentioning each of these attributes at least once. The results are presented in Figure 1.

These data indicate significant differences in the distribution of thematic content between the two demonstrations. The only two themes that are more dominant among the Indignados than among the Twitter participants in the general strike were calls to take action and problematization discourses. Participants in the general strike placed more emphasis on communications directed at authorities, the two ongoing political issues that divided the parties – the extent of the changes to labour laws and the level of cuts to public services – and greater emphasis on the extension of solidarity and unions. Not all of the tweets about unions were favourable, as many were expressed by participants in a counter-movement. Nonetheless, the fact that unions could be the target of a counter-movement organized against the general strike, and not against the Indignados, is indicative of the differences in relationships between the unions and each of these movements.

To determine the extent to which differing movement themes and frames were recognized as significant by other movement members, we used a regression analysis to identify which content attributes increase the probability that a tweet was retweeted during the demonstrations. As retweeting is a dichotomous state, we use a binominal regression.
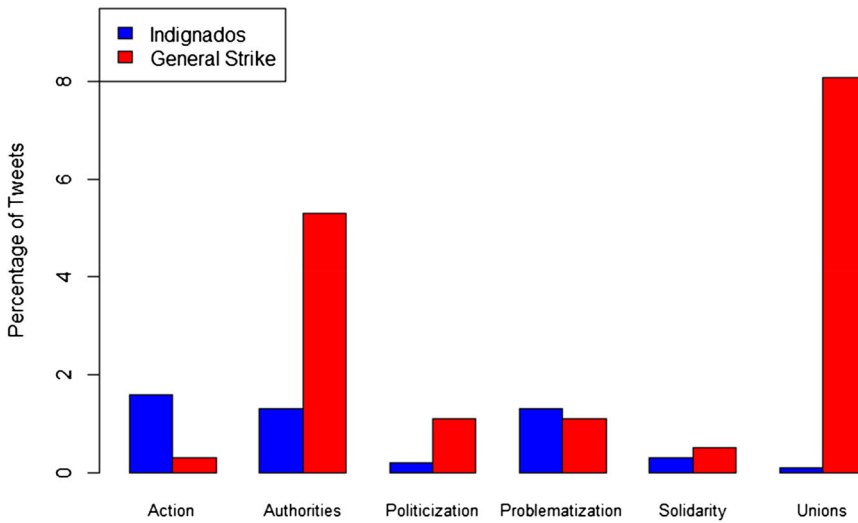
Figure 1. Movement thematic content.

In each case, roughly half of the tweets were retweets, with 9368 (43.21%) retweets among the Indignados data and 702,848 (47.46%) among general strike data. Whereas the Indignados tweet corpus is relatively small, the size of the tweet corpus collected during the general strike required that these operations be completed with R's 'biglm' library which conserves memory by processing the data in chunks (Lumley 2014). Since neither model is recursive, the mathematical properties of the models remain the same. The regression analysis differentiates the relevant actors, the critical issues and the terms of participation. The results are presented in Table 1.

Table 1 indicates substantial differences between the content most often retweeted in each demonstration. The general strike coefficients are all highly significant given the size of the data. While invocations of class solidarity were not likely to be retweeted during either demonstration, the negative coefficient is two and a half times as strong in the case of the Indignados as it is during the general strike. However, the differences in the signs (positive and negative) on these parameters, as well as in the strength of the coefficients, sheds light on the differences between the two demonstrations. The focus on political authorities and those in power plays a more significant role in the

Table 1. Comparing terminologies between the Indignados and a general strike in Spain.

	Indignados		General strike	
	Coefficient (SE)	p-value	Coefficient (SE)	p-value
Intercept	−0.292 (0.014)	.000	0.190 (0.002)	.000
Authorities	0.049 (0.095)	.606	0.309 (0.007)	.000
Solidarity	−0.584 (0.281)	.038	−0.211 (0.016)	.000
Problematization	0.878 (0.119)	.000	0.430 (0.019)	.000
Politicization	0.166 (0.172)	.337	−0.059 (0.019)	.002
Action	0.407 (0.107)	.000	−0.243 (0.033)	.000
Unions	−0.200 (0.383)	.601	0.464 (0.006)	.000
N	21,678		1,048,575	
AIC	29,583		1,428,929	

general strike than in the Indignados movement, as this coefficient is insignificant. References to political authorities, including the major political parties (PP and PSOE), the leaders of these parties (Rajoy and Rubalcaba) and the political class ('clase política') more generally, were substantial predictors of retweeting within the general strike, but this predictor was insignificant during the Indignados demonstrations.

There were significant differences in both models concerning problematizing and politicizing discourses. While problematizing discourses were among the most likely to be retweeted during both demonstrations, politicizing discourses concerning the cuts to public services were insignificant during the Indignados protest and slightly less likely than even odds to be retweeted during the general strike. By far the most retweeted tweets in the Indignados demonstration expressed a problematization discourse. Problematization was more than twice as strong a predictor of retweeting in the Indignados demonstration as it was for the general strike. Politicization is not a significant predictor of retweeting during the Indignados demonstration. However, it is statistically significant and has a negative coefficient, during the general strike. Action is the second strongest predictor of retweeting during the Indignados demonstration, but the coefficient is negative during the general strike. References to the major unions are a strong predictor of retweeting during the general strike, but an insignificant, and negative, parameter during the Indignados demonstration. The Indignados were more likely to retweet communications related to taking action and problematizing market operations, rather than attacking political authorities or their policies, whereas these latter two were more salient topics for participants in the general strike.

Finally, we consider differences in the terms associated with politics (política) between the Indignados tweets and those produced during the general strike. The word 'política', both with the accent and without, were merged in the raw text as native speakers often drop diacritical marks when communicating informally, as they involve more keystrokes on both computers and mobile devices. The results indicate the correlation between the incidence of these terms in tweets. There were 14 Indignados tweets (0.1%) containing the word politics ('política' or 'politica'). The figures are similar for the general strike: politics is mentioned 987 times (0.1% of tweets). Though these terms are used in the same proportions, the terminologies which they are linked to are significantly different. Though the demonstrations were held only 13 months apart, the major parties and political debates remained the same (how much and where to cut the budget, as well as whether to relax labour laws), there are no overlapping terms relating to politics. The 15 words most highly associated with 'politics' for each of the demonstrations are presented in Table 2.

Given the smaller size of the Indignados sample, the associations are generally higher because there are fewer contexts in which each of the terms, politics and power, are used. When speaking of politics, those participating in the demonstrations use a combination of

Table 2. Differentiating terminologies between Indignado and labour protests.

Indignados	General strike
follando (0.52), hablando (0.41), cómo (0.28), vamos (0.22), aviso (0.19), considero (0.19), cumplan (0.19), pedagogía (0.19), positiu (0.19), cambiarán (0.16), respeten (0.16), alzando (0.15), citybank (0.15), clase (0.15), cobro (0.15)	quitarlos (0.19), maricones (0.19), creieu (0.14), cuestionar (0.14), decadente (0.14), esperaban (0.14), estupidez (0.14), facin (0.14), gentuza (0.14), izquierdosos (0.14), motivo (0.14), poble (0.14), rechazan (0.14), rodea (0.14), ruinosa (0.14)

terms that are both critical of politics as well as speaking in a positive and productive manner. In the Indignados tweets, the first term is an interjection; the next two terms are not indicative of a contrast in their approaches to politics: 'hablando', a gerund meaning, 'talking' and 'cómo', meaning 'how' or 'why'. Additionally, 'cobro', meaning to pay or to earn, is underdetermined with respect to whether participants are operating inside or outside politics. Similarly, 'cumplan' means both to 'fulfil' or 'obey', as well as to accomplish, and 'respeten' means to respect or obey laws, as well as to respect individuals; the former definitions corresponding to a duty-bound conception of citizenship, whereas the latter are indicative of an engaged form of citizenship. 'Clase', as in the political class, and 'alzando', the gerund of alzar, meaning 'to rise up,' are the closest terms among the Indignados which fit with a resistance identity.

The Indignados tweets contain a series of action terms: 'vamos' meaning 'let's go' is a call to action, while aviso means to 'give notice'. 'Postiu' is Catalan for positive, which contrasts with the negative, oppositional, relationship resistance identities have towards politics as they operate outside. Pedagogía, meaning to teach as well as learned in both Catalan and Spanish, references an active and informed role for participants, and 'Citybank', a misspelling of Citibank, is evidence of the problematization of economic actors, belying the state-market division enshrined in liberal politics and politicization.

By contrast, politics in the context of the general strike is met with a number of highly oppositional terms aimed at the political authorities: quitarlos ('remove them'), 'maricones' (a slur directed against gays) and gentuza ('rabble'). It is unclear what relation the people ('poble' in Catalan) bear to politics. Remarks about lefties ('izquierdosos') would appear to stem from a counter-movement. At the same time, there are several terms relating to politics itself: decadente ('decadent'), estupidez ('stupidity'), ruinosa ('disastrous'). Motive is raised, but not as a 'political motive', because política is a feminine noun, whereas 'motivo' used as an adjective is masculine. Politics is seen as surrounding them ('rodea'). There are several verbs relating to groups of which the speaker is not a member: 'esperaban' (imperfect third persons plural, indicating a group of people had been 'waiting', as well as 'wishing'), facin (Catalan, third person subjunctive meaning 'do') and rechezan ('reject'). This is consistent with the demonstrations operating with very different discursive economies. Politics, and those who participate in it, are most strongly linked to terms indicating opposition, whereas the terms of politics for the Indignados contain clusters of words directed at taking action and bringing about change.

Conclusions

These results indicate that the organizational structure of movements is both conceptually and empirically linked with distinct logics and terms of political engagement. These discursive differences correspond to differences between approaches to politics from inside the political system and from outside the political system. There is evidence that problematization, and a politics aimed at taking action, rather than seeking representation, form part of the same discourse within the Indignados. Furthermore, there is evidence of a networked logic which seems to impose itself even on the union-backed general strike, as calls for solidarity are less likely to be recognized by others. Although problematization and politicization are not unique to one type, or other, of demonstration, the organizational bases on which these demonstrations form tend to favour politicization or

problematization as a category of argument within movement communications. Furthermore, the differentiation shows overlapping networked political communication dynamics which transcend the formal organizational structure of these demonstrations.

First, in terms of the tweet content, tweets from the general strike were more likely to reference conditions of politics from the outside. These included addressing political authorities who they demand take action, organizations of interest articulation – unions – have a politicized focus on controversial policies more than problematizing otherwise naturalized areas of human activity, such as the operation of the markets, and calls for social solidarity. Meanwhile, the indignados emphasized more a problematizing rather than politicizing discourse, taking action themselves, rather than calling upon political authorities or civil society organizations.

Second, there were significant differences in the ways in which each demonstration associated with power, politics or 'the political', Although there is strong element of anti-politics in both demonstrations, the Indignados also exhibit significant elements of enacting a positive form of politics linked to effectuating change. More significantly, during the general strike, in addition to invective and ridicule, there was a sense that it was necessary to get rid of all of the politicians, who they deemed to be the cause of the people's problems. Politics in the context of the general strike was understood to be a domain in which despised authorities acted. By contrast, for the Indignados, politics is a space of action within which the movement operates through education and direct action.

Finally, despite these differences in the role of formal organizations in the mobilization of each demonstration, and the significant differences in the thematic content of tweets, the economies of retweets operated in surprisingly similar fashions, indicating that certain communication logics involved in networked political activity prevail. These logics included the salience of problematization and a rejection of politicization by both populations of demonstrators. The main difference organizationally is whether the people themselves valued taking action or thought that this should be undertaken by their union and formal political leaders. New movements like the Indignados and Occupy Wall Street are striving to ensure that more political resources and competences are transferred to 'the 99%' in their various political communities. Social solidarity, as thick, collective, civil society action, founded on intersubjective agreement, does not in and of itself generate political solidarity. Political solidarity takes the form of a thin, connective political community which is oriented to political action.

Notes

1. We treat the project identity differently than Castells as he locates the project identity as operating outside politics (Castells 2004, 8). It is hard to see how the project identity in Castells' framework can be any more than a transitional phase as he accepts Giddens's insights on lifestyles as the impetus for the project identity while dismissing the remainder of Giddens's framework in conceptualizing the operation of power and the duality of structures, such that each 'power over' has a correlated 'power to' (Giddens 1984, 1991; cf Castells 2009, 13).
2. For full documentation, see Twitter's description here: https://dev.twitter.com/rest/public/search. The specifics of the Search API have changed slightly over time but the filtering for relevance remains the same.

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Appendix: coding terms

Action: podemos ('we cań), podem (Catalan for 'we can'), tenemos que laborar ('we have to work'), canviar (and its conjugations – Catalan for 'change'), cambiar (and conjugations – Spanish for change), global change (a Indignados hashtag), cambioglobal ('global change' in Spanish).

Authorities: PP (Partido Popular, centre-right party, won election in November 2011), PSOE (Partido Socialista Obreros Españoles, in power until November 2011 elections), Rajoy (leader of the PP and current prime minister), Rubalcaba (leader of PSOE, candidate for prime minister but not the incumbent prime minister going into 2011 elections), Zapatero (led PSOE government which was ousted in 2011 elections), Mariano (first name of Rajoy, used sometimes to convey less respect), dirigentes (leaders), clase politico (political class), los politicos (the politicians), marianorajoy(Rajoy's Twitter handle), gobierno (government), laRiojaPP (Twitter handle of regional wing of the PP), Partido Popular, CIU (Convergencía I Unió, centre-right Catalan party pledging support to the PP on economic matters, also a target of protest in Catalonia), UPyD (Unión Progreso y Democracia, a centre-left party which broke with the PSOE), Charcon (prominent member of the last PSOE government, had challenged for the leadership of the party.

Politicization: recortes (cuts), reforma/s (references to the reforms of the labour laws that Zapatero had started and greatly expanded upon by the Rajoy government).

Problematization: desahuciados (homeless, many Indignados groups took over hotels and flats that were not being used and claimed them for the homeless), bancos (banks), desigualdad (inequality), Bankia (one of the banks that had to be bailed out), banqueros (bankers), banquers (banker in Catalan), parados (unemployed), sanidad (health system).

Solidarity: solidaridad (solidarity), solidaritat (Catalan for solidarity), fuerza, animo (these last two typically used as refrains calling upon groups of people to have strength in the face of a struggle), 'todos a la calle' ('everyone to the street').

Unions: sindicado/s, piquetes (picketer) piqueteccoo (picketer, playing on the name of one of the unions – CCOO), CCOO, UGT, CNT, ELA, 'a la lucha de la clase' (to the class fight), trabajadores (workers), treballadors (workers in Catalan), laboral/es (labour, adj.), obrero/a (worker), sindicalistas (union members).