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**Titel:**

**Creating real democracy by the 15-M movement**

**Bachelor Thesis: Bachelor of Science  
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## Abstract:

This thesis provides an intensive analysis of the Spanish 15-M movement. This certain movement emerged 2011 and has since then mobilised the spanish population to express their disbelief for the government on power. They focused on post-financial social and economic problems and demanded the end to the imposed austerity measures as well a change in the political landscape by challenging the parliamentary monarchy as representatives. The focus of the analysis is to uncover evidence for their claim: Real Democracy Now. By applying the 'Ten Thesis' of Jacques Rancière as theoretical foundation the analysis is revealing the movements structure, strategy and the extent the movement created real democracy. Furthermore the analysis is conducted with an dataset emerged out of media reports.

Nonetheless the analysis revealed that the movement created through is occupation of the public sphere a self-sustainable concept towards real democracy, in respect of democracy. Furthermore the research uncovered that they not only developed solutions with their assembly practices, they inspired the people to consider to take actively part in politics to change the opposed austerity measures and in general the overall perception about democracy. The movement itself created real democracy and moreover started an active discourse about direct participation as new solution.

Keywords: Commons, 15-M movement, Real Democracy, Democracy, Occupy Movement,

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## 1. Introduction

In this first chapter the reader will be introduced to this thesis topic and the devoted research question. First and foremost the attendant research question is: “To what extent did the occupy movement 15-M in Spain created real democracy by its assembly practices”. Furthermore this thesis paper will try to find an answer to this question by focusing on media coverage about the movement. Moreover this research question is strongly connected to concept of “real democracy” and therefore will be elaborated later in the concept chapter. However the introduction chapter will deliver first crucial background information about the emerge and reasons of this certain movement. Through the background section the linkage to the research question will be more evident from the beginning on. Afterwards in the research question section the proposed question will be elaborated and further discussed to validate the social and scientific relevance. At the end of this section a short outline will provide the reader further deepening information about the following thesis.

### 1.1 Background

This thesis deals with the Spanish occupy movement 15-M and their protest movement during 2011. Concretely, this thesis is addressing the legitimate assembly practices of the 15-M movement and their main claim “Real Democracy Now” (*¡Democracia Real YA!*) in order to determine the extent the movement created real democracy by their means. These assembly practices are the result of a comprehensive social mobilisation in order to symbolise a tipping point against the austerity measures imposed by the government. The movement itself is characterised by its origin; it was established as an anti-austerity movement in Spain (Democracia Real Ya, 2011). On these grounds the movement can be briefly described as an aftermath reaction to the global financial meltdown in 2008. In fact, the Spanish economy faced serious difficulties when the crisis hit Spain: The housing bubble burst and values of properties drastically decreased, the Spanish construction industry collapsed, banks needed rescue measures, government finances produced increased deficit and economic growth decreased (Minder, 2011). This trend can be observed in the annually published country statistical profile of Spain by the OECD. As seen in Table 1 the downward tendency since the crisis hit in 2008 is significant. The ‘Real GDP Growth’ (annual growth in %) dropped from 0.9% in 2008 to 0.7% in 2011. The ‘Government Deficit’ (% of GDP) in 2008 was at -4.5% and increased till 2011 to -8.6%. In addition the ‘General Government Debt’ (% of GDP) raised from 2008 with 47.7% to 75.1% in 2011. Another indicator for the critical situation can be found in the ‘Long-Term Interests Rate’ (in %), which was 2008 at 4.36%; compared to 2011 the interests rates generally increased with 5.44% in 2011. The unemployment rate (total labour force in %) increased from 11.3% in 2008 with 10.3% to a new historically high percentage of 21.6%.

Due to these circumstances and on the occasion of the crisis, when the taken institutional policies did not respond to the major problems, a wave of protests across Spain established the 15<sup>th</sup> of May 2011 as a turning point of the current situation.

Deriving from the date the movement has been named the “15-M”. Although it is also known as the “Indignados”. It has been estimated that during the demonstrations on that day, 130.000 people in Spain participated. Furthermore, approximately 6 to 8.5 million Spanish citizens joined the on-going protests between the 15<sup>th</sup> of May until the 6<sup>th</sup> of August 2011, by visiting campsites and/or participating in the citizen assemblies (Sánchez, 2013). These assemblies, and especially the organisations that arranged them, arose from platforms such as “Youth with no Future” (Juventud sin Future), “Real Democracy Now”(¡ Democracia real YA!) and social media (Democracia Real Ya, 2011). However the mass mobilisations occurred first on the Internet and then moved to the streets and squares of 58 cities located in Spain, with the biggest one at the ‘Plaza del Sol’ in Madrid. One of the central initiatives, namely: “Take the Square”, was used to bring the movement to the public sphere and evolved to camp occupations and citizens assemblies in order to provide the means for citizens to deliberate on common problems and ideas for possible solutions. By occupying the public sphere the camps were seen as an initiative to show civil disobedience. This call for change was directly correlated with the fact that the protesting citizens claimed to not being represented by traditional politics anymore. They rather requested to be represented by politicians who facilitate the political participation of citizens through direct channels (Democracia Real Ya, 2011).

After all the demographic set of this movement is not only limited to the youth or left wing members, but it is broadly defined by middle- and working class citizens; those citizens all share the demand for transformation and improvement within the Spanish democratic system, and hope to tackle the needs of the citizens during and after the crisis (Casero-Ripollès & Feenstra, 2012). All in all it can be summarised that the movement gained its popularity through the overall negative economic and social development during the financial meltdown, which led citizens to the outcome that representative politicians are not capable to fulfil democratic values. Beside this, the characteristics of implementing the citizens in a more deliberate democratic system seemed to strike the nerve of the citizens demands.

## 1.2 Research question with the sub-question

Since the Spanish 15-M movement mobilised against the post financial crisis situation, especially towards the enforced austerity measures by the government hundreds of thousands citizens united to protest. Corresponding to this, the protestors claimed the Spanish political institutions and the political representers within are not capable to represent the citizens and their needs anymore. This democratic deficit is subsequently tackled by the movement in addressing the society with alternative democratic solutions such as ‘real democracy’. However the extent to which the

movement really established the means for real democracy is therefore the key element to be studied in this thesis. In that sense the supporting research question of this thesis will be used to narrow down the scope of the thesis. Therefore the main research question is formulated as it follows:

*“To what extent did the occupy movement 15-M in Spain created real democracy by its assembly practice?”*

By narrowing the scope through the research question the independent variable “assembly practices” should be entitled to define the extent of the independent variable “real democracy”, since the assembly practised was the main tool of exercising their real democracy while they were occupying the public sphere. Finding an answer to this question the following sub question: “What would Real Democracy look like?” will be answered first to lay down the concept foundation of this thesis paper.

### **1.3 Social and scientific relevance**

Under the circumstances described in the background section, it becomes more and more relevant to understand the economic and social problems in the context of democratic issues. As a matter of fact, it is necessary to understand how citizens and groups respond to these influences by engaging in social and political protests. Additionally, the protestor as a unit for political change becomes more relevant through the occupy movement and was even awarded by the `Time Magazine` in their column: “People Who Mattered in 2011” (Time Magazine, 2011). This illustrates the necessity to research the extent how citizens may provide relevant sustainable democratic solutions for social and economic equality. In stating so the relevance of this thesis is in fact focused on one certain movement, namely the 15-M movement in Spain. However through the recent global financial crisis (2008) these occupy movements are connect through their origin and cause. Since then, namely after 2011, it is possible to find various different researches on movements such as the 15-M. For this thesis purpose it is helpful to mention some of them. This means in order to provide a contrasted and comparable approach, to determine the social and scientific relevance, some of these research outcomes will be mentioned. Moreover through this step at the end, it is possible to compare and agree upon a value in terms of the social and scientific relevance of this thesis. In detail three published papers will be included and their corresponding central conclusion; the first is focusing on a rather political view, the second on a rather economic view and the last will focus on a media epidemiography of Spain’s indignados movement.

In the first published paper I. Lorey (2014) argues in her findings: “This is not so much a direct democracy, in which the citizens are involved in all the political decisions, but rather a new

understanding of democracy that I would call presentist democracy” (p.17). The second paper is rather focusing on some economic values. They, namely Charnock et al. (2012) link in their work the forms of protest politics with the institutional forms taken in favour of capital accumulation. Therefore they (2012) argue: “Once such characteristics of capital accumulation in Spain are taken into account, the popular protest of 2011 can be explained in terms of the fallout from the inability of the political class to sustain an asset bubble and keep in motion [...] high investment, high growth, and high growth rate of income [...] (p.9). In the last paper J. Postill (2013) expresses: “Spain’s indignados and their Occupy comrades are modulating the free software subculture in potentially revolutionary ways by virally expanding the space of techno- political practice and political engagement [...] the movement’s massively distributed hacker ideas and practices demonstrate the power of real-time, open collaborations amongst like-minded citizens” (p.14). Of course and generally speaking the findings of this thesis will be used to evaluate on the research question, but in broader sense the outcome can be used to validate the movements claims. Additionally and in respect of the previously mentioned other research results, the outcome can be used to confirm or disagree to the current state of literature.

All in all it can be assumed that this research will provide further input in the generalisability of the occupy movements towards understanding the claims and functioning by highlighting the fact that the social and economical needs of the majority must be discussed through the concept of direct participatory in politics. Beside this, the instrument of horizontally is providing further reasons to claim that this research can possibly provide further information for more generalisability in understanding the occupy movements capability and extent in providing solutions through the concept of real democracy.

#### **1.4 Outline of the thesis**

The introduction chapter of this bachelor thesis is followed by the concept chapter which provides the theoretical background. The first sub questions is answered in this chapter to cement the necessary foundation for the further elaboration of the main research question. In that sense the theoretical background will then be used to depict further the research methodology, including the content analysis, the data collection and the operationalisation to portray a broader image of this thesis study. Hence, the methodology section will clarify that this research focuses on media reports about the movement to gather the necessary data. Afterwards the analysis chapter embodies the step towards answering the research question by using the method of content analysis. The final chapter represents the conclusion with the key findings to answer this thesis main question and implications for further research.

## 2. The Concept of Real Democracy

Considering the above mentioned research question this section aims to provide more insight into the concept of real democracy. In this following chapter the first aforementioned sub question will be discussed. Such being the case this chapter will first deliver a discussion about how real democracy could look like and then will continue with Jacques Rancieres 'Ten Thesis on Politics' to deliver a more narrowed down definition of real democracy. Afterwards the input of the 'Ten Thesis on Politics' will be put in scheme to establish a scheme for the research later.

### 2.1 What would Real Democracy look like?

There are several different definitions and derivations on how to define real democracy. Should real democracy be defined as a continuous concept or according to some underlying principles? Moreover which elements should be included in and excluded from the concept?

In order to establish a valid definition of what real democracy means it must be first mentioned that the general term 'Democracy' is derived from the ancient Greek 'demokratia'<sup>1</sup> which means translated: 'the power belongs to the people'. In contrast nowadays, western democracy entails free elections of political parties and their political assets, which then rule on the citizens' behalf (Socialist Party of Great Britain, 2010). In other words, democracy in the western world can be best equated with representative government. Certainly all democracy polities do certify themselves as "real". However as Bryan (2010) argued: "But I say that nearly all representative structures that provide the frame of governance for the democracies of the world are substitutes for democracy, not approximations of democracy" (p.3). In addition to this claim Robert Dahl observed that using the word "democracy" when speaking of representative systems is an "intellectual handicap" (Dahl, 1967). In fact, real democracy is not always correlated with "good", but it settles in advisable and inadvisable forms. Frank M. Brayan (2010) describes "real democracy" as the following: "Real democracy (for good or ill) occurs only when all eligible citizens of a general-purpose government are legislators; that is, called to meet in a deliberative, face-to-face assembly and to bind themselves under laws they fashion themselves" (p.3). Following this definition, those who live under a jurisdiction can be described as citizens and are therefore qualified to participate directly. This empowerment of the citizens is used to ensure the general will of the citizens and not a political elite structure. Furthermore, the 'Socialist Party of Great Britain' deliberates on real democracy: "Imagine a society where all the people would be of equal status [...], a world with no leaders and no elite to lord it over the rest of the population [...], a society where everyone can have an equal say in the issues that concern them" (Socialist Party of Great Britain, 2010). This definition implies some anarchic values, nevertheless it expresses some crucial values of real

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<sup>1</sup> From [yourdictionary.com](http://yourdictionary.com) - Demokratia: Is derived from ancient greek. 'Demos' means people and 'Kratos' power, which results in the direct translation mentioned in the section above



democracy. Equality is a necessity to overcome leaders power over the population. Hence, equality remains one of the key aspects, without equality the means for real democracy are not given. Along the lines of defining real democracy, it is important to consider the thoughts of Jacques Rancière. His political theories and thoughts about the reformulations of the hegemonic concept of democracy and its representations are useful to implement. Rancière delineated that a democracy which is able to over through existing democratic orders defines itself in the theoretical framework of real democracy (Lorey, 2014). Furthermore, Lorey (2014) continues on Rancière's thoughts about real democracy: "[...] finding unexpected ways of doing things, such as making decisions by drawing lots, and taking positions that one is not supposed to take" (p.52). All these characteristics can be found in the crucial aspect of assemblies and therefore one supporting pillar is the popular assembly<sup>2</sup>, in which citizens hold public meetings in the sense of real democracy, where they can discuss, vote and decide on collective decisions. In order to define the concept of popular assemblies, the thesis will use the example of 'Participatory Budgeting'<sup>3</sup>. This example of assembly practices refers to the idea that citizens have the opportunity to participate in the public budget spending of their city or municipality in neighbourhood and district assemblies. The basic idea was developed in the city of Porto Alegre in Brazil in the 1980's (New Compass, 2013). In this city, basically every person that is affected has the right to attend the assemblies and vote on the budget allocations. After the decision-making process, the people that attend those assemblies elect delegates for regional assemblies where they decide on the budget plan for the whole city. However, those delegates are strictly bound to the priorities and values of their neighbourhood. In fact, the function of those delegates is rather defined as a transmitter and voting ambassador of the community they represent.

From these deliberations it can be condensed that the concept of real democracy rather concentrates on citizens who govern themselves than on those who seek to take over the power in the state. Therefore the characteristics of this democracy concept entails that it is direct and participatory, moreover the concept emancipates citizens to actively participate in the decision-making processes that affect their lives and their communities.

## 2.2 Why Jacques Rancière and his Ten Theses on Politics? - A brief digression

This part of the concept will concentrate on the findings of Jaques Rancière. His theses on politics will be used to establish indicators as theoretical foundation and for the further purpose of this research. Therefore the emphasis will be put on his work: "Ten Theses on Politics". In the recent years, Jacques Rancière writings on politics inspired not only to view politics in the most known

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<sup>2</sup> From [yourdictionary.com](http://yourdictionary.com) - popular assembly: A localised citizen gathering to address issues of importance to the community

<sup>3</sup> From [participatorybudgeting.org](http://participatorybudgeting.org) - participatory budgeting: Is a way to manage public money, to engage people in democratic process in which community members directly decide how to spend part of a public budget

abstraction of so called normative theories and the philosophical platitudes of so called postmodernism (Chambers, 2011). In fact with his definition of politics (*la politique*) he strongly defames pure politics. He rather defines politics as an act of impurity, a process that resists purification (Rancière, 2010). Therefore Rancière's "Ten Theses" emphasises to rethink the nature and virtue of politics. In order to achieve this, the predetermined contemporary definition of democracy needs to be newly imagined by changing politics, democracy and the people opportunities to participate to achieve real democracy.

### 2.2.1 Ten Theses on Politics

Rancière focuses in his work "Ten Theses on Politics" on the characteristics of politics and the involvement of the subject<sup>4</sup>. When the exercise of power correlates only with the possession of powers, then politics is reduced within its scope or in Rancière's words: "More, when conceived as a theory- or investigation into grounds of legitimacy- of power, its type of thinking is also dispensed with" (p.27). The subject displays the distinction between only being a mode of grouping or power characterisation and a system in which the subject is partaking in the ruling and of being ruled. Therefore he uses the term 'avoir-part' (part-taking) to describe that everything about politics is associated in this relationship (Rancière, 2010). In that sense 'proper' political order is rather identified with the conception of the good (*eu zen*) instead as a conceived order of mere living (*a zen*). That is why the characteristics between the domestic and the political becomes the limitation for the social and political. In addition Rancière (2010) emphasises that: "(...) the idea of a city state defined by its common good is set in contrast to the sad reality of modern democracy cast as the rule of the masses and necessity" (p.28). This implies that empowerment of pure politics or the virtue of the 'political good' is in contrast to governmental oligarchies ruled by "experts". Therefore this results in the decomposition from domestic and social necessity, which can only be described as a devaluation of the political to the state (*l'étatique*). For this reason the key assumption is, that politics are defined through the part-taking of the subject and the accessibility. Due to this outcome 'proper' politics consist entirely of a relationship through the involvement of the subject. At the very moment when this connection disappears - politics disappear.

In diverse formulations politics is defined as a ruling of equals and citizens are the element of part-taking in the mechanism of ruling and being ruled. However and in that sense it is important to set aside the representation of the common belief in parliamentary systems (Rancière, 2010). For that reason the reference to Hannah Arendt work is made in which he (2010) cites her statement: "(...) the order of praxis is an order of equals who are in possession over the power of the *arkhêim*<sup>5</sup>, that is the power to begin anew" (p.29). In other words, the meaning of *arkhêim* is in this context

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<sup>4</sup> In Rancière's work, he uses the term subject as synonym for citizens. Therefore this will be used onwards as synonym for this thesis, too.

<sup>5</sup> From [yourdictionary.com](http://yourdictionary.com) - *arkhêim*: Derived from ancient greek; to begin, to lead or to rule

defined as tool to take part and action in the processor decision making, which in the general sense means to be able to take initiative for the subject. Due to that, *arkhêim* is linked to the principle of freedom (Rancière, 2010). On these grounds the role of the citizen is along the concept of *arkhêim* to establish the means to act instead of being acted upon. Thus an alleged determined superiority of a ruling elite upon equally determined citizens needs to be dismantled to achieve a political subject which enables politics. Furthermore in his formulation of his theses Rancière relates to Plato's seven qualifications, in which Plato subordinates the first six in two theoretical pairs: natural superiority and the rule of science (Rancière, 2010). The seventh qualification Plato determines, who is in the right of exercising the *arkhêim*. Rancière (2010) states: "He (Plato) calls it the choice of God or, otherwise said, the drawing of lots". By stating so, the emphasis is put on the fact that democracy has the attribute of drawing lots or moreover that there is no appearance of any entitlement to govern. On these grounds it can be stated that in democracy no principle for dividing up of roles should exist. In that respect the absence of any qualification means for democracy the absence of any entitlement. This fact puts every citizen in the role of exercising the *arkhêim* by drawing lots (Rancière, 2010). Again, democracy in his sense is not a political regime. The logic behind the *arkhêim* is defined along the disposition of power or in Rancière's (2010) words: "(...) it is the very regime of politics itself as a form of relationship that defines a specific subject" (p. 31). In that sense, to be able to connect the subject to politics, to achieve the axiom of democracy, it is necessary to overcome the axiom of domination. Moreover to achieve the 'demos' the subject itself needs to define under what sense and with a common authority they assemble. However to answer why democracy is more related to a representative system instead of in the hand of the 'demos' organised by assemblies Rancière uses a retrospect in time. He argues that democracy we know is invented and derived by its opponents (Rancière, 2010). With opponents he put this in the pillory who claimed to have an entitlement to govern. Therefore he answers this dilemma by pointing out that the power of the demos and the power to rule is only entitled to those and only those who's only commonality is that they have no entitlement to govern. As it is already stated the people are the subject of democracy. But what defines them? In his theses the definition is set as neither a collection of members of the community nor a certain class, for instance the labouring. Thus, Rancière uses the term 'the count of the uncounted' within the democracy. In respect to this term it can be formulated that the people as entity do not refer to the principle of class, the principle of wealth nor any entitlement through their origin. Therefore the characteristics are best to be defined as a abstract that is bound to any 'count' of the population with neither connection to any entitlement through economic or knowledge based qualifications. Considering the necessity of gathering people within a community for a functioning real democracy Rancière accuses the predominant, so called 'normal' order of interaction.

From his point, the principles of gathering in a society, is stipulated nowadays under the rule of those who rule; which is summarised in governmental qualifications. Those qualifications are

referring to two central principles, namely the power of birth and the power of wealth (Rancière, 2010). The former describes the society and the filiation, whereas the latter focuses to the principle of vital activities. Thus Rancière (2010) claims: “The ‘normal’ evolution of society, then, presents itself in the form of a progression from a government of birth to a government of wealth” (.p35). To set aside those predetermined qualifications the principles for gathering is to connect the people to politics by not grouping them into sub groups, for instance the gap between rich and poor. However Rancière distinguishes two parts of the community. He describes the first as empirical parts that constitutes the social body and the other part is “the part of the no part” (Rancière, 2010). Therefore he uses the term ‘police’ for the former and for the latter ‘politics’. In general sense the police is described in the dictionary as: “the official organisation that is responsible for protecting people and property” (Cambridge Dictionary, 2016). Thus, Rancière defines the police as rather a symbolic constitution of the social or in general: the police neither expresses repression or control over the living (Rancière, 2010). Moreover he uses the term ‘distribution of the sensible’ (le partage du sensible), which is to be understood on the one hand what separates and excludes the common and on the other hand what allows participation. Yet to overcome these obstacles of the police order is to focus on the essence of politics. Rancière argues that only politics are capable of disturbing this arrangement in using the aforementioned ‘part of the no part’ which is indeed the community as a whole.

Apart from the true meaning of the police the main association with public sphere and within demonstrators is correlated with the fact that the police is rather a tool for dismantling those or as Rancière (2010) points out: “the space for circulation is nothing other than the space of circulation” (p.37). Thus, the fact that the police is capable of using their power against demonstrators is nothing more than the loss of the public sphere. By contrast politics is the tool for disrupting this police circulation in providing the means for the subject. Moreover the recapturing of the public sphere is one key aspect in establishing the means for democracy. Furthermore the public sphere must be seen as a space for the community, where the subject is defined as hearing or speaking member and not according to his ‘domestic’ space (Rancière, 2010). With the term ‘domestic’ Rancière implies that a subject is in the public sphere only to be seen as a equal part and in order to prevent categorisation them into political subjects with different characteristics, for instance workers, women, etc - the requalification back to the initial purpose of the public sphere is necessary. Beside this the true meaning of politics is summarised according to Rancière in the term ‘dissensus’ (Rancière, 2010). The idea behind this term can be described to the fact that democracy cannot be understood through the model of communicative action<sup>6</sup>, since this model implies that common exchange is pre-constituted, whereas dissensus rejects this. In political dissensus the common exchange is not constituted in any circumstances, the subject within is the object or the very essence of discussion. Furthermore to indicate that politics is not bound to a

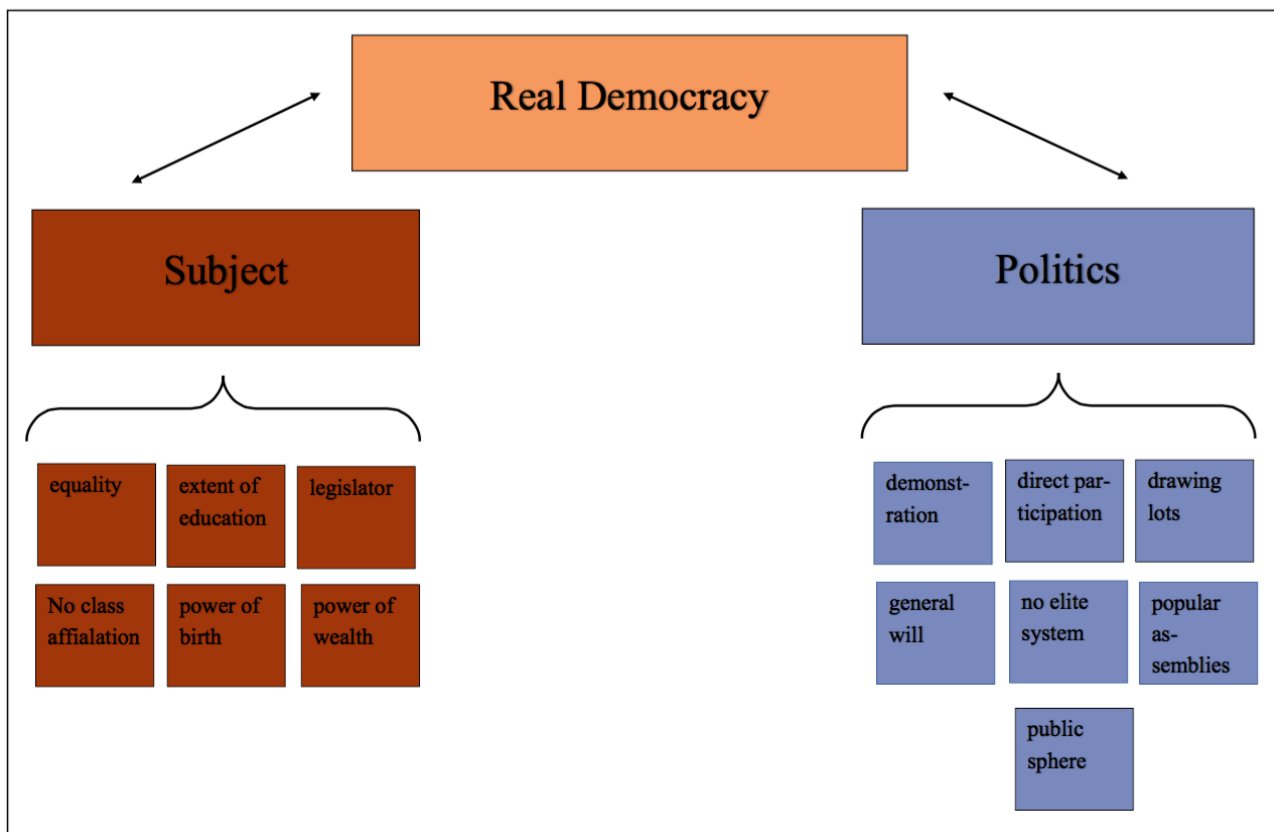
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<sup>6</sup> The Communicative Action Model is developed by Jurgen Habermas.

‘proper’ place or belongs to predetermined aspects Rancière continues with the public sphere and demonstrations. As he (2010) states: “A demonstration is political not because it occurs in a particular place and bears upon a particular object but rather because its form is that of a clash between two partitions of the sensible” (p.39). The notion is that democracy in its very nature can only be deduced from a neutral world of equals or free people. Besides this, to establish political dissensus with a neutral world of equals, Rancière sees a necessity in proper political philosophy to enable political action. In his view political philosophy disables the litigiousness constitutive of politics (Rancière, 2010). He argues that the necessity of philosophy to include in politics is given through a subject, which is described early on as an entity with no qualification to rule. The focus of Rancière’s political philosophy theses is founded on the grounds of Plato, which is a ‘two-fold consequence’. On the one hand a community is the execution of the principle of unity or common body. Therefore through Plato’s arch-politics which emphasises this Rancière concludes that this ethology of the common is inseparably connected to politics and police and vice versa (Rancière, 2010). Nonetheless the idea behind the political philosophy is to highlight that democracy is a social phenomenon, a collective mechanism to abandoned qualifications or in other words the ‘part of the no-part’. In Rancière (2010) words this political philosophy can be seen as: “[...] the opposition between the political and the social is a matter defined entirely within the frame of politics philosophy” (p.40). In other words the sociological theme of the ‘end of politics’ and the ‘return of politics’ both derive from this political philosophy; both grasping the principle that it is necessary to abandon pure politics (Rancière, 2010). In that sense the essence of politics can only be found in the dissensus, which implies that the people are only a reduction of the sum of the social body and of the political community.

His thoughts about the “Ten Thesis on Politics” is defining the framework for the further analysis, as analytical scheme what real democracy should and could look like. As it is previously stated, he distinguishes between the citizens (‘Subject’) and the political aspect (‘Politics’). Both subgroups define the necessity to achieve democracy in its pure and natural form. With this in mind, the following analytical scheme is developed to highlight the differences of each subgroup with the corresponding indicators.

### Analytical Scheme for the analysis:



### 2.3 Conclusion

This section was used to deliver insight about the real democracy concept. Through the open discussion at the beginning of the section it is now clear how real democracy is broadly discussed and defined with its various characteristics. Thus, to narrow down this definition, Jacques Rancière's contemporary discussion about democracy was used to establish an analytical scheme for the analysis. In correspondence with the background of the movement and the concept of real democracy, these two aspects correlate in various forms. For instance, Rancière argues about the public sphere, demonstration, direct participation or dismantling an elite structure. All the characteristics are to be found in the main ideas of the movements. These claims are their foundation for their establishment and are identically what Rancière emphasises as necessity for democracy. To put it in another way, Rancière's input is therefore used to deal with the analysis of the 15-M movements' newly way of protesting by delivering and living solutions for the key problem: democratic deficit.

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### 3. Research Methodology

This upcoming chapter will familiarise the reader with the research methods applied to answer this thesis research question. The first section will intensively discuss the methods of data collection, including the justification of the sources. Afterwards the method of data analysis will be elaborated and discussed. The last section will emphasise the limitations this research is facing and possible solutions to increase the validity.

#### 3.1 Method of Data Collection

In this following section the method for data collection will be presented. This means, this section will deliver more insight information about the thesis structure, in order to justify the course of action. The data will be qualitative and with the additive of only secondary data. Due to this fact, the dataset is focusing on online published newspaper articles. Hence, to categorise the huge quantities of available sources the following methodology is developed. In order to establish a comprehensible filter system for this thesis and in terms of feasibility the sources underly some quality features. Therefore the sources or in other words the coverage must be at least accessible in more than one domestic country, in english and all of them must be publicly available online. The reason behind this first stage of filtering is to be set, because at the beginning the general coverage about the movement found is way through online channels such as social networks. As previously mentioned, only after occupying the publish sphere they gained attracting attention from the mass media through online published articles as well in printed form. That is why the contemporary overage during the occupation enables to father evidence of their actions in form of the published reports. In fact, the idea behind is not to focus on a media content analysis like Harold Lasswell did 1927 in terms of propaganda (Macnamara, 2005). To the contrary ,the dataset is used to gather evidence of what they did. This is way, it is possible to evaluate the extent the movement practiced real democracy. To ensure a quality based and fact checked coverage, obviously boulevard newspaper coverage (yellow press) and social media is generally ruled out as data.

Beside this, the timeframe for the coverage in question is defined through the starting point of the movements demonstrations publicly (15th May of 2011) until the end of the year. In context, this seems to be the mist accurate way to gather information, in correspondence with the research questions. Far more, since this thesis is putting an focus on the movements occupational phase, this timeframe is reasonable. Since the movement continued after the occupational time in decentralising into smaller neighbourhood assemblies (Democracia Real YA, 2011). Again this is important to emphasise, in narrowing down the timeframe, the research itself can directly grasp sources written during the occupation of the public sphere for their cause. Another contributing fact by using this timeframe characteristics is to be found that these reports describe descriptively the actions of the movement without significantly perverting the truth. That's why, this research is



including some more rules for gathering of the data. First the 'Global Press Freedom Ranking' of the organisation 'Freedom House' from the year 2011 is used. This organisation is independent and in fact they monitor, analyse and rank democratic values of countries, such as the press freedom. Therefore it is possible to narrow down which country of origin for a published report is considerable and in general free or reliable. This means, only article from countries with the status 'Free' are included. For instance this would apply to the USA (ranking: 17) or United Kingdom with the rank 26 and status free (freedomhouse, 2011). Since the search engine 'google' is providing an feasible and free search engine, this thesis will use three search items (see Table 2). Due to the fact that they were capable in delivering the most relevant results relating in quantities and by considering the goal of the thesis main research question. This is why this thesis is using the advantage of the free google search engine, including the algorithm to filter the coverage in question. This implies, an outcome by date and by relevance. For each search item a online research will be conducted and through the implementation of the aforementioned filter, the articles in question on the first webpage will be used for this thesis (see Table 3). In that sense it can be argued the reports are already sorted by relevance and date. This leads to the fact, that the data finding mechanism is best to be described as purposive sampling.

### **3.2 Method of Data Analysis**

This section will provide an insight for the method of data analysis. Since this thesis is emphasising an media coverage analysis, the main mechanism for uncovering the desired information will be channeled trough a content analysis. This method ensures a wide and heterogenous technique in order to elaborate in contextualise interpretations of content, composed through the communication processes. Ultimately the goal is to uncover content, which is able to implicate valid and reliable inferences. Therefore this certain method enables to locate traces in the dataset of media content, which then can be used to make inferences to what extent the movement practised real democracy. As analytical tool, coding will provide an appropriate method to uncover the communication process into patterns. In other words, the book "The Practice of Social Research" from E.R. Babbie (2010) highlights: "[...] coding is the process of transforming raw data into standardised form (p.309). Hence, content in question is distinguished between manifest and latent. The former technique is using visible surface content, actual terminology in the variants of communication. In contrast, the latter reflects the underlying meaning, moreover it focuses on the direction or meaning within a statement. On the one hand manifest coding is strong in reliability, but weak in validity, whereas latent coding not he other hand is subordinated on the researchers diverse interpretations (Babbie, 2010). Thus, both techniques in connection can help to improve each others shortcoming to a certain degree.

In order to find evidences or traced in the sampling of online published coverage, the coding system will rely in emphasising key elements of the concept of real democracy to uncover patterns.



Due to the fact that measuring this set of data in statistically terms is not possible. Therefore, the analytical scheme will provide the means for coding. In Table 4<sup>7</sup> and 5<sup>8</sup> in the Appendix, the coding scheme is divided into two subgroups with their own corresponding codes. These elements of real democracy express the findings of the concept section. Each element will be used to uncover an indicator of real democracy. However to measure the extend of their real democracy, the occurrences and cooccurrences of the characteristics will be used to indicate the frequency (manifest coding) and underlying meaning (latent coding). As it is stated before, the assembly practices of the movement are used to establish real democracy, to involve and not exclude any willing participating citizen (Democracia Real Ya, 2011). In order to differentiate, two subcategories are developed. Both describe one major characteristic for real democracy. Therefore it is necessary to differentiate between the 'Subject' and 'Politics', in respect of their corresponding key elements. Moreover, to validate the findings, each element if the subcategory is defined as mutually exclusive and collectively exhaustive. In applying these steps, the research is facing strong and weak points. Indeed, an major threat in terms of readability is summarised in the inter -coder reliability. This thread describes the extent to which more tan one coder is evaluating the characteristics of the coding process. In fact, Tinsely & Weiss (2000) emphasises on this point: "intercoder agreement is needed in content analysis because it measures to extent to which the different judges tend to assign exactly the same rating to each object" (p.98). On these grounds and in respect of social research it is necessary to mention, that this thesis scope of a bachelor thesis retrenches the capabilities in limiting this thread. However to reduce this problem to a certain degree, this thesis relies for the content analysis on the software "atlas.ti". Another thread can be seen in the sampling technique. The chosen purposive sampling technique can be criticised in terms of selection bias or selection error. This judgemental technique is lacking the fact of random sampling. To tackle this fact, the sampling criteria is set in the method of data selection section, thus even by applying using the developed sampling process. Thus, to eliminate selection bias or error is in general difficult to obtain. All in all, limitations will always be present when conducting a research. Nevertheless for this thesis and especially within the scope of feasibility for a bachelor thesis, the listed measures in this section should provide the necessary means to produce a reliable and valid outcome for the analysis section.

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<sup>7</sup> The code group 'Politics' summarises the elaborations from the concept part about politics towards real democracy. Each code represents an aspects of the concept part in theorising politics in real democracy. Note: Page references are used to indicate the example in the concept part

<sup>8</sup> The code group 'Subject' describes the elaborations from the concept part about the citizens qualifications towards real democracy. Each code represents an aspects of the concept part in theorising the subject(citizen) in real democracy. Note: Page references are used to indicate the example in the concept part

### 3.3 Concluding Remarks

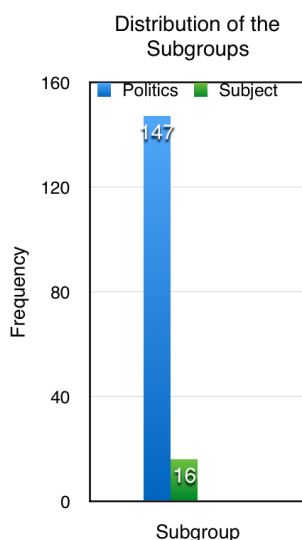
All in all it can be summarised that this approach towards the media content analysis is using the method of qualitative content analysis to uncover the manifest and latent meaning. Again, this study is not putting an emphasis on media imaging or propaganda in favour for or against the movement. The selected sample is used to identify the extent the movement created real democracy by uncovering traced in descriptive manners. In that sense it can be sated that through the horizontal connections between the occupy movements around the world, this thesis can delivery with his methodology another part in terms of external validity. By understanding and verifying an positive (or even negative) outcome this thesis delivers more evidence in terms of generalisability of one of the main characteristics - occupy the publish sphere to enable real democracy.

## 4. Analysis

In this section the conducted research will be presented and analysed. The analysis is divided into three analytical schemes. In that sense this section will start with the descriptive part of presenting the outcome of the dataset and will then continue to deepen the analyse in correspondence with the concept section, to evaluate on the extent the movement created real democracy. At the end of this section the third part will be used to present the strongest pillars towards the elaboration of the research question.

### 4.1 Descriptive Report

In the Appendix section of this thesis the full report of the Atlas.ti outcome is implemented to fallow the upcoming evaluation. The dataset revealed and mirrored some crucial aspects of the concept section. As we can see in Table 6 in the Appendix each of the code groups are present in almost every media report. Hence, in 12 out of 13 articles it was possible to determine evidence through the coding scheme. The oddity here, can be found in article. This means only in one article it was not able to track down one code for both subgroups and the corresponding codes. Therefore this article is to be seen as an outlier and is not further discussed in the analysis. Thus, in the remaining media reports it was able to find evidence. For the subgroup 'Politics' the dataset enabled to find in total 147 traces through the previously mentioned codes. In contrast for the subgroup 'Subject' the dataset only enabled to find in total 16 traces. This can be seen here in the simple descriptive Table 7:



This is already descriptively seen a major disparity in the outcome. In terms of a comparison, this is already an tendency the dataset revealed. It is already worth mentioning that the outcome of this thesis is in descriptive manners, pointing in the direction of the subgroup 'Politics', instead of both of them. Since, this disparity is already dividing the course of the outcome, the insight this oddity in

terms of occurrences is delivering is interesting. Here it can already be stated that for the political characteristics of real democracy the media coverage delivers enough evidence, whereas little or less for the subgroup 'Subject'. In detail, this tendency towards one group then the other will be further discussed in the next part of this section, since this part only is to be seen as descriptive analyse. Hence, the outcome revealed a clear disparity the following detailed description should deliver more insight in the dataset. As a matter of fact the detailed descriptive analysis will continue first with the subgroup 'Politics' and then with the subgroup 'Subject'. The outcome for the former subgroup can be explicitly seen in the attached report. In fact, the outcome for the subgroup 'Politics' is showing that the codes demonstration (32 times), popular assemblies (30 times) and publish sphere (33 times) show the most occurrence after implementing the coding scheme. Thus, the codes direct participation and no elite system follow with the former 15 times and the latter with 22 times. The only outlier code is drawing lots, this code was only one time coded and no further evidence was found in the research. In total for this subgroup, with all the codes included, the dataset revealed an outcome of the total sum of 147 traces. Again, after implementing the coding scheme, the results for this subgroup confirm the assumed or expected. The media reports analysis confirms through the occurrence of the codes that this movement was acting trough the channels of demonstration and occupying public sphere. Likewise, the occurrences of the other codes verify that this movement is not only limited to these characteristics. Moreover, the assembly practice as such, is a strong pillar or the possibility of direct participation are verified through the dataset.

In contrast the subgroup 'Subject' is showing less evidences for the associated codes. This can also be observed in the full Atlas.ti report attached in the appendix. Here it can be examined that the two codes equality and no class affiliation show the only numeric high values with the former in total with eight counts and the latter with seven counts. The other remaining codes, like power of birth, power of wealth, legislator, extent of education either have no evidences to be determined or only maximal two counts. As it is previously mentioned, this oddity is a major outcome of this media report analysis. Since the subgroup is showing less or no evidence in terms of the analysis. Speaking of the occurrences the results for this subgroup can be assessed negatively for the movement. It is not possible to conclude in detail further assumptions and therefore in this state of the analysis it is necessary to highlight that the movement is clearly lacking evidence for this part of real democracy. Additionally and because of this, their real democracy is so far lacking severely. Thus, it can be summarised that the chosen dataset of media reports during their occupational time, revealed certain tendencies. This can be seen through the occurrences of the different codes. By looking at the two subgroups it can be said that the subgroup 'Politics' with the corresponding codes occurred in total counts more than the subgroup 'Subject' with the corresponding codes (see Atlas.ti Report). Again, this research and especially this section refers to the descriptive nature of the dataset. The outcome displays disparities between the two subgroups. Moreover and in

broader sense these certain disparities can be observed clearly in context to the outcome. Irregularities are to be seen in the occurrences of the certain codes. Hence, it can be assumed that this research outcome indicates in detail to certain pillars while the movement practiced their real democracy. These pillars are defined through this dataset. The evidence displays significant evidences towards the subgroup ‘Politics’. In detail, for this subgroup the main pillars are to be set by the characteristics demonstration, public sphere and popular assemblies. However the remaining codes are traceable in the dataset. In order to visualise these tendencies and possible pillar a simple descriptive overview graph for each subgroup will be presented here: in Table 8 and 9:

Table 8:

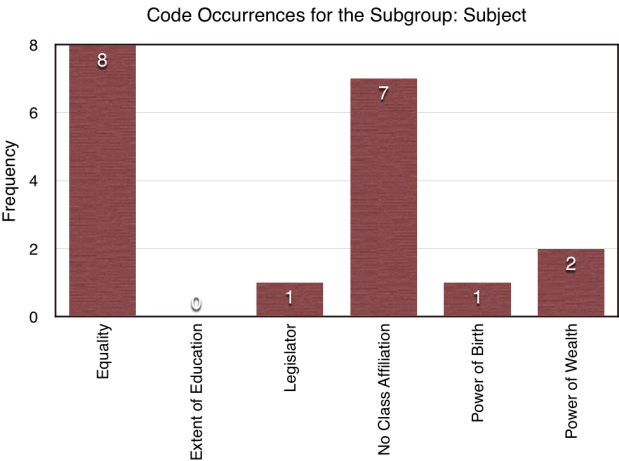
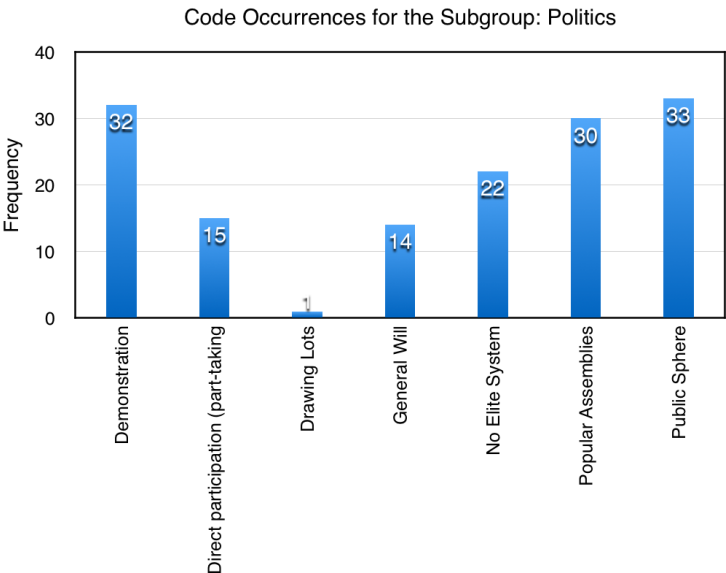


Table 9:



Since this first observation is already delivering us crucial insight information and allows us to already assume an outcome, the following step is to examine the cooccurrences in the dataset. This means the outcome of the dataset revealed cooccurrences in the coding process, which is indeed interesting to include in the evaluation process. Cooccurrences can be used to tell us something about the context within the dataset; which can be used to refer to spatial association between concepts. For this purpose Table 10 and 11 are developed and included here:

Table 10: Co-occurrences for the subgroup 'Politics'

	demonstration	direct participation (part-taking)	drawing lots	general will	not elite system	popular assemblies	public sphere
demonstration	0	0	0	1	0	2	9
direct participation (part-taking)	0	0	0	2	2	6	1
drawing lots	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
general will	1	2	0	0	3	3	1
no elite system	0	2	0	3	0	1	1
popular assemblies	2	6	0	3	1	0	2
public sphere	9	1	0	1	1	2	0

Table 11: Co-occurrences for the subgroup 'Subject'

	equality	extent of education	legislator	no class affiliation	power of birth	power of wealth
equality	0	0	0	1	1	1
extent of education	0	0	0	0	0	0
legislator	0	0	0	0	0	0
no class affiliation	1	0	0	0	0	0
power of birth	1	0	0	0	0	1
power of wealth	1	0	0	0	1	0

In both tables we can see the distribution of the cooccurrences. Moreover both tables enables to descriptively display, which codes are coded several times in cooccurrences. For the subgroup 'Politics' this certain connection occurs especially with the codes 'demonstration' and 'public sphere', which is in total nine times coded together in the dataset. In addition the codes 'direct participation' (part-taking) and 'popular assemblies' show in the outcome six times a cooccurrence in the whole dataset. The last but not less significant in the context is summarised with the codes general will and no elite system; both show a cooccurrence in total of three times. These cooccurrences enables in descriptive manners to assume or even validate the main findings. It is now possible to predict even more the main codes and their impact on the extent of their real democracy. In fact, the cooccurrences validate the previously emphasised key findings. Moreover in total counts and in connection these codes (popular assembly, public sphere, direct participation) show tendencies as main their main pillars for their real democracy. Whereas in contrast, the subgroup 'Subject' revealed less cooccurrences in this viewpoint. Since the dataset revealed less evidence towards this subgroup, this outcome was expected. Thus, here again the dataset displayed some cooccurrences, which are interesting to implement in the analysis scheme. As we can see in Table 11 the dataset indicates that the code equality is commonly coded with the three other codes. Thus, the numeric value of this cooccurrences is small, it can be used to evaluate more in detail the extent the movement determined the citizens characteristics. Hence,

the only cooccurrence in this subgroup which do not involve the code equality is to be found in the two codes power of birth and power of wealth. Due to the low outcome for this subgroup, in both variants (occurrences and cooccurrences) it is not possible to find a line in the argumentation process for this subgroup. In descriptive manners, the movement is clearly lacking those characteristics.

On these grounds the analysis will continue focusing mainly on the subgroup 'Politics', while the subgroup 'Subject' will not be purely left out. However since the dataset did not revealed enough evidence to determine whether or not the movement created the means, according to the concept section. Thus, the descriptive overview displays some evidence towards equality and no class affiliation; this two characteristics will be implemented for the further overall evaluation in the context of this thesis.

## 4.2 Discussion of the Results

This research paper is focusing on finding and answer to what extent the movement 15-M created real democracy by conducting a qualitative content analysis on media reports. The emphasis is put on elaborating on evidence in the dataset. Again the dataset consist entirely on media reports. The whole dataset is used to gather evidence about them. Therefore the whole protest movement with their main tool assembly practices is under research. As previously mentioned this research paper is aiming to come to an conclusion by using assembly practices as independent variable to conclude on the dependent variable real democracy. As defined in the Codebook and implemented in the appendix (Table 4/6 and in the Atlas.ti report) the indicators are there to elaborate on their practices. Hence, as this movement emerged as a protest movement, which used the mechanism of occupying the public sphere for their cause, it is clearly anticipated that the data will point in this direction; in favour for them. However to ensure an appropriate analysis in terms of neutrality, the outcome of the content analysis is presented in the appendix section and will be discussed and elaborated in correspondence with the concept section. In the concept section is the answer to the subquestion: "What would real democracy look like?" is-discussed, however the idea behind it, is to evaluate on their movement by finding an answer to their claim: "Democracia Real YA!"

First the subgroup 'Politics' will be discussed and analysed. The coding process unfolded some crucial aspects for the evaluation process. John F. Kennedy (1961) once said in his speech to the "Newspaper Publisher Association": "Without debate, without criticism no administration and no country can succeed and no republic can survive" (p.2). In this quotation the very nature of this movement can be reflected upon. In that sense, the very first code 'demonstration' (Politics) summarises this as an indicator. As the analysis unfolds it can be condensed that for this certain code in the whole dataset 32 traces of evidences are present or in 9 out of 13 reports clear evidences are existing. The movement itself created with his demonstrations exactly the intended. They provided the means to set aside the predetermined qualifications for the subject by involving

social networks to emerge their protest from the world wide web to the streets. In order to reach out for the masses they needed to evolve from an online movement to an physically present demonstration. This step was crucial for the movement, not only in terms of strategy but also to symbolise a connection throughout the different social layers. The dataset indicates enough evidence, to point out that this step was used to bring the movement to the public. This fact can be seen through the characteristics of the dataset, only when the movement occupied and publicly demonstrated the mass media started to take part in the coverage. Strategically seen, this was necessary in order to establish a greater impact. However this observation leads to another point. Actively and physically demonstrating is their major stepping stone for further recognition in the political landscape, as well for recognition by the citizens itself. Moreover through their demonstration they actively connected the citizen to politics by not grouping them into subgroups. Their starting point as a demonstration and then evolving to an occupational demonstration can be interpreted as signal for their cause. It shouldn't be seen only as a nation wide coordinated demonstration, it was the signal for everyone to participate directly in their cause, by using the public sphere. In correspondence with the concept section, all the evidence found for the code 'demonstration' are to be interpreted along with what Rancière determined about the term demonstration. The traces show a clear coherent structure in unfolding that the movement created with it politics. For the purpose that it does not need to occur in a particular place or transmitting particular objectives. It was rather necessary to actively and nation widely demonstrate for real democracy and within actively participating citizens in politics. By creating the means for direct participation the analysis disclosed for the following code 'direct participation'. The coding procedure enabled to uncover that this code is evident in 9 out of 13 articles, with 15 traces in total. As Everson (1996) quoted Aristotle in his book: "The many are more incorruptible than the few; they are like the greater quantity of water which is less easily corrupted than a little" (p.86). The linkage is here by focusing on what the movement created by occupying the public sphere by vigorously creating the means for direct participation with its assembly practices. Again, the coding of the dataset enabled to state that through their mechanisms they entitled the subject to participate directly in politics. The insight of this result is within the characteristic of direct participation. In order to validate their cause and gain approval form the masses they provided the structure for participation. As it is stated previously, the Spanish citizens did not trust the classical political landscape anymore. Therefore through the channel of direct participation they did not only fallowed their true cause, they even gained the approval of the citizens for their cause. Since only through participating citizens a consistent growth in numbers was possible and moreover this growth was necessary to establish the tent city at the 'Placa del Sol'. Coupled with this observation and the concept of real democracy it is safe to directly point it the direction of Rancière's Ten Theses on Politics". Moreover the movement set aside predetermined power characterisations by simply integrating the citizens in the process of politics. To repeat the concept section, the goal to



achieve politics in real democracy is guaranteed by providing accessibility to safeguard the connection between part-taking and politics.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1763) expressed in his “The Social Contract”: “The strongest is never strong enough to be always the master, unless he transforms strength into right, and obedience into duty”. The resemblance of this quotations is found in the characteristics of the code general will. In that sense the research revealed in total 14 traces for this code or it was able to determine this evidence in 8 out of 13 sources. Here the research affirmed in favour for the movement that they respected the general will within politics. Hence, the dataset acknowledged through the process that the movement was able to guarantee the demands of the masses. Generally speaking, this insight is leading to further coherencies. It was necessary for the movement to express the general will as a unit, instead of opposing different ideas by leading figures of the movement. By devitalising their own leading figures to empower the citizens, they enabled a publicly visible trustworthy structure. Every participating citizens was able to witness the decisions in order to accept the general will of the whole. It is therefore important to highlight, that they used the general will to visibly show everyone that participation is possible and participation leads to change. Thus, this empowerment of the citizens to have the courage in participating, indicates their practices ensured that the common demands are represented in the general will of all. For instance, this can be seen in the proven facts like the voting procedure they held for establishing the occupational camp or dissolution at the ‘Plaza Del Sol’. Again, the outcome is providing the means to state that the movement acted as it is defined in the concept section. Rancière clearly demanded that the general will is only to be achieved when the citizens are empowered to actively express their will. This outcome leads the analysis to the next code, namely: ‘no elite system’. In connection to this code, a sentence of Karl Marx (1906) manifest can be quoted: “The oppressed are allowed once every few years to decide which particular representatives of the oppressing class are to represent and repress them”. As it is stated in codebook of this thesis, the emphasis is to show that the movement is fighting against an ruling elite system, which in their words do not represent them anymore, if ever. The research reports in the favour for the movement; it is evident that 22 traces are to be determined in the outcome and 6 out of 13 sources point in this direction. This outcome was expected, since the movement actively propagandised against the ruling elite of the political landscape. They used this claim as engine for their cause in mobilising the masses. However the dataset revealed evidences that the movement draw clear lines against a hierarchal structure. Nevertheless, it is only fair to admit that they had leading figures like Fabio Gándara or Jon Aguirre. Anyhow the differentiation in their leading characters compared to official political figures is to be determined in the detail. The 15-M movements leading personalities did not have any further authorisation compared to a ‘ordinary’ protestor. They only, and here the dataset confirms the theory, were used as ambassador for the movements cause. Additionally and especially because of this point the 15-M established by pointing out that any or similar structures

to an elite system has no future in politics. An ruling elite is not acceptable as superiority upon citizens. In their structure it is traceable that they dismantled any elite system by implementing any citizen willing to actively participate, to safeguard that any citizen can enable politics.

The following code is best to be featured first through a quotation of Hannah Arendt (2010): “Note, finally, that in a democracy the ‘wise man’ is the community of citizens as represented by the general assembly” (p.148). As the research affirmed, the 15-m movement used a significant amount of energy to held popular assemblies. The outcome shows that in total 30 evidences are to be determined and in 12 out of 13 sources this code has been able to identify. For instance, the research revealed, they held general assemblies with the masses and individual more topic related assemblies, like economic, law, structuring or strategy related ones. This is clearly in line what has been characterised in the concept section. Moreover the movement was able to establish through the occupation of the public sphere different zones (see Picture 1 in the appendix for complete proof) for different topics. In addition general assembly was used to include everyone to discuss, vote and decide on collective decisions. This means, the smaller assemblies were used to separate different topics and to evaluate on each by interests and then decide on each proposal in the general assembly. The key observation is to be determined in this code by its own characteristic. It is now, after the evaluation of the outcome, possible to confirm this part of the movements structure. On closer consideration the structure they used to split up their assemblies were used to reach more willing to participating citizens. Not only did they used the assembly practice as engine for their real democracy, they were able to link more professional and unprofessionals by interest. This mixture of citizens, in topic related assemblies enabled them, to not only include everyone, but rather establish a sphere were everyone was equal. This observation is therefore supporting the equality substance of the movement. Hence, the evidence of this research displays that the means, along the concept of Rancière, were guaranteed for each citizens to participate and vote equally on matters. Each vote, no matter from whom or whether which qualification someone had, was counted equally to ensure equality in the general assembly. In connection to the general assembly which was held in the ‘Plaza del Sol’ the public sphere guaranteed the structure of the movement. Jürgen Habermas (1991) said in his book ‘The structural transformation of the public sphere’: “The public sphere in the political realm evolved from the public sphere in the world of letters; through the vehicle of public opinion it put the state in touch with the needs of society” (p.30). This quotation is summarising the mechanism of the movement in several ways. Through the outcome of the research it can be stated that in 12 out of 13 sources, in total 33 traces are found which supports the movement and their public sphere occupation. The movement itself was only able to create all their structure and strategy by occupying and using the public sphere as it should be. Moreover they expressed their real democracy by building a tent city. The tent city is a symbol for their structure, by efficiently dividing the sources into areas of interests. Again, as it can be seen in the map (see Picture 1 in the

appendix for complete proof) the public sphere was used to establish an own fully functioning city, including several areas for smaller topic related assemblies, an information point, even a library, an area for internal and external coordination, an archive and of course an area for the general assembly. The overview of the tent city reveals that the movement used the public sphere as their common ground, which indeed reflects the research outcome. In other words, they used the public sphere as their common ground. Hence, this central place enabled them to show the masses, there is structure, subunits for every interest and moreover a sphere where everyone can participate. They removed every obstacle by providing such a tent city. This free flow combined with the discipline of their structure is in align with what Rancière defined about the public sphere. As it is indicated in the concept section, the public sphere has to be seen as a free space where the citizens are able to gather as a community and held meetings. Moreover each subject is not more than a political being through the channels of hearing or speaking member.

In the descriptive section of this chapter, the outcome already displayed an contrast for the subgroup 'Subject'. The only two significantly and frequently coded characteristics were to be found in the code for 'equality' and 'no class affiliation'. At this point mainly speculations can be assumed here, why the other codes did not frequently emerged from the dataset. On the one hand it could be said, that the outcome revealed that there is a huge missing aspect in their real democracy by showing that those characteristics are missing. On the other hand, which seems more coherent in the total sum, by considering the overall outcome of this dataset, it did not revealed any further information; only in terms of equality and no class affiliation. An explanation could be in the dataset itself, simply because the media reports focused rather on their political assets instead of providing further information in terms of this subgroup characteristics. At the same time it is necessary to look at the publication "The 2011 Occupy Movements: Rancière and the Crisis of Democracy" from I. Lorrey. In her publication she argues that the movement created rather a 'presentist democracy' instead of real democracy. This observation is to a certain degree in line with the lacking evidence for the subgroup 'Subject'. This fact will be later on discussed intensively after finishing the analysis of the current dataset. Thus, as it is already mentioned two characteristics emerged frequently during the coding process, namely 'equality' and 'no class affiliation'. The former equality is in the dataset present in 6 out of 13 sources with 8 traces in total. In the Philosophical dictionary of Voltaire (2004) it is stated: "Equality is thus at once the most natural and the most chimerical of things". A resemblance can be seen in the 15-M movements desire to establish equality for their real democracy. The movement itself created equality by structuring their movement without hierarchy, online as well during their presence on the streets and especially in the public sphere. Hence, people with certain qualifications were used for their means, for instance in setting up internet connection in the tent city or finding people with law degrees for their cause. However in the sum no citizen was more entitled to participate or vote than the other. Again, only one vote for everyone in the smaller assemblies or in the general assembly.

Another fact in favour for them can be traced down through their tent city. The map reveals further information in terms of equality, for instance the area for feminism or by simply establishing a free flow through their tent city in dividing areas for certain topics. Thus, by implementing an voting system where everyone could participate the means for equality were there. These findings align with what is stated in the concept section. Their equality was used to overcome leaders power over the population by having no hierarchy or an structure for different positions in the tent city. In addition, the research points with the outcome in this direction, however the fact that equality is evident, did not certainly mean that a class affiliation does not exist. For this aspect Rancière implemented a definition on class affiliation, which is mirrored in this certain code, 'no class affiliation'. In five out of 13 sources this codes was traceable in total sum by 7 times. In correlation with this outcome, the fallowing quotation of Friedrich Engels (1978) published in an later edition of his works seems suitable: "What is good for the ruling class, is alleged to be good for the whole of society with which the ruling class identifies itself". In the context of the movement, this can be traced down through the research outcome, but moreover through the definition of each citizens capabilities. Since the movement condemned any ruling elite over them, which from their viewpoint did not represent them, they implemented for all participants non existing rules for such a system. This indicates that they created through their ambition for equality no boundaries for any participant. Everyone was entitled to participate and include themselves in any fashion, however the citizens were able to define his involvement by interest. For instance in assembly meetings for economic related topics or law related topics. Hence, their approach resemblance what is defined in this thesis concept section and confirms what Rancière defined. No subject has any entitlement due to this class affiliation, by establishing this norms they were able to connect any citizen to politics to overcome the axiom of domination. This fact, can be supported through the estimated participants of the movement. As it is stated in the introduction section of this thesis. up to 8.5 million people were active with mixed origins; from blue collar to white collar, from wealthy to poor and even immigrants were included.

#### 4.3 Pillars of their Real Democracy

Since this analysis conducted a qualitative content analysis on media reports some crucial aspects of the concept part were mirrored in the outcome. Throughout the whole thesis the reader is confronted with the research questions intension, discussion and finding out the virtue of real democracy, to determine the several times mentioned: extent. The outcome itself is previously extensively discussed, thus the extent is still not determined. However at the end it is possible to state that this dataset enables to determine some stronger aspects and some weaker aspects of the movement. Again, this thesis relies on media reports. Nonetheless this research can now determine crucial pillars of the movement. In contrast, the subgroup 'Politics' is more frequently than the subgroup 'Subjects'. This fact is unexpected, since the movement entire strategy is based

on the individual subject, which is participating under the ideas for real democracy. It is therefore an unexpected outcome for the overall assessment of the movements capability in creating real democracy. For that reason it is impossible to speak of an overall success for their abilities. This dataset revealed, that in terms for the 'Subject' the movement is missing significant characteristics of the concept of real democracy. In the concept section, it is emphasised that qualifications for the subject are not necessary to be involved in the process. Thus, through this analysis of the dataset it is not possible to confirm this. It is only possible to draw assumptions in respect of the whole process. This means, it can be argued that through other indicators, such as 'direct participation' coherencies can be predicted. However, this is not enough to claim they were capable of delivering the promised, namely real democracy. Therefore this lack in terms for the subgroup 'Subject' is therefore clearly interpreted as a negative outcome. Moreover it limits the possibility to validate their real democracy as pure. This is one major observation of this thesis study. An explanation for this outcome is highly speculative. Nevertheless the outcome showed some tendencies in terms of equality and no class affiliation for the participants of the movement. By speculating why this subgroup is not enough evident, the general idea for their real democracy must be understood. Since the dataset focused on their occupational time and especially the starting point of the movement, it can be only assumed that the movement did not defined their goals enough or the media reports focused more on the political aspect, rather than on the subject (citizen) terms. With this in mind, the opposite is to be found for the subgroup 'Politics'. As it is previously stated the research was able to trace an significant amount of evidence for this subgroup. This is the second major outcome of the dataset. Through the coding process it is now possible to provide enough evidence towards these characteristics (see Appendix, Codebook for 'Politics' for complete overview). In that sense the outcome can be interpreted in a certain pillar structure. From the movement perspective it is now evident that they created real democracy for this subgroup on their terms and in align with what is written in concept section. Their main pillars can be seen in the demonstration, public sphere and popular assemblies. These three aspects were frequently observable. In particular, this observation seemed expected, but it also indicates some unexpected values. These three aspects indicates the movements intention for recognition. Since the movement was only known in the world wide web and did not had any further credibility in terms of observable actions. It was necessary to use these characteristics to convince the masses for their cause. Only in acting as they promised they were able to deliver a contrast to the political elite. This is the third major observation of the research. In times when the social and economic problems arose and people felt helplessly 'extradited' to the austerity measures, it was simply a big problem to gain public awareness and the approval as an opportunity. In other words, it was not only necessary to act like they claimed, to dismantle the political landscape, moreover it was necessary to purely fallow the strategy to gain the populations consent. Without this consent, the tent city would have never been established as own political landscape for deliberation about real

democracy. In fact, this is the next major observation of the dataset. In occupying the public sphere and establishing the means for real democracy they were able to provide an meeting point for everyone. Additionally the analysis revealed that the movement enhanced their capabilities by using the public sphere with several different areas for corresponding needs, assembly practices, strategy planning or external and internal infrastructure. This tent city is to be interpreted as symbol for their disobedience in order to show and live their alternative democracy.

Thus, the remaining indicators for this subgroup, namely: direct participation, the general will of the masses and excluding an elite system in their structure are observable and evident, too. These three following codes are to be interpreted as cement for the main pillars. Without evidence for these codes, the former mentioned pillar codes would have no impact at all. These three must be seen as additive in the further deepening of their real democracy. From this viewpoint the analysis can sum up that the movement created real democracy on their terms for the subgroup 'Politics'. As a consequence of this thesis methodology the extent can't be but in numerical values, such being the case made possible to evaluate on the findings in an interpretative way. This interpretation is now able to state, in terms of the political aspect the movement validated their claim: "Democracia Real YA!". In line with that statement, it is a observable tipping point in order to change the Spanish Political landscape. Therefrom this analysis section can be summarised as partly in favour for the movement. The movement created real democracy and remained true to their principles for the political aspect; creating an alternative more responsive democracy towards the citizens to enable an subject within politics.

Again, the analysis confirms the political aspect, but can't state any further aspects for the second subgroup. From this dataset viewpoint there is no clear evidence for this subgroups characteristics.

## 5 Final Remarks

This thesis is focusing on the 15-M movement, which emerged throughout economic and social troubled times by demanding real democracy. This thesis paper specialised and elaborated on their process by using media coverage as dataset. Notwithstanding the fact that this thesis is having limitation in terms of intercoder reliability or even simply in terms of the scope of an bachelor thesis, it is still capturing the very nature of creating further knowledge in understanding the emerging economic and social issues in the context of democratic values. Before stating the final outcome of this thesis, the following step will be used to go back to the current state of scientific literature. In this thesis section: "Social and Scientific relevance", it stated that this thesis should be used to add further deepening insight in the scientific literature. For that purpose three published and scientifically orientated papers were mentioned. All three are grasping different aspects of the movement in their outcome. However after analysing the dataset and finding an conclusion to the research question it is now evident what this thesis is adding to the current state of literature. All three were concluding their findings in different topics. In the work of Charnock et al. they argued in terms of an economic viewpoint. The publication emphasises two main findings, the origin of the movement and the relationship towards economic values. In their view it is evident that the development of capitalism in Spain, especially the demands for cheap money, profit-making in real estate speculation and in general a focus in capital accumulation lead to the downfall of the labour market, poor productivity and an environment of corruption (Charnock et al. 2012). This outcome is in line with what the research paper found out about the origin and motivation about the movement. Nevertheless in their outcome the 15-M movement should not only focus on political aspect of the crisis, they emphasise that the movement is in need to understand that in trying to change politics, the movement needs to reflect on democratic values by considering political economy and Spain's place in the world market (Charnock et al. 2012). The outcome of this thesis is rather confirming the first aspect of their remarks. The capital accumulation, in other words the greed of the capital class gave birth to the movement. Thus, the second economic related viewpoint, that the movement needs to focus on more economic related topics is to some point true. However in the analysis section of this thesis it is already emphasised that through topic related assemblies the movement is focusing on different aspects of the crisis, as well the economic. Since this aspect is the main reason why the people are on the streets. Therefore the outcome of this thesis is adding to their conclusion rather a confirmation, that the movement was focusing on this, as well on the political and social aspects. The other scientific publication worth including in the context of the findings in the one of John Postill, about the media epidemiography of Spain's indignados movement. His publication focused on the medial approach of the movement. How they established their movement in terms of viral and non-viral contents (Postill, 2013). His state of conclusion examines the medial impact, online and also through the classical media such as newspaper articles. This thesis is capable to add to his findings that



indeed the movement was only to spread like this with the help of media. Only through media coverage they were able to publicly transmit their claims and solutions. This can be seen in the tent city segmentation. They had a special fragmentation only for press conferences, as well for their own online appearance. In general this thesis is able to support these two publications to a certain degree. Thus, the main outcome of this thesis is confirming what Isabelle Lorey published in her work: "The 2011 Occupy Movements: Rancière and the Crisis of Democracy". She emphasises that the 15-M movement did not develop real democracy, they rather delivered a new understanding of political aspects, and therefore calls this a presentist democracy. In respect to her conclusion and through the outcome of this thesis research, this paper is able to support her claim. Since the dataset revealed no further information towards the subgroup 'Subject' it is not possible to state that they delivered real democracy in the pure nature. This will be even more comprehensible when looking at the main outcome of this thesis. The research was able to determine enough evidence for the subgroup 'Political' and is therefore able to confirm this aspect. Moreover this outcome is confirming what Lorey (2014) states: "Presentist democracy is not a representation of the whole, undivided, unified people [...] presentist democracy designates a political form that is practiced in the situation of the assembly and in the organising of the camps" (p.18). From her viewpoint it is evident that the movement is rather to be interpreted as a presentist democracy instead of a pure real democracy. Thus, by considering the whole movement as evolving structure it would be not fair to reduce their actions only in terms of political changes. On the one hand the thesis concentrated on finding and answering whether or not the 15-M movement created real democracy. On the other hand through this research it is now able to determine the fact that citizens or in this case the 15-M movement is consisting of equals, which are able capable in showing real solutions. Simply in involving 'normal' citizens they were able to deliver political change in engaging them actively in social and political movements. Despite the fact that this thesis outcome is in favour of the movement, it would be diminishing to state that there is now proof for a significance in their claims. This outcome can be seen as a supporting point and should help to deliver generalisability in cementing arguments for those movements and or in general for the occupy movement. As consequence of the global financial meltdown in 2008 the government in charge imposed strict austerity measures to tackle several problems, such as the bursting housing bubble, or drastically decreasing values in properties, or when the Spanish construction industry collapsed, or when the banking system needed rescue measures, or when the government finances produced increased deficit and economic growth decreased in general. Such being the case, enabled the movement to start an comprehensive social mobilisation, first online and then to the streets in order to involve everyone. This already resemblances the very nature of what democracy should mean. The people itself took their frustration about the economic situation to their empowerment. They acted upon the very nature of democracy; power to people and acting upon the general will. Here the movement already did created real democracy. By not



only demonstrating, which is already one major pillar of a fully functioning and operating democracy, they created the means to show every critic and the rest of the world that the people are to be respected as entity for democracy. Furthermore they reactivated the public sphere. In their acting, they reestablished the public sphere as an space for the people or community to gather, to discuss, to involve, to acquaint on democracy. Since this thesis focused in the movements achievements during their most active time, the conclusion section offers a discourse in their future. After the occupation of the 'Plaza Del Sol' the 15-M did not vanished. Moreover the movement decentralised into smaller community or region related splittings. Even more, the political party 'Podemos' emerged out of the movement, which can be seen as another aspect for their democratic values. Hence, establishing a official political party, which is participating in an form of government, strictly seen a parliamentary monarchy with a democratic constitutional monarchy where the monarch is the head of state and the prime minister, seems controversial and contrary to the cause. However the 15-M movement was able to transform from an occupational movement with highly democratic values to a political party, which is for their cause necessary to implement the ideas now in reality.

On all of this grounds, especially through the movements characteristics and this thesis research about the extent the movement created real democracy it can be summarised that indeed a citizen movement was able to show the political elites that it is necessary to listen and not abandon the citizens for economic causes. Moreover this thesis can clearly point in the direction that an internet movement emerged to the streets, to the real life, to help those who felt abandoned and not represented anymore. In that line this, thesis can finish with the following concluding: The 15-M movement created real democracy.

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## 7 Appendix

**Table 1**

### OECD Country statistical profile: Spain 2013

Note. Retrieved from the OECD Library. Copyright 2016 by OECD. Reprinted with permission.

	Unit	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
<b>Production and income</b>									
GDP per capita	USD current PPPs	25 956	27 392	30 406	32 233	33 130	32 150	31 904	32 501
Gross national income (GNI) per capita	USD current PPPs	25 611	27 003	29 896	31 481	32 243	31 431	31 437	31 736
Household disposable income	Annual growth %	2.7	3.8	3.0	3.2	3.0	2.2	-4.6	..
<b>Economic growth</b>									
Real GDP growth	Annual growth %	3.3	3.6	4.1	3.5	0.9	-3.7	-0.1	0.7
Net saving rate in household disposable income	%	5.2	4.8	3.9	4.0	7.5	13.0	7.7	..
Gross fixed capital formation	% of GDP	5.1	7.1	7.1	4.5	-4.7	-16.6	-6.3	..
<b>Economic structure</b>									
Real value added: agriculture, forestry, fishing	Annual growth %	-2.6	-8.4	5.5	7.0	-2.7	-1.4	-1.1	0.6
Real value added: industry	Annual growth %	0.8	1.0	1.7	0.5	-1.7	-10.9	0.6	1.9
Real value added: services	Annual growth %	4.1	6.9	8.1	7.1	2.0	-2.6	2.6	1.2
<b>Government deficits and debt</b>									
Government deficit	% of GDP	-0.1	1.3	2.4	1.9	-4.5	-11.2	-9.4	-8.6
General government debt	% of GDP	53.4	50.7	46.2	42.3	47.7	62.7	66.8	75.1
<b>Employment</b>									
Employment rate in population aged 15-24	%	38.4	41.9	43.3	42.9	39.5	30.8	27.4	24.1
Employment rate in population aged 25-54	%	72.7	74.4	75.8	76.8	75.3	70.7	69.6	68.7
Employment rate in population aged 55-64	%	41.3	43.1	44.1	44.6	45.6	44.1	43.6	44.5
Incidence of part-time employment	%	8.4	11.0	10.8	10.7	11.1	11.9	12.4	12.9
Self-employment rate: total employment	%	18.1	18.2	17.9	17.7	17.7	17.0	16.9	16.6
Self-employment rate, men: male employment	%	20.5	20.8	20.7	20.7	20.9	20.3	20.5	20.1
Self-employment rate, women: female employment	%	14.3	14.5	13.8	13.5	13.3	12.8	12.4	12.3
<b>Unemployment</b>									
Unemployment rate: total labour force	%	10.9	9.2	8.5	8.3	11.3	18.0	20.1	21.6
Unemployment rate, men: male labour force	%	8.1	7.1	6.3	6.4	10.1	17.7	19.7	21.2
Unemployment rate, women: female labour force	%	14.9	12.2	11.6	10.8	13.0	18.4	20.5	22.2
Long-term unemployment: total unemployed	%	32.0	24.5	21.7	20.4	17.9	23.7	36.6	41.6
<b>Labour compensation and hours worked</b>									
Labour compensation per unit labour input, total economy	Annual growth %	2.9	3.9	4.1	5.6	5.7	4.0	-0.3	-0.3
Average time worked per person in employment	Hours per year	1 704	1 686	1 673	1 658	1 663	1 669	1 674	1 690

**Table 2**

### Hits generated by using the search items via [google.com](http://google.com)

Keywords for searching via <a href="http://google.com">google.com</a>	Hits generated by using <a href="http://google.com">google.com</a> (in thousands)
Spanish crisis 15M movement newspaper articles 2011	974.000
15M protest Spain newspaper articles 2011	89.900
Spain 15M newspaper articles 2011	378.000

**Table 3****List of online published newspaper articles (after applying the method for data selection)**

Number	Titel	Newspaper Name	Date
1	Spains 'Indignants' lead international protest day	BBC News	15 October 2011
2	How Spain's 15-M movement is redefining politics	The Guardian	15 October 2011
3	"Spanish Revolution" of 2011 explained	The Huffington Post	25 May 2011
4	'Yes we camp' activists hit Spanish streets	Al Jazeera (English)	20 October 2011
5	A Defiant 'Spanish Revolution'	The Atlantic	20 May 2011
6	Tahrir Square in Madrid: Spain's Lost Generation Finds Its Voice	Spiegel Online	19 May 2011
7	Spains indignants - Europe's most earnest protesters	The Economist	17 July 2011
8	The uprising over Spain's future	<a href="http://socialistworker.org">socialistworker.org</a>	26 May 2011
9	Occupy and anachrism's gift of democracy	The Guardian	15 November 2011
10	Spain protesters vote to dismantle Puerta del Sol tent city	The Guardian	08 June 2011
11	Spain's 'indignant' protesters rise up against home repossessions	The Guardian	16 June 2011
12	Spanish protesters' vision of change focuses on what people can do together	The Guardian	29 October 2011
13	Europe on the headline: Spanish activists show how politics could be run	The Guardian	16 October 2011

**Table 4****Codebook: Subgroup Politics**

Codes for Politics	Comment
Demonstration	This code represents 'demonstration within politics: Demonstrations are there to set aside predetermined qualifications for the subjects. Therefore the principles for gathering is to connect the people to politics by not grouping them into sub groups, for instance the gap between rich and poor."A demonstration is political not because it occurs in a particular place and bears upon a particular object but rather because its form is that of a clash between two partitions of the sensible" (Ranciere, 2010) (p.12).
Direct participation (part-taking)	This code represents 'direct participation within politics: "The subject display the distinction between only being a mode of grouping or power characterisation and a system in which the subject is partaking in the ruling and or being ruled. Therefore it can be highlighted that politics are defined through the part-taking of the subject and accessibility. At the verymoment when this connection disappears - politics disappear." (p.9)
Drawing lots	This code represents 'drawing lots within politics: "Drawing lots describe the fact, that everyone has the right to participate actively and by equal chance. The emphasis is put on the fact that democracy has the attribute of drawing lots or as Rancière (2010) states: " He (Plato) calls it the choice of God or, otherwise said, the drawing of lots." (p.10)
General will	This code represents the 'general will within politics: "The general will describes that those who participate in the processes of real democracy need to ensure to follow the demands of the masses (or community). "Following this definition, those who live under a jurisdiction can be described as citizens and are therefore qualified to participate directly. This empowerment of the citizens is used to ensure the general will of the citizens and not a political elite structure." (p.7)
Not elite system	This code represents the fact that there is 'no elite system within politics: "There is no elite system in proper politics. An alleged determined superiority of a ruling elite upon equally determined citizens needs to be dismantled to achieve a political subject which enables politics." (p.10)
Popular assemblies	This code represents 'popular assemblies within politics: "The popular assembly is a concept in which citizens hold public meetings in the sense of real democracy , where they can discuss, vote and decide on collective decisions. This implies that every person affected has the right to attend the assemblies and vote equally on matters of decision." (p.7)
Public sphere	This code represents the 'public sphere within politics: "The public sphere is seen as a space for the community to, where the subject is defines as hearing or speaking member and not according to his 'domestic' space." (Rancière, 2010). (p.11)

**Table 5**  
**Codebook: Subgroup Subject**

Codes for the Subject	Comment
Equality	This code represents the equality aspect of defining the subject. which is discussed in the concept part. "Equality is a necessity to overcome leaders power over the population" (p.7).
Extent of education	This code represents the extent of education aspect (no qualification) of defining the subject. which is discussed in the concept part. "No citizen is required to have any specific education in law, economic or politics to participate directly in politics." (p.12)
Legislator	This code represents the 'legislator' aspect of defining the subject. which is discussed in the concept part. "(...) the order of praxis is an order of equals who are in possession over the power of the arkhêim, that is the power to begin anew" (p.9).
No class affiliation	This code represents the fact that no subject (citizen) has any entitlement due to his class affiliation. "In that sense, to be able to connect the subject to politics, to achieve the axiom of democracy, it is necessary to overcome the axiom of domination" (p.10)
Power of birth	This code represents the fact that no subject (citizen) has any entitlement due to his origin (or power of birth). "Thus, Rancière uses the term 'the count of the uncounted' within the democracy. In respect to this term it can be formulated that the people as entity do not refer to the principle of class, the principle of wealth nor any entitlement through their origin." (p.10)
Power of wealth	This code represents the fact that no subject (citizen) has any entitlement due to his financial capabilities (or power of wealth). "Therefore the characteristics are best to be defined as a abstract that is bound to any 'count' of the population with neither connection to any entitlement through economic or knowledge based qualifications." (p.10)

**Table 6**  
**Distribution of the two subgroups within the sources**

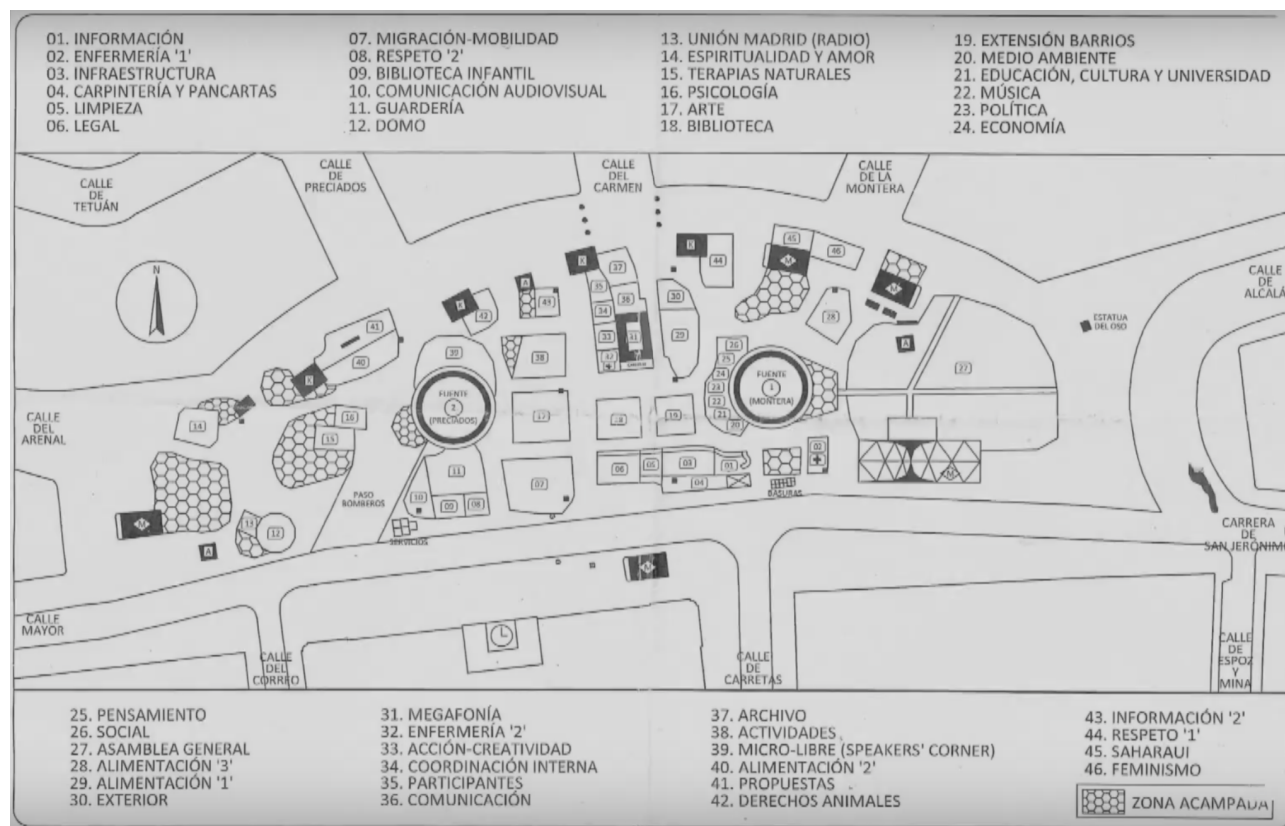
	"Spanish Revolution" of 2011 Explained.pdf	'Yes we can' activists hit Spanish streets.pdf	A Defiant Spanish Revolution .pdf	Europe on the headline: Spanish activists show how politics could be run.pdf	Europe's most earnest protesters.pdf	How Spain's 15-M movement is reading politics.pdf	Spain protesters vote to dismantle Puerta del Sol tent city.pdf	Spain: Protesters vote to stay in Madrid tent city.pdf	Spain's 'Indignants' lead international protest day.pdf	Spain's 'indignant' protesters rise up against home repossession s.pdf	Spanish protesters' vision of change focuses on what people can do together.pdf	Tahir Square in Madrid: Spain's Lost Generation Finds Its Voice.pdf	The uprising over Spain's future.pdf
<b>Politics</b>	4	8	22	5	3	8	7	5	6	0	10	13	28
<b>Subject</b>	2	2	0	2	1	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	5



## Picture 1

### Overview of the tent city 15-M

Note: Retrieved from the website: [www.takingthesquare.com](http://www.takingthesquare.com). Copyright 2016 by taking the square initiative. Reprinted with permission.





# ATLAS.ti Report

## 15-Movement

### Codes

Report created by Volkan Uludasdemir on 22 May 2016

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#### ● demonstration

**Created:** 12/05/16 by Volkan Uludasdemir, **Modified:** 12/05/16 by Volkan Uludasdemir

##### Used In Documents:

1 "Spanish Revolution" of 2011 Explained 2 'Yes we camp' activists hit Spanish streets 3 A Defiant 'Spanish Revolution' 5 Europe's most earnest protesters 7 Spain protestors vote to dismantle Puerta del Sol tent city 8 Spain: Protesters vote to stay in Madrid tent city 11 Spanish protesters' vision of change focuses on what people can do together.pdf 12 Tahir Square in Madrid: Spain's Lost Generation Finds Its Voice.pdf 13 The uprising over Spain's future.pdf

##### Quotations:

1:4  
2:1  
2:3  
3:1  
3:3  
3:5  
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12:3  
12:4  
12:6  
12:7  
12:10  
12:11  
13:6  
13:9  
13:15  
13:16  
13:25

##### Groups:

Politics

##### Comment:

This code represents 'demonstration within politics:

Demonstrations are there to set aside predetermined qualifications for the subjects. Therefore the principles for gathering is to connect the people to politics by not grouping them into sub groups, for instance the gap between rich and poor.

"A demonstration is political not because it occurs in a particular place and bears upon a particular object but rather because its form is that of a clash between two partitions of the sensible" (Ranciere, 2010) (p.12).

---

## • direct participation (part-taking)

**Created:** 12/05/16 by Volkan Uludasdemir, **Modified:** 12/05/16 by Volkan Uludasdemir

### Used In Documents:

📄 1 "Spanish Revolution" of 2011 Explained 📄 2 'Yes we camp' activists hit Spanish streets 📄 4 Europe on the breadline: Spanish activists show how politics could be run 📄 6 How Spain's 15-M movement is redefining politics 📄 8 Spain: Protesters vote to stay in Madrid tent city 📄 9 Spain's 'Indignants' lead international protest day 📄 11 Spanish protesters' vision of change focuses on what people can do together.pdf 📄 12 Tahir Square in Madrid: Spain's Lost Generation Finds Its Voice.pdf 📄 13 The uprising over Spain's future.pdf

### Quotations:

🗨 1:6  
🗨 2:6  
🗨 4:5  
🗨 6:6  
🗨 6:9  
🗨 8:5  
🗨 9:2  
🗨 9:3  
🗨 11:4  
🗨 11:7  
🗨 12:12  
🗨 13:17  
🗨 13:21  
🗨 13:22  
🗨 13:23

### Groups:

🏠 Politics

### Comment:

This code represents 'direct participation within politics:

"The subject display the distinction between only being a mode of grouping or power characterisation and a system in which the subject is partaking in the ruling and or being ruled. Therefore it can be highlighted that politics are defined through the part-taking of the subject and accessibility. At the verymoment when this connection disappears - politcs disappear. "(p.9)

---

## • drawing lots

**Created:** 12/05/16 by Volkan Uludasdemir, **Modified:** 12/05/16 by Volkan Uludasdemir

### Used In Documents:

📄 11 Spanish protesters' vision of change focuses on what people can do together.pdf

### Quotations:

🗨 11:5

### Groups:

🏠 Politics

### Comment:

This code represents 'drawing lots within politics:

"Drawing lots describe the fact, that everyone has the right to participate actively and by equal chance. The emphasis is put on the fact that democracy has the attribute of drawing lots or as Rancière (2010) states: " He (Plato) calls it the choice of God or, otherwise said, the drawing of lots." (p.10)

---

## ● equality

**Created:** 12/05/16 by Volkan Uludasdemir, **Modified:** 12/05/16 by Volkan Uludasdemir

### Used In Documents:

📄 1 "Spanish Revolution" of 2011 Explained 📄 2 'Yes we camp' activists hit Spanish streets 📄 4 Europe on the breadline: Spanish activists show how politics could be run 📄 5 Europe's most earnest protesters 📄 6 How Spain's 15-M movement is redefining politics 📄 13 The uprising over Spain's future.pdf

### Quotations:

🗨 1:1  
🗨 2:9  
🗨 4:1  
🗨 4:6  
🗨 5:2  
🗨 6:3  
🗨 6:4  
🗨 13:2

### Groups:

👤 Subject

### Comment:

This code represents the equality aspect of defining the subject. which is discussed in the concept part.  
"Equality is a necessity to overcome leaders power over the population" (p.7).

---

## ● extent of education

**Created:** 12/05/16 by Volkan Uludasdemir, **Modified:** 12/05/16 by Volkan Uludasdemir

### Groups:

👤 Subject

### Comment:

This code represents the extent of education aspect (no qualification) of defining the subject. which is discussed in the concept part.  
"No citizen is required to have any specific education in law, economic or politics to participate directly in politics." (p.12)

---

## ● general will

**Created:** 12/05/16 by Volkan Uludasdemir, **Modified:** 12/05/16 by Volkan Uludasdemir

### Used In Documents:

📄 2 'Yes we camp' activists hit Spanish streets 📄 6 How Spain's 15-M movement is redefining politics 📄 7 Spain protestors vote to dismantle Puerta del Sol tent city 📄 8 Spain: Protesters vote to stay in Madrid tent city 📄 9 Spain's 'Indignants' lead international protest day 📄 11 Spanish protesters' vision of change focuses on what people can do together.pdf 📄 12 Tahir Square in Madrid: Spain's Lost Generation Finds Its Voice.pdf 📄 13 The uprising over Spain's future.pdf

### Quotations:

🗨 2:10  
🗨 6:6  
🗨 6:8  
🗨 7:4  
🗨 8:1

8:3  
9:4  
9:5  
11:6  
12:4  
13:8  
13:10  
13:11  
13:30

**Groups:**

 Politics

**Comment:**

This code represents the 'general will within politics:

The general will describes that those who participate in the processes of real democracy need to ensure to follow the demands of the masses (or community).

"Following this definition, those who live under a jurisdiction can be described as citizens and are therefore qualified to participate directly. This empowerment of the citizens is used to ensure the general will of the citizens and not a political elite structure." (p.7)

---

● **legislator**

**Created:** 12/05/16 by Volkan Uludasdemir, **Modified:** 12/05/16 by Volkan Uludasdemir

**Used In Documents:**

 2 'Yes we camp' activists hit Spanish streets

**Quotations:**

 2:8

**Groups:**

 Subject

**Comment:**

This code represents the 'legislator' aspect of defining the subject. which is discussed in the concept part.






"(...) the order of praxis is an order of equals who are in possession over the power of the arkhêim, that is the power to begin anew" (p.9).

---








● **no class affiliation**

**Created:** 12/05/16 by Volkan Uludasdemir, **Modified:** 12/05/16 by Volkan Uludasdemir


**Used In Documents:**

 1 "Spanish Revolution" of 2011 Explained  4 Europe on the breadline: Spanish activists show how politics could be run  6 How Spain's 15-M movement is redefining politics  11 Spanish protesters' vision of change focuses on what people can do together.pdf  13 The uprising over Spain's future.pdf

**Quotations:**

 1:5  
 4:1  
 6:1  
 11:9  
 13:18  
 13:19  
 13:27

**Groups:**

 Subject

**Comment:**

This code represents the fact that no subject (citizen) has any entitlement due to his class affiliation.  
"In that sense, to be able to connect the subject to politics, to achieve the axiom of democracy, it is necessary to overcome the axiom of domination" (p.10)

---

## • no elite system

**Created:** 12/05/16 by Volkan Uludasdemir, **Modified:** 18/05/16 by Volkan Uludasdemir

### Used In Documents:

📄 2 'Yes we camp' activists hit Spanish streets 📄 6 How Spain's 15-M movement is redefining politics  
📄 9 Spain's 'Indignants' lead international protest day 📄 11 Spanish protesters' vision of change focuses on what people can do together.pdf 📄 12 Tahir Square in Madrid: Spain's Lost Generation Finds Its Voice.pdf 📄 13 The uprising over Spain's future.pdf

### Quotations:

🗨 2:2  
🗨 6:1  
🗨 6:6  
🗨 9:1  
🗨 11:7  
🗨 12:1  
🗨 12:2  
🗨 12:5  
🗨 12:13  
🗨 13:3  
🗨 13:5  
🗨 13:11  
🗨 13:12  
🗨 13:13  
🗨 13:14  
🗨 13:24  
🗨 13:26  
🗨 13:28  
🗨 13:29  
🗨 13:30  
🗨 13:31  
🗨 13:32

### Groups:

👤 Politics

### Comment:

This code represents the fact that there is 'no elite system within politics:  
"There is no elite system in proper politics. An alleged determined superiority of a ruling elite upon equally determined citizens needs to be dismantled to achieve a political subject which enables politics."  
(p.10)

---

## • popular assemblies

**Created:** 12/05/16 by Volkan Uludasdemir, **Modified:** 12/05/16 by Volkan Uludasdemir

### Used In Documents:

📄 1 "Spanish Revolution" of 2011 Explained 📄 2 'Yes we camp' activists hit Spanish streets 📄 3 A Defiant 'Spanish Revolution' 📄 4 Europe on the breadline: Spanish activists show how politics could be run 📄 5 Europe's most earnest protesters 📄 6 How Spain's 15-M movement is redefining politics  
📄 7 Spain protestors vote to dismantle Puerta del Sol tent city 📄 8 Spain: Protesters vote to stay in Madrid tent city 📄 9 Spain's 'Indignants' lead international protest day 📄 11 Spanish protesters' vision of change focuses on what people can do together.pdf 📄 12 Tahir Square in Madrid: Spain's Lost Generation Finds Its Voice.pdf 📄 13 The uprising over Spain's future.pdf

### Quotations:

1:3  
2:6  
3:9  
3:15  
3:17  
4:2  
4:4  
4:5  
4:6  
5:3  
5:4  
6:4  
6:5  
7:3  
7:4  
7:5  
7:7  
8:3  
9:6  
11:1  
11:2  
11:3  
11:4  
11:6  
11:8  
11:10  
11:11  
12:1  
13:4  
13:21

#### Groups:

 Politics

#### Comment:

This code represents 'popular assemblies within politics:

"The popular assembly is a concept in which citizens hold public meetings in the sense of real democracy , where they can discuss, vote and decide on collective decisions. This implies that every person affected has the right to attend the assemblies and vote equally on matters of decision." (p.7)

---

### ● power of birth

**Created:** 12/05/16 by Volkan Uludasdemir, **Modified:** 12/05/16 by Volkan Uludasdemir


#### Used In Documents:

 6 How Spain's 15-M movement is redefining politics

#### Quotations:

 6:4

#### Groups:

 Subject

#### Comment:

This code represents the fact that no subject (citizen) has any entitlement due to his origin (or power of birth).

"Thus, Rancière uses the term 'the count of the uncounted' within the democracy. In respect to this term it can be formulated that the people as entity do not refer to the principle of class, the principle of wealth nor any entitlement through their origin." (p.10)

---

### ● power of wealth

**Created:** 12/05/16 by Volkan Uludasdemir, **Modified:** 12/05/16 by Volkan Uludasdemir

**Used In Documents:**

6 How Spain's 15-M movement is redefining politics 13 The uprising over Spain's future.pdf

**Quotations:**

6:4  
13:29

**Groups:**

Subject

**Comment:**

This code represents the fact that no subject (citizen) has any entitlement due to his financial capabilities (or power of wealth).

"Therefore the characteristics are best to be defined as a abstract that is bound to any 'count' of the population with neither connection to any entitlement through economic or knowledge based qualifications." (p.10)

---

• **public sphere**

**Created:** 12/05/16 by Volkan Uludasdemir, **Modified:** 12/05/16 by Volkan Uludasdemir

**Used In Documents:**

1 "Spanish Revolution" of 2011 Explained 2 'Yes we camp' activists hit Spanish streets 3 A Defiant 'Spanish Revolution' 4 Europe on the breadline: Spanish activists show how politics could be run 6 How Spain's 15-M movement is redefining politics 7 Spain protestors vote to dismantle Puerta del Sol tent city 8 Spain: Protesters vote to stay in Madrid tent city 11 Spanish protesters' vision of change focuses on what people can do together.pdf 12 Tahir Square in Madrid: Spain's Lost Generation Finds Its Voice.pdf 13 The uprising over Spain's future.pdf

**Quotations:**

1:2  
2:4  
2:5  
2:7  
2:10  
3:2  
3:4  
3:8  
3:10  
3:11  
3:12  
3:14  
3:19  
3:20  
3:21  
3:22  
4:3  
6:2  
6:7  
7:1  
8:2  
8:4  
11:1  
11:7  
11:10  
12:6  
12:8  
12:9  
13:1



🔊 13:6  
🔊 13:7  
🔊 13:16  
🔊 13:20

**Groups:**

📁 Politics

**Comment:**

This code represents the 'public sphere within politics:

"The public sphere is seen as a space for the community to, where the subject is defines as hearing or speaking member and not according to his 'domestic' space." (Rancière, 2010). (p.11)

# ATLAS.ti Report

## 15-Movement

### Codes grouped by Documents

Report created by Volkan Uludasdemir on 18 May 2016

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#### 1 "Spanish Revolution" of 2011 Explained

**Created:** 14/05/16 by Volkan Uludasdemir, **Modified:** 15/05/16 by Volkan Uludasdemir

6 Codes:

- demonstration
- direct participation (part-taking)
- equality
- no class affiliation
- popular assemblies
- public sphere

---

#### 3 A Defiant 'Spanish Revolution'

**Created:** 14/05/16 by Volkan Uludasdemir, **Modified:** 15/05/16 by Volkan Uludasdemir

3 Codes:

- demonstration
- popular assemblies
- public sphere

---

#### 4 Europe on the breadline: Spanish activists show how politics could be run

**Created:** 14/05/16 by Volkan Uludasdemir, **Modified:** 15/05/16 by Volkan Uludasdemir

5 Codes:

- direct participation (part-taking)
- equality
- no class affiliation
- popular assemblies
- public sphere

---

#### 5 Europe's most earnest protesters

**Created:** 14/05/16 by Volkan Uludasdemir, **Modified:** 15/05/16 by Volkan Uludasdemir

3 Codes:

- demonstration
- equality
- popular assemblies

---

## 6 How Spain's 15-M movement is redefining politics

**Created:** 14/05/16 by Volkan Uludasdemir, **Modified:** 15/05/16 by Volkan Uludasdemir

9 Codes:

- direct participation (part-taking)
- equality
- general will
- no class affiliation
- no elite system
- popular assemblies
- power of birth
- power of wealth
- public sphere

---

## 7 Spain protestors vote to dismantle Puerta del Sol tent city

**Created:** 14/05/16 by Volkan Uludasdemir, **Modified:** 15/05/16 by Volkan Uludasdemir

4 Codes:

- demonstration
- general will
- popular assemblies
- public sphere

---

## 8 Spain: Protesters vote to stay in Madrid tent city

**Created:** 14/05/16 by Volkan Uludasdemir, **Modified:** 15/05/16 by Volkan Uludasdemir

5 Codes:

- demonstration
- direct participation (part-taking)
- general will
- popular assemblies

- public sphere

---

## 9 Spain's 'Indignants' lead international protest day

**Created:** 14/05/16 by Volkan Uludasdemir, **Modified:** 15/05/16 by Volkan Uludasdemir

4 Codes:

- direct participation (part-taking)
- general will
- no elite system
- popular assemblies

---

## 11 Spanish protesters' vision of change focuses on what people can do together.pdf

**Created:** 15/05/16 by Volkan Uludasdemir, **Modified:** 15/05/16 by Volkan Uludasdemir

8 Codes:

- demonstration
- direct participation (part-taking)
- drawing lots
- general will
- no class affiliation
- no elite system
- popular assemblies
- public sphere

---

## 12 Tahir Square in Madrid: Spain's Lost Generation Finds Its Voice.pdf

**Created:** 15/05/16 by Volkan Uludasdemir, **Modified:** 15/05/16 by Volkan Uludasdemir

6 Codes:

- demonstration
- direct participation (part-taking)
- general will
- no elite system
- popular assemblies
- public sphere

---

## 13 The uprising over Spain's future.pdf

**Created:** 15/05/16 by Volkan Uludasdemir, **Modified:** 15/05/16 by Volkan Uludasdemir

9 Codes:

- demonstration
- direct participation (part-taking)
- equality
- general will
- no class affiliation
- no elite system
- popular assemblies
- power of wealth
- public sphere

---

## 2 'Yes we camp' activists hit Spanish streets

**Created:** 14/05/16 by Volkan Uludasdemir, **Modified:** 15/05/16 by Volkan Uludasdemir

8 Codes:

- demonstration
- direct participation (part-taking)
- equality
- general will
- legislator
- no elite system
- popular assemblies
- public sphere

---

## No document

1 Codes:

- extent of education

