

Conceptualisation of citizenship for social justice

*With a particular interest on the 15M
movement in Spain*



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ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates the role of citizenship in the discourse of the 15M movement that arose in Spain in March 2011. 15M is a contemporary social movement that is highly decentralised and networked, and demanded a transformation in the political and financial system. The movement's features are interesting as it had no spokespersons, diverse actors, and made use of current informational and digital technologies. In this thesis I focus on how the 15M movement conceptualises citizenship and uses this discourse in their fight for social justice. Social movements and citizenship are interrelated since movements struggle to extend citizenship. I argue that the 15M movement conceptualises citizenship as a dynamic process that is based on autonomy for citizens. Moreover, citizenship goes beyond the legal status. In their opinion, citizenship includes direct participation in a democratic system, which should be done through deliberation in public space. The movement realised its own image of citizenship by demonstrations and the creation of deliberative assemblies in public space.



INTRODUCTION

The contemporary world has recently seen an increase in social movements standing up; the Occupy movement, the Arab Spring, movements in Latin America (Juris 2009). Globally seen, a new type of networks and movements has emerged. The 15th of May, 2011 has become a meaningful date in thinking about these contemporary social movements. On this date a group in Spain, based on decentralized and networked interaction and nodes, organised a demonstration for more democracy. In contrary to previous social movements, the so-called *indignados* are a diverse group from different backgrounds with no specific spokespeople (Castells 2012). The movement is called in different ways; “15M” refers to the day of the first demonstrations, “*indignados*” translates to ‘the indignant’ (the movement was mad about the system), “the movement”, and “Real Democracy Now”. In this thesis I will refer to the movement as 15M or as the *indignados*.

15M did not aim to find a solution for a political problem, rather they sought social justice and demanded a change in the political system in order to achieve a more democratic one. In the current digital era, 15M found a modern way of organising themselves throughout the Internet. Social movements are a mirror of society as they consist of citizens that stand up for what they want (Touraine 2002). Movements are a way of showing what struggles there are in society. In my opinion it is meaningful to understand how such movements are structured, and more importantly, what demands they have. It is evident that we nowadays live in a globalising world, with more intensive transnational ties than ever before. Then, it is interesting how the people on the ground (and in digital space) react to politic and economic tensions in society.

Among scholars many different perspectives on social movements have been developed. However, many of them agree on the important role of citizenship in social movements (Barnett 2011).

The conceptualisation of citizenship is crucial when demands for change are expressed by citizens. The aim of this thesis is to understand how the *indignados* in Spain, conceptualise citizenship in their fight for social justice. In other words, to what extent citizenship is used to *get things done*. Is it possible that a conceptualisation of citizenship can contribute to a transformation of the greater system? In order to understand this, this literature research involves a conceptualisation of social movements and citizenship, and will relate these two concepts. Moreover, the case of the *indignados* in Spain will be introduced and analysed extensively.

Social movements have evolved into a new type of movements with new features. This thesis in particular focus on the latest kind of social movements; contemporary social movements. These movements (such as the 15M movement) highlight the transformations and social conflicts related to international capitalism (Feixa et al 2009) and emphasize a more democratic world based on horizontal lines. Citizens are seen as autonomous actors that have the possibility to participate in society and politics. Their public space has changed and involves a combination of the local, global and most fundamentally, the globally networked space – a concept that has been introduced and discussed by Castells (2004). Within social movement thinking, citizenship plays a more and more important role. As will be elaborated later on, social movements and citizenship influence one and each other.

In this thesis I analyse the role of citizenship in contemporary social movements, with a particular interest in the 15M movement in Spain. First and foremost I was interested in how movements use citizenship in their practices and to achieve their (societal) goals. This question is divided in two. It explains how this thesis in specifically understands citizenship and what kind of practices it entails in social movements. The following sub question raises attention to how 15M conceptualises

citizenship and in what manner the movement expresses itself. Subsequently, the last sub question emphasizes on how 15M applies its discourse in reality. Altogether, this leads to the following research question; *how does the 15M movement in Spain conceptualize citizenship and use this discourse in their fight for social justice?*

Thesis construction

The thesis is based on secondary resources only. Therefore, the methodology of the research consists of finding relevant literature on this theme. The literature research is done via both the online library services and the hard copy library available at the WUR.

I aimed to use only literature from internationally recognized authors, as their theories are leading in contemporary thinking. My own understanding of citizenship, which I tried to use consistently, is mainly based on theories of Sian Lazar and Chantal Mouffe. Both authors go beyond the formal status of citizenship and seek a specific understanding of citizenship as political agency and political participation.

This thesis gave me the opportunity to reflect on what Touraine (2002) referred to as “the mirror of society”; social movements. Furthermore, by embracing a citizenship-oriented approach, I had the chance to read literature that critically analyses current democratic concepts. Literature on both topics turned out to be rather challenging, because a lot of information is available. In this broad spectrum of literature, it was hard to remain put with one perspective, and utilise it consistently. I struggled with being too arbitrary. The concept of citizenship includes many aspects and constantly develops, which makes it hard to understand or put in a specific framework. For me, I needed much time to first understand the concept, and second, be able to describe it in my own words. Due to its complexity I realised that such a subject demands more time than I first realised. The great amount of literature made me struggle about what information to use and what not. It turned out to be rather complicated to constitute a framework considering the sociological concepts that are elaborated.

In this thesis I intend to understand how the 15M movement is related to citizenship in two ways. First, I am interested in how 15M conceptualises citizenship and uses this discourse in order to accomplish its goals. Second, I want to analyse how, according to my perspective of citizenship, citizenship plays a role in the movement. In order to get this understanding I structured the thesis as following:

The first chapter introduces the 15M movement and briefly describes how the movement is organised and what characteristics it has. I will illustrate that the movement includes citizenship in its discourse. In the second chapter I will first explain on the relation between social movements and citizenship. 15M is a contemporary social movement, as there are many nowadays. Therefore I will extend on contemporary social movements, in order to understand their common practices. I will describe what role citizenship plays in the contemporary movement paradigm. This will provide a better understanding on how 15M is structured. In the third chapter I focus on my own perspective of citizenship. This perspective is about political participation of citizens and aims to go beyond the legal status of citizens. In my opinion citizenship is not only the formal rights of citizens, but also embodies the possibility to interact within society and politics. This is done through the public space. Furthermore, this chapter will reflect on how contemporary social movements conceptualise citizenship and use their own discourse to endeavour their goals. Finally, chapter 4 will continue with

that information and elaborates on the relation between citizenship and 15M. It explains on how the movement conceptualises citizenship, and describes how citizenship is used in their argumentation. Moreover, this chapter expands on how 15M uses this discourse to try to realise their societal goals. Also, I elaborate on my own perspective on how the movement makes use of citizenship. Hereby I refer to my own conceptualisation of citizenship in chapter 3. Subsequently the discussion and conclusion will summarise this thesis. Acknowledgements are given at the end.

CHAPTER 1 A BRIEF INTRODUCTION ON 15M

This chapter firstly aims to provide an introduction on the 15M movement in Spain that arose in March 2011. In general, 15M was a result of a complex mixture of interaction among social actors within economic, social, cultural and political spheres in that specific period of time in Spain (Berná et al 2013; Minguijón and Pac 2013). For instance, the high unemployment rates played a significant role in society, together with other effects of the crisis.

In this chapter I want to illustrate the importance of citizenship in the way of working of 15M. Since it is a social movement that consists of citizens, they make use of citizenship. Moreover, in their discourse they use citizenship as image for change. So, I argue that 15M uses citizenship in its discourse in their fight for social justice. This contributes to the analysis of how 15M conceptualises citizenship and uses this discourse in their fight for social justice. As mentioned before, this chapter will briefly introduce the movement and its features. The following chapters will elaborate on the concept of citizenship and the relation with 15M more extensively.

According to Martínez and Dominguez (2014) the emergence of 15M accelerated due to three key features. Firstly, a diversity of multiple small platforms quickly reached consensus, agreed to collaborate and turned into the greater platform called 'Democracia Real Ya' – *Real Democracy Now*. This forum was anonymous but widely spread throughout the Internet and hence the foundation of the decentralized and networked movement. Before the emergence of 15M anti-austerity mobilisations already demonstrated against cuts in public services (Morell 2012). Hence one can state that the movement of *indignados* found base in already existing collective action against culturally and socially embedded themes.

Secondly, the timing of the movement was perfect. On the 22nd of May in 2011 municipal and regional elections would be held. The movement of *indignados* decided to evoke for demonstrations on the 15th of May, just before the elections, in order to call great attention from the media. One of the objectives of the movement is to realise a transformation of the electoral system. This particular date contributed to the entitlement of the movement as well, next to *indignados* and 'Democracia Real Ya', participants would call the movement '15M', referring to the date of first visible initiatives. Thirdly, the occupation of the Sol square in Madrid led to intensive media attention and more actions of the movement. Hence one can state that the mobilisation of the *indignados* occurred in a multi-dimensional way.

The diversity of participating individuals contributed to the different identities that the movement had. Despite the fact that they were a truly decentralised and networked movement, the *indignados* did have an organisational structure. They refused elected leaders and emphasised the sovereignty of the assemblies and commissions that were established through a dynamic and spontaneous process. Decision-making within the assemblies and commissions was done deliberatively – based on agonist thinking. Deliberation is a process of weighting options and dialog. Agonism can be seen as conflictual consensus, it recognises conflicts and differences but intends to accept them. Both concepts that are emphasised by the 15M movement hence focus on a collaborative way of decision-making, based on a thoughtful process of discussing.

15M was based on a decentralized network with autonomous nodes (Castells 2012) and had three peculiar characteristics that makes a vast distinction between this and other movements. Firstly, the decentralised movement had no clear leadership. Opposing the current democratic system, the *indignados* emphasised horizontal lines in their organisational structure. In their opinion, one specific

spokesman could not be representative for the 99%, the 99% can only be represented by themselves individually. Minguijón and Pac (2013) describe this decline of necessity of leaders as an internal escape of representativeness. Due to the high diversity of participating actors in the movement, e.g. from left wing to right wing, there would be no individual who could speak for all these actors. Hence, even with the knowledge that all individuals had the same basic (broad) principles, no spokesperson was needed or required. Secondly, 15M was characterized by the intensive use of current informational and digital technology. "The Internet was fundamental, without Internet this would not have been possible" (in Cruells and Ibarra 2013). Some scholars argue that 15M was inspired by the Arab spring where social movements used Internet to communicate and organise themselves as well. One can state that the *Indignados* movement represents a transformation in public space. From only operating in the physical space as social movements used to do, it acted in both the physical and digital space. Hence, it acted on both the local and the global level, which characterizes them as a contemporary social movement: locally embedded yet with a transnational societal goal. The media played an important role in the visualisation of the movement as well: "It's obvious that if the media hadn't echoed the demonstrations a lot less people would have supported us" (in Micó and Casero-Ripollés 2014). The discourse of 15M would not have been such widespread if the media had not paid that much attention to it. Because 15M organised themselves through digital ways, the relation with the media was a difficult one. The non-traditional path of working of the movement was new for the media. However, the media played a significant role in expansion of attention towards 15M.

The last significant characteristic is the high variety of actors. Many actors with diverse backgrounds and objectives, yet with one similar, basic demand. A demand for not only social justice, but also for participation and autonomy in the political and institutional system. Cruells and Ibarra (2013) argue that the movement was not only indignant towards the global capitalist economic system, rather more towards the distribution of power. Based on the economic system, current power relations are not equal and 15M criticized the fact that some people have power over the lives of others. "This is not a crisis, it is the system" (in Castells 2012). All three characteristics entail citizenship that is based on autonomous participation in the movement.

The expansiveness and diversity of the movement is illustrated by the following quote: "I've been to all kinds of demonstrations – anti-globalisation, in general strikes, and others – and I never felt like we had such popular support as we did in 15M" (in Micó and Casero-Ripollés 2014). Another quote shows how easy it was for citizens to get involved with the movement; "one of the things I appreciated best were the openness and the many possibilities" (in Cruells and Ibarra 2013). However, whilst being strongly decentralised and networked – due to the informational and digital technologies –, 15M did have an organisational structure. According to Micó and Casero-Ripollés (2014), the *indignados* would not have been such an expanded and visible movement without their structure of commissions. For instance, the commission of *Peace and non-violence* would discuss topics related to its niche, similar to the commission of *Feminism*. However, all the commissions would emphasize the broader societal goal; a more democratic society with horizontal lines rather than the current global order.

Martínez and Dominguez (2014) argue that 15M promoted a new political culture. As mentioned before, the current electoral democratic system was criticized due to the lack of horizontal lines and autonomy for the citizens. The *indignados* aimed to "bring our voice to the institutions, facilitating

citizen's political participation, aiming at achieving the greatest benefits for the majority of society instead of just enriching themselves on our back, paying attention only to the instructions of the great economic powers, and maintain a partytocratic dictatorship." (in Castells 2012).

Due to its expansive feature, 15M had many goals. Central themes were transformations in the political and institutional agenda. Martínez and Dominguez (2014) have listed the most relevant goals; a participatory democracy, a reform of the electoral system, non-privatization of public services, control of politicians and bankers, autonomous citizen liberties. The lack of democracy in the political and institutional system was criticised and caused a voice for structural transformation.

What I want to state in this chapter is the relevance of citizenship in the 15M movement. The *indignados* conceptualised citizenship in their own way and used this image to both express themselves and participate in society. The people felt that (their) citizenship was marginalised by the weakness – failure of representativeness – of the state, and got organised through decentralised network interactions. The movement includes a demand for more democracy. "They call it a democracy, while it is not" (in Minguijón and Pac 2013) illustrates both the lack of representativeness of the parliamentary democracy and the wish for a state that respects and ensures the rights of its citizens. The decision-making is done in a process that marginalises the interests of citizens and the greater good.

Additionally, participants of 15M conceptualised citizenship as a duty to correct or improve the rights of the system (Minguijón and Pac 2013). Consequently, citizenship is both a right and a duty for the citizen. A good example of how citizenship is conceptualised is, for instance, how the failure of the economic system privileged citizens to stand up. The conceptualisation of citizenship by the *indignados* was a dynamic process. According to Castells (2012), participants would discuss on the streets and squares what Real Democracy really meant. Furthermore, the public space – both the physical *acampadas* (camps) and the digital – were used to conceptualise what citizenship involves. Discussion boards were established and citizens would discuss about their role as citizen in the political and institutional system.

Asleep but still present

For the 15M it was important to be representative for the people, the 99% – the same argument the Occupy movement just a while later. When the movement felt it lost participation of the crowd, they decreased their actions and eventually even stopped. The strength of representing 99% has also a weakness. The goals of the movement were multiple and diverse, which made it hard for the movement to remain existing. The movement eventually even fell apart due to this high diversity of actors and goals.

However, the voice of 15M still is present in organisational structures according to some scholars. A social movement such as the PAH (Platform of Mortgage Victims) is currently active and somehow evolved out of 15M. Even the political party *Podemos* has strong correlations with 15M, however, *Podemos* strictly dissociates differentiates itself with the movement.

Similar to Touraine (2002) – who referred to social movements as reflection of society – Castells (2012) says that social movements are important in society in order to strive for a better society. In this case the process to a new form of democracy is more important rather than the non-accomplished societal goals.

Conclusion

15M became such a great and expansive social movement due to their goals, which all were related to a particular view on citizenship. Amongst all actors, an increase of autonomy for its citizens, a more participatory democracy, and the reform of the electoral system were demanded. All these topics require a particular perspective on citizenship. This perspective consists of the ability of citizens to participate in society and politics, in other words, to be able to participate in decision-making as autonomous individuals. The movement did not succeed in its goals to change the political and financial system. In this chapter I aimed to emphasise the usage of citizenship in the 15M's discourse. A demand for more autonomy for the individual and the possibility to interact directly in politics and decision-making illustrate how the *indignados* picture citizenship. The following chapter will elaborate on why citizenship is so important in the social movement paradigm.

CHAPTER 2 SOCIAL MOVEMENTS and CITIZENSHIP

The previous chapter argued the relevance of citizenship in the 15M movement. In this chapter I will use a more global approach to relate social movements and citizenship. This, to illustrate what role the conceptualisation of citizenship plays in social movements. According to Dalton (2008), contemporary social movements and citizenship are interrelated. Citizenship plays an important role in social movements, as these movements consists of citizens that want to participate in society and politics. In this chapter I argue how social movements and citizenship are interrelated.

This chapter will briefly elaborate on the characteristics and evolution of contemporary social movements. One can note a distinction between 'old' social movements and 'new' social movements. Moreover, a new concept of 'new, new' social movements will be explained, because as mentioned before, this thesis will particularly draw attention on 15M. The 15M movement perfectly fits in the contemporary social movement paradigm, in this chapter I will illustrate why.

The spectrum on social movements in the contemporary world is broad, and consists of a diverse plurality of examples. Social movements include for instance youth, cultural, environmental, and religious movements. However, this thesis focuses on the 15M movement in Spain, which aims to change the political (and financial) system and hence can be seen as a movement that interacts with politics.

Contemporary social movements are well-known for their opposition against neo-liberalism in the global order, but also propose a necessity of (global) citizenship. In this sense it is interesting how this kind of citizenship is then interpreted by these movements. Moreover, citizenship as understood by this thesis, – with more elaboration in the next chapter – includes practices of political participation that are broader than electoral politics. The perspective of citizenship as engagement and active participation with politics generates an interrelation with social movements. To explain, social movements consist of citizens who use their citizenship or discourse of citizenship in order to express themselves. According to Meyer and Evans (2014) movements struggle to extend citizenship. In other words, movements are important for citizens as they endeavour to let citizens (politically) participate in society. As this chapter proclaims, citizenship and social movements are influential to each other: on the one hand movements aim to change society by building on citizenship, and on the other hand, citizenship is used in movements to express themselves as well.

Social movements

According to Touraine (2002) social movements are organized conflicts or conflicts between organized actors over the social use of common cultural values. Touraine also emphasizes the importance of social movements, which are the future of democracy, freedom and justice (Touraine 2002). Social movements are a reflection of society and show us what conflicts and struggles exist. One can state that social movements are a mirror of citizen's struggles. Their symptoms tell us something about how current society is constituted and are therefore worthwhile to analyse. They are important as well as they strive for change, in order to better the society. Moreover, Touraine (2002) advocates that social movements are related to threats and hopes that arise in society which gives a social group the capacity in decision-making.

Social movements emerge from struggles in society and are commonly defined as collective activism and social action. Feixa et al (2009) argue that this collective activism by contemporary social movements relates to new modes of connections, introducing global networks e.g. the Internet.

Among scholars, many definitions about social movements have passed the revenue. Their specific characteristics have been discussed about as well, and in order to analyse them frameworks have been established. Two main authors in social movement thinking, Alain Touraine and Donatella Della Porta have constituted typologies of social movements. Touraine (1985) introduced three principles; 1. identity of social movements; 2. adversary of social movements; and 3. the societal goal of social movements. The first explains that social movements define themselves as what they are, the second relates to the antagonist of the social movement, and the latter tells about the vision and social order the social movement wants to achieve. Della Porta and Diani (1999) have summarized four characteristics that are commonly given to social movements, which all strongly overlap with Touraine's typology: 1. social movements are informal interaction networks with multiple actors; 2. social movements have shared beliefs and solidarity that contribute to their identity; 3. social movements are a collective action that rely on conflicts; and 4. social movements make use of public protest against their adversary. Within these leading typologies, one can note the presence of citizenship as they all surround the idea of citizens that actively participate in society.

Brief history of three waves

In order to understand the most recent developments in thinking of contemporary social movements, this chapter briefly elaborates on the modern history and characteristics of social movements. According to Feixa et al (2009) and Van der Heijden (2014), one can briefly distinguish a development of three waves of social movements in late modernity, 'old' social movements in the nineteenth century, 'new' social movements starting from the 1970s and last, the recent rise of the 'new, new' social movements in the 2000s. There is no strict line between these waves as they overlap, however, all these waves represent social movements that consist of citizens and make use of citizenship.

As mentioned before, social movements have become more and more networked, flexible and polycentric (Benford and Snow 2000) in their structure. Moreover, they have become an inevitable part of modern society. The definition of social movements remains the same, they are seen as collective activism and social action (Feixa et al 2009). However, the way they perform and are organised has changed. From labour or working-class movements during the industrialization, to the more and more networked social movements nowadays in the informational age that particularly make use of the Internet.

Touraine (2002) introduced the concept of 'new' social movements in the beginning of the 1980s, however, the types of social networks he referred to did not contribute to a fundamental new wave of social movements. Neither, according to Touraine (2002), to a greater dominance in the institutional and political sphere. After all, he later reutilized the concept of 'new' social movements by referring to social movements that have occurred due to processes of globalization. These social movements do not share common specifics, however, they share being part of a social transformation to a globalization process.

'Old social movements'; in the past social movements were related to the industrial society, and theories have been discussed about this correlation, however, Touraine (2002) has argued that rather than looking at the industrial society one should look at the process of industrialization. Thus, one can state that social movements during the industrial society have emerged alongside and due to the process of industrialization, and not because of the industrial society itself. According to Feixa et al (2009) the social actors demanded rights for the labour- and working-class. These movements conceptualised citizenship in a formal way. They demanded more constitutional rights for people,

while, in my opinion, contemporary social movements demand a transformation of this system. Together with the classical Marxist approach of conflict between the elite and the proletariat, a specific wave of social movements arose referring the struggle between labour and capital (Edelman 2000). As mentioned before, the evaluation of 'old' social movements to the 'new' variant, is vague and among scholars not consensual. However, Feixa et al (2009) give reason that the 'new' social movements have developed in the 1960s due to the interconnectedness of new networks like mass media and youth countercultures. New adversaries were established and other societal goals were formed. The three principles of Touraine's typology remained the same.

Leach and Scoones (2007) advocate that while 'old' movements were class-based, the 'new' movements are constituted around symbolic, informational and cultural struggles. In a globalized world other forms of networks appear and the manner in how social movements operate has changed. However, social movements always have and still do aim to extend citizenship.

When 'new' social movements were recognized in Latin America as well (e.g. human rights, democratization, indigenous minorities, urban poor), it became clear that political inequalities were among the most important factors for this new kind of collective action (Edelman 2000).

Very recently, and with no strict turnaround, Feixa et al (2009) and Van der Heijden (2014) describe contemporary social movements as 'new, new' social movements. The transnational movements and globalization-from-below that are defined as the 'new' social movements were a start towards 'new, new' social movements. While the 'new' social movements have found base in the networked space and often made use of the media, the 'new, new' social movements expanded the foundation of the information age into a new type of organizational structure. Although both types of movements resist against international capitalism (the 'new, new' variant more extreme against anti-corporate globalization), the most recent movements do differ in some ways. Feixa et al (2009) advocate that the spatial base has changed fundamentally, neither local or national but engaged in the globally networked space. They operate on the very local level in their actions but directly connected with the global system in thematic way and in performance (e.g. Internet). A common concept favoured by these contemporary movements is global citizenship – which relates to the globally networked space. Citizenship is then understood as not only state-bounded, rather it extends to the transnational issues. As their main concern is the global order (the neoliberalism and capitalist system), they feel the urge to participate in this system. These contemporary social movements conceptualise citizenship as participation in decision-making in an autonomous way (Juris and Pleyers 2009). Moreover, they propose global citizenship, based on a more democratic system and active participation in society. I argue that the 15M movement shows similar features regarding to citizenship, as they demand a more democratic system and direct participation in society.

Castells (2004) has argued that contemporary movements are networks, and not networks of movements. The subtle difference is that contemporary social movements make more use of new information and communication technologies than before. All social movements involve marches and demonstrations, however, the most recent type of movements is distributed through the Internet and involve non-traditional and highly theatrical forms of direct protest (Feixa et al 2009). Even more, their organizational structure is decentralized and identity-making is based on non-differentiation. Once more, the typology of Touraine regarding to social movements perfectly suits on contemporary social movements. Their identity is non-differentiated; their adversary is the globalized corporate and capitalist system; and their societal goal is more democracy. But most

importantly regarding to this thesis is their feature of opposition against the global neoliberalist order and proposition of global citizenship.

Juris and Pleyers (2009) also elaborate on contemporary social movements. They argue that all social movements conceptualise citizenship in their own way. Additionally, they have introduced a form of 'new politics' which aims to change the system rather than proposing new rights. Contemporary social movements involve diversity among actors, collective and networked action, and autonomy (Juris and Pleyers 2009). According to Juris and Pleyers (2009), social movements that fight for global justice are rooted in the local sphere but are embedded in global practices and politics as well – globalisation from below. The presence of citizenship is notable in both spheres. In the local sphere citizens participate in society, similar to the global sphere where they transnationally propose a more democratic system based on deliberation – which they aim to achieve through their citizenship.

I argue that the 15M movement fits in the contemporary social movements paradigm, due to their features but also due to their conceptualisation of citizenship. As Juris and Pleyers (2009) advocate, contemporary social movements use their own image of citizenship in order to fight for social justice. To elaborate, by proposing citizenship as autonomy for a citizen to participate in a more democratic system, they allow themselves to participate in the system as they are citizens themselves. They do so by deliberative processes in public (digital and physical) space (Castells 2012).

Conclusion

This chapter aimed to relate social movements and citizenship. The interrelation of citizenship with social movements has changed throughout the years. I argue that social movements and citizenship are highly influential to each other and hence cannot be seen separately: movements struggle to extend citizenship. The extension of citizenship entails more rights and duties for citizens, and provides more possibilities to interact within society and politics (Van der Heijden 2014). The way how they aim to extend citizenship is, in my opinion, partly done through their conceptualisation of citizenship. For instance, the 'old' social movements conceptualised citizenship in a formal way and demanded equal labour rights in constitutional law (Feixa et al 2009). They aimed to extend citizenship by demanding more constitutional rights for citizens. Contemporary social movements go beyond the formal status of citizenship and propose a type of global citizenship that is based on active participation in society (which can be done through both formal paths or deliberation outside the political arena). 15M suits in the contemporary social movement paradigm as it is decentralised, networked, and influenced by digital technologies and the Internet. Furthermore, it also conceptualises citizenship in order to fight for social justice.

The next chapter elaborates on how this thesis interprets citizenship. Moreover it generates examples of how contemporary social movements interpret citizenship and use it in their discourse.

CHAPTER 3 POLITICAL PARTICIPATION and ENGAGEMENT

In the previous chapter I aimed to relate social movements and citizenship. Citizenship plays an important role in social movements, as these movements consist of citizens that want to participate in society and politics. Citizenship is a rather complex concept and defined in different perspectives by many scholars. In order to understand the conceptualisation of citizenship by 15M, this chapter will first draw a brief explanation on citizenship. In this thesis I am interested in how the 15M movement conceptualises citizenship and uses this image in its practices. The movement uses its discourse in order to fight for what they want, and uses this discourse as it suits them. Therefore I am interested in how citizenship is defined in modern society as well, and how this can contribute to an analysis on 15M. This chapter will draw on a more specific explanation of citizenship as I understand citizenship; one which goes beyond the legal status. Furthermore, it will provide some examples of the role of citizenship in contemporary social movements.

As mentioned and explained before, there is a diverse spectrum of movements in contemporary world. However, all these movements do conceptualize citizenship in a way they can work with it and use it to endeavour their goals. Social movements constantly participate in a negotiation process, using their identity and citizenship to show their objectives. The interpretation of citizenship in their own language contributes to their fight for social justice.

Understanding citizenship can be done in multiple ways, as there are multiple perspectives. For instance, a liberal idea for equal rights, political communitarianism emphasizing more responsibilities, or radical democrats and anarchists who emphasize practices of political participation.

Marshall (1950 in Leach and Scoones 2007) introduced a liberal version of citizenship and defines it as a status that assures rights and duties. He argued three generations of rights: 1. Civil rights, 2. Political rights, and 3. Social rights (in Feixa et al 2009). According to Meyer and Evans (2014), citizenship is largely based on two classic models: a republican model and a liberal, rights-based model. The former focusses more on political participation while the latter defines citizenship as a legal status. The concept of citizenship has developed, and contemporary thinking includes morality, active participation and identification.

This thesis aims to understand citizenship as explained by Lazar (2004); a set of practices through which societies organise political participation and exclusion. Furthermore, it involves the active participation in everyday political processes that contribute to both individual and collective experiences of democracy.

Nowadays democracy is founded on an electoral basis, which is illustrated by voting on representatives. Yet, this is not the only feature of citizenship. Lazar (2004) includes active participation in political decision-making (in government) when she discusses citizenship, referring to the first interpretations of democracy in Greek city states. The participation of citizens in politics is then seen as important. Citizenship hence involves engagement with society and political agency. In the legal sense of the word it refers to organised political participation, which is expressed through rights and obligations. But going beyond the legal status of citizenship, political agency refers to active (political) participation in society. In this thesis I understand active political participation as followed. Through deliberative processes in public space, whether physical such as camps or street corners or digital like the Internet, citizens are engaged in society. Thus citizens participate in society by being citizens. Interaction amongst citizens in public space shows how they are embedded in

society. I argue that the conceptualisation that citizens draw regarding citizenship, is a process that goes beyond the legal status as it is done in public space.

According to Mouffe (1991), citizenship goes beyond its legal status and a passive relationship with the state based only on rights. In her perspective, citizenship involves active political participation of citizens as well. Rather than only the static and administrative part, citizenship consists of dynamic processes. Besides a status, it also involves a set of practices that give meaning in public space (Kallio et al 2015).

In contrary to a liberalist perspective, Mouffe (1991) argues that individual liberty and political participation can be assembled. In other words, an autonomous citizen should be able to participate directly in politics and society. Moreover, instead of empirically given, citizenship is substantive. To elaborate, due to the dynamic process of interpretations of democracy, citizenship is rather adjustable than a strict definition. Being dynamic, it involves deliberation and participation in discussions in public space. In comparison, Lazar (2012) argues the normative character of citizenship. By relating citizenship to political agency she advocates that “citizens make themselves as political subjects”.

Juris and Pleyers (2009) argue that contemporary social movements contribute to “an emerging form of citizenship”. One that fights for social change, based on political engagement and locally embedded collaborative practices. Global citizenship works in a transnational and networked manner and is a process that builds on lived experience (Juris and Pleyers 2009). Moreover, citizenship is interpreted as a participatory form of democracy with horizontal lines, yet embracing transnational nodes. In other words, an emphasis is put on individuals that autonomously act in the local sphere, while they have ideas of global forms of direct democracy.

I argue that through these processes of citizenship that consists of locally embedded practices, citizens can formulate their claims. Hence citizenship is a process that is based on participation and engagement in society and politics.

Mouffe (1991) also elaborates on the “ethico-political” aspect of citizenship. The ethical part refers to the inclusion of morality in (direct) democracy. The ethical can only be discussed through deliberation as it most of the times differs per context. This contributes to understanding citizenship not only as legal status but also as process of transformation. Citizenship is not only formal – including written rights and obligations – but also informal as it involves a form of identification. This process is done through construction of practices: perceptions of equality and liberty are dynamic and will always be discussed in society. Through the process of identification, the citizen is an active actor in the decision-making. Lazar (2012) contributes to this conceptualisation by stating that citizenship is rather a set of practices than just a status. I understand this as followed. Citizens do not only participate in decision-making by voting, they also are embedded in society by acting in public space. Discussions on the street and on Internet lead to new images of citizenship that are created by citizens themselves. One can speak of citizenship as engagement of the citizen with society. Additionally, by active participation citizenship can create the ability to affect politics in society. By actively participating in politics, citizens remain autonomous. An engaged citizen is more likely to participate (Dalton 2008). Engaged citizenship goes beyond the formal status of citizenship and electoral politics and includes participatory activity.

Besides the emphasis on the autonomous individual, citizenship involves – or at least how this thesis interprets – a collective form as well. A collective of individuals modifies its identity (Mouffe 1991). I argue citizenship as a dynamic process and involving ethico-political aspects. This leads to the

following: citizenship as political participation of both the individual and the collective through not only the formal (rights and obligations) but also through deliberation and active participation. According to Mouffe (1991), citizenship consists of an overlap between duties and freedoms of citizens, illustrating citizenship as a process of participation in politics. By recognizing the formal political system but also going beyond, it allows citizens to practice citizenships through a deliberative manner. I argue that political participation goes beyond the legal status of citizenship and mainly focuses on a set of practices in public space.

Contemporary social movements

Contemporary social movements, decentralised and networked, have translated the concept of citizenship into global citizenship based on diversity and make use of the concept in their own practices. According to Feixa et al (2009), contemporary social movements have contributed to new perceptions of citizenship among scholars. Additionally, they conceptualise citizenship in their own way. The recent anti-corporate movement, the fight against the global order for social justice, has contributed to an emphasis on globalism and transnationality in the discourse social movements adopt (Feixa et al 2009). As mentioned above, not only scholars conceptualise citizenship and social movements, these social movements articulate citizenship in a specific way by themselves as well. The conceptualisation of citizenship happens through different processes. Feixa et al (2009) argue the political construction of identity, which allows social movements to understand and express themselves through their own image of citizenship. Moreover, deliberative processes in public space – which is emphasised by the 15M movement – contribute to a movement's definition of citizenship. Global citizenship in the network society has three dimensions; it has multiple spheres (civic, political, social, economic and cultural), it combines recent information technologies with traditional citizenship, and it is transnational (Feixa et al 2009). Sequera and Janoschka (2012) argue in a similar way, according to them acts of resistance allow reformulation and reinterpretation of scale and identity. In other words, due to resistance – social movements highlight the struggles in society –, citizenship gets conceptualized over and over again into new formulations. According to Nuijten (2015 forthcoming) social movements make use of *languages of the political* in order to discuss their objectives. To elaborate, by using a particular kind of discourse, self-conceptualised, social movements can express themselves and endeavour what they stand for.

Nuijten (2015) elaborates on the PAH, the platform of mortgage victims in Spain, and how they conceptualize citizenship in order to fight for their (social and judicial) rights. On the one hand they argue that civilians have the duty to disobey the law when unjust. In this case citizenship means the individual legal and political agency of the people themselves to be able to change the system. On the other hand citizens have the right to be protected by the state, which ensures a top-down approach of the state that respects and secures its citizens.

Another example is drawn by Holston (2008) who elaborates on marginalized citizens in Brazilian cities. An unequal distribution of rights has led to the illegal occupation of land by citizens. Citizens thus understood citizenship as a legal mean to fight for a more equal distribution of rights, permitting illegal activities in order to achieve justice. According to Nuijten (2015 forthcoming), “many expressions of political agency take place beyond the venues of institutionalized politics”. A social movement such as Occupy goes beyond the institutional by understanding citizenship as form of direct democracy (Lazar 2012) based on horizontal organisation and no specific spokespeople. Direct

democracy is a form in which citizens can participate in decision-making in politics directly (Mouffe 1991). This can be done by voting or consensus-making.

The Arab Spring, which was a revolutionary wave of demonstrations starting in 2010, showed how people organised themselves in their call to bringing down the regime. The dominant discourse in which social movements during the Arab spring were framed demonstrated basic demands for social and political justice (Joffé 2011). The discourse used by social movements during the Arab Spring illustrated citizenship as a democratic value rather than citizens being inferior to an autocratic government.

The examples given show a broad spectrum of how citizenship can be understood by citizens and social movements, whether in a social, cultural, political, legal or economic way. Anyhow, these examples illustrate the sense of active political participation in society by the individual and the collective. More important, social movements use a conceptualisation of citizenship (e.g. the Arab spring argued citizenship as democratic value) in their fight for social justice. Using citizenship as a particular image gives social movements the power to participate in society and politics.

This raises the following questions; how does the 15M movement in Spain perceive citizenship and how does it participate in politics. Since 15M aims to change the system; how should society be structured in their opinion? And what role does citizenship play in this process? As Mouffe (1991) advocates, citizenship involves individual liberty and political participation. The *indignados* favour autonomy of the individual and the possibility to interact with the political through deliberation, which can be related to Mouffe's and Lazar's ideas of citizenship which are embraced by this thesis.

Conclusion

As mentioned above, there are many perspectives regarding to citizenship. However, this thesis recognises citizenship as political participation, which is done through a set of practices in society. Citizenship goes beyond the institutional and the formal only. Both the individual and the collective identification and construction of ideas around citizenship contribute to this participation. In relation to social movements, citizenship plays a significant role due to two reasons. First, social movements make use of citizenship in order to achieve what they fight for. To elaborate, through their (self-) identification and societal goal, social movements intend to participate in decision-making processes. Furthermore, by conceptualising citizenship in a specific way, movements can represent themselves in these processes. Citizenship is a dynamic concept which evolves through the means of interpretations, however, this thesis recognises the dynamic process as a form of constant, deliberative participation in society and politics. These processes are performed in public space, whether physical such as camps or street corners, or digital like the Internet. Therefore they are engaged in society.

The following chapter is aimed to analyse how the *indignados* in Spain interpret the concept of citizenship and uses this image in practise. Moreover, it will elaborate on 15M from the political participatory perspective on citizenship.

CHAPTER 4 15M and THE CONCEPTUALISATION of CITIZENSHIP

15M is an example of a decentralised and networked social movement. The movement demands a transformation of society, in particular the political and financial system. It endeavours a more democratic system, based on deliberation and participation in decision-making. The movement arose from being indignant towards the current electoral system in which they feel a lack of representativeness. Relevant to this thesis, 15M makes use of a discourse that involves citizenship. In this chapter I aim to understand how the movement conceptualises citizenship, and how they use citizenship to realise their goals. Moreover, I am interested in what kind of practices 15M implements in relation to citizenship. In other words, how do they perform their image of citizenship in politics and society.

I also aim to use my own perspective of citizenship to analyse 15M. As mentioned before, I understand citizenship as political participation in society. By going beyond the only legal status, I argue that citizenship is the possibility to interact within society and politics. This interaction and participation is done through a set of practices in public space.

The chapter will end with a conclusion on the conceptualisation of citizenship by 15M.

The movement's discourse

15M defines itself as a grassroots, non-party, non-violent citizens' movement (Hughes 2011). However, due to the high diversity among its participants, the movement is rich in discourses. Its most fundamental discourses involve the following; self-regulation and management, consensus by assembly (agonistic), 99%, *true* citizenship, non-representation, direct democracy, ethical and social cooperation (Serrano 2011 in Castells 2012). Next to this, the cooperative dimension, "we can do this" and "join us!", provides the *indignados* the political agency to change the system, in other words having the power to change.

As mentioned before, the discourse of the *indignados* goes beyond the (global) capitalist economic system. The *Indignados* really differentiated themselves with the financial and economic powers of their society, rather they emphasised the importance of going beyond financial powers and include a more democratic system. To quote a discussion group in Cruells and Ibarra (2013) referring to power relations: "it is not about the capitalistic system in particular, rather more about the power that specific people have over other people." The contemporary power relations between citizens and the political system are shaped around the dichotomy of freedom and power. Power relations can produce limitations on citizens' freedom. Hence, individuals should be seen as sovereign citizens. The fact that individuals are citizens, gives them the capacity to autonomously participate in decision-making processes. That is, according to 15M, what citizenship is about.

The lack of feeling represented by the political system contributed to the discourse used by 15M. The quote "they do not represent us" (in Castells 2012) shows how the *Indignados* want to see the political system, as truly representing the citizens. Thus, on the one hand, 15M argues that citizenship involves sovereign individuals who should have the capacity (and responsibility) to participate in decision-making. On the other hand the state should play a representative role, respecting and protecting its citizens. The real democracy involves a socio-political and bottom-up approach (Cruells y Ibarra 2013) in order to generate a horizontal network. This demand contradicts with the current electoral democratic system, which, according to the *indignados*, causes failure of representativeness. Hence, in their opinion, citizenship is not about electoral democracy rather more about independent citizens with the power to be involved in the political system directly, without

intermediary agents. The latter really favours the idea of autonomy of the individual. A system with no voting structure, shapes the possibility for citizens to interact with politics anytime they want. In this way the citizens are directly involved.

The *indignados* propose the idea of a non-electoral system, which allows citizens to be represented in its most essential meaning; by themselves. Castells (2012) has recognized a paradigm shift regarding to the relationship between citizens and governments. 15M has the idea that individuals should be able to directly interfere in the political system, which should consist of horizontal lines: the less intermediaries the better. This relates to one of the key features of 15M; having no spokespeople. Because, if this movement represents such a great amount of diverse individuals, why should one person in particular tell what they want?

By relating the citizen to the political system (the financial system is part of the political) 15M considers citizenship as a political value. Power relations are influential in a citizens' freedom, however, according to 15M citizenship should consist of a bottom-up power relationship (Castells 2012).

The nowadays political and financial system entail, or at least 15M argued it does, a non-moral and non-humane approach (Berná et al 2013). Due to the lack of representativeness, the people feel that politicians and bankers just live and act in their own particular sphere and do not take into account what the people really want. These systems can be brought under the umbrella of *realpolitik* – politics based on realistic and efficient decisions, not including ideologies – and Castells (2012) argues that the *indignados* are in search for authenticity, by rejecting these efficient, non-moral type of policy making. Rather than permanently focussing on economic profit, the *indignados* identify themselves as fighters for humanism. They argue that the morality and human character always should be embedded in decision-making. Key principles in the 15M discourse are horizontality, involvement of everyone, consensus, and including the voice of minorities (Hernández and Martínez 2013). In the current electoral system, minorities often do not stand a chance as the majorities vote for their own interest. Citizenship is, as mentioned before, about specific forms of deliberation, and should be performed in a dynamic process including both the government and its citizens.

Among scholars there is a consensus regarding to the political interest of 15M (Martínez and Dominguez 2014; Castells 2012). The movement acted political by favouring a non-traditional political sphere based on agonism. Agonism can be seen as conflictual consensus, it recognises conflicts and differences but intends to accept them. Mouffe (2013) contributes that politics based on agonism embody a sphere with adversaries rather than enemies. Conflicts and differences are recognised, however, adversaries intend to accept these in order to find an agreement. Despite their political activity, the *indignados* did not feel represented by any political parties or union affiliations. They resisted against the current institutional system. Rather more, 15M was sceptical of whether their goals could be achieved through institutionalised action (Hughes 2011). At the very beginning of the process of 15M, politics were strictly neglected due to its association with institutional policies. The a-political position contributed to a positive character that emphasised autonomous citizens and social justice. However, in fact, by advocating to be a-political, one can state that the movement did perform some political actions. Nevertheless, as stated by Hernández and Martínez (2013), the movement transformed it's a-political point of view towards a propagation of a structure of direct democracy. One can recognise a reconceptualization of politics; one that assembles the social and the political. However, the discussion the movement wanted to raise remained political, as they

strived to change the political, institutional system. The latter allows one to relate 15M's citizenship to political agency and participation. The *indignados* recognised citizenship partly as the duty of citizens to improve and equalise laws and economic injustice. Citizens have rights, and the *indignados* state that in contemporary society their citizenship is marginalised by the state (Nair 2012; Minguijón and Pac 2013). This marginalisation of citizenship is illustrated by the lack of representativeness that the *indignados* felt towards politicians. The *indignados* did not agree upon the decisions made by the politicians. They couldn't participate in this decision-making, and as they argued that citizenship involves the possibility to directly participate in politics, they felt marginalised. According to the movement it was legitimised to disobey laws that did not represent the people (Martínez and Dominguez 2014). Even better, in cases of state-failure, citizens should start self-managed organisations and projects, built on solidarity networks. 15M reproduced these self-managed organisations and projects as assemblies, which are processes of self-organisation with topics emerged from the people on the ground, hence locally embedded. However, while maintaining its local characteristic, it remained performing transnationally due to two key features: the fight against the global order and the spectacular and, more importantly, crucial use of current information and digital technologies. The examples mentioned are aimed to be achieved through deliberation and participation in decision-making. Elsewhere in this thesis it was already argued that the *indignados* make use of a transformed public space; containing both the physical and the digital aspects of space. 15M argues that deliberation and decision-making in a consensual manner can be done on both squares and schools (physical and local – still with transnationally oriented), and on the Internet (digital and global). Citizenship hence involves the participation in deliberative physical and digital spheres, and can be practised by the occupation of these spheres. Moreover, citizenship as conceptualised by the *indignados* focuses on collaborative thinking in order to experience direct democracy (Hernández and Martínez 2013). One can say that 15M pictures citizenship as a dynamic process which generates and reconstructs different topics, based on social justice and autonomy. The physical and digital public spaces are there to develop political agency and experience citizenship.

Language and Articulation

The way how the 15M movement defined itself is interesting. Individuals frequently name the network as *the movement*, while the first 'formal' name was *15M*, referring to the date of the first demonstration. After this demonstration the media framed the movement as *the indignados*, which suits their own discourse as well. According to Castells, while mostly pointing out economic and social struggles, 15M was a deeply political movement. It aimed for a change from pseudo-democracy into real democracy. Besides a specific self-definition in their discourse, 15M also has used conceptualised a discourse to describe their antagonists, the 'them'. As the *political* is antagonistic (Mouffe 2005), 15M portrays the politicians and the bankers as *them* and themselves as *us*. The negative actions of bank(er)s and politicians (which are "manipulators", "corrupts") are highlighted in their language, for instance: "they leave us – citizens – unprotected", "they let down the unemployed, elderly, people on the street", "they don't act humane" (Berná 2013). By creating distance between the movement and the financial and political system by using strong a vocabulary, 15M propagates its societal goal as more democratic and just. In other words, 15M performs a kind of us-them politics to legitimate their actions and goals. According to Berná et al (2013), 15M – and in particular the DRY part – define themselves as victims (the good and many: citizens) and the bank(er)s and politicians as negative representatives – the bad and with few. One can see a similarity

with the later appearance of the Occupy movement, whose discourse also included the claim of being 99% of the people.

The use of language and vocabulary are essential in the framing of a movement. Words contribute to the perception of the discourse and narratives illustrate in what way attention is demanded by the movement. For instance, the use of the term of *indignados* to define themselves is an example of usage of language in order to conceptualise a particular discourse. The movement has multiple names – 15M, *indignadas*, the movement, Real Democracy Now – however, many actors associate themselves with being indignant towards the financial and political system. The firm slogan “Real Democracia Ya (Real Democracy Now), we are not merchandise for bankers and politicians” (in Anduiza et al 2014) shows what the movement wants to represent in essence. Besides its almost provocative way of propagating themselves, they want a direct transformation of the system. Language was also used as a strategy to encourage citizens to join the movement and participate in assemblies, commissions and demonstrations. Postill (2013) illustrates the DRY being a ‘meme factory’. Ordinary citizens could submit slogans, the best ones would be made viral through all the movement’s channels. The popular slogan “we are not commodities” derives from such an initiative. Language was used to describe 15M’s antagonist, which according to a general assembly (in Hernández and Martínez 2013) was threefold. “We are not goods in the hands of politicians and bankers” and “Someone named the banks as enemy number one, I want to name the media” illustrate the distinction between the *us/we* – 15 – and the *them* – politicians, bankers, and media.

A particular type of vocabulary is the usage of is ‘no’ or ‘none’. Most slogans refer to situations or perceptions of what is *not* there. For instance, “there is not enough bread for so much ‘chorizo’ (meant as both sausage and criminal)” or “we will not pay for your crisis” (in Hernández and Martínez 2013). Powerful slogans were used such as “they leave us without rights” or “... without jobs”. Another word that came to the fore often is ‘calle’ (street). The street is part of the public space that 15M interact with. The *indignados* favour the street as they see it as place for collaborative action among diverse, locally embedded individuals. Berná et al (2013) argue that the *indignados* make use of a descriptive manner to express themselves and their resources. As mentioned elsewhere, 15M makes a clear distinction between them and bankers and politicians. This strict distinction is hard language; “Buenos y muchos – the good and with many” (citizens) and the “pocos y malos – few and bad” (bankers and politicians). Hence, one can state that language is used to provide themselves a victim-role. In other words, once included in the movement any individual is *good*. When being an exterior individual that (fails to) represents the political or financial system, all associations are bad. The emergence of 15M lasted several years, and according to Berná et al (2013) the usage of language slightly changed within these years. Although claiming to be a non-violent movement, words as “lucha/fight” and “genocidio” are extremes.

(Non-)violence

One of the values the *indignados* propagate to have is non-violence. From the beginning 15M characterised itself as a networked social movement with non-violent strategies and actions (Cruells and Ibarra 2013). Besides actual self-defence, non-violence is emphasized and argued to be necessary to legitimize their actions. Moreover, the *indignados* called themselves pacifists, but still made use of more or less provocative slogans such as “they wouldn’t listen to you”. They used non-violence in their discourse as an essential good to their core societal goals, which gave them a broad

support, legitimation and social recognition to the global community (Martinez and Dominguez 2014). In other words, their definition as a non-violent movement (Hughes 2011) contributed to an expansive recognition among the Spanish and global population (Castells 2012). 15M argued that a more democratic, just and peaceful society only could be achieved by opposing violence. In contrary to other *indignados* movements in Greece and Italy, where according to della Porta and Zamponi (2013) violence was used as a – not too significant though – mean to achieve their societal goals, 15M were fundamentally against violence. Even when police violently interfered the camp occupations of squares, people would remain peaceful (Castells 2012). However, media often described 15M as a movement with violent means.

Besides including non-violence in its identity, 15M also used non-violence as strategy or methodology (Cruells and Ibarra 2013). However, one should take into account a distinction between pacifism and non-violence. The latter can be performed in an aggressive manner as well, and hence be interpreted as violent – which policemen have done towards occupations of the squares in Madrid. According a discussion group of 15M (in Cruells and Ibarra 2013), their discourse of non-violence allows individuals to be provocative towards officials in order to get a reaction from society. Another reason why non-violence is utilised as strategy is the matter of being recognised as terrorists. The use of violence can lead to a decrease of legitimation. In other words, the utilisation of violence can diminish the political participation of the movement and its individuals. The fear of being recognised as terrorists, and hence to be excluded out of deliberative decision-making processes, has led to the movement's discourse of non-violence. Nevertheless, the *indignados* have been called terrorists in media and by politicians. In the history of 15M there has been used violence by the *indignados*, for instance at the Placa Catalunya in Barcelona, where some members of the Catalanian Parliament were insulted (Martínez and Dominguez 2014). Moreover, in March 2012 some discussion groups of 15M were involved in demonstrations and riots which were organised by Spanish (formal) labour unions. Nevertheless, the commission of peace and non-violence of 15M (the movement was more or less distributed and organised in commissions) would directly communicate that violence never works in the road to a new democracy. Furthermore, they would say that ninety-nine percent of the movement is against violence or property destruction (Micó and Casero-Rapollés 2014). The media plays a significant role, according to the movement. By particular framing they can emphasize a distinctive perspective on a movement, for instance, by discussing the legitimacy of a non-violent movement using violence.

Within the non-violence paradigm the *indignados* have addressed a structural and violent way of acting of the government (Cruells and Ibarra 2013). Slogans that show this claim are; “there is no lack of money, but too plenty thieves”, “we are not anti-system, the system is anti-us”, “error 404: democracy not found”, and “there is no crisis, there is a fraud”. Another popular hacker slogan is “do not propose, do!”, which shows the determination of the movement to stand up to the political powers in the system (Castells 2012). The lack of trust in the system caused the physical protest which was embodied through street demonstrations and *acampadas* – camps on the squares. The discourse of 15M not only involves self-identification, yet also a particular language on how to conceptualise the movement's antagonist.

By particularly emphasising on a non-violence approach, 15M aims to participate in politics and society peacefully. Their discourse of non-violence contributes to their image of citizenship, which refers to deliberative processes in public (digital and physical) space. As their aim is to represent themselves – both individually and collectively but always in an autonomous way – in society, their discourse strongly disapproves the usage of violence. Assemblies would openly speak up against

violence (Cruells and Ibarra). Through a spontaneous process the commission of *Peace and non-violence* was established (Micó and Casero-Ripollés 2014). This commission would discuss topics related to its niche, in particular it would stand up when the movement got associated with violence. According to them, violence leads to an exclusion from participatory politics while a direct democratic system is endeavoured. More specifically, the use of violence leads to diminishing and disrespecting citizenship.

Feminist voice

Despite the fact that feminists played an important role in the visualisation of problems in both the financial and political system, their actions were generalised within the first realisations of the 15M movement (Cruells y Ibarra 2013). One of the reasons why the feminist wing in 15M was strong was the vulnerable position of women on the labour market – while the labour market coped with high unemployment rates already (Castells 2012) – and unequal distribution of wages. As mentioned before, during the first days of the advent of 15M feminist objectives or gender inequality did not come to the fore in the movement’s discourse. Mainly due to the broad fundamental meaning of the movement which was directed to the capitalist and neo-liberal global order, there was no great attention for ‘smaller’ subjects such as gender. However, rapidly assemblies were created where feminist topics came to the fore, referring to gender equality, lesbians and transgenderism. Texts such as “The capitalist and patriarchal society oppresses us” and “We want a society in which people are the centre, not the market. We want a transformation of the economic model” (Cruells y Ibarra 2013) illustrate two important features of the movement. Firstly, the expansive essence of the *indignados/indignadas* is highlighted; a change for a more democratic system and social justice. Secondly, it shows how individuals, among a diverse spectrum of actors, can let hear their voice about local and cultural embedded themes such as the Spanish patriarchal society.. The inclusion of feminism in the 15M discourse depended on places; some cities were influenced by feminist commissions, other did not pay attention to the local feminist niche. Together with the entire movement, the feminist part endeavours horizontal lines of political organisation (Cruells and Ibarra 2013). One can state that the feminist niche of the movement contributed to the scream for more democracy and social justice – emphasising equal and horizontal lines. Consistently to the conceptualisation of citizenship adopted in this thesis, the feminist niche demands for more political participation in society. As they demand a transformation of the system, they use their citizenship – set of practices – to engage in decision-making. Similar to other sub-groups of the *indignados*, the feminists perform this citizenship through a deliberative set of practices in assemblies on the streets, squares and digital space.

Conclusion

Citizenship in this thesis is understood as political participation in society, which goes beyond the legal status and includes practices in public space. As Mouffe (1991) has argued, individual liberty and political participation can be assembled. Both can be related to 15M’s demand for autonomy and 15M’s demand for horizontal lines and deliberative decision-making. 15M hence uses a similar discourse. By arguing autonomy of the individual and also a deliberative form of decision-making, it entails an emphasis on local practices to participate in decision-making. To elaborate, citizenship according to the *indignados* consists of a constant process of deliberation. Discussions and decision-

making in public space – both physical and digital – contributes to a direct democracy where each autonomous individual can participate politically.

Parts of the 15M that have evolved to separate groups show that an interesting conceptualisation of citizenship as well. For instance the PAH, which mainly focus on the mortgages situation in Spain. This movement hence interacts within a legal and institutional system, as they demand for a constitutional change. However, exactly that demand represents citizenship according to the political participation perspective. As this sub-group does not feel represented by the law, it participates within politics, and hence goes beyond the formal as it includes ethical argumentations. As Mouffe (1991) has introduced; citizenship in part consists of ethico-political which entails deliberation and morality in decision-making.

I argue that the 15M movement conceptualises citizenship as a dynamic process that is based on autonomy for citizens. As mentioned elsewhere, one of 15Ms societal goals is the ability of autonomous individuals to participate in a democratic society. Hence, the *indignados* oppose the current electoral system, which, according to them, does not represent them. In their opinion political participation can only be achieved through direct democracy and deliberation in public space. Part of this can be related to the concept of citizenship elaborated in chapter 2, however, this thesis acknowledges also the formal part of citizenship. The latter is not superior, but still present in a direct democracy. One can note that the *indignados* conceptualise citizenship in a particular way. They also realise this conceptualisation in practice by demonstrations and, more relevant, creating assemblies and camps to promote deliberation in public space. The commissions that were established would discuss a broad range of topics, however, all these topics were aimed to be discussed on a deliberative manner (Berná et al 2013). The movement argued that citizens should participate autonomously in discussions, and they realised their own image of citizens by creating this possibility in public space – both physical and digital. The movement did not accomplish its societal goal, as the political and financial system remained the same after the 15th of May. But in their fight for social justice, their conceptualisation of citizenship helped the movement to expand and become a well-known movement in contemporary world.

DISCUSSION and CONCLUSION

The aim of this thesis was to understand how the 15M movement in Spain conceptualises citizenship and uses this discourse in their fight for social justice. The concept of social justice relates to the societal goal of 15M, which fits in the societal goal that many contemporary social movements have; one that opposes the global order – neoliberalism and transnational capitalism. Social movements aim to extend citizenship, and 15M is a good example of such a movement. Their goal was to extend citizenship and their means was their own image of citizenship. They emphasised the autonomous and participatory feature of citizens, and a deliberative way of decision-making. Through demonstrations and the creation of assemblies in public space, they aimed to work on citizenship in the same way as how they conceptualised citizenship.

The movement's societal goal was to transform the current global, neoliberalist and capitalistic system into a more democratic one. In other words, a change of the political and financial system into a system with more horizontal lines, more autonomy for the individual, and the possibility for citizens to actively participate in society and politics. 15M did not succeed in their goal, as the electoral system remained the same and no structural changes have been implemented. Their greatest impact was the contribution to the decrease of votes on the Socialist party. Dreams remained dreams. However, as Castells (2012) has argued, the goal of social movements is not necessary to succeed in what they fight for. Perhaps more, it is about the process of struggles that are brought up by citizens in society. One can state that social movements are a reflection of society, and the interpretation of citizenship contributes to this reflection. Thus, rather than looking at how the *indignados'* discourse succeeded their goals, this thesis has drawn an analysis on how they included citizenship in their set of practices.

Citizens are autonomous individuals embedded in society, citizenship then is the ability to autonomously participate in society. According to 15M, this participation should be possible to do directly, without intermediary agents or electoral system. Their set of practices of citizenship was done through demonstrations and discussion groups in camps, squares and the streets. The usage of specific language contributed to how 15M conceptualises citizenship. By strictly making a distinction between *us* (the good and many) and *them* (the bad and few) they express how they are citizens and act humane. While the others – politicians and bankers – do not participate in deliberative decision-making. Strong words and slogans contributed to the way how 15M wanted to accomplish their demands. By creating assemblies and camps the *indignados* promoted deliberation in public space.

The commissions that were established would discuss a broad range of topics, however, all these topics were aimed to be discussed by consensus. So public space was used to conceptualise what citizenship involves. Discussion boards were established and citizens would discuss about their role as citizen in the political and institutional system. To clarify, the discussions were performed in a way as the movement had conceptualised citizenship; based on horizontal lines.

Besides interpreting citizenship as ability to autonomously participate in society and politics, 15M argues the state to be part of citizenship as well. Hence, citizenship is understood in twofold; on the hand it is the responsibility of the state to respect and ensure its citizens. The *indignados* felt a lack of representativeness of the parliamentary democracy, while the state should take care of its citizens and its responsibility is to represent them. On the other hand it is the duty of the citizen itself to improve and equalize the political system. Therefore 15M proposes a horizontal structure, based on autonomy for the citizens.

In order to answer the research question regarding the conceptualisation of citizenship by 15M, one can state that citizenship plays an important role in the movement's discourse. One can note that the *indignados* aimed to expand participation of citizens in society to the extreme. How this thesis understands citizenship – citizenship is practice rather than just status – relates to 15M. The movement aimed to go beyond the legal status of citizenship as well, as they were sceptical towards the idea of achieving their goals through institutionalisation. However, the slight difference between conceptualisation of citizenship as this thesis understands and how 15M understands citizenship, is as followed: this thesis goes beyond the formal system, however, it still acknowledges its existence. Similar to Mouffe (2013), I do not believe in a total rejection of representative democracy or institutional system. The aim of 15M is to eliminate the institutional system, one can see them as anti-institutional. Both perspectives emphasize political participation of citizens and strive for engagement. Both perspectives argue the deliberative features on decision-making. However, 15M endeavours a radical system where citizenship ensures any individual to interact autonomously with decision-making processes in the political system.

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