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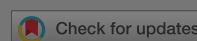
Debunking Spontaneity: Spain's 15-M/*Indignados* as Autonomous Movement

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movement cultures in periods of latency or abeyance in order to better understand the rapid mobilization of networks in new episodes of contention.

Keywords::

- Anti-austerity protests
- global justice movement
- Indignados/15-M
- Spain
- deliberative democracy
- collective identity
- autonomous movements
- spontaneity
- movement continuity
- movement culture
- genealogy

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Notes

1. Indignados is a term used by mass media and by which the movement is known outside Spain. The term is not even used by the movement itself. The response to the term is a descriptive one.

2. Other scholars have used the term.

3. The movement is a response to the current landscape.

4. The focus is on the practices she witnesses in the narrative – long been a

feature of movement culture but much less salient in Madrid than in some other contexts.

⁵ Movimiento de Resistencia Global or Movement of Global Resistance.

⁶ But is typical of activist narratives in the Spanish context which are often marked by a sense of inferiority with respect to other contexts, stemming from the fact that Spain 'missed' many of the social movement experiences of the 1960s and 1970s due to the dictatorship. It is true that this hampered the absorption of deliberative practices that flourished elsewhere during this period, but only strengthens the importance of local and national deliberative traditions in the Spanish context in the post-transition period.

⁷ Assembly practices can be traced farther back, to anarchist practices before Franco, for example although continuity is harder to prove.

⁸ A 2001 book on methods of asamblearismo practice states that the turno de palabra can be modified to favour those who either have not spoken or have not intervened in a long time, and to allow people to respond if they have been 'alluded to' (Lorenzo Vila & Martínez López, [2001](#), p. 57). Despite the availability of the book at social movement events, its recommendations were not widely adopted at the time.

⁹ 20–21 December 2003 Ciudad Real (La Mancha).

¹⁰ Autor... not as
member

¹¹ Interv

¹² The t... assembly
in the Pu... open lists
and a... ted in the
Spar... d free
healthca... ducation.

Acampa

¹³ See 1... dos for
those ch... enados for
those fo... es.

¹⁴ Citizen network for the abolition of foreign debt.

15. The idea of a consulta with questions generated from the grassroots is also the basis of a recent 15-M project called the autoconsulta:
<http://autoconsulta.org/mutaciones.php>.

¹⁶. Indeed the chants of the 15-M crowd with their hands in the air of ‘These are our weapons’ (Estas son nuestras armas) is a common one at mass protests in Spain, signifying non-violence.

17. Translation from Spanish by author.

Additional information

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