

IS THERE A DISJUNCTION BETWEEN THE POLITICAL RHETORIC THAT  
DIVIDES SPAIN IN TWO DISTINCTIVE POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES (LEFT VS.  
RIGHT) AND THE ACTUAL RESPONSE ON THE GROUND?

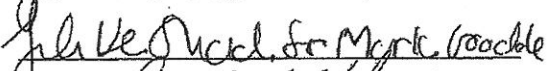
by


Patricia Gutiérrez Sierra  
A Thesis  
Submitted to the  
Graduate Faculty  
of  
George Mason University  
in Partial Fulfillment of  
The Requirements for the Degree  
of  
Master of Science  
Conflict Analysis and Resolution  
Master of Arts  
Conflict Resolution and Mediterranean Security

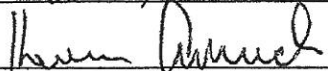
Committee:

 Chair of Committee





 Graduate Program Director

 Dean, School for Conflict Analysis and  
Resolution

Date: 12/5/13 Fall Semester 2013 George Mason  
University Fairfax, VA University of  
Malta Valletta, Malta

Is there a Disjunction between the Political Rhetoric that Divides Spain in Two  
Distinctive Political Ideologies (Left vs. Right) and the actual Response on the Ground?

A Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of  
Science at George Mason University, and the degree of Master of Arts at the University  
of Malta

by

Patricia Gutiérrez Sierra  
Bachelor of Arts  
George Mason University, 1987

Director: Solon J. Simmons, Professor  
School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution

Fall Semester 2013  
George Mason University  
Fairfax, Virginia  
University of Malta  
Valletta, Malta



This work is licensed under a [creative commons attribution-noncommercial 3.0 unported license](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/3.0/).

## **DEDICATION**

A mi abuela por enseñarme el significado de la compassion y la lealtad, a mi padre por enseñarme la importancia de los principios y el conocimiento y a mi madre por mostrarme la fuerza interior y que los sueños se hacen realidad



## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

It is an honor to acknowledge the persons who made possible this dissertation. First and foremost I would like to give my most sincere thanks to my English teacher, Zelda Zerafa, as without her valuable assistance I would not have been able to write the given dissertation. A sincere thank you to Michael D. English for always being there when I needed him and for his valuable comments on the thesis. I would like to thank in a very special way all the participants in this study for their openness and trust throughout the research without whom this dissertation would have not been possible.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
List of Figures .....	vii
List of Abbreviations or Symbols .....	viii
Abstract .....	viii
Chapter 1: Basic Realities in Global Context .....	1
1.1 Introduction .....	<b>Error! Bookmark not defined.</b>
1.2 Debt .....	3
1.3 Social Capital .....	<b>Error! Bookmark not defined.</b>
1.4 Paradigms .....	23
i A Proportionate Electoral Law .....	27
ii Open Lists .....	28
iii Primaries for the Candidates .....	28
iv Revocation of Mandate .....	29
v Popular Initiative and Referendum .....	29
vi Participatory Budgeting .....	30
vii Memories of Participation .....	30
viii Deliberative ‘Assemblies’ .....	30
ix Transparency Act .....	31
x The Accounts of the Royal House .....	32
xi Access to the Accounts of the Parties .....	33
xii The Assets of Politicians .....	33
xiii Full-Time Deputies .....	33
xiv Unprivileged Politicians .....	34
xv Corruption without Prescription .....	34
xvi Limits of Gifts .....	34
xvii Some ERE without Public Money .....	35
xviii Housing Payment .....	35

xix Anti-Tax Havens Registration .....	35
xx ‘Tobin’ Rate.....	36
v Fair Taxation.....	36
Chapter 2: Spain in Crisis .....	37
2.1 Political Crisis .....	37
i ERE – Left Wing – PSOE .....	40
ii Barcenas – Right Wing – PP .....	42
2.2 The Transition in Crisis.....	44
i Bad Governance of the Second Republic .....	49
ii The Assassination of Calvo Sotelo.....	50
iii Fascists’ Support .....	50
iv The Two Spains.....	51
v Civilian Monarchists.....	52
vi The Defense of the Church.....	52
vii No Communist Revolution.....	53
viii A Plan of Conquest of Power and War .....	54
ix Red Terror .....	54
x The USSR.....	55
Chapter 3: Mapping Contentious Politics in Spain.....	59
3.1 A New Cycle of Protest in Spain .....	59
3.2 Deprivation.....	69
3.3 Needs.....	75
i Security.....	77
ii Identity.....	77
iii Personal Development.....	<b>7Error! Bookmark not defined.</b>
iv Recognition.....	<b>7Error! Bookmark not defined.</b>
3.4 Structural Violence.....	79
3.5 Conclusion.....	85
Appendix A.....	90
References.....	105

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
Figure 1 Public and Private Debt in Relation with GDP 1994-2011 .....	8
Figure 2 Poverty Taxes in Some European Countries .....	12
Figure 3 Volume of Empty Houses and House Price Development.....	17
Figure 4 Votes Needed by Each Political Party to Obtain a Seat in Parliament.....	28
Figure 5 Who should decide the candidates in the political parties? .....	29
Figure 6 Map: Transparency Law in the EU .....	32
Figure 7 Protest on the 23 <sup>rd</sup> of February .....	39
Figure 8 Politic Situation .....	39
Figure 9 Yayoflaut@s a SM found through Spain .....	<b>5Error! Bookmark not defined.</b>

### No table of figures entries found.

In your document, select the words to include in the table of contents, and then on the Home tab, under Styles, click a heading style. Repeat for each heading that you want to include, and then insert the table of contents in your document. To manually create a table of contents, on the Document Elements tab, under Table of Contents, point to a style and then click the down arrow button. Click one of the styles under Manual Table of Contents, and then type the entries manually.

Figure 11 The New Generation of PP – The Political Party in Power .....	57
Figure 12 Market -Tribute to Franco with the Participation of the Council.....	58
Figure 13 Participation in Protests 01/2008-10/2011 .....	<b>Error! Bookmark not defined.3</b>

### No table of figures entries found.

In your document, select the words to include in the table of contents, and then on the Home tab, under Styles, click a heading style. Repeat for each heading that you want to include, and then insert the table of contents in your document. To manually create a table of contents, on the Document Elements tab, under Table of Contents, point to a style and then click the down arrow button. Click one of the styles under Manual Table of Contents, and then type the entries manually.

Figure 15 Street Assembly.....	<b>Error! Bookmark not defined.6</b>
--------------------------------	--------------------------------------

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Community Innovation Survey .....	CIS
Encuesta de Población Activa/Poll of the Working Population .....	EPA
Expedientes de Regulación de Empleo .....	ERE
Euskadi Ta Askatasuna .....	ETA
European Community .....	EC/CE
European Union .....	EU
Facebook .....	FB
Gross Domestic Product .....	GDP/PIB
Institute of development of Andalucía .....	IFA
Iniciativa Legislativa Popular/Initiative of Popular Legislation .....	ILP
Investigación Nacional de Estadísticas .....	INE
Izquierda Unida/Left United .....	IU
Left Wing members and Communists .....	Rojos
North Atlantic Treaty Organization .....	NATO/ OTAN
Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development .....	OCDE
Organización internacional del Trabajo .....	OIT
Platform of those Affected by the Mortgage .....	PAH
Partido Comunista Español/Spanish Communist Party .....	PCE
Partido Popular/Popular Party .....	PP
Partido Socialista Obrero Español/Workers Socialist Spanish Party .....	PSOE
Real Academy of History .....	RAH
Relative Deprivation .....	RD
Société d'Investissement à Capital Variable .....	SICAV
Social Movement .....	SM
Spanish Social Movement of Indignados born on the 15 of May, 2011 .....	15M
Statistical Office of the European Communities .....	EUROSTAT
Terrorist attack on 11 <sup>th</sup> of May in 2004 to several trains .....	11M
The European Commission, the European Central Bank and the International Monetary Fund .....	Troika
United Nations Children's Fund .....	UNICEF
Union, Progress and Democracy .....	UPyD

## ABSTRACT

IS THERE A DISJUNCTION BETWEEN THE POLITICAL RHETORIC THAT DIVIDES SPAIN IN TWO DISTINCTIVE POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES (LEFT VS. RIGHT)

Patricia Gutiérrez Sierra, M.S., M.A.

George Mason University, 2013

Dissertation Director: Dr. Solon Simmons

Nazism and fascism have been a latent problem within Europe since the Second War World. The gap between Left and Right Wing political parties has increased in the last few years. Many politicians in their determination to resolve the economic crisis have become more 'extreme' in their ideas and attitudes. Greece is surely the best example but is not by far an isolated case. This thesis focuses mainly on Spain, which as a consequence of its historical factors (civil war, 1936-1939; fascist dictatorship, 1939-1975; transition, 1975-1981; democracy, 1981 until today) strong confrontations among politicians from different 'sides' have become a common scene. Many are the descendants of those in power during the dictatorship. From this confrontation arises my interest on the question, *Is there a Disjunction between the Political Rhetoric that Divides Spain in Two Distinctive Political Ideologies (Left vs. Right) and the actual Response on the Ground?*

In the course of my research I have gathered information from newspapers, social networks, fieldwork analysis from well known European research centers, participant observation in protests and open Internet programs used mostly by social movements from Spain, Greece, Italy, Mexico, France, Brazil, Ecuador, Peru, etc. In my research I found that the rhetoric discourse used on the ground reflects the one used by politicians. Nonetheless, it also can be found a growing disjunction between the two. Most social movements and persons actively participating in protests and other political activities describe themselves as 'Left Progressive'. Yet, the economic crisis has affected mostly the middle and lower classes independently of their ideological preference. As a result, two 'trends' can be found among the population, on the one hand, people blame the 'other' for the current economic crisis, becoming more extreme in their political views while on the other hand, middle and lower classes are uniting despite their political ideologies to 'fight against' the political elite belonging to the major political parties and the banks' ideas and behavior to tackle the crisis.

## **CHAPTER ONE: BASIC REALITIES IN GLOBAL CONTEXT**

### **1.1 Introduction**

“Aristotle said, we can learn the nature of anything only when it has reached – and passed – its maturation (MacIver, in Polanyi, 2007, p. ix)”.

Both, Left and Right Wing, have been imposed the ‘need’ to follow the ‘new’ paradigm of neoliberalism conceived as the ONLY and most successful solution. This economic approach has been imposed on every country within Europe currently undergoing a severe economic crisis (i.e. recession). The financial rescue is conditioned by the imposition of certain and similar, if not the same, financial policies. The Troika composed of non-democratic organizations of equal power (the European Commission, the European Central Bank and the International Monetary Fund) supervises and applies indiscriminately (i.e. not taking into account the particularities of each country) their programs called fiscal consolidation (Jiménez, 4<sup>th</sup> Feb. 2013). The country receiving the Troika financial aid is under their ‘power’ losing national political independence. The perception of legitimization is one of the causes for popular unrest. The aid of the Troika to Portugal, Italy, Greece and Spain has been unequal and thus, their intervention has been slightly different. In all countries the same neoliberal policies are being imposed only differing in hardness (i.e. increased taxes, reduced worker’s rights, privatized education and health, etc.), creating great popular unrest within these countries whilst diverting the problem to other spheres (i.e.



political, ideological, values, etc.,) and intensifying the number of extreme Left and Right Wing groups across the E.U. in which Spain is not an exception. The current situation in Europe has many common elements with the economic crisis and the chosen solutions of 1929 in which Polanyi (2007) states that a disjunction occurs between politicians and people on the ground. Polanyi (2007) in his book *The Great Transformation* speaks of the *double movement*. The idea of the double movement contains the belief that a self-contained market produced a great transformation in the feudal England, precipitating a backlash. It also states that the response of society in order to protect itself from the ‘insensitive’ market created a dissonance between the two, which lead to its collapse, culminating with the Great War.

In the case of Spain, I am aware of situational similarities with other countries deriving in similar outcomes; social unrest and political divisions. However, each country has its own particular culture and history, adapting in different ways seemingly ‘neutral’ policies. My research has focused mainly on the case of Spain as it is partly ethnographic. The dissonance, which the Spanish are currently undergoing, is explained individually and collectively in historical terms. Spain has a relatively young democracy (35 years old), and its ‘solidity’ is nowadays being tested by the euro crisis. The economic crisis of 2007 has brought forth other latent problems such as fascist ideologies, political distrust, importance of corruption, judicial inequalities, structures of violence, and unresolved issues from the civil war. These problems, along with the difficult legacy of transition to a democratic system heighten the unrest produced by the ‘sudden’ imposition of neoliberal ideologies on society.

## 1.2 Debt

“The financial crises are directly related to the phenomenon of debt, a relation of economic character that seems to have accompanied mankind since the beginning of time...and in recent decades has taken a leading role in driving economic growth, to the point of defining the current capitalism as a debt-driven capitalism...in which that debt plays an essential role in the survival of the system itself (*my translation*, Alonso & Rodriguez, 2012, p. 6)”.

‘To be in debt’ can refer to social and economic spheres. The cause of national debt is strongly related to the understanding and perception of who has the ‘moral obligation’ to reciprocate the payment which involves elements such as relations of power, perception of justice and values.

David Graeber’s book *In Debt* (2011) analyzes in a historical anthropological manner debt in history. He states that debt is no longer a mere conceptualization of relations between human beings based on violence but has become a moral relationship (which keeps the debtor with his creditor). This asymmetrical relation results in maneuvering towards domination and dispossession. Graeber points out that the right to charge may be exercised not only through power, but also through relations largely based on physical violence (the conquest of one people by another, with the appropriation of wealth and people, etc.), which has evolved throughout history, to a debt conversion into economic relationships. Such violence of some over others has occurred over history where debt was used for various reasons (security, taxes

etc.) affecting social relations whilst chaining the debtor with the creditor. Western capitalism means a continuation of this regime refined whilst articulating violence gradually differently, with less emphasis on violent domination over the body and physical punishment but with other penalties and commitments as explained by Foucault (1977). For example, property is acquired through the debt of a loan, the property is in the hand of the buyer as long as he pays the loan regularly which is easy to lose in the course of a lifetime. In Spain, it is relatively easy to lose a property (e.g. not being able to pay the loan for two months) but not the debt as Gomez Salcedo said “murder is barred by law after 20 years and yet, a person can go to the grave with a loan debt (*my translation*, as cited by Garcia, 5<sup>th</sup> Nov. 2012, para. 3)”. The current high unemployment (26% or over 6 million) in which 2 million persons find that all members of their family are unemployed and try to search for other ways of income are getting into a parallel economy (i.e. no regulated employment). The Banks expropriates and sales the house considerably cheaper than the full amount of the loan. Thus, the person has the ‘obligation’ to pay the remaining unpaid loan with its appropriate taxes. Debts and everyday expenses throw these actors into a spiral of poverty from which it is difficult to ever surface as the debt of the loan keeps increasing in taxes whilst there is no way through an average wage to ever pay the full amount.

The proliferation of massive and extended debt in most of the advanced economies is a key element that has characterized the development of the global economy in the last few decades. The inclination towards debt has its origins in how neoliberalism approaches the intrinsically unstable nature of the capitalist economy. Evidence can be found in history

indicating that capitalist economies have a serious problem maintaining an adequate level of aggregate demand to place the totality of its production of goods and services. This explains the cyclical economic crisis in capitalist economies. In any case, besides the evidence neoclassic economists believed, and still do, in the capability of the market to auto-regulate and therefore, in the impossibility of the existence of the crisis. It was the crisis of 1929 that discredited all these theories and beliefs. It was Keynesianism that found the solution in the intervention of the public sectors to maintain the level of aggregate demand to stabilize the economy and therefore, preserve the economic capitalist system (Polanyi, 2007). Yet, neoliberalism also rejects the Keynesian mechanism of economic stabilization and assigns this function to credit. Therefore, credit assumed in the economic neoliberal approach the role of providing to the economic agents the additional resources to maintain their level of demand and as a result, to stabilize the aggregate demand giving exit to its production.

In other words, in the Keynesian world, the redistributive measures of resources would be transferred from high rents to lower rents. Those resources (i.e. public money) would be incorporated in the economy in the form of consumption; as a result it would contribute to maintaining the level of aggregate demand that would stabilize the economic activity; bottom-up theory. On the other hand, in neoliberal thought, the reduction of redistributive flows – through aggressive defiscalization programs – is debt – the loans from the highest rent to the lowest; top-down theory. This mechanism aims to bring about that persons with lower rents would increase once again the level consumption that maintains the aggregate demand. In Spain the government maintained social benefits and facilitated new investment

subsidies (such as Plan-E funds for works on municipalities as a result of the surplus in the public accounts in the recent years) in an attempt to stop the bleeding of unemployment whilst trying to maintain employment stable through injections of public money in various sectors. These Keynesian policies ended in May 2010, when the Spanish government and some Europeans, under the pressure of international speculative markets, decided to take a turn and apply neoliberal radical cuts in public spending (although, in Spain the main debt was private). The new neoliberal policies favored the elite (i.e. banks, international companies) whilst worsening the financial situation of the middle and lower classes. This led to a national strike against the newly implemented policies and bad governance of PSOE (Left Wing political party). The premature elections held on November of 2011 were won by the leader of the Right Wing party (PP), Mariano Rajoy. The great discontent among citizens towards the PSOE's measures to tackle the economic crisis, the more 'socialist' approach of the PP during their electoral campaign and the sudden 'birth' of the social movement 'Indignados' (i.e. 15M) supported by the majority of the population in that moment, left the PP as the principal player in the elections. PP won the elections with 'absolute majority', meaning that the current government can pass any law (neoliberal or ideological) without needing the consent of any other political party; they are often and openly abusing this power.

Minsky (1992) argued that "the readily observed empirical aspect is that, from time to time, capitalist economies exhibit inflations and debt deflations which seem to have the potential to spin out of control (Minsky, 1992, p.2)" and far from being calmed by the usual

functioning of the economy, amplify it. Markets do not tend to auto-regulate. Thus, debt becomes the motor of the economy and its executioner. The economic growth of the United States, and thus, the majority of the European Countries, among them in an extraordinary manner Spain, has been built on debt. The Spanish economy has been within the paradigm of economic growth linked to credit, mostly concentrated on the development of real estate. The figures are clear: in 1999, the internal credit in the Spanish State was €476.966 million which represented 82.2% of its GDP, and eleven years later in 2010, it was 173.5% of its GDP, €1.843.953 million. It is evident that the problem of debt in Spain is private debt, as shown in graphic 1.1. If public debt in Spain is compared with countries in the OCDE, it shows that it is at a similar level of another 18 countries. Yet, if the debt is compared within the private sector it almost duplicates the average. The situation gets worse if it is taken into account that most of the credit resource is strongly linked to the estate sector. In 1999, 23.17% of the credit went to construction companies and estate agents whilst in 2007 it was 48.45% of all productive sectors (i.e. it doubled). Almost half of the credit went to private companies. This came under the financial supervision of the Bank of Spain, which remained in complete inaction against the concentration of credit risk exposure of financial institutions in the real estate sector. This model of growth was based on uncontrolled credits clearly directed to the construction sector.

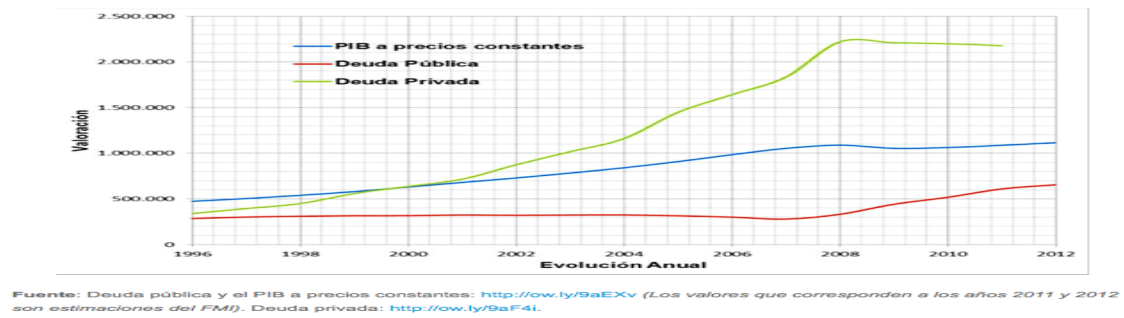


Fig.1 Public and Private Debt in Relation with GDP 1994-2011

The bubble burst of 2007 was felt prior to the effects of the financial crisis. Probably, the financial crisis and the burst of the bubble reinforced each other, as there was a fast and high destruction of unemployment in the construction sector. A significant factor is that in the four years of the crisis in the construction sector, the same amount of jobs was lost as in the nine years of uninterrupted growth. The current crisis has exceeded 26% of unemployment but even during the real estate bubble (1995-2007) unemployment was at 10%, which doubled the European Union average. Yet, at the beginning of the 1990s the rate of short-term employment was around 33% and it has only recently descended for the loss of employment. The laborer proletarian condition is characterized by a world of deprivation leading to a permanent debt, where economic survival is only achieved through submission to economic exploitation and other forms of domination over the bodies. Violence is therefore exerted through economic means on most individuals. The Keynesian redistribution model would not resolve this debt situation.

Mauss (1967) argued that the need to reciprocate gifts becomes a struggle in order to retain dignity, rank and order. A gift conveys a debt, which intrinsically implies a certain type of social relations in which a relation of power is clearly involved. Capitalism represents a certain culmination of this role of debt, which has led some authors to define contemporary man as ‘man in debt’ (Lazarrato, 2012). In a capitalist society all those who depend on a salary are chained to the need to acquire essential goods for their existence (food, a home, saving for retirement) that can only be funded through their submission to the tax rates by industrial factories or work available. Allowing the application of high rates of interest on various personal loans or the possibility of variable interest rates on mortgages condemned in many cases workers to debt to be able to meet their various costs. This need is made permanent and seen as ‘normal’; life on credit and debt (Aglietta and Orléan, 1990, p. 384). This way of life is in a way recommended by authorities and held by economists. Those without the ability or possibility to borrow to meet the minimum commitments such as to pay for insurance or education will be definitely ‘excluded’. An example of this gradual transformation, is the purpose of the International Monetary Fund (a global institution) which has developed into cooperating with international creditors whilst facilitating payment of debts owed by nation-states accompanied by profound legislative reforms in national and supranational institutions (Graeber, 2012).

The hegemony of neoliberal thought and influence since the seventies in the formation of a new biopolitics (Social and political power on the life of the individual, Foucauldian’s sense) has been a gradual return to previous forms of social domination that helps to increase



inequalities, as a result of the exacerbation of competition, individual selfishness and confidence in the market as the only institution capable of efficiently distributing the wealth generated. There is an emphasis on the state's role as a cop escalating punitive policies whilst growing social insecurity, of which the only result is the gradual growth of inequalities (Wacquant, 2010; Paczynska, 2008). Antonio Gramsci (1999) speaks of two kinds of social control; "domination" by direct forces of the different institutions such as political, military, law and police and "hegemony" of ideology spread out through schools, churches and so on. Gramsci states that the West through discourses of development (i.e. Foucault) imposes on the entire globe a "hegemonic global imagination" in which development has only ONE possible course (i.e. Neoliberalism) and just ONE definition (i.e. modernization's definition of development). Neo-Liberal or Post-modernity has a pluralist and cultural relativism approach but in many elements is still similar to modernization theory. The fixed and 'readymade model' is implemented top-down, independently of the country's political and historical situation in a heterogeneous form without taking into account local perspectives, ecology constraints, gender inequality, local relations of power, government national strategies and influence of modernization (i.e. revival of traditional beliefs). The belief that for a country to progress, the people and country's policies must be secular (Western definition of secularism), rational (i.e. in Weber sense) and with a tendency for 'irrational' accumulation seems not to have a solid argument as it has been argued in localized and anti-modernization theories. The view of pluralism has been emphasized by Foucault's theory in the relation of discourse and power. The Neoliberal theory is not homogenous in thought or practice. Some believe that development can arise through a free market, reduced public cost

(i.e. health and education), privatization, foreign investors while dismissing workers' rights towards an increase in flexibility. Yet, others emphasize empowerment whilst advocating for 'indigenous' rights. Neo-liberals believe that measures might at the beginning be perceived as harsh but in the long run the society will restructure itself distributing wealth more equally. Neoliberal ideologies in Spain began with the privatization of several public companies by Felipe Gonzalez (ex-President from 1974 to 1997) in the 1980s, but it was not until the Government of José Maria Aznar (ex-President from 1996 to 2004) in 1997 that began the massive privatization of many public institutions. The real estate bubble started during this period with the release of public land for construction purposes in a manner never before seen in Spain. From the political standpoint, the objective of these policies was to free the markets for goods and services and promote competition in the private sector whilst reducing the state's role in the economy. The effect has been very different. The Right Wing discourse blames the current crisis on the Left Wing as José Luis Rodriguez Zapatero (ex-President from 2004 to 2011) 'refused' to take timely action; burst the bubble.

The economic development of the major economic capitalist countries since the 80s has been characterized by growth on debt resource. This is an important impact on the levels of inequality. In the same way that Keynesian mechanism of redistribution of the income through the public sector plays an important role in stabilizing the economy, in the neoliberal world it is credit, which pretends to achieve the same result. The increase of inequality in the distribution of the income and the massive debt are the effects, both strongly interrelated (Stone, Sep. 2013).

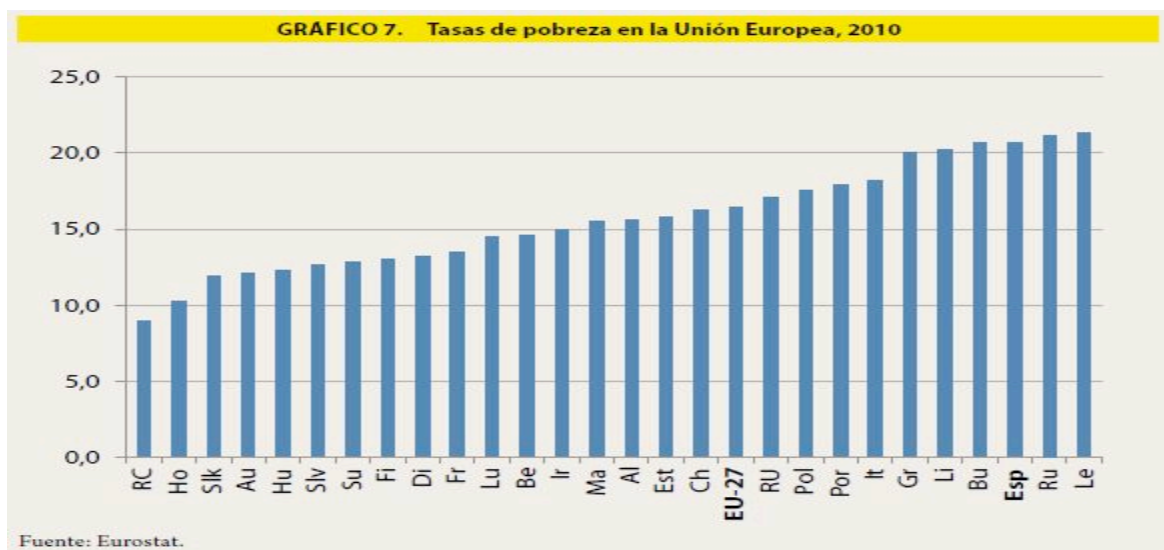


Fig.2 Poverty Taxes in Some European Countries

Some studies indicate an improvement in inequality in Spain from 1980 to 2003 and an increase of inequality from 2007 until today becoming the same as those at the beginning of the 1980s (OIT, 2010). Another study shows that the gap between the rich and lower classes has increased since 2006 to 30% (Caritas, 2013). There are, at the moment, 2.267 million children below the level of what is considered poverty.

‘increased inequalities, undermines people’s sense of security and growing evidence suggests that inequalities tend to persist over time, destroy the less competitive indigenous producers, reduce educational and health budgets, undermine labor rights in particular human rights more broadly. It also undermines the state’s ability to secure its citizens (*it is a summary not an exact extract*, Paczynska, 2008, p. 240)’.

The crisis can be interpreted as a game of power and control with disciplinary effects that can hardly be considered collateral or residual, but rather are the center of what we understand as crisis. The debt imposed on the population has shown, historically, as the major lever of expansion of the financial power in every order, and its survival in the logic of capitalist control has been increasing and consolidating through its long evolution. Neoliberal capitalism exerts symbolic but also real violence (over properties, rights and bodies) over society in general and individuals in particular in order for the population to adapt to the new require neoliberal bio-politic and the norms of current financial markets modifying and adapting the existent civil and penal legislation national as international. Thus, the crisis can be used as a disciplinary measure seen as the right moment to introduce economic innovations eliminating those factors, which limit the private power. In other words, the crisis is being used by capitalism to extend its power of domination and thus, their market through privatization.

The neoliberal measures imposed on the population to pay the private debt have created a disjunction between people on the ground and politicians in general. Some elements such as what was the cause, who are the responsible individuals or/and institutions that precipitated the present situation, concepts of justice, morality and values influence one or other approach to the debt.

### 1.3 Social Capital

“The outstanding discovery of recent historical and anthropological research is that man’s economy, as a rule, is submerged in his social relationships. He does not act so as to safeguard his individual interest in the possession of material goods; he acts so as to safeguard his social standing, his social claims, his social assets. He values material goods only in so far as they serve this end (Polanyi, 2007, p. 46)”.

In sociology and anthropology, symbolic capital can be referred to the resources available to an individual on the basis of honor, prestige or recognition, and serves as the value that one holds within a culture. For example, activism can be considered a culture as they have their own symbols, ‘institutions’, exclusive identity and behavior. Most SMs in Spain are more “horizontal” than “hierarchical” with an informal feeling of belonging (i.e. no fees) that includes a shared concern on different issues and identity politics. In this context, the element of social capital stills an important factor based on how big and to which social movement the person belongs, activist’s experience, carrying out successful strategies, reputation, analytical skills, education qualifications, occupational status, income, general knowledge and on specific issues, reputation, control of the tools for diffusion (i.e. FB, emails, blogs, etc.), political background (being able to perform speeches in the media, conferences, contacts), activists in different projects, etc. Individuals and/or groups evaluate their abilities, and thus their worth, in relation with other individuals and/or groups. Along these lines, an important element of individual identity and self-esteem, it is powerfully influenced by the comparison of their group in relation to others (Horowitz, 2000).

Theorists have argued that symbolic capital accumulates primarily from the fulfillment of social obligations that are themselves embedded with potential for prestige. Much as with the accumulation of financial capital, symbolic capital is ‘rational’ (Maximizing profit, Weber definition) in that it can be freely converted into leveraging advantage within social and political spheres. Yet unlike financial capital, symbolic capital is not boundless, and its value may be limited or magnified by the historical context in which it was accumulated. Symbolic capital must be identified within the cultural and historical frame through which it originated in order to fully explain its influence across cultures (Bourdieu, 1990). In these terms social capital is intertwined with property and capital.

Property and the accumulation of wealth (i.e. money) is a sign of social status in our society, “more wealth is considered as an unquestionable proof of success or merit, the more poverty is judged as an evidence of failure (Marshall, 1992, p. 40)”. A ‘Rational’ choice implies that choices are defined by careful calculation of the ‘utility’ of a product. The value assigned to an object according to its cost, includes time and energy expenditure. A ‘rational’ choice is usually defined as the one that provides maximum benefits. Formalists state that all forms of transactions are motivated by rational choice mainly based on self-interest. The creation of a product is helped by factors, which maximize the net marginal ‘utility’ of that product. This is characterized by low cost production of a ‘high value’ product, which results in a larger profit, therefore rational choices have to be made based on a calculation of costs (money, time and energy), as well as a knowledge of the market and by considering these aspects one has to devise a method of maximizing the net marginal

utility, which is as risk free as possible. This does not only apply to production, but also the purchase and distribution of products. Formalists argue that this is a characteristic of all forms of economic transactions as they are governed by self-interest, whether they are personal or impersonal.

The rhythm of frenetic construction without precedent in the recent history of Spain was accompanied by an increase in property prices: the average house price in Spain multiplied by three in the years between 1997 (684,79€/m<sup>2</sup>) and 2007 (2.056,40€/m<sup>2</sup>). The consolidation of the bubble was fed by liquidity and consequently, it was the low interests and the facilities of the financial entities, which provided the food for the exuberant irrationality of the bubble. During the estate bubble period, low interests in relation to savings made unattractive the act of saving. On the other hand, those same interests incentivized debt. The easy acquisition of property made the individual regard the expense of monthly rent as a waste; the best 'rational' (i.e. max. of profit) option was to convert monetary savings into real estate investment. In this period it was relatively easy to buy and sell a house with a profit margin in a short period of time. Therefore, it was an attractive mode of short-term investment with relatively low risk cost.

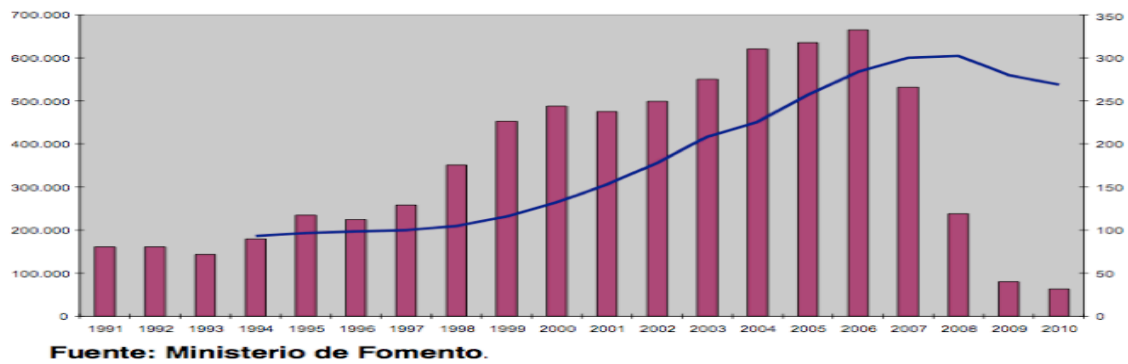


Fig.3 Volume of Empty Houses and House Price Development, Spain 1991-2010

An economic crisis is not only a decrease in the industrial production, sales and contraction on the GDP. Those are mere tendencies or flows in graphics of institutions intended to measure the volume and dynamism of an economy. It also supposed to be a social dynamic, real and concrete, whilst the imposition of concrete political measures in the aim to resolve them has a direct impact on the general public, not only in relation to standard of living but also in how economic and social relations are reconstructed. A crisis can be understood as a phenomenon of reconstruction in the economic sphere as in social relations, in which some groups can improve their situation whilst others worsen in the ‘fight’ generated around the redistribution of the remaining resources (Polanyi, 2007).

The phase of development in the Spanish economy was heavily based on construction, which began in 1997 (Matea and Sanchez, 2006). As a result, it heavily increased employment in this sector. In 2007 there were 2.717 million people working in this sector (EPA of Spain, 2007), which was 13.25% of the workforce in Spain. A proof of the high



real estate activity is the 5.5 million empty houses between 1997-2007. The houses offered each year were around 502,646. Its peak rose in 2006 with 664,923 in promotion. If the 60,878 government houses are added, the figure reaches 725,801 houses in that year. The property offered in the market doubled the 350,000 units of demand for demographic reasons (Garcia-Montalvo, 2006). Nowadays the number of empty houses is due to the bursting of the bubble (i.e. inability to pay the mortgage, unemployment) but also as a consequence of the overproduction that the speculative bubble produced. The approximate number is 1.3 million of those 44% would have stopped construction (Verges, 2011).

Substantivists have argued that is not possible to allocate one set of rules to different forms of exchange. Each form has its own rules, which are essentially socially and culturally defined. It becomes embedded within that society or culture and should not be considered as a separate or isolated category. Substantivism opposes the view that relations created during the process of exchange are solely on an economic basis; personal relations develop shaping other aspects of society. Social capital is an influential element on the 'rational' decision when asking for a loan. Yet, economists consider market exchange as a completely different sphere of exchange in which the only aim is to maximize profit without acknowledging that it must not be studied in 'isolation'. Social relations and cultural norms and values affect the functioning of the market exchange. On the other hand, social relations and cultural values and norms are affected by the norms and values of the market exchange. In capitalist economies most 'survival' exchange is carry out in this sphere and thus,

associated to social capital (i.e. prestige, honor). A conflict arises when the values and norms become too disassociated with the other.

Polanyi, among many others argue that the use of the market as the main mode of exchange has made an important shift in which “instead of economy being embedded in social relations, social relations are embedded in the economy system (Polanyi, 2007, p. 57)” in which the accumulation of financial and social capital strongly intertwine and thus, affects social relations. In many cases some elements are overlooked in the process of an economic crisis such as domination of one group over another, social violence and required sacrifice. The social, when analyzed, appears as a collateral effect of economic decisions. The economic sphere is perceived as autonomous from the social field, whilst it is the social that provides their meaning and power strategies that explain them. Rarely are the actual actors that suffer the crisis studied nor the domination games that fall onto them nor its disciplinary function (Granovsky, 23<sup>rd</sup> Dic. 2012). Sola (2013) states that nowhere can be found a discussion about the effects of unemployment or ‘remedies’ on relations of power between employee and employer. Nor is taken into account that unemployment is a disciplinary mechanism which reduces the power of negotiation among workers or the reduction of the cost in worker dismissal (decentralization of the collective negotiation, reduction of workers rights) which makes workers more vulnerable towards the employer. Those common traits in the neoliberal discourse as stated by Sola (2013) and Fairclough (2000) are crucial to understand the success of these ideas and their influence on public politics such as no reference to power or politic economy. The market is made by institutions, rules, regulations and behind it all, subjects and specific actors. In the markets

there are corporations that are not defined and markets of exchange that govern those spaces. Economy is a social construction in need of being described concretely from the point of view of the citizenship, the social bond of concrete subjects and relations of power. It is necessary to analyze how they interrelate, and articulate those ‘objective’ factors that have been called economic. Those persons denominated victims of the crisis are not the economic agents, which have carried out bad investments, have not maintained equilibrium of gains and losses or have not made a sufficient effort. Rather, they are those citizens (and their families) that after several losses in which the flows of global economy play a fundamental role, have lost their savings, the medium in which to earn an income or have fallen into a spiral of poverty. In this context, the rights of the citizens have been chosen as the scapegoat in the idea of sacrifice during a crisis, using it as an excuse to calm the violence produced by the markets whilst reinforcing relations of domination already found in society (Alonso and Rodriguez, 2013, p. 2).

There is current tendency to frame the episodes of the crisis in a mistrust of international investors (EFE, 14<sup>th</sup> Dic. 2012). The trust increases the conditions of the ideal market whilst it decreases as we walk away implying that those are cyclic episodes. Thus, some factors must be improved to avoid the cycle producing the crisis. Yet, the pattern of the crisis in capitalist societies is usually ignored and unexplained. General *trust* produces a good economic functioning and vice-versa. Thus, in the discourse of trust and mistrust is introduced a degraded and mystified version of the concept of social capital on which entirely resides the ‘success’ of the national economy. Along these lines, the dimension of

power is associated with great economic organizations emphasizing the opportunistic positive aspect of companies (i.e. Euro-Vegas) whilst their capacity for domination over real markets disappears (Laurent, 2012). The concept and use of the scapegoat is essential to understand how to operate neoliberal policy. Aglietta and Orléan (1990), whose work is strongly influenced by Girard, claimed that the governments of the United States in the period 1971-1987 used several scapegoats: foreign, the Central Bank's bureaucracy, public institutions, the poor and the unemployed. In that process antagonisms within society were increasingly reaffirmed since the measures undertaken by the Reagan administration (public sector reform layoffs, loss of social rights and labor of their workers, drastic reduction of social programs) were in the actual field of social struggles. This led them to point out that violence could not seem to be exorcised even in the context of a representative democracy (Aglietta and Orléan 1990, p. 423). In this sense, the figure of the scapegoat can be an extremely useful concept for understanding the current economic crisis in Spain and the huge burden of violence whilst in Europe, the alliance between banks and the more conservative citizenry has attracted the attention of other scapegoats, in this case the irresponsible southern European states with Greece at the head accused of having wasted their resources, not making structural reforms despite receiving money from the European Union whilst they have lived beyond their means, etc. Citizens openly acknowledge their guilt (i.e. especially the popular classes) understanding the government decision to override their rights (Girard, 1989, p. 141). At the same time, the ruling class can maintain their privileges reinforced, seize bridges between public and private positions, overcome every

obstacle ethical in favor of personal profit and ultimately they accumulate by dispossession of the rest.

The crisis has been used and has worked well in meeting, at least in two ways, the neoliberal thought. First, the need to pay the debt, in many cases contracted due irresponsible loans. This demonstrates the importance of debt in relations of power and domination of capitalism; states, companies and indebted households must pay their debts whilst chained to the system because of them. This means being more competitive, working harder, longer hours, innovate more, spending less, etc. The second, the need to sacrifice a scapegoat; diverting responsibility to a certain sector of the population. The victimizers place the guilt and responsibility of the current situation by using the discourse of ‘having lived above our means’ whilst undergoing cuts on public expenditure and privatizing public sectors (i.e. education, health). This coincides almost point by point with something that Orlean Aglietta (1990) wrote two decades ago,

“The recession is a consolidation after the excesses of prosperity, a call to order and tailored for all those who have the imprudence to live above their means i.e. for workers and the poor (Aglietta, 1990, p. 29)”.

The capitalist crisis in general, and specifically the last financial crisis so far, have provided the story elements and rhetorical devices typical of a horror story - the inevitability of evil, the crisis as a cruel and insatiable monster, etc. - which has the effect of creating high anxiety, placing the necessary guilt (i.e. Jews during Nazism in Germany) to create the scapegoats (e.g. the State welfare and the indebted poor), the justification of more harsh and

unforgiving measures with the result of the general acceptance of losing rights, wages, services and income in order to survive.

Despite the political rhetoric, on the ground a great sector of the population blames banks and politicians' behavior and personal interests in general. Since the elections, the PP has failed to implement ANY of their electoral promises (El HuffPost, 30<sup>th</sup> Nov. 2012). Instead, it has done the complete opposite when implementing neoliberal policies and taking public funds to give it to the banks. This has created great unrest among the population. This great discontent has been demonstrated by the masses in two national strikes and numerous protests. Neoliberal ideologies has created an imaginary collective in which the individual is considered absolutely responsible for his/her decisions. In this case of buying a house and its consequences, the citizen is guilty of their current situation, placing aside the cultural, social, economical and personal context that have worked over them, together with the aftermath responsibility of other actors and institutions either financial, political or other. The blame of the victim has been expressed in different ways but the most common narrative used has been 'living above our means' creating subjectivities and identities of guilt in those being affected.

#### 1.4 Paradigms

“It is the interests, not ideas, which immediately dominate men's action. But the 'world images' created by the “ideas” have been identified with high frequency, the rails on which action has been

pushed by the dynamic of interest (*my translation*, Weber, 1998, p. 204)”.

It is clear that ideas, in this case economic ideas, are decisive in finding, which solution is chosen over another to resolve a certain problem but they also contribute to determine which end is worth pursuing. Thus, it depends which theory is regarded as best to achieve economic growth and social welfare, prioritize monetary stability over employment or vice versa. In both cases a mix intertwined of positive aspects occurs (how the economy works) and normative ones (how it should work and what has to be done to achieve it). Both aspects rarely are limited to the economic sphere but tend to visualize and describe a particular vision of how functions and how society should function. At the moment a new paradigm is being imposed which includes a particular vision on the intrinsic nature of economic life, its relations with society and the role of the State in it.

Paradigms or regimes, more properly named ‘economic ideas’ span, and settle on a particular vision of the world, to the point that Hobsbawm (1995) has come to say that the ideas of economic paradigms are merely rationalizations of these visions of the world. The importance of economic ideas increase in times of crisis as the agents have to overcome a period of uncertainty and the ideas at their disposal become crucial. In this period it seems that the old way of doing things stops working so it becomes the perfect time to introduce political and economic innovations and paradigms changes. It is important to mention that a crisis is not a given figure but the narrative is constructed

through familiar stories providing meaning whilst being understood by the general public. Thus, it is important to delimit the problem (i.e. unemployment is due to the rigidity of the market) and what is part of its solution (i.e. flexibility, reduction of the State in public welfare, etc.). The event is determined sociologically; epistemologically not ontologically (Alexander, 2002).

The current government frames the economic crisis in terms of trust and distrust of the market, the need to reduce its rigidity, blaming the Left Wing and the lower classes for the economic crisis. On the other hand, people on the ground, activists, scholars and others blame politicians and banks' behavior and personal interests. Therefore, their solution is to reduce the power of state over society to be able to influence economic or other decisions that affects citizens in general.

The current political discourse is that “*we are in crisis because we have lived above our<sup>j</sup> means...so strong measures have to be taken in order to get out of it* (Tranche, 16<sup>th</sup> May, 2013, para. 3)” blaming citizens whilst framing the solution on economic terms including ideological concerns about how function and how society should function. Yet, those harsh measures have not stopped unemployment but it has increased by 1.6 million people (6.1 m in total, 26% of the working population). Many citizens see the policy reforms as not tackling the economic crisis, but being ideological in nature, such as laws against illegal immigrants, protesters, homeless, abortion, labor unions, freedom of information, other types of nationalism and cultures. At the same time, these policies



protect the interests of the elite (Cué, 31<sup>st</sup> Mar. 2012) and of the Church (Gómez, 6<sup>th</sup> May 2013) while denying the existence of, condoning or excusing the increase of police violence towards citizens (i.e. teenagers, elderly, students, professors, lawyers, judges, doctors, parents and so on) which Amnesty international and Human Rights Watch has condemned publicly (Giménez, 24<sup>th</sup> Jan. 2013).

The ‘paradigm of flexibility’ is important in understanding the current economic ideas as it is the goal that policy reforms attempt to achieve. It is found that the cause of those imbalances were in the rigidity or distortions in the labor market (structure of collective negotiation, costs and procedure of workers dismissal, etc.) thus, the solution was to increase flexibility in those aspects of the labor market (decentralization of the negotiation, reduce dismissal costs, etc.) in order to obtain a more efficient functioning of the market/economy. It is clear that this is just one way of perceiving the world. In the last three decades job reforms have been directed towards “flexibility”. This discourse has been recurrent among Left and Right Wing politicians, which have undergone different reforms associated to a particular vision of the functioning of economy as well as its relation with the State and society which has propagated since the 80s thanks to neoliberal ideologies.

Despite having become widely-accepted as the ‘normal’ path to go. It is also clear that a “policy paradigm” (Hall, 1992) becoming hegemony (Gramsci, 1999) does not exclude that there are certain actors, which openly reject and criticize it. It might happen that the

world of ideas becomes a battle among different groups even if those are not aware of it. It is for this that it is impossible to separate ideas with interests, hierarchies one over the other, the ‘fight’ for power and the dispute of ideas are the two sides of the same coin. People on the ground are trying to modify certain laws within the Constitution to limit the power of politicians (i.e. the source of the problem). Here is briefly explained the twenty-one points that need modification to resolve the problem (i.e. more control on politicians whilst increasing citizens’ participation in political decisions) which has been most discussed by social movements, scholars and media.

i. *A Proportionate Electoral Law*

Proposal: a more proportional system that does not ignore the voice of the territories and provides opportunities for election to small parties (Sainte-Lague method).

Difficulty: requires an organic law and the reform of the Constitution of 1978 (i.e. never modified besides to acknowledge the introduction to OTAN and CE).

Experts agree that this reform alone will not resolve the bi-partidism problem of democracy, but will improve the current system, which over-represents the rural vote and the majority forces. In 2008, IU needed 485,000 votes to get a seat in parliament, when the PP and the PSOE only needed 66,000 for the same purpose. The votes of 2 million citizens were not represented. Normally the responsibility is often attributed to the D'Hondt system used for the allocation of seats. Thus, citizens are advocating for the

Sainte-Lague method. To enter the national allocation takes more than 5%, but there is nothing to prevent the lowering of the threshold.

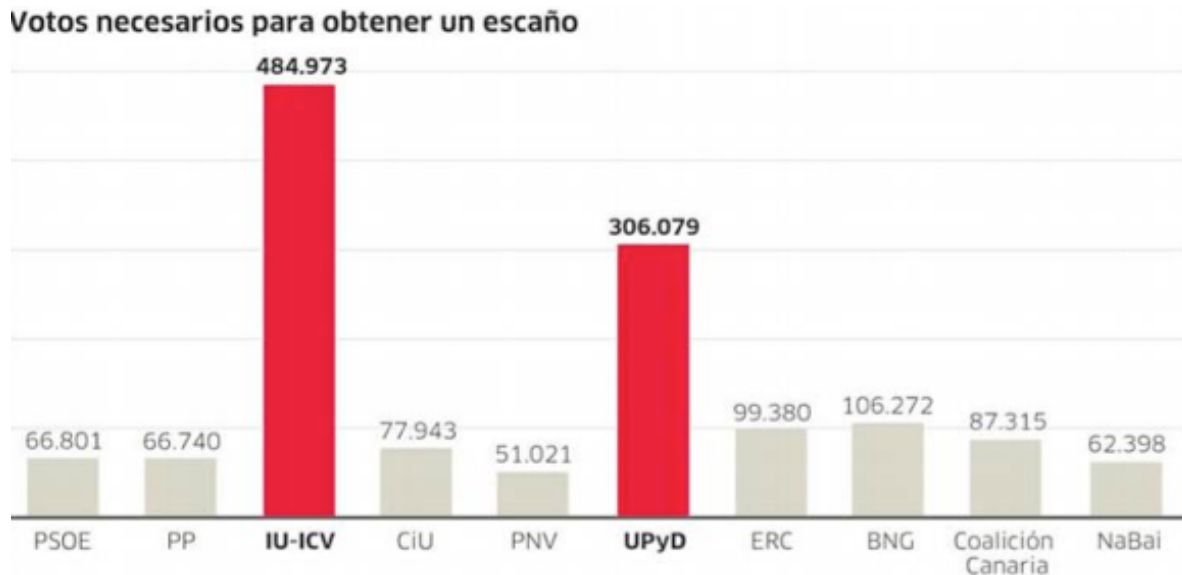


Fig.4 Votes Needed by Each Political Party to Obtain a Seat in Parliament

## ii. Open Lists

Proposal: allow the citizen to vote freely from a list.

Difficulty: requires an organic law, which needs absolute majority in congress.

Spain has the most restrictive: closed and blocked list. The voter has to accept the whole political party. Corruption is easier where the lists are closed and locked.

## iii. Primaries for the Candidates

Proposal: choose candidates through primaries open to everyone.

Difficulty: agreement of the political parties.

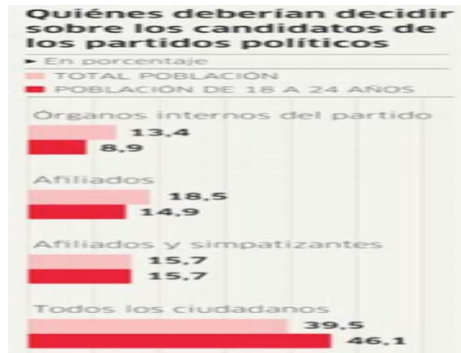


Fig. 5 Who Should Decide the Candidates in the political parties?

The parties choose their leaders and candidates at their convenience. According to experts, this attitude explains the low leverage of politicians in the problems affecting society. Most citizens believe that people should be able to participate in the election of candidates.

#### iv. Revocation of Mandate

Proposal: give voters the ability to recall an elected official.

Difficulty: reform of the Constitution.

The elected person might have to pass a revalidation in his midterm of presidency. If he fails, he loses the job. The fear is that lobbies might use it to their advantage.

#### v. Popular Initiative and Referendum

Proposal: easing restrictions for citizens to promote a binding referendum or legislative initiatives.

Difficulty: reform of the Constitution.

On paper, citizens can participate in the construction of the political agenda through referenda and popular legislative initiative (ILP), which allows them to bring proposals to the congress. In practice, there are many limitations: the referendum is not binding; 500,000 signatures are required whilst government has banned certain issues such as those regulated by an organic law (fundamental rights, statutes of autonomy, etc.). The fear is that people with more money would have a higher capacity to collect signatures and finance a campaign.

vi. Participatory Budgeting

Proposal: to facilitate citizens' participation in decision-making between elections.

Difficulty: some projects have been put on hold after the 22-M.

Public investments and companies involved in a project would be open to public debate to avoid personal interests.

vii. Memories of Participation

Proposal: public policies include memories of participation and accountability.

Difficulty: none.

Any development or major infrastructure must have an environmental impact report. Experts in new forms of participation aspire to replicate the model of participation and accountability.

viii. Deliberative 'Assemblies'

Proposal: involvement of the citizens in making political decisions.

Difficulty: none.

In France there is the National Public Debate Commission facing national issues. In the UK there is a citizen jury depending on the municipalities. The philosophy is the same: provide citizens with a way to influence the decision making before a particular action.

ix. Transparency Act

Proposal: pass a law that forces the government to release all the information they have on the matter.

Difficulty: none.

Access Info is an international NGO that defends the rights of citizens to access information of public interest in the hands of governments. In 2006, they chose Madrid as the world headquarters. The reason? Spain is the largest country in the EU without a Transparency Act (see chart 1.6). It is seen as key to eradicate corruption. The government promised to end the Spanish anomaly, but nothing has been done.

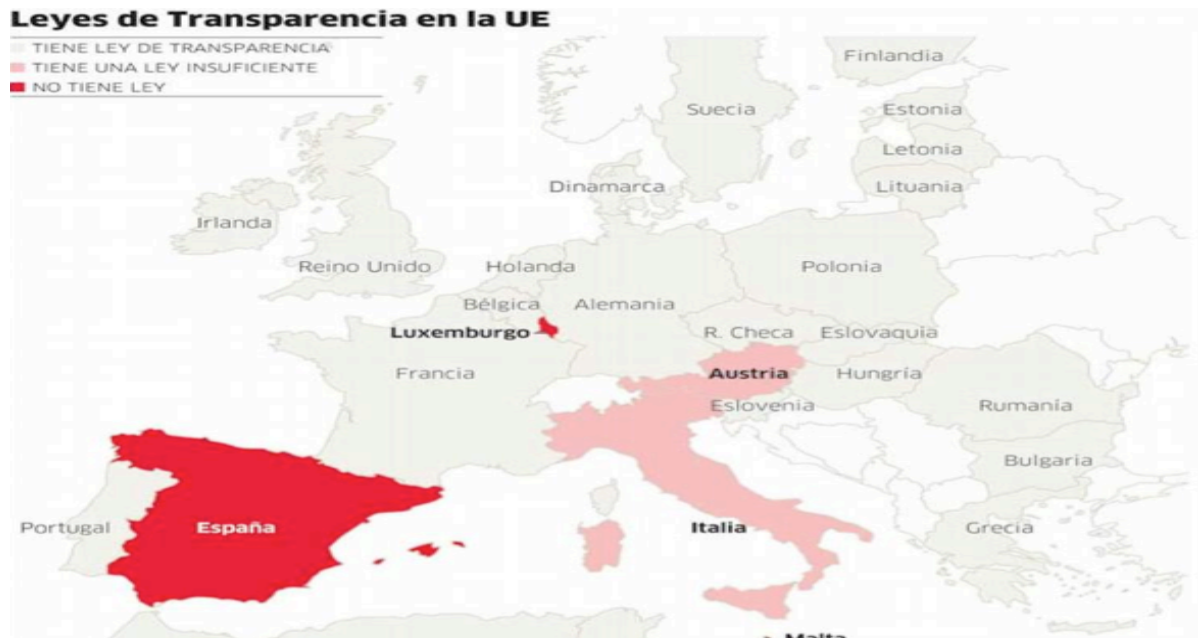


Fig.6 Transparency Law in the EU

x. *The Accounts of the Royal House*

Proposal: make public the accounts of the Crown.

Difficulty: obstruction of the major parties.

There are eight public institutions in Spain, such as the Council of State which has financial autonomy and no external control. But none of them goes as far as the Royal House, which receives an annual amount without having to explain anything. In 2010, the amount was 8.9 million euros and that covers only a fraction of the public money that goes into the institution; the total amount is unknown.

xi. Access to the Accounts of the Parties

Proposal: public access to the political parties' accounts.

Difficulty: reform of the Organic Law of the Court of Auditors.

“Our budgets have passed all controls of the Court of Auditors” said the political parties. The Court works with the material provided by the political parties and is unable to access the real accounts nor the party funds.

xii. The Assets of Politicians

Proposal: the publication of all assets of every elected official.

Difficulty: none. It is already ongoing in Castilla -La Mancha.

Several institutions have taken steps, but only partially. It is seen as key to minimize corruption.

xiii. Full-Time Deputies

Proposal: prevent parliamentarians from engaging in private practice.

Difficulty: none. Most political parties support the idea, but nothing has been done.

More than 40 parliamentarians work in private business without serious conflict of interests (i.e. Gurtel, Barcenas, ERE, etc.)



xiv. Unprivileged Politicians

Proposal: Eliminate pension privileges of politicians whilst discussing the criteria for official cars.

Difficulty: none. Most parties accept it but nothing has been done.

When democracy was ‘recovered’, it was agreed that parliamentarians would have the right to receive the maximum pension with only eight years of contributions. The argument was fine with everyone: Franco’s regime had prevented many contributions. But in 30 years, parliamentarians have voted to expand from 15 to 25 years of computation adding to it the salary of their private jobs.

xv. Corruption without Prescription

Proposal: remove the prescription period of five years for corruption offenses.

Difficulty: requires a reform of the Penal Code and other organic laws.

Most corruption offenses have been punished with increasing harshness in the Criminal Code. Despite this, many crimes have gone without trial because they have prescribed.

xvi. Limits on Gifts

Proposal: any undeclared gift over 50€ would be considered bribery.

Difficulty: reform of the Penal Code.

It is important to mention that Spain is a society in which clientelism still the norm. Yet, it does not have the same effect and can be carried out in every sphere. In the higher spheres where the law and constrictions are weaker, clientelism is carried out with impunity. Some of the biggest cases of corruption that have erupted in Spain such as Gürtel have begun through gifts to the elected officials.

xvii. Some ERE without Public Money

Proposal: firms with benefits that start an ERE (redundancy) must pay the dismissed person the corresponding unemployment benefit.

Difficulty: legal reform (already ongoing).

xviii. Housing Payment

Proposal: to cancel the mortgage debt when the bank takes the house from the ‘owner’.

Difficulty: mortgage law to be debated at the congressional subcommittee.

In Spain, the bank keeps the house whilst the customer keeps paying the debt (i.e. unequal exchange).

ixx. Anti - tax Havens Registration

Proposal: establish the minimum registration to follow the money to tax havens.

Difficulty: to be effective, should be adopted internationally.

Many experts agree that the solution to the crisis, the future of the welfare state, the fight against corruption and the very essence of democracy resides in large measure on the 'impossibility' to transfers money to tax havens.

xx. 'Tobin' Rate

Proposal: introduce a fee for speculative financial transactions.

Difficulty: to be effective, should be adopted internationally.

40 years ago the Nobel laureate economist James Tobin proposed a minimum rate of 0.1% for speculative financial transactions.

xxi. Fair Taxation

Proposal: recover heritage and inheritance taxes whilst taxing higher the SICAV and dividends.

Difficulty: in the free movement of capital, lower revenues.

Fairer taxation retracing the path of the last few years and then, set the target on those who have more. Many experts believe that a fairer taxation will depend on the sustainability of the welfare state.

## **CHAPTER TWO: SPAIN IN CRISIS**

### **2.1 Political Crisis**

February 2003 produced the largest mobilization in history, against the participation of Spain in the Iraq war. In 2004, the PSOE won the elections by a narrow margin in the wake of the government lies about the war against Iraq, Prestige and especially on ETA's attack of the 11M. At that moment the youth shouted to Zapatero, "do not fail us, do not cheat (Ximénez de Sandoval, April. 2012, para. 1)".

The measures of the new Social Democratic government increased its prestige in the early years: withdrawal of Spanish troops from Iraq, substantial increase in minimum pensions and the minimum wage, Unit Law (which is advertised as the fourth pillar of the welfare state), gay marriage, etc. although the model of economic development remained untouched. The government settled comfortably in the ongoing housing bubble and speculative economic growth (which provided enough income through indirect taxes, although some escaped the system). Wages rose and unemployment continued to decline, attracting several million new immigrants whilst providing facilities for their regulation (i.e. there was a need for manual workers).

Yet during this period, the exorbitant price of housing became an impediment for a new generation of the young to become financially independent from their parents. Spain withdraw its army from Iraq but instead sent them to Afghanistan. The international speculative bubble burst in the summer of 2007 in the U.S. but in Spain life went on as if nothing had happened. It was finally in the late 2007 and early 2008 that economists began to be gradually alarmed. In March 2008 national elections were held, and the government decided to lie about the emerging economic crisis whilst accusing anyone in disagreement of being unpatriotic.

The present government, the PP (Right Wing) is characterized, even among its militants, as firmly refusing any type of dialogue with labor unions<sup>ii</sup>, social organizations<sup>iii</sup>, media, other political parties or any other type of organization. Since the elections, the PP has failed to implement ANY of their electoral promises. This great discontent has been demonstrated by the masses in two national strikes and numerous protests. One of those protests was on the 23th of February, 2013 sending a ‘double message’ as there was on the same date in 1981 an attempted of coup d’état. It became one of the biggest protests since the Transition.



Fig.7 Protest on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of February

The support to PP has decreased 16 points (i.e. leaving one fourth of the votes earned when they got elected in 2011). It is the first time, since democracy was implemented in Spain (i.e. after the dictatorship), that a political party had two national strikes in their first year of government. Popular discontent and distrust of the two main political parties has become manifest and has ‘infected’ the rest, political parties (i.e. ‘hoping to grasp power instead of ‘fighting’ for the wellbeing of the citizens) and labor unions (i.e. corruption, personal interest).

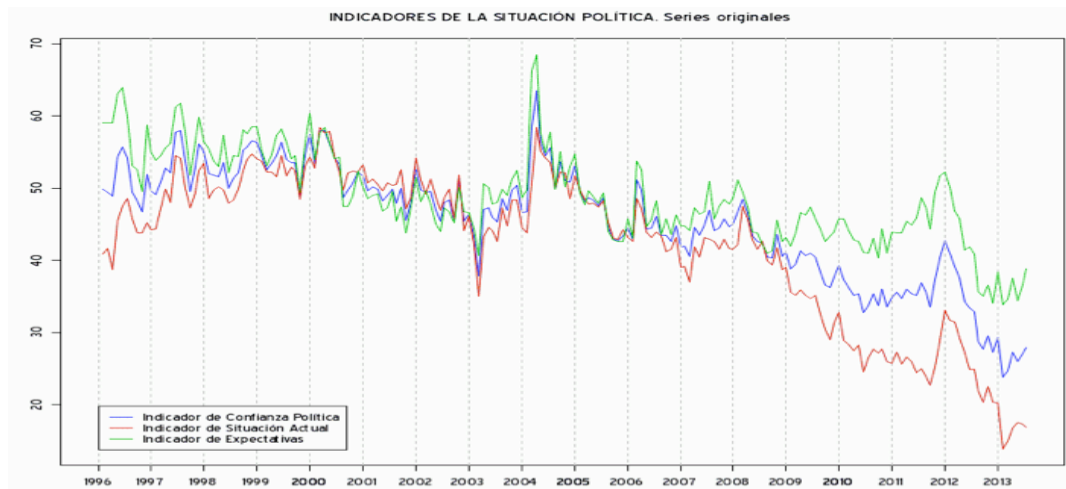


Fig.8 Politic Situation (Trust, Current Situation, Expectation)

At the same time, the police have infiltrated social movements (with the aim of dissolving them; activists call them trolls) and protests to turn them into violent ones (Punto de Mira, 26<sup>th</sup> Sep. 2012) Citizens through different repertoires (i.e. collect signatures, protests, etc.,) have tried to change some oppressive laws perceived as structures of violence without success. The government approach towards its citizens (i.e. no open to dialogue, unilateral decisions, etc.) and their corruption has brought discussions about the different possible types of democracy.

There are many cases of corruption among politicians, the Monarchy, syndicalist, etc. but there are especially two in the eyes of the citizens that are the most serious mainly for four reasons: *how* it was conveyed, *who* was involved, the *length* of the time over which it occurred and the *consequences* of the act for citizens in general at a time of economic crisis;

one committed by the Left Wing party –PSOE- in Andalusia and another by the Right Wing party –PP- on a national scale.

### *ERE- Left Wing- PSOE*

ERE (i.e. job layoffs) was a social program destined for workers and businesses in crisis mainly in Andalusia. The extension of the corruption seems to extend to business and individuals in Catalonia, Andalusia, Madrid and the Canary Islands.

The owners of the restaurant “La Raza” reported that managers of “Mercasevilla” had asked (on behalf of the Department of Employment of the Government of Andalusia) for a fee in exchange for providing subsidies to create a catering school. The research brings to light the presence of several ‘intruders’ in the list of beneficiaries of the juicy workers subsidized such as early retirement by the Board in Mercasevilla, and other private companies also funded with public funds granted by the Andalusian government. El Mundo of Andalusia (i.e. a national newspaper) uncovered the scandal of the ERE, first when they published that the Board had funded Mercasevilla illegally and then, when they reported that the Board had been for ten years paying illegal early retirement to friends and family members. Around €1.217 billion have been given for social aid but it has been found that €700 million were paid through illegal means to subsidize firms, send them to tax havens, or set up family and friends workers with compensation, in some cases, very generous, through the so-called ‘social aid’.



It was the government of Manuel Chaves in Andalusia that was in charge of circumventing legal standard protocols to normalize the illegal subsidies to companies and ‘workers’. There are 123 accused of being involved in the fraud. The Minister of Employment, José Antonio Viera, and the former chief Antonio Fernandez, who was then president of the Institute of Development of Andalucía (IFA) signed an agreement to give legal aspect of normality to extraordinary procedures. It was signed on July 17, 2001; the fraud went on until finally it was brought to light in 2011-2012.

#### *Barcenas – Right Wing- PP*

Luis Barcenas was the manager in the PP from 1990. He was elected national treasurer of the PP at the Congress held by the political party in Valencia, in June 2008. Judge Baltasar Garzon (who lost his license as a Judge during the course of this investigation) ordered in February 2009 the first arrests in the Gürtel’s case, an extensive web of corruption that linked to the PP and those communities and municipalities governed by this political party; the accusation was dropped for lack of evidence. On January 15, 2013, Barcenas’ hidden fortune was discovered in Switzerland.

On January 18, the current President Mariano Rajoy sent an SMS to Barcenas: “*Luis, be strong. Tomorrow I’ll call you*”. On January 31, El Pais (i.e. national newspaper) published Barcená’s documents proving physical proof of a parallel account in the PP *named Box B*. PP that same day canceled his contract with the ex-treasurer whilst changing their version several times (i.e. it has been a long time since Barcenas worked for them, they discharged

him a long time ago, etc.). The President Mariano Rajoy openly lied in this regard at the congress (Congress, 1<sup>st</sup> Aug. 2013, p. 7) whilst seemingly copying Nixon's speech when confessing that he "made a mistake trusting Barcenas (20 minutos.es, 3<sup>rd</sup> Aug. 2013)". Barcenas was charged in June 2009 for serious corruption offenses but nothing was found until five months ago. The PP stopped supporting the treasurer only when proof of the *Box B* was found (i.e. four months ago).

Luis Barcenas ex-treasurer of PP has confessed to the judge that he had a parallel accounting named *Box B* besides the official one. The more serious illegal activity that emerges from the papers is the length of time (between 1990 and 2009) in which the illegal activity was carried out; illegal donations which partly funded the PP something forbidden by the Law on Financing of Political Parties which corresponded to companies contracting with the public administration (something also prohibited by the same rule); bonuses and payments (not reported to Treasury nor the PP nor the recipients) to several leaders such as Calixto Ayesa (Navarra former Councilman); Jaume Matas (Balearic president who paid the rent of his apartment in Madrid when he already ceased to be Minister of Environment); Eugenio controlling Nasarre for Humanism and Democracy Foundation; Santiago Abascal; Jaime Ignacio del Burgo (to help a victim of terrorism) and the widow of Francisco Cano popular councilman, killed by ETA in 2000. These persons have either admitted before a Judge or to the media the illegal payments. It has to be added to the persons mentioned above that many, general and deputy secretaries received money between 1990 and 2009 during the government of José María Aznar (ex-President).

The PP deposited 1.3 million euros in the bank under the concept of anonymous donation between 2002 and 2007. Research has established that the money was part of the *Box B* handled by Barcenas, who deposited the money into the bank in parts (always less than 60,000 euros) to prevent the Court of Auditors from considering the money illegal. The investigation is still ongoing, yet the lies, insufficient explanations and late response of the President and his co-workers have considerably increased the political crisis and distrust of the citizens towards their political representatives in general.

The economic reforms carried out by the government have affected middle and lower classes placing them in most cases in a spiral of poverty leaving the elite almost untouched whilst some have benefited by the same reforms (i.e. Amnesty fiscal). Numerous attempts in numerous forms to change some of the oppressive laws have been brutally and consciously ignored. The same politicians that ask for sacrifice and austerity are openly lying and committing acts of corruption.

## 2.2 The Transition in Crisis

“Two groups who have been neighbors for generations may suddenly be transformed into merciless enemies, and the unthinkable may become a gruesome reality. Individual values can give way to a collective will and the monstrous vision of a charismatic leader. It is difficult for us to assimilate the horror of such acts or understand the wounds suffered by

both victims and survivors. Sometimes, we can only ask, How could this happen? (Volkan, 1998, p.20)”

The Transition includes the historical period ranging from the death of Franco and thus, the end of his dictatorship until the attempt of the coup d'état on 23-February in 1981. The current Constitution was framed in a political context that passed from an authoritarian regime to a democratic one. The political process of this Transition was performed by the Political Reform Act widely accepted through a referendum on December 1976. This law was not intended to draft a new Constitution but to wash the face of Franco's regime, which gave a privileged place to the Monarchy, the Church and the Army. Nowadays, most citizens are asking for a reform in the Constitution. The transition from dictatorship to democracy did not happen without violent incidents (i.e. the coup d'état attempt on 23rd February 1981). At the time, neither Judicial Trials nor the Truth Commission had been established, as the situation was unstable and delicate. Thus, the message given was that it was better to 'forgive' the past to be able to construct a peaceful and democratic future. This has had some consequences in the present as Spain is divided between two different perceptions of the civil war and Franco's dictatorship. There are other elements that place Spain in a different place from other countries with a similar fascist history such as Italy and Germany. In other countries an apology to fascism is condemned but in Spain it is not. Trials were carried out in Italy and Germany while in Spain it was not even possible to establish a Truth Commission. In Spain mainly the fascists in power wrote the Constitution, whilst family members still nowadays holding important positions in the parliament (i.e. Ministers, Presidents, Local

Councils, etc.). Some examples of fascists' descendants nowadays holding positions in the current political sphere are:

- The Minister of Economy and Competition, *Luis de Guindos Jurado*, son of De Guindos co-worker and loyal friend of Franco
- Ex-Prime Minister *Jose Maria Aznar*, grandson of Manuel Aznar Zubigaray (journalist who wrote the history of the Spanish civil war during Franco)
- *Pío Cabanillas*, government spokesman and son of Franco's Minister of Information, Cabanillas Gallas
- *Arias Salgado*, Morocco's Ambassador, son of another of Franco's Minister of Information and Tourism, Gabriel Arias Salgado
- *Fernández Miranda*, responsible for Immigration, son of Enrique Miranda who used to work with Franco
- *Jesús Posada*, coordinator of the regions in Spain and son of Posada Cacho, he used to govern Civil Soria during Franco's dictatorship
- *Oreja*, representative of PP in the Vasque Country and the nephew of Marcelino Oreja, loyal friend of Franco
- *Margarita Mariscal de Gante* who used to be the Minister of Justice, daughter of Jaime Mariscal de Gante, Franco's general director of the Judicial regime of Journalism
- *Alberto Ruíz Gallardón*, Minister of Justice and grandson of Víctor Ruíz Albéniz, a journalist friend of Franco

- *Fraga*, best friend and co-worker of Franco, president of Galicia (where Franco was born) until 2011

Spain has been divided into two distinctive ideologies since the civil war (Fascist vs. Rojos) and even before. The exact number of deaths during the civil war is unknown, as many people from both sides disappeared without trace<sup>iv</sup>. José Maria Gironella (1961) estimates that 500,000 republicans had to leave the country and one million died from both sides. However, it is now being acknowledged that between 1939-75 more people died after being accused of being ‘Rojos’<sup>v</sup> than during the civil war. ‘Franquismo’ is a term used to refer to a political ideology and social movement that served to support the dictatorial regime which emerged in Spain during the civil war and which commanded (at the end of the coup) General Francisco Franco Bahamonte. They proclaimed their governance as an “organic democracy” in opposition to the “parliamentary democracy”. Its ideological foundations, among others, are Spanish nationalism, Catholicism, centralism, anti-communism, complete control of communications, prohibition of any trade unions, anti-liberalism and the safeguard of the traditional family. The regime was strongly associated with the Catholic Church, expressed in their participation with the Opus Dei in political and social repression as well as repression of privileges of joy. The Church used to control society in great measure through censorship, newspapers, the penal code, etc. Their centralism was opposed to any other type of nationalism besides the Spanish, which led to the prohibition of any other language<sup>vi</sup> or cultural symbols within the nation. They controlled the media through censorship, ownership or other means. They banned any unions, such as labor unions, or any other social expression not controlled by the central

state. They advocated for anti-liberalism and were opposed to any type of political or social freedom.

The line between the two ideologies Left and Right, has been in many cases blurred by the passing of time, which has given people the opportunity to forget the horrors of a civil war. Yet, the economic crisis and the fact that some ministers now in power are the actual sons of the fascists that governed during Franco's dictatorship has brought to life a conflict which cannot be limited to the economic sphere. Certain events (always present) have become more salient and can be found on the lips of the people as a way of understanding both, political behaviors and discourse.

A consequence of the absence of a judicial trial, or condemnation for the crimes carried out by either party through Truth Commissions has divided the historical event into two distinctive narratives (winners and survivors) affecting present behaviors and discourse on each 'side' (Left and Right). In 2011 the Real Academy of History (RAH) published the first volumes of the biographical dictionary of Spain, which were funded by Right Wing members.

The same stories that the supporters of the coup constructed after the civil war were emphasized in this biographic dictionary. The dictionary never defines Franco as a dictator but as a "valiant military", the franquismo is defined as "authoritarian" but never as totalitarian. The coup d'état is defined as "uprising" and the civil war is often denominated

as a “crusade” or “liberation war”. The high repression carried out in Badajoz after the conquest is called “normalizing civil life”. This way of retelling the history of Spain has been criticized by 39 historians in the book “En el Combate por la Historia; El Combate de la Guerra Civil, El Franquismo” (Viñas et. al., 2012) written as a counterpart of the mentioned Biographic Dictionary. Among the authors there are well known historians such as Fontana, Casanova, Viñas and Preston. There are ten main points in which Right and Left strongly differ having significant consequences to the present behaviors and discourse.

i. *Bad governance of the Second Republic* as current Right politicians claim was not what led Spain to a civil war. It was the military coup. The coup was strongly opposed by most Spanish including Madrid and Barcelona. Thus, the military fought a civil war. This would not have happened without the supply of arms by fascist Italy and the support of Right Wing politicians. During the years of Franco’s dictatorship, the regime justified the coup by referring to the ‘communist threat’. However, conservative justifications have evolved so that it is increasingly common to hear Right Wing politicians name the alleged failure of the Republic as a direct and substantial cause of the war and never blaming the military coup that degenerated into a civil war. An example of this can be found in Manuel Fraga (Fraga held important political posts during Franco and during the democracy up to 2011) who granted an interview to El Pais in 2007 in which he said: ‘it was the politicians of the Second Republic who carried ALL responsibility for the deaths during the civil war’. Along the same lines, Esperanza Aguirre (Councilor of Madrid from 1982-1983 and President of Madrid from 1999-2012) said in a recent article on ABC that the Second Republic was a disaster for Spain and the Spanish. Many Republican politicians used the newborn regime to



try to impose their projects and ideas, in some cases, absolutely totalitarian lacking generosity and patriotism (Público.es, 28<sup>th</sup> Jan. 2013). A couple of months ago a Councilman in Galicia stated that those condemned to death during Franco's reign deserved it (Aduriz, 5<sup>th</sup> Aug. 2013). The comments and actions made by some Right Wing politicians have caused the CE (European Community) to make a wakeup call saying to Spain that "Publicly acquitting, denying or grossly trivializing crimes committed by totalitarian regimes should be criminally punishable (La Vanguardia.com, 2<sup>nd</sup> Sep. 2013).

The Right Wing justification of the civil war is not anymore on the Rojos (i.e. Left Wing) and Marxists but on the politicians themselves, their limited ability and bad governance.

ii. *The assassination of Calvo Sotelo* (politician of the conservative party) did not precipitate anything. The fact that the coup occurred on July 18 has nothing to do with the murder of Calvo Sotelo, which occurred on July 13, 1936 whilst known on the 14th. His death, said the biographical dictionary did not precipitate anything and has nothing to do with anything.

In fact, there was a terrorist attack planned against Azaña (Left Wing member, President of the Second Republic), in response to the assassination of Calvo Sotelo (a member of the Right political party). The attack was aborted by the military coup leaders who were at that moment in the capital. Data shows that Coronel Eusebio Ortiz de Zárate Vegas Latapie,

leader behind the attack said that it was strictly forbidden to attack as everything was prepared in Madrid for the coup and that attack could spoil it.

iii. The date of the coup depended on the *fascists' support*. The start date of the coup is linked to the promise of intervention of Mussolini's fascist Italy, with which the monarchists, led by Calvo Sotelo, signed on July 1<sup>st</sup>, the agreement for the purchase of a spectacular amount of bright new arms. These arms sales contracts and the promise of intervention were signed in Rome by Pedro Sainz Rodriguez (one of the main politicians behind the coup d'état) with the personal support of Antonio Goicoechea (one of the politicians that negotiated with Mussolini for his support), which more than likely Calvo Sotelo was aware of it. In fact, the historian Ángel Viñas speaks of such contracts that until now were kept unpublished even when they were in the Spanish archives, perhaps carelessly forgotten or conveniently avoided. At the moment there are 300 historians asking to access the classified diplomatic and military documents between 1936-1968 blocked by the current government since 2010 (Torrús, 12<sup>th</sup> Jul. 2013).

iv. *The two Spains* were not destined to confront each other. The fact that the execution of the coup depended on the arrival of Italian weapons allows the historian Angel Viñas to remove another myth repeated hundreds of times: the civil war did not occur simply because of internal issues but had the connivance of Fascist Italy without which the coup, half achieved, half failure would have not become a civil war.

Italian participation does not occur, therefore, once the coup began but their anticipated support was crucial for a successful coup. Documents demonstrates that Italy provided Spain with over 40 aircraft, thousands of bombs, ethylated gasoline, machine guns and missiles without which the military rebels could not have begun a civil war.

This thesis completely disrupts the apocalyptic idea that has accompanied us for decades, and created the historiography body, of the two Spains destined to fight each other. Civil war as an endemic reality of the country, and in particular the idea that there was an undeclared civil war within Spain in the thirties is mistaken, wrote Sanchez (Viñas, et. al. 2012).

v. *Civilian monarchists* played a crucial role. The coup of July 18 was not only military but also the works of civilians, particularly the monarchists of Calvo Sotelo, who had a substantial role in the success of the coup, not merely one of support. Without the internal civil fabric, the military coup might not have had succeeded.

The importance of civilians lies in three aspects. First, without the support of the political party of Calvo Sotelo, the coup would probably never have gained the weapons from Fascist Italy. Second, the civil fabric was fundamental in preparing Franco's uprising in the exact terms that he designed in the Canaries Islands. Third, the civil fabric was essential to create the necessary conditions for the uprising movement to flourish. The responsibility, in this case rested on political and direct action of groups carried out "the dehumanization of

the political opponents”, “systematic provocation of the Left” and “encouragement and excitement of their own supporters.”

vi. *The defense of the Church* and of Catholicism did not exist in the design and execution of the coup. Among the reasons cited by the military in their initial war camps, July 1936 (including Franco himself) is not even once mentioned the expression, “religious persecution” or were there clerics among the conspirators. No one believed on July 1936 that the military rebels had started mass shootings in defense of religion, says Sanchez.

It was after several days in the civil war that the rebel propaganda used the defense of religion to justify the civil war. Another thing is the position of the majority of the bishops, who supported the coup almost immediately, offering tremendous ideological support motivated mostly to defend their almost feudal privileges. The Spanish bishops were responsible for referring to the war as a crusade, but it should be remembered that no Pope used this term to refer to the Spanish civil war. Much more than religion, the justification resided on the threat of communist revolution and the defense of the Spanish nation against separatism. The discourse of the civil war as a defense of religion was inexistent until the 8th of September, when an article was published in the Official Magazine of “Council Defence” of Burgos. Prior to that date the necessity of a civil war was framed in terms of defense of the country against an imminent communist attack.

vii. There was *no communist revolution* underway. During the 39 years of Franco's dictatorship, the regime repeatedly noted that the military uprising was the imminent

response of a communist uprising. The anti-communism ideologies were used by Franco to legitimize the insurrection against the legitimate government, presenting it as a preventive measure.

The U.S. Ambassador Claude Bowers stated that to those outside Spain that had to listen to tiresome insistence that the fascist rebellion was to prevent a communist revolution, it might be surprising to know that for three and a half years no one heard of such suggestion, while, on the contrary, everyone spoke confidently of a military coup.

The reasons that led to the military uprising were the progressive and democratic reforms, designed in the first two years of the Second Republic. That is, the agrarian reform, autonomy statutes and military reform. In fact, despite the existence of many revolutionary discourses in Spain during the 30s, not only among workers but also bourgeois, no one began to work to subvert the constitutional order in the spring of 1936.

viii. The military coup had *a plan of conquest of power and war*. The anti-liberal and other military sectors were put to work to subvert the constitutional order and successfully collected international intervention of fascist Italy before the coup, they did all the things that falsely accused the Left Republican. Proof of this is the contracts mentioned above; Mola (main person behind the coup d'état) predicted beforehand a “bloody” uprising in Madrid and Barcelona as he knew they would encounter the strongest resistance there.

ix. In the spring of 1936 there was *no Red Terror*. There was no dynamic of extermination or systematic killings of the enemies that could continue after July 18. To prove this claim and remove the myth of the red terror in the spring of '36, Francisco Sanchez uses reliable data (Viñas et. al., 2012). The number of proprietors who were killed in the months prior to July 18 is negligible whilst there are nonexistent religious members. Most entrepreneurs died between 1919 and 1923 than in the spring of 1936 adding that in 1923 an archbishop and a cardinal were murdered, which did not happen throughout the entire Republic.

x. *The USSR* and the Komintern were not planning any intervention in Spain. The Soviet Union, in direct contact with the PCE (Spanish Communist Party), had not planned any revolutionary intervention in Spain. In fact, nowhere in Europe between 1918 and 1939 was there a “communist expansion” because communism failed or was unable to leave the USSR. Evidence of an imminent communist expansion was offered in a series of fliers whose authorship is unsure, yet several indications seem to be leading to Mola. The aim of these documents was to point out an imminent communist revolution in the summer of '36. However, once the war began, the same documents that had been the butt of many, a joke when they became public, became one of the main tools of Francoist propaganda. And surprisingly, even today they continue to be put forward by some to justify the military rebellion.

“Transgenerational transmissions are not simply the result of handing down stories about humiliating calamity from one generation to the next. Patterns of behavior and nonverbal messages are intuited and acted accordingly. The transmission of traumatized self-images occurs almost as if psychological DNA were planted in the personality of the younger generation through its relationships with the previous one...affecting both individual identity and later adult behaviour (Volkan, 1998, p. 44)”.

The division shown here are not just perceptions or discrepancies of what happened long time ago, as Volkan states, they are very present in the contemporary Spain. Argentina is currently prosecuting Spanish fascists (Muñiz, 20<sup>th</sup> Sep. 2013). As a result of the economic crisis, anxieties and the need for an explanation of the present situation has made people to look in the past for answers, finding similarities in current events. The ‘stories’ have been internalized by the new generation as part of the person’s identity, which involves not only ideas or knowledge of the past but a certain vision of the world with its emotions, morality and behavior. It is important not to forget that Franco’s death was only 36 years ago. Thus, many that lived the horrors of torture, imprisonment or the disappearance of a loved one during the dictatorship still alive. A clear example are the ‘yay@ flautas, a social movement formed by elders coming mainly from Left ideologies. At the beginning of the new cycle of protest (May of 2011) they begun to teach the youngest to protect themselves from the police, when the police were going to attack or they were just intimidating, etc. The ‘yay@ flautas can be found throughout Spain.



Fig.9 Yayoflaut@s a SM

On the other hand, there are towns along La Costa del Sol claiming to have strong groups of Neo-Nazis. Franco protected and welcomed Nazis running from Germany; they settled along the coast. The new generation of Neo-Nazis is becoming more salient and notorious. The arrests on this issue (i.e. violent attacks, openly speaking their mind in public, etc.) have rapidly increased in the last three years. To this has to be added a wave of Right Wing (PP) politicians being photographed with Franco's flag, raising their arm or claiming that Franco's actions were right. It is significant that the current government has taken down a commemorative plaque honoring those shot down (i.e. death penalty) during the fascist period (Nasser, 26<sup>th</sup> Jun. 2011) whilst awarding a contract on the 18<sup>th</sup> of July to reform the Valley of the Fallen (i.e. THE symbol for Spanish fascists as Franco's tomb is there). The cost of the works goes up to 214.847 Euros, the contract was agreed on the anniversary of the coup that began the Civil War in 1936 (Europa Press, 19<sup>th</sup> Aug. 2013).





Fig.10 Valley of the Fallen



Fig.11 The New Generation of PP  
The Political Party in Power.



Fig.12 Market-  
Tribute to Franco  
with the  
participation of the  
Council, Oct. 2013

## **CHAPTER THREE: MAPPING CONTENTIOUS POLITICS IN SPAIN**

Some scholars have already acknowledged that the implementation of Neoliberal economic policies lead to social ‘justice’ movements as a way of dealing with the anxiety produced by reducing public costs, free market-trade, privatized companies, encouraging foreign direct investment whilst lowering the rights of the workers towards flexibility. Yet, it also could be understood as an inevitably and necessary ‘dialogue’ between the state and society about the newly implemented policies, form of governance and societal values.

### **3.1 A New Cycle of Protest in Spain**

“Contention begins when people collectively make claims on other people, claims which if realized would affect those others’ interests... 1) it involves contention: the making of interest-entailing claims on others; and 2) at least one party to the interaction (including third parties) is a government: an organization controlling the principal concentrated means of coercion within a defined territory. Social movements, cycles of protest, and revolutions all fall within this range of phenomena (McAdam, D., Tarrow, S., and Tilly, Ch., 2001, p.17)”.

Tarrow and Tilly define social movements as “sustained challenges to power holders in the name of a disadvantaged population living under the jurisdiction or influence of power

holders (Tarrow, 1996, p. 874)". In this case, there is a 'power relation' between the government and a number of 'others' using different tactics to maintain, rest or acquire more power over the other affecting the other group interests (i.e. political opportunity structure). Another characteristic of social movements are their use of resources, its continuity and its 'closed' identity (us vs. them) (Toch 1965, p.5). It is an organic group in which the emotive component is essential making the person feel part of something bigger (e.g. Durkheim's collective effervescence). They can be categorized as movements aiming for 'reform' as well as 'revolutionary'; they use certain norms and values to criticize and oppose the perceived social defects but also aim to change the established norms, structure and values (Blumer, 1951). Among all social movements it is possible to find highly structured social movements such as ATTACK and Frente Civico and also disorganized networks such as La Revolucion de los Payasos. Despite a few cases (i.e Frente Civico) the degree of internal structuralization among social movements has to be addressed regionally not nationally.

The global movement of protest since 2011 could be denominated 'movements of Indignados' to simplify the international-plural version, which includes from Occupy Wall Street to all the other occupations of public squares in the world. The movement 15M is the restrictive Spanish version of Indignados.

Social movements are different in their creation, dynamics, context, tactics and goals. Yet, common factors can be found between 15M and other social movements around the

globe including those in the ‘Arab spring’ such as occupying public squares whilst advocating pacifism. The ‘Arab Spring’ despite being a clear precedent of 15M with whom it shares some similarities differs in its creation, context, goals and several tactics. Another difference between the movements in Europe and US, and the Arab countries is the length of repression, many have been killed by their own “security forces”. This separates them from the movements with basic formal democracies (i.e. Europe, North America). The latter called a shift towards democracy whilst the former have commonly focused on the economic crisis denouncing their mismanagement and aiming at an ‘improvement’ in the democratic system in Europe and North America. Governments’ loss of power in decision-making regarding national matters has been an important factor (i.e. loss of legitimacy) among protesters. Yet, at a time in which globalization and technology have granted the opportunity to follow an event on the other side of the world in real time, the possible effect on other countries cannot be overlooked even if those are living in a different context. The inspiration of Egypt’s success could have reproduced an emulative activity “based on local initiative and local resources of dissatisfaction...each played itself out somewhat differently (Bessinger, 2006, p. 226)” or diffusion between social movements (Romanos, 2013). The influence of Spanish (i.e. 15M) in the Occupied Wall Street movement and 132 movement (Mexico) in the first mobilizations of 15M have been recorded and studied by several scholars (Romanos, 2013; Hernandez 2012).

Many objections of the so called anti-capitalist movements during the 90s match today critics to the established system; the increasing de-regulation of the market; freedom of

international financial speculation (without taxes); the independent power of the Central European Bank whose solemn goal is to control inflation; monetary union without fiscal union or an economic common government which allows conflicting fiscalities competing among themselves; allow tax havens whilst not assuring a minimum of social rights or well-being or welfare common to the Union. Nowadays the different social movements in Spain try to develop alternatives to the current system. The challenge of indignant movements is to act at the micro and macro level; stop an eviction, denounce injustice or corruption, raise legislative changes in the electoral law, condemn the global economic speculation, or banking system. The targets are so diverse whilst trying to carry out the tasks in a participatory manner that is simply, a herculean task.

The ‘birth’ of the 15M was not totally spontaneous. Different social movements were ‘born’ as a result of different events such as the Prestige disaster which ruined the coasts of Galicia (2002), protests against Iraq (2003), attacks in Madrid and the lies of the politicians (2004), structural unemployment, cuts in education, Bologna’s law, mortgage taxes, Sinde law (politicians clearly ignored the wish of the citizens) and many others which directly affected throughout the years the lives of many. The 15M is not only the union of DRY (Real Democracy Now), Juventud sin Futuro (Youth without Future), No les Votes (Don’t Vote Them), etc., who convoked the protest on the 15th of May of 2011 against Zapatero ‘neoliberal economic reforms’ but of individuals; ‘old activists’ with new individuals. The unitary movement 15M was formed with the only obligation that each person participated individually with his own name, only representing himself/herself (one person, one vote and

if possible never vote). Thus, the social movement 15M ‘spontaneously’ was born and got its name sustaining the relation between the apparition of certain social movements as a result of imposing neoliberal policies (Tarrow, 1996, pp. 875-877; Polanyi, 2007). Yet, it could be perceived not as a ‘reaction’ of certain policies but as an attempt to dialogue between society and the state to ‘produce’ more suitable norms and values.

The birth of 15M began a new cycle of protests (Mc Adam, et. al., 2001, pp. 22-23) which coincided with the electoral campaign of municipalities and autonomies in 2011. The Ministry of Finance recorded 10,568 protests in 2004; 16,116 protests in 2008; almost 20,000 in 2010; 23,248 protests with two national strikes in 2011 (Caballero, 27<sup>th</sup> Jun. 2012) and almost 42,000 protests in 2012 (La Sexta.com, 30<sup>th</sup> Dic. 2012). They have stopped providing information on protests whilst denying OCDE the right to register participation and number of protests per day/year. The government currently sanctions with fines and arrests participation and diffusion of any form of protest. The number of protests has tripled since 2008 as the number of participation has increased since 2011.

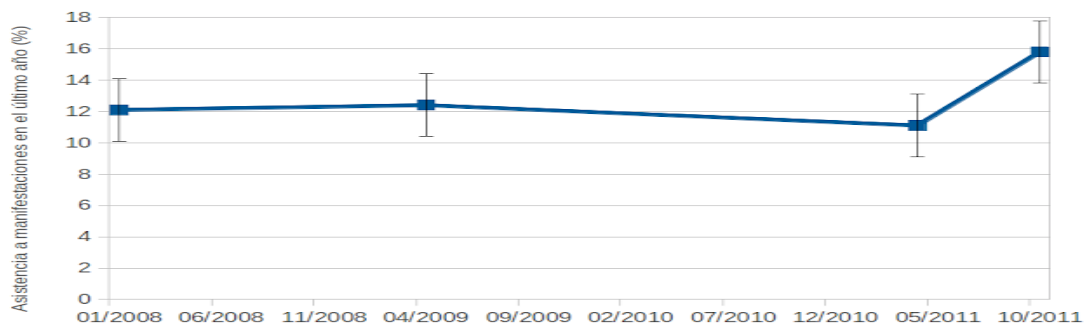


Fig.13 Participation in Protests, 01/2008-10/2011

Definitely, there is a before and after in the number of political social movements, number of protests and participation since the 15M. 15M has influenced and multiplied the number of social movements (see appendix A, p. 87) such as the ‘birth’ of Mareas (i.e education, miners, judges, officials, firemen, etc). The new TIC (Technology of Information and Communication) and the social virtual webs have facilitated the development of Unitarian movements. The most used for social movements to spread information about protests, different tactics, general information and events.



Fig.14 Mareas

An element that has influenced the current cycle of protest is generational change; the most educated and technologically prepared youth in the Spanish history has less resources, less future prospects and live worse than their parents. Poverty and inequality has kept increasing rapidly in the last few years (Caritas, 2013, OCDE, 2011).

The ‘survival’ or continuation of a social movement depends on its tactics, tactical innovations to keep up motivation, message, dissemination of the message, active participation of new members, real solutions, unintentional help from the elite (i.e. structural opportunism) and appearance on the media. The repertoire used by the 15M (e.g. civil disobedience, protests, camping) was not new but their tactics leaved their marginalized space becoming more visible and accepted by the general public. The police repression exercised over the 15M at the moment of its ‘birth’ (i.e. occupying public spaces) whilst they advocated for a non-violence approach increased the ‘spontaneous’ participation of single individuals. Activists frame their message aiming to include the majority of the population (i.e. youth, middle class) avoiding class or political ideology such as “Banks got bailed out we got sold out”, “We are the 99%”, “if you don’t let us dream, we will not let you sleep” used in different countries throughout Europe. Messages have got across rapidly as a consequence of internet, the high unemployment, evictions, disenchantment with politicians especially their economic policies failing to address socio-economic problems; the social movements came about at the ‘right’ time and vice-versa. A key factor were the tactics used by the police (e.g. using pepper, shooting plastic balls at pacifists civilians, ‘illegal’ arrests), which placed the movement in the media. The messages had an impact and succeeded in bringing various discussions to the general public such as values, roles of the politicians, types of democracy, policy preferences which prior 15M were only discussed by a very reduced sector of society.



Since 2011, 15M have evolved into a type of subculture/community/association of neighbors whilst moving to neighborhoods within the cities and towns throughout Spain. It can be seen or understood as a dispersion in conscience change (i.e. positive view) but it is hard to measure the real current impact as it has not changed the world or even made politicians reconsider the political domain or policies. Thus, it seems that they have succeeded in describing the world but not much in changing it. Yet, the 15M together with most social movements functioning in Spain perceives the change as a long-term process; a change of the collective conscience in ideas, values, behaviours, believes and norms through 'education' or diffusion in which the individual finally will realize that his participation in politics can change the course of events. The unitarian movement, the camping protests, the assemblies at Sol (Madrid) and neighborhoods has multiplied the *mutual knowledge* between the different social movements (feminists, ecologists, against evictions, etc.) prioritizing the action to ideological debates. For the first time participatory democracy is reinvited as the main element of the movements whilst there is an attempt to practice what is 'preached'. Assembleism, direct participation and participatory democracy is the internal functioning of most social movements at the moment. Those very same factors which have provided their salient identity can result in difficulties and slowness in the decision-making process as has occurred in the Assemblies. These social movements attempt to 'modify' the democratic system, to 'improve' it in contrast with traditional social movements (i.e. class struggle based on 'material' gain).



Fig.15 Street Assembly 2011

Boundaries in these types of movements are fuzzier, permeable, loose and amorphous as there are numerous groups prioritizing different identities (see Appendix A, p. 87), but the entrance and exit is easy in all (i.e. not fees) whilst most seek action over basic issues of livelihood. The terms of the inclusion varies depending on the individual and social movement. Barth (1969) calls “discontinuities” those characteristics that separate groups in the continuous spectrum of culture: some trait becomes the boundary marker, largely symbolic, an ascription of how individuals identify themselves and are identified by outsiders. This overstates the nature of difference. Barth defines Culture “as flux, in a field of continuous, distributed variation” maintained through symbols, institutions and activities that imply inclusion and exclusion. Group categories often endure even when those members can move across boundaries or share an identity with people in more than one group. For example, the political and economic situation in Spain have benefited politicians of IU (Left Wing political party), the third political power in the country but until now unable to govern. IU has created national SMs and their politicians can be found throughout Spain in every other social movement. Some SMs have banned their participation as they are perceived as only caring about personal advantage whilst others accept their participation, only if they not hold a strong or representative position within the movement.

The increase of education among citizens has contributed to the shift of identity; from class to status affecting the formation and unification of the numerous SMs. Michael Hetcher (2004) argues that people educated in different areas (i.e. medicine, teachers, lawyers, car mechanics and so on) coming from the same class began to differ in status. Status in these terms is associated to life style (i.e. interests in consuming cultural specific goods) and thus to culture rather than economic affinity. This shift from class to status greatly affected by the cultural orientation towards the specification of labor together with immigration has decreased unionization (Hetcher, 2004). Thus, the break up of a united imaginary solidarity group (i.e. imaginary as all the ‘members’ do not know each other as in a small town), in this case, class as a consciousness of a group, shifted into status groups (i.e. more divided or smaller groups) allowing the government to cut welfare rights (i.e. “divide and conquer”). Thus, citizens have begun to relate to each other less in class terms and more in the context of status or culture. A conscience of class still persists as certain movements and citizens claim (i.e. “there is not Right or Left, there are only the ones at the bottom and those on the top”). There are various organizations attempting to unite the scattered SMs. A few frame their identity in terms of class such as “alternatives from the bottom”. The differential stratification of groups is in Hetcher’s opinion, the determinant of the relative salience of social identities. It is when those groups share a specific ideology that they attain political salience. A common discourse among activists is the need to unite; unite all SMs with a similar identity such as non-violent, horizontal, democratic participative, ‘inclusive’, post-materialist, etc. but disruptions and arguments are common.

It is difficult to behave in an inclusive manner or understand the other's person behaviour and discourse, when there is a need to be distinguished from 'them' comparing one's behaviour with another group or person.

Some activists and sociologists use the 'New Movement Theory' to describe contemporary SMs but still unclear if it has *substantive value*. Melucci (1995) states that new social movements "seem to shift their focus from class, race, and other more traditional political issues toward the cultural ground (Melucci ,1995, p. 41)". This theory derives from the perception that conflict between classes was loosing importance whilst homogeneous movements became obsolete in the appearance of multitude social movements with diverse identities. The 'new' social movement tends to criticize the established social order and current representative democracy. Activists aim for the population to reflect on 'conventional' politics and the advantage of introducing a more participative and radical democracy; the politicization of daily life. There is also a critic to modernity and 'capitalist' progress (i.e. personal interest, unequal competition, etc.) whilst advocating for decentralized structures, interpersonal solidarity, equality and autonomous spaces against the great bureaucracy. The new social movements are characterized by a fluid and open organization, not hierarchical, advocating towards an inclusive participation without political ideology (i.e. Right or Left) whilst paying greater attention to social than economic transformations; their aim is not material advantage.

### 3.2 Deprivation

Ted Gurr's theory (1970) of Relative Deprivation (RD) can be applied to explain the emergence of social movements in which political ideologies are placed as a secondary factor whilst harm to self-esteem or dignity, anxiety or needs are viewed as the main element for the emergence of social movements. Some of these social movements include without distinction, individuals from both political ideologies (e.g. la PAH, green marea-education, white marea-health, red marea-social services, black marea- official workers, etc.) but most describe themselves as progressive Left.

Relative Deprivation (RD) can be defined as the gap between what the person "is" actually attaining (i.e. value capabilities refers to those goods and conditions that the population think are capable of getting and keeping) and what they think they "should" rightfully obtain (i.e. value expectations refers to goods and conditions that the population believe are fully entitle). The individual's perception about what is in the right of the person to attain depends on the personal and social context. The individual and the society's past experiences, the present situation and abstract ideals, compared to the gain of another group, modulates the individual concept of what is considered a right of the individual to attain (i.e. social, political, interpersonal) and what is not. The lower classes compare themselves with higher classes and politicians. Politicians and citizens are constantly comparing Spain to other countries. Depending on the ideology that is being defended, it is compared with Finland (education), Britain (welfare), Germany (welfare), France (welfare and mortgage), Guatemala (mortgage), South Africa (unemployment percentage), Japan (political morale) and so on.

Gurr argues that the form to overcome or attack the source of frustration is provided by the social structure and norms within the society. Yet, if the social structure does not provide space to act against the source of frustration, the individual or collective group would become ‘deviant’<sup>vii</sup>, meaning that they will look for other ways to attain what is perceived as their right. For example, social movements trying to stop house evictions by the banks have been using different tactics; they gathered 1.5 million signatures as by law politicians are obliged to present and discuss the issue in the Parliament. Yet, nothing was done to improve the situation. Thus, the movement took the matter to the European Court. Luxembourg stated that those types of evictions were considered illegal. Along this line, Amnesty International and Human Rights have publicly denounced the evictions and labeled them as ‘financial genocide’. Yet, the Spanish government has not done anything to change the situation. The movement has organized numerous protests without result. They have stopped some evictions by standing in front the houses. Yet, it is impossible to stop all evictions as there are five hundred families losing their houses every day. They are currently doing ‘escraches’: going to the politicians’ houses and places of work to protest. The government has created repressive laws against “pacificaly resisting arrest”. For example, pacificaly sitting down as a form of protest can carry from 3 months to 1 year of jail; any type of violent protest (i.e. involving ‘their’ interpretation of violence, from 3 months to 2 years of jail), diffusion of any type of civil disobedience through internet such as Twitter or other (i.e. from 3 months to 1 year), economic sanctions for being in a protest €300 fine and so on (A. M., 14<sup>th</sup> Sep. 2012). The government is currently threatening

protesters with long periods of jail and economic sanctions. The movement la PAH has stated that pacific options to modify or affect political decisions and laws are running out.

Expectations in these terms are distinct from aspirations (i.e. my right to attain 'vs.' wish to attain) in which the latter might raise feelings of disappointment but not deprivation. There are different forms of relative deprivation according to Gurr.

The two main elements in this theory are the approach of the frustration-aggression mechanism and the assumption of 'universal human needs'. The frustration-aggression approach states that any deprivation causes frustration. Thus, if the source of frustration is shared by others (i.e. value structure) within the community, it might lead to collective mobilization and/or aggression, both directly dependent on its scope (collective mobilization) and intensity (frustration, anger, aggression). Yet, Gurr never problematized in his writings how the transition from individual frustration to group action occurs.

Gurr interchanges the word 'needs' and 'values' as in his argument needs are expressed in cultural values. He categorizes values into three types: wellbeing such as values on physical wellbeing and self-realization, interpersonal such as satisfaction in non-authoritative interaction values; status, communality and coherence and political such as influence the action of others avoiding interference in their own actions, values on participation on decision-making and security. The importance of one's needs or values

over others is embedded within the values of the society; many of them internalized by the actors.

Gurr differentiates between three patterns of RD: aspirational, decremental and progressive deprivation. Aspirational deprivation is considered less violent, as the actors expect to achieve a new value such as equality. Aspirational values might appear following comparison with other groups, or due to political instability or it might be that the society has already certain elements associated with the value. In any case, aspirational deprivation refers to the feeling of an individual in attaining a 'new' value in that particular group.

The decremental deprivation is characterized by severe oppression of one group over another, losing important values in every dimension: wellbeing, interpersonal and political. It could be seen as an oppressive 'oligarchy' not providing the space for modifying the social structure in which the source of frustration resided (e.g. great differences among individuals in personal, social and political opportunities). Finally, the progressive deprivation describes a society that for a length of time has 'improved' in different value dimensions, increasing or changing the collective value expectation. This is followed by a period of decrease in the 'quality' of important values (perceived by the actors). This creates a gap between value capabilities and value expectations, which James C. Davies refers to as the J-curve.



It can be said that the case of Spain began with progressive deprivation, since the Transition Spain developed at a steady pace. Proof of this is that for the first time immigrants were going to Spain to work (i.e. for the first time in the last century). Yet, in the last four years the conscience of the general public has also developed into an aspirational form (i.e. improvement of laws, rights, political behavior and morality) and decremental as the government has created different forms of repression by modifying laws to criminalize pacific protests, completely controlling the media until then independent of political parties (i.e. the government dismisses all workers at the state broadcasting channel as soon as they got into power and placed their own) and individual actors, minimizing workers' rights (i.e. fear of losing the job as it has become very easy to dismiss an employee), increased police violence, etc.

The ongoing deprivation in Spain has created dissonance and anomie. Gurr classifies dissonance and anomie as an alternative to RD as they have different behavioral outcomes yet, they can overlap with RD.

In the case of Spain, anomie can be defined as an imposed change on internalized values and social norms by others not 'coherent' or in conflict with the individual's values. In these terms, the structural socio-economic changes carried out by governments and the lack of explanations for their actions contradict the cultural values or "priority values" on well being, interpersonal and political. In other words, governments and in this sense the international economical trend (i.e. neo-liberalism) is asking the Spanish to change their

internalized structural and individual (those values put order and make sense of the environment including interpersonal relations), values by others in intense conflict with their own. Thus, the gap between the capability value meaning one's own abilities (inherited or by experience) and the expectation value increased as modes for satisfying expectation and opportunities became limited as it is increasingly residing on the familial economic status which creates unequal opportunities for the citizens.

In this context, dissonance appears as a conflict between two different sets of values. The first advocates a necessity for a reduction in welfare rights and privatization of public services (i.e. education, health) whilst eliminating certain workers' and individual rights increasing inequality as individual opportunities will reside on the monetary power of the family or social relations (i.e. relations made through family members or at private schools). On the other hand, welfare opportunities and equality regardless of family income is perceived by the majority of Spanish as a right not an interest following Burton's approach that cannot be bought, privatized, reduced or sold.

### 3.3 Needs

Neoliberals believe that in the long-term, society will restructure itself contrasting with John Burton's opinion when he states "needs and values are not for trading (Burton, 1990, p. 39)".

He distinguished interests from needs disputes adding to the basic human needs (i.e. shelter, food, sex and reproduction) considered universal, the individual as a social unit, who requires social basic needs to be able to cooperate and socialize in a harmonious manner in inter and intra personal relations.

Needs are considered by Burton universal and impossible to suppress or negotiate by any form of coercion or socialization of values as may occur with interests. It was the belief that in order to maintain cohesion and stability, the introduction of shared values and means of coercion was the best action to successfully ‘suppress’ maladaptive or undesirable behavior. This might be so in the short-term. Nevertheless, forms of coercion are seen as the precursor of conflict in the long-term while the gap between standard or structural social values (i.e. elite) and individual values are not dismissed through means of coercion. “Systemic needs”, those needs universal to all humans, in Burton’s view, do not contradict the existence of cultural values. Cultural values are the societal basic needs of that particular group, who ‘prefer’ some values over others (i.e. “priority values”). For example, solidarity instead of competition, equal opportunities for all instead of inequalities based on economic status, etc. Cultural values provide the ‘acceptable’ means and forms of expression of ‘protest’ within a given culture (i.e. aggression or non-violence, repertoire of ‘political’ expression).

Therefore, he considers certain social values as basic needs (i.e. necessary for survival) as it is important for the individual to the point of giving his life in order to fulfill those needs. It has been an increment of suicide between 10% and 60% depending on the region caused by the economic crisis. The pursuit of basic needs including group values is a major

cause of social conflict and structural change within a society. Along this line, Burton extended the definition of 'need' to include the fundamental needs of the individual as a social unit such as security, identity, recognition and personal development (i.e. access to education and health).

In Spain 'basic universal needs' are being denied, such as shelter (i.e. indiscriminate evictions) and food. "*Bread with bread and I imagine what I want inside*" is the slogan of an NGO providing food to schools. Statistics of different companies show that 2 million children are living below the poverty line. Many children only eat at the school once a day so the NGO is trying to provide breakfast too, whilst on the other hand tons of food is constantly thrown away for minimal aesthetic defects. At the same time, social needs such as security, identity, recognition and personal development are being suppressed by the state in alliance with the multinational companies' interests.

#### i. Security

The state cannot provide security to the citizens, as the government's interest is to attract international investment for the country's economic growth. Some politicians have recognized the citizens' needs but nothing has been done to resolve the problem whilst police violence and other repressive measures are gradually increasing. Thus, the citizens feel insecure about their present situation and future as the national government seems not to have any power but only can follow European guidelines and international inclinations and interests.

## ii. Identity

The most obvious case of identity suppression is Catalonia, where as a consequence of the economic crisis local politicians have successfully hidden their bad governance through nationalist discourse already latent among Catalonians towards Independence. Arthur Mas, the Right Party President of Catalonia called for early elections promising the Independence of Catalonia in the next four years. Mas only got elected for this promise as his governance was highly criticized. The event diverted attention from protests and other issues to Catalonia. Today, he has gradually retracted his ‘firm’ position for Independence (Noguer, 27<sup>th</sup> Jul. 2013). The approach taken by the government has ranged from military threats (La Vanguardia.com, 24<sup>th</sup> Sep. 2013) to advocating absolute suppression of Catalanian identity by imposing the ‘Spanish’ one (i.e. whatever that means). The Minister of Education José Ignacio Wert has publicly announced the need and purpose to “Spanishize the Catalonians (Sanz, 10<sup>th</sup> Oct. 2013)”. This is the approach, which the state has seen as the most appropriate to resolve the problem instead of dialogue and understanding.

## iii. Personal Development

The Wert’s law, which restructures education, segregates and discriminates students according to economic standards whilst reducing research and investigations, pushing many professionals to immigrate to other countries.

## iv. Recognition

The government does not recognize the millions of people that take to the streets to protest as President Rajoy says that he “represents the silent citizens”. They do not recognize that people who are losing their house are unable to pay. Maria Dolores de Cospedal, General Secretary of PP (right hand of Rajoy) said “the people from the Right party stop eating to pay the mortgage (Del Riego, et. ad., 17<sup>th</sup> April. 2013)”;

“workers are lazy (Rodríguez, S., 21<sup>st</sup> Jun. 2013)”;

“Spain is soon going to become a global model of economy for the rest of the world (EFE, 18<sup>th</sup> Sep. 2013, para. 1)” said the Minister of Finance, Montoro;

“that there are students that cannot pay for university is a tale created by PSOE (Europa Press, 11<sup>th</sup> Sep. 2013)” said Wert at the congress, Minister of Education and so on and so forth.

The citizens in mass are ‘protesting’ for individual and group needs which conflict with the state and companies’ interests and values expressed in structural values (e.g. good for the country). Burton states that governments give more importance to social values (i.e. elite) and institutions while neglecting individual needs as in the case of Spain. They try to force individuals to choose social values over individual values even if those are clearly inconsistent.

### 3.4. Structural Violence

Burton’s theory does not explain the behavior of the state and multinationals on how the structure of inequality persists. On the other hand, Galtung’s theory of ‘cultural violence’ explains (1990) how discrimination and inequality can continue in a society without the

group being aware of it. Cultural violence is those beliefs, symbols, customs or other factors embedded in the culture, legitimizing inequality, poverty, direct or indirect violence, discrimination and so on. It refers to the different (conscious or unconscious) forms of maintaining structural violence (i.e. inequality, discrimination), which blocks the full potential of the individual. The neglected attention to human needs, forms of coercion and enforcement for integration are preconditions for conflict. Thus, conflict might arise as soon as the situational environment provides the opportunity to do so and in this case violently as their needs have been unrecognized for a long period of time in which frustration might have slowly escalated.

Galtung's theory of cultural violence can be applied to house evictions by the banks, Wert's law on education, the need for debt, privatization of health, facilitating international investments whilst worsening the conditions for local entrepreneurs through laws and unequal competition, etc. It is possible to distinguish two types of behaviors when confronting desperate situations such as evictions; one, it is to join or work with social movements to combat the situation, the other, suicide; labeled by activists, media and scholars as 'financial genocide'.

As Galtung argues, the elite (i.e. people in power) tend to put the blame on the people (see section 1.4, p. 30). In this case they say that "the people wanted to live above their means" or even that they killed themselves (i.e. even when they have left a suicide note) for other reasons unrelated with the evictions. The measures of the government to stop the

protests ranged from arrests in some cases with the use of police violence to economical sanctions. The government considers the behavior of this group (i.e. the protesters) to be against national security, assuring that it is illegal.

House speculation is globally accepted as a normal activity. Yet, there is a clear contradiction at least in the Spanish case as the Constitution stipulates that (Article 47 of the Spanish Constitution), “every Spanish person has the right to enjoy a worthy and adequate house. The public powers will promote the necessary conditions and they will establish the pertinent norms to make effective this right, regulating the use of the soil in accordance with the general interest to stop speculation. The community will participate in the added value carried out by public entities in urbanite action”<sup>viii</sup>. House speculation is a clear case of structural violence, enforced by direct violence (i.e. police), legitimized by meaningful discourses within the cultural sphere whilst promoted by authorities and Banks. The law was always there but the crisis has suddenly increased the number of people losing their houses (i.e. 500 families are evicted everyday) creating a collective trauma and pushing people to modify or change the current problem.

Johan Galtung defines ‘Cultural violence’ as certain aspects of culture in the symbolic sphere brought about by religion and ideology, language and art, empirical science and formal science (logic and mathematics) used to justify or legitimize direct or structural violence (1990). Galtung describes his theory as an extension of Paul Framer’s definition;



“Structural violence is one way of describing social arrangements that put individuals and populations in harm’s way...The arrangements are structural because they are embedded in the political and economic organization of our social world; they are violent because they cause injury to people...neither culture nor pure individual will is at fault; rather, historically given (and often economically driven) processes and forces conspire to constrain individual agency. Structural violence is visited upon all those whose social status denies them access to the fruits of scientific and social progress (Donnelly-Landolt, 2013, pp. 6-7)”.

Thus, the theory distinguishes between three different types; direct defined as an event (i.e. police violence), structural defined as a process (i.e. Wert’s law on education), and cultural which is invariant and permanent for the slow motion in which culture transforms itself (i.e. gender inequality). This creates a triangle in which direct, indirect or structural and cultural violence influence each other, with cultural violence legitimizing the other two. Along these lines, ‘peace culture’ is the symbolic sphere used to ‘justify’ direct and structural peace. Galtung states that peace culture cannot be *imposed* as most probably the actors will perceive it as direct violence.

Galtung’s theory of ‘cultural violence’ explains how discrimination and inequality can continue in a society without the group being aware of it. Cultural violence are those beliefs, symbols, customs or else embedded in the culture which legitimize inequality, poverty, direct or indirect violence (i.e. structural violence), discrimination and so on. He states that there are (conscious or unconscious) forms of maintaining structural violence (i.e.

inequality, discrimination), which block the full potential of any individual. The neglected attention of human needs, forms of coercion and enforcement for integration are preconditions for conflict. Galtung distinguishes four basic human needs: survival, wellbeing, identity, meaning, and freedom needs. In his view the archetypal violent structure has exploitation as a center-piece differing from repression. This approach is latent in his examples of cultural violence (i.e. ideology). Galtung assures that direct and structural violence create need-deficits, when it happens suddenly Galtung speaks of trauma. If this trauma is shared by a collective group direct violence might be used by and against the group. Thus, a conflict might arise as soon as the situational environment provides the opportunity to do so. Therefore, the response by the actors might be in Galtung's view, violent or apathy and withdrawal (i.e. suicide).

He provides six examples of cultural violence; religion and ideology, language and art, empirical and formal science. The inherent duality of religion (i.e. sacred-profane, God-Satan, chosen-non chosen) can create accepted cultural violence. For example, Weber states that Calvinism allowed, and to a sense consecrated, the drive to become rich. Calvinism in Weber's view reconciles wealth and the exploitation of others with good conscience. In the example of ideology, Galtung describes the sentiments of nationalism to rationalize violence towards others. Along similar lines Benedict Anderson argues that nationalism is created through the use of print and mass media allowing the possibility of belonging to an imaginary community (i.e. the nation). In his view industrialization needed a national knowledge or common education in which there is a conscious intention to forget the

differences between the distinctive cultures within the new created nation (i.e. resistance to it might have caused internal conflicts up to today). Galtung argues that in secular countries sentiments of nationalism many times mystified and with traits of superiority has displaced religion. In language, Galtung gives the example of gender but it also can be seen in connotations “having lived over *our* means” obviously directed to lower classes or countries in more need within Europe or that the people from the South is lazy embedded in cultural and class believes. In the example of Empirical science Galtung provides different discourses, which hid exploitation of Northern (i.e. core) countries towards the south (i.e. periphery). This view is similar to the dependency theory influenced by Marxism. It focuses on the historical and political structures as well as the relations and mode of production in global as well as in internal terms (within the country- from towns to the city, within Europe). Some of the different kinds of exploitation are: owning land and factories, lending money with interest, profiting by buying cheap and selling expensive. Antonio Gramsci (1999) sees two kinds of social control, which are also mentioned by Galtung; “dominations” by direct forces of the different institutions (political military, law and police) and “hegemony” of ideology by the different institutions (school, churches and so on; the regulation theory). Arturo Escobar (1995) agrees with Gramsci when he states that the West or in this case the North through discourses of development (i.e. Foucault) impose on the entire globe a “hegemonic global imagination” in which THE development has only one possible course (i.e. copying the North) and using just one definition (i.e. as in the North). This can be an example of cosmology. In formal science Galtung emphasizes its duality once again (i.e right and wrong). Finally, when speaking about Gandhi and cultural

violence Galtung summarizes it in two axioms “unity of life and unity of means and ends” in which any life (i.e. animal or human) must be respected whilst means are important, and they cannot be conceived as separated from the goal. This is totally contrary to the doctrine of neoliberalism. Gandhi calls for unity, closeness without separation of self and the other under any circumstance (i.e. class, status, race, education, economic background and so on). Yet, neoliberalism creates inequalities.

### 3.5 Conclusion

The political rhetoric used by the Left and Right Wing to frame cause, present situation and most suitable solution to the economic crisis seems to be divided into two very different ideologies. In this context past events (i.e. the coup d'état, civil war, dictatorship, the disappearance of people under fascism, and transition to democracy) are commonly discussed among politicians and population in general. The common approach to look in the past to explain the present has intensified the political division (Fascists vs. Rojos, Right vs. Left) aggravated by the fact that many politicians are the descendants of fascists, socialists and ‘communists’ currently holding important posts. The people, in shock by the sudden disruption in their expectations, have searched for causes and possible explanations in their environment, filtering the information through their own ideological schema.

The political rhetoric used by politicians to differentiate themselves (Left and Right Wing) gets confused, if it taken into account behavior and tactics of discourse. It can be found many similarities between the political parties. They share similar interests, culture of politics, certain discursive tactics and behavior. For example, José Maria Aznar (Right Wing

ex-president) to save the elections lied about the terrorist attack 11M blaming it on ETA, whilst Zapatero (Left Wing ex-president) also for the elections lied about the existence of an economic crisis in 2007-2008 framing them as unpatriotic attacks. Left and Right have numerous cases of corruption. Felipe Gonzalez (Left Wing ex-president) began the privatization of several companies followed by Aznar (Right Wing ex-president). Aznar decided to support a war based on political and economic interests (i.e. Iraq) whilst Zapatero did the same with a different war (i.e. Afghanistan). Aznar began the real state bubble whilst Zapatero enjoyed its social capital. Zapatero tried to use the Keynesian mechanism of economic stabilization followed by neoliberal policies dictated by the Troika, and latter Rajoy whilst promising more social measures and Keynesian policies during his electoral campaign applied the Neoliberal approach imposed by the Troika.

They all share common ideas about capitalism. If it is believed that the very intrinsic nature of capitalism produces cyclical economic crisis with indebtedness place at the center. Neoliberal or Keynesian are only preferential temporary solutions to a recurrent problem. It would seem that the Left Wing would advocate for a Keynesian approach whilst the Right Wing would tend to favor Neoliberal policies but this is not so clear. The power of the Troika does not leave much margin of movement. Debt brings about asymmetrical power relations between the debtor and the creditor. Asymmetrical relations results on relations of domination and dispossession, which includes issues of dignity (i.e. basic human need), rank and order. Neoliberal policies has incremented the amount of debt between countries and thus, their power relations. The financial aid of the Troika has increased inequalities of

power within Europe whilst increasing inequalities among the population based on individual's economic resources.

The political and ideological division seems clear when historical events are taken into account. There are an increasing number of people that are openly supporting Franco's dictatorship creating unrest in some countries within Europe and among the Spanish population. There are many people that differentiate between Right and Left Wing ideologies in the historical context, understanding the present through an ideological filter. Alternatives to democracy are becoming more pronounce, in this case, fascism and communism.

Thus, the rhetoric used by politicians can be found among citizens. However, the new cycle of protests that began with 15M in 2011 have changed the perception of the population towards politicians' behavior and the possibility of other solutions besides the current law and imposed policies.

SMs use a different framework from politicians to analyze the cause, present situation and possible solutions. For example, the Right Wing currently governing blames the current situation to the Left Wing past actions, rigidity of the market and to the fact that "we have lived above our means". Some Left Wing members blame the Right Wing and the global economic crisis. On the other hand, SMs blame banks and politicians' personal interests and behavior in Spain and abroad. The worldview of SMs differs from politicians and Troika.

SMs emphasize the importance of social transformation in relation with the economy whilst most politicians including the Troika analyze the social and the economic as two distinctive, if not ‘isolated’, spheres. Thus, they differ on the cause of the present situation, how the world or society should be, and suitable solutions.

The individual and the society’s past experiences (i.e. economic crisis and its solutions), the present situation and abstracts ideals, comparison to the gain of another group (in this case the high class including politicians and other countries within Europe and outside), modulates the individual concept of what is considered the right of the individual to attain (i.e. social, political, interpersonal) and what is not. The majority of the people are being affected by economic status, mortgage loans favoring the banks, privatized access to health whilst increasing the price of medicine for the elderly, no social aid for handicapped or dependents, reduced pensions, increase taxes, etc. whilst the population observe politicians raising their own salary, hire friends and family members unqualified for the post and corruption is rampant prescribing within five years.

There is a growing believe that the crisis and private debt was provoked by certain sectors and economy groups (banks, international investors and speculators, etc.) allowed by governments and main political parties which continue to fatten their accounts at the expense of the citizens. This has led to the discredit of politicians in general. The cases of corruption, clientelism and clearly wasted public funds (i.e. massive projects unfinished) have reinforced the distrust and bad perception of politicians. Many political activities were

tolerated during the economic progress but in times of economic crisis, for the first time since the Transition, politicians have become one of the main problems in the eyes of the citizens. The current re-structuration is perceived by most citizens as ideological and unjust, favoring the elite whilst harshening the already precarious state of lower classes; nothing has to do with Left and Right ideologies anymore.

An inclusive discourse is common among SMs to the extent of becoming one of their salient identity traits “everybody is welcome”, “we are the 99%”, “Right and Left do not exist anymore”, etc., but their salient identity produces an exclusive behaviour common to social groups and individuals in general; the great majority identify themselves as “progressive Left”. Although, SMs might use an inclusive discourse and an exclusive behaviour within the social movement betrayed by the need for differentiation found within human nature, popular discontent towards *their* political measures has united millions from *both sides* (i.e. SMs such as Mareas, PAH). SMs provide a different and new alternative to the present political, social and economical situation.

The economic measures are affecting overall, the middle and lower classes independently of their political ideology. The common perception is that politicians live in a different ‘bubble’ untouched by reality, as their description does not reflect the real economic and social situation of millions of people (Left and Right). There is a growing disjunction between the political rhetoric that divides Spain in two distinctive political ideologies and the response of people on the ground.



## APPENDIX A

Marea Ciudadana (MC) is a boundless and informal SM. The SMs and Mareas that ‘formally’ belong to MC are displayed in their website <http://mareaciudadana.blogspot.com.es/p/adhesiones.html>. However, there are more SMs, individuals, corporations, horizontal labor unions and political parties which follow their projects and actions. Groups in general and individuals are constantly leaving and participating for the first time. It would be difficult to write a fixed list.

1. Marea Amarilla (Plataforma Contra el Préstamo de Pago en las Bibliotecas)
2. Marea Azul (Contra la Privatización del Canal de Isabel II) Madrid
3. Marea Azul (Plataforma de “Sí, Soy Rentable” – Stop Despidos MoviStar) Barcelona
4. Marea Blanca (En Defensa de la Sanidad Pública) Aragón, Canarias, Madrid, Segovia
5. Marea Granate (Empleados/as Públicos/as del Ayto. de Logroño y de la Rioja)
6. Marea Granate de los Emigrantes (Desde todas partes)
7. Marea Grogia (En Defensa de la Educación Pública) Lleida
8. Marea Naranja (En Defensa de los Servicios Sociales / Asamblea de
9. Trabajadores/as de los Servicios Sociales Públicos), Aragón, Berzo (León), Granada, Madrid
10. Marea Naranja (Intervención Social en Lucha) Madrid
11. Marea Negra (Movimiento Ciudadano de Apoyo a los Mineros)
12. Marea Negra Asturias: Asamblea de Trabajador@s Públic@s de Asturias
13. Marea Negra Madrid (Trabajadoras/es Municipales Ayto. Madrid) (Moratalaz, Villa de Vallecas)
14. Marea Roja 9 (Movimiento Ciudadano de Desempleados en Lucha)

15. Marea Verde (En Defensa de la Educación Pública) Granada, La Rioja, Madrid, Mágina Sur (Jaén), Zaragoza
16. Marea Violeta Madrid: Feministas Sol/Feminismos Sol,
17. Asamblea Feminista de Madrid, Grupo de género de CONGDE (Coordinadora de ONG de Desarrollo España) (Madrid), Mujeres en Zona de Conflicto (MZC), Mujeres por la Paz (Madrid)
18. 15M, Acampada Almería (Almería)
19. 15M, Acampada Cornellá (Barcelona)
20. 15M, Acampada Elche
21. 15M, Acampada Granada (Granada)
22. 15M, Acampada Mérida (Mérida)
23. 15M, Alcobendas-San Sebastián de los Reyes (Madrid)
24. 15M, Alcobendas-Sanse
25. 15M, Alicante Toma la Plaza (Alicante)
26. 15M, Ámsterdam
27. 15M, APM (Asamblea de Pueblos y Barrios de Madrid)
28. 15M, Asamblea 15M Cartagena
29. 15M, Asamblea 15M de Badajoz (Badajoz)
30. 15M, Asamblea 15M de Toledo (Toledo)
31. 15M, Asamblea 15M Hortaleza (Madrid)
32. 15M, Asamblea 15M Linares (Madrid)
33. 15M, Asamblea 15M Palencia (Palencia)
34. 15M, Asamblea 15M San Telmo (Las Palmas)
35. 15M, Asamblea 15M Valdemoro (Madrid)
36. 15M, Asamblea 15M Zaidía (Valencia)
37. 15M, Asamblea 15M Zaragoza-Intercolectivos Zaragoza
38. 15M, Asamblea Aluche 15M (Madrid)
39. 15M, Asamblea Ávila (Ávila)
40. 15m, Asamblea Candeleda (Ávila)

41. 15M, Asamblea Comarcal 15M Noroeste (Madrid)
42. 15M, Asamblea de Azuqueca de Henares (Madrid)
43. 15M, Asamblea de la Prospe (Madrid)
44. 15M, Asamblea del Barrio del Pilar de Madrid (Madrid)
45. 15M, Asamblea del pueblo de Alpedrete (Madrid)
46. 15M, Asamblea Logroño
47. 15M, Asamblea Parla (Madrid)
48. 15M, Asamblea Plaza 15M Valencia
49. 15M, Asamblea Plaza Dalí (Madrid)
50. 15M, Asamblea Popular 15M Barrio de La Concepción (Madrid)
51. 15M, Asamblea Popular 15M Chamartín Norte
52. 15M, Asamblea Popular 15M Daganzo de Arriba
53. 15M, Asamblea Popular 15M La Elipa (Madrid)
54. 15M, Asamblea Popular 15M Pueblo Nuevo (Madrid)
55. 15M, Asamblea Popular 15M San Blas (Madrid)
56. 15M, Asamblea Popular 15M Velilla de San Antonio (Madrid)
57. 15M, Asamblea Popular 15M Villa de Vallecas
58. 15-M, Asamblea Popular Alcalá de Henares
59. 15M, Asamblea Popular Arganda 15M (Madrid)
60. 15M, Asamblea Popular Barrio Malasaña (Madrid)
61. 15M, Asamblea Popular de Arganzuela (Madrid)
62. 15M, Asamblea Popular de Arroyomolinos (Madrid)
63. 15M, Asamblea Popular de Carabanchel (Madrid)
64. 15M, Asamblea Popular de Chamberí (Madrid)
65. 15M, Asamblea Popular de Hortaleza (Madrid)
66. 15M, Asamblea Popular de La Guindalera (Madrid)
67. 15M, Asamblea Popular de Majadahonda (Madrid)
68. 15M, Asamblea Popular de Montealto (Madrid)
69. 15M, Asamblea Popular de Montecarmelo

70. 15M, Asamblea Popular de Pedrezuela y Pueblos
71. 15M, Asamblea Popular de Retiro 15M
72. 15M, Asamblea Popular de San Fernando de Henares (Madrid)
73. 15M, Asamblea Popular de Torrejón de Ardoz (Madrid)
74. 15M, Asamblea Popular de Tres Cantos (Madrid)
75. 15M, Asamblea Popular de Usera (Madrid)
76. 15M, Asamblea Popular de Vicalvaro
77. 15M, Asamblea Popular del Barrio de las Letras 15M (Madrid)
78. 15M, Asamblea Popular del Barrio de los Austrias (Madrid)
79. 15M, Asamblea Popular Las Rozas Las Matas (Madrid)
80. 15M, Asamblea Popular Lavapiés (Madrid)
81. 15M, Asamblea Popular Moncloa (Madrid)
82. 15M, Asamblea popular Parla (Madrid)
83. 15M, Asamblea Popular Torrelaguna y Comarca (Madrid)
84. 15M, Asamblea por la Sanidad (Toledo)
85. 15M, Asamblea Sierra Norte (Madrid)
86. 15M, Asamblea Transmaricabollo de Sol
87. 15M, Asamblea Usera
88. 15M, Asamblea Virtual
89. 15M, Asamblea Aberta (Ourense)
90. 15M, Asamblea Popular de Reus
91. 15M, Assemblees Ciutadanes Constituents Catalunya
92. 15M, Azuqueca (Guadalajara)
93. 15M, Benetússer (Valencia)
94. 15M, Benimaclet al Carrer (Valencia)
95. 15M, Bierzo Despierta (Ponferrada)
96. 15M, BierzoDespierta, Movimiento 15M en el Bierzo (León)
97. 15M, Bizkaia (Bilbao)
98. 15M, Bloque Crítico Teruel (Teruel)

99. 15M, Campamento Amigo (Madrid)
100. 15M, Campaña gastos militares para fines sociales (Marea Arcoiris)
101. 15M, Comisión Legal Sol (Madrid)
102. 15M, Coordinadora 15M Vallés Occidental (Barcelona)
103. 15M, Economía y Recursos Barcelona 15M (Barcelona)
104. 15M, Escorial (Madrid)
105. 15M, Fuengirola Despierta 15M
106. 15M, Gdt Política Internacional 15M Madrid
107. 15M, Grupo Cultura 15M (Por confirmar)
108. 15M, Grupo de Política a Corto Plazo de Acampada Sol
109. 15M, Grupo de Trabajo sobre Diversidad Funcional 15M Sol (Madrid)
110. 15M, Huelva
111. 15M, Ibiza Toma la Plaza (Ibiza)
112. 15M, La Asamblea de Desempleados de Sol (Madrid)
113. 15M, La Palma (Tenerife)
114. 15M, Lleida
115. 15M, London Assembly
116. 15M, M15M Bidasoa
117. 15M, Montolivet-Sapadors, de València
118. 15M, Moviment Indignació 15M Sabadell (Barcelona)
119. 15M, Movimiento 15M Lugo
120. 15M, Munich
121. 15M, Navarra
122. 15M, Palencia
123. 15M, Pontevedra
124. 15M, Portugalete (Vizcaya)
125. 15M, Segovia
126. 15M, Sevilla. Justicia Social (Sevilla)
127. 15M, Soria (Soria)

128. 15M, Talavera de la Reina (Toledo)
129. 15M, Tietar
130. 15M, Toma la calle León (León)
131. 15M, Toma La Plaza (Elda, Petrer y comarcas)
132. 15-M, Tordesillas (Valladolid)
133. 15-M, Uribe-Kosta (Bizkaia)
134. 15M, Valladolid
135. 15M, Vigo
136. 15-M, Villafranca (Barcelona)
137. 21 Voces (Madrid)
138. 23-F, MareaLeón
139. 678 Barcelona
140. Acción Para el Pueblo (Mallorca)
141. Adelante Bebes Robados
142. ADIBS. Associació deDones de les Illes Balears per a la salu
143. Afectados BBS
144. Agrupación de Parados
145. Alicante en Pie (Alicante)
146. Alicante Entiende colectivo de Lesbianas Gays, Bisexuales y Transexuales (LGTB)
147. Alternativa 21 – Ceuta
148. Amigos de la Tierra
149. AMPA IES Juan de Mairena (Madrid)
150. Animalistak Bilbo (Bilbao)
151. Anonymous España (Muestran su apoyo a esta iniciativa)
152. Anonymous Indignados
153. Antigona Desobediencia Civil (Bilbao)
154. A.P.E.P. Puerto Real Accion Para El Pueblo
155. ARBA Bajo Jarama
156. ARCO

157. Arriaga Irratia (Bilbao)
158. Artegalia Radio
159. Asamblea contra la Impunidad de los Crímenes del Franquismo
160. Asamblea Marea Verde de Teruel
161. Asamblea Obrera y Popular de Monzón (Huesca)
162. Asamblea Popular de Gran Canaria (Las Palmas de Gran Canaria)
163. Asamblea Virtual 25S
164. Asociación Alicante Activa
165. Asociación AMEFE (Asociación de Mujeres Europeas Feministas)
166. Asociación Cultural Ecobierzo
167. Asociación de Descendientes del Exilio español
168. Asociación de Estudiantes Noam Chomsky
169. Asociación de Mujeres Emprendedoras y Progresistas (AMEP)
170. Asociación de Mujeres Latinoamericanas Amalgama
171. Asociación de Vecinos/as "Unidad" de Bellavista" (Sevilla)
172. Asociación de Vecinos/as Alshorok contra los derribos en Cañada (Madrid)
173. Asociación de Vecinos/as de Tres Cantos (Madrid)
174. Asociación de Vecinos/as Pedania de la Torre (Valencia)
175. Asociación de Vigilantes de Seguridad Privada de Asturias (Asturias)
176. Asociación DRY Democracia Real Ya (DRY)
177. Asociación Ereba, Ecología y Patrimonio (Asturias)
178. Asociación Kontracorriente (Madrid)
179. Asociación Libre de Abogados (ALA)
180. Asociación Otro Tiempo
181. Asociación Paz Ahora
182. Asociación Profesional de Filosofía
183. Asociación Progresista de Extremadura
184. Asociación Republicana de Villaverde (Madrid)
185. Asociación S.O.S. bebés robados Castilla y León

186. Assembla de treballadors i usuaris Hospital Son Espases (ATUHSE) (Mallorca)
187. Ateneo Republicano de la Alpujarra (Granada)
188. Attac Castilla la Mancha
189. Attac Castilla y León
190. Attac España
191. Attac Madrid
192. AudioviSol
193. Aulas en la Calle Por la Educación Pública
194. AVANTE - Asociación de Estudiantes Progresistas de Avilés
195. Ben Amics. Associació de Lesbianes, Gais, Transsexuals y Bisexuals de les Illes Balear
196. BLOC - Compromís per Novelda, Compromís per Petrer (Alicante)
197. BLOC JOVE Petrer (Alicante)
198. Bloque Ciudadano de Rota (Cádiz)
199. Bomberos Quemados
200. Cambrils Actua (Tarragona)
201. Centro de Asesoría y Estudios Sociales (CAES)
202. Centro Humanista de las Culturas
203. Centro para la promoción de Derechos Humanos CINPROINDH, Fuenlabrada, (Madrid)
204. Centro Sociocultural El Balcón (Madrid)
205. CGT (Cáceres, Madrid, Monzón-Huesca)
206. CGT Arte graficas comunicación y espectaculos de Madrid
207. CGT Coordinadora de Educación de Castilla y León
208. CGT Enseñanza Madrid
209. CGT Sindicato Sanidad de Madrid
210. CGT SOV Salamanca
211. CGT-CAT Sindical INSS (Madrid)
212. Chunta Aragonesista CHA



213. Colectivo Antitaurino y Animalista de Bizkaia
214. Colectivo de profesores cristianos por la Escuela Pública
215. Colectivo de Solidaridad Coliche
216. Colectivo Feminista Las Garbancitas
217. Colectivo Hetaira (Madrid)
218. Colectivo L.I.L.A.S. (Madrid)
219. Colectivo para la Defensa de lo Público (Fuente del Maestre, Badajoz)
220. Colectivo sociocultural mujeres LES FILANDERES (Asturias)
221. Colectivos Castro Urdiales (Cantabria)
222. Colectivo Unitario de Trabajadores
223. Confederación Intersindical
224. Convergencia de Culturas
225. Coordinadora 25S (Madrid)
226. Coordinadora de ONGD del Principado de Asturias (Oviedo)
227. Coordinadora de Organizaciones de Trabajadores y Trabajadoras del Espectáculo (Madrid)
228. Coordinadora en Defensa de los Servicios Públicos Zona Oeste
229. Coordinadora por lo Público Fuencarral - El pardo (Madrid)
230. Corriente Roja
231. CSOA La Morada (Centro Social Okupado Autogestionado) (Madrid)
232. Cultura Social Asociación
233. Cumbre Social Madrid, Tarazona de Aragón
234. CUPUMA (Coordinadora Universidades Públicas de Madrid)
235. Dempeus per la salut pública (Barcelona)
236. DRY - Democracia Real Ya (Burgos, Cabra (Córdoba), Mérida, Tarragona, Tenerife)
237. Ecologistas en Acción
238. El Mercurio Digital
239. EQUO
240. Escaños en Blanco (Burgos, Huelva, Madrid, Valencia)

241. Estrategia Global (Logroño)
242. Federación Convergencia de las Culturas
243. Federación de Asociaciones por la Convivencia y la Integración de Fuenlabrada (FACI) (Madrid)
244. Federación Mujeres Jóvenes (FMJ)
245. FELGTB (Federación Estatal de Lesbianas, Gays, Bisexuales y Transexuales)
246. Firene-Cultura para la Paz (Burgos)
247. Foro Social - La Rioja, Madrid, Segovia, Sierra de Guadarrama (Madrid)
248. Foro Social Canario por la Salud y la Sanidad Pública (Tenerife, Las Palmas de Gran Canaria)
249. Forum de Política Feminista
250. Frente Cívico-Somos Mayoría Estatal
251. Fundación Triángulo (Madrid)
252. GlobalRevolution.tv
253. GONG per la defensa dels drets humans i dels pobles
254. GRAMA (Grupo de Acción para el Medio Ambiente)
255. Greenpeace
256. Grito Rock Madrid
257. Groupe Ecosocialiste de Solidarites - Genève (Ginebra, Suiza)
258. Grupo de consumo Alkhalachofa
259. Grupo de españoles indignados de Ginebra (Ginebra, Suiza)
260. Grupo de Montaña Chomolungma
261. Grupo PROMETEO - Hombres por la Igualdad (León)
262. GT Recuperando Nuestros Espacios
263. Hablando República
264. Hospital 12 de Octubre
265. Hospital Público Sureste
266. IBERIA se moviliza los lunes al Sol
267. Iracundos Asturianos

- 268. ICAD - Impulso Ciudadano Acción para la Democracia (Murcia)
- 269. Igualdad Animal
- 270. Indignats Sant Adrià (Barcelona)
- 271. Iniciativa Solidària Mallorca
- 272. Info Revolta (Lleida)
- 273. Iniciativa per Catalunya Verds
- 274. Iniciativa Progresista Unitaria (Cáceres)
- 275. Iniciativa Verds (Palma de Mallorca)
- 276. Intersindical Valenciana
- 277. Izquierda Abierta (Andalucía)
- 278. Izquierda Anticapitalista (Almería, Burgos, Gipuzkoa, Madrid, Valencia)
- 279. Izquierda Castellana
- 280. Izquierda Mirandesa (Miranda de Ebro, Burgos)
- 281. Izquierda Republicana Federal
- 282. Izquierda Social SMV
- 283. Izquierda Socialista (Murcia)
- 284. Izquierda Unida Federal
- 285. Justicia e Igualdad Social (Sevilla y Barcelona)
- 286. Justicia y Progreso Asociación Profesional y Sindical
- 287. Juventud Sin Futuro (Madrid)
- 288. La Comuna (presxs del franquismo)
- 289. La Garbancita Ecológica
- 290. La Tortura No Es Cultura (LTNEC)
- 291. Los Verdes - Grupo Verde (Madrid)
- 292. Marea Ciudadana - Melilla, Morvedre (Valencia)
- 293. Marea de Vinaròs (Castellón)
- 294. Mesa de la Ría de Huelva (Huelva)
- 295. Mesa en Defensa de la Sanidad Pública de Madrid
- 296. Mountain Wilderness de Ayllón, Guadarrama y Gredos

297. Movimiento Ciudadano de Argamasilla de Alba (Ciudad Real)
298. Movimiento FUE: Unión de Empleados Públicos
299. Moviment Pluralista
300. Movimiento por la Enseñanza Pública Riojana
301. Mueve tu dinero (Madrid)
302. Mujeres IU Comunidad de Madrid
303. Mundo sin Guerras y sin Violencia España (Barcelona, Cádiz, Coruña, Madrid, Murcia, Valencia, Vigo)
304. Na.Ce. 17M (Madrid)
305. Nación Humana Universal (Madrid)
306. Naturaleza Ahora
307. Nuevos Republicanos 1905 "Club de Opinión Política" (A Coruña)
308. Ocupa Marbella
309. Orient@-T Associació per l'impuls de la Comunicació i l'Innovació
310. P.A.T.U.SALUD (Plataforma Asamblearia de Trabajadores y Usuarios por la Salud)
311. PACMA (Partido Animalista Contra el Maltrato Animal)
312. PAH (Plataforma de Afectados por la Hipoteca) - Alcosanse (Madrid), Alt Penedes (Barcelona), Cáceres, Eivissa (Ibiza), Cantabria, Guadalajara, La Rioja, Madrid, Teruel
313. Partido GUIA - Génesis, Unión de Indignados en Acción (Huelva)
314. Partido PIRATA España
315. Partido Por un Mundo más Justo - M+J (Galicia, Madrid)
316. PDSA - Partido Demócrata Social Autonomista
317. Plataforma Andaluza para la Defensa del Sistema Público de Servicios Sociales y Dependencia
318. Plataforma Auditoria Ciudadana de la Deuda (Alicante, Madrid, Valencia)
319. Plataforma 'Barrio del Pilar en Lucha' (Madrid)
320. Plataforma Ciudadá Contra a Autovía de Redondela (Pontevedra)
321. Plataforma Ciudadana Contra el Cierre del P.A.C. de Madroñera (Cáceres)

- 322. Plataforma Ciudadana En Pie (Miranda de Ebro)
- 323. Plataforma Ciudadana Metro a Riba-roja JA
- 324. Plataforma Ciudadana por la Defensa de los Derechos Públicos (Tarragona)
- 325. Plataforma Ciudadana Ya (Madrid)
- 326. Plataforma Cívica de Binéfar
- 327. Plataforma Contra la Privatización del Canal de Isabel II (Madrid)
- 328. Plataforma Contra los Recortes en Educacion de Neila (Burgos)
- 329. Plataforma CRIDA per una educació pública de qualitat (Palma)
- 330. Plataforma de Autónomos Que NO Cobran Subvenciones
- 331. Plataforma de Chamberí por la Escuela Pública (Madrid)
- 332. Plataforma de Inmigrantes de AragónPlataforma de Inmigrantes de Madrid
- 333. Plataforma de Parados La Aulaga (Castellar, Cádiz)
- 334. Plataforma Dependencia Sad Jerez Cadiz
- 335. Plataforma en defensa de la enseñanza pública de la Marina Baixa (Alicante)
- 336. Plataforma en Defensa de lo Público SMV
- 337. Plataforma en Defensa de los Servicios Públicos de Cuenca
- 338. Plataforma por el Futuro de Puertollano (Ciudad Real)
- 339. Plataforma por la defensa de los derechos sociales de la Sierra del Guadarrama
- 340. Plataforma por la Dignidad Animal
- 341. Plataforma por la Escuela Pública, Laica y Gratuita de Burgos
- 342. Plataforma por la Renta Básica (Extremadura)
- 343. Plataforma por un Nuevo Modelo Energético
- 344. Plataforma por una venta digna de la Once (Madrid)
- 345. Plataforma Red Ciudadana Torre vieja (Alicante)
- 346. Plataforma Sierra de Huelva
- 347. Plataforma Social Aldaia (Valencia)
- 348. Plataforma Socialista a la Izquierda (PSI)
- 349. Plataforma Socialistas a la Izquierda (PSI)
- 350. Plataforma Stop Represion La Rioja

- 351. Plataforma usuaris i treballadors (Barcelona)
- 352. Plataforma Vallecas por lo Público
- 353. Plataforma "Stop Desahucios" del Baranza
- 354. Plebiscito Vinculante (Plebiscito Ciudadano)
- 355. Portal Vallecas
- 356. Proyecto LÓVA (Madrid)
- 357. PUSP Polinyà (Barcelona)
- 358. Radiogramsci
- 359. Red Equo Joven
- 360. Red IRES (Madrid)
- 361. Red Verde
- 362. Revolta Global - Esquerra Anticapitalista Mallorca
- 363. Salvemos Telemadrid
- 364. Sección Sindical CCOO Bomberos Comunidad, Greenmed Collidors  
(Sollana, Valencia), Telefonica Moviles España
- 365. Sección Sindical de CGT Rotocobrhi
- 366. Sección sindical USO UNED
- 367. Sección Sindical USOC HSJDMB (Hospital Sant Joan Despí Moises Broggi)
- 368. Segovia de Izquierdas
- 369. SETEM MCM
- 370. Sindicato del Profesorado Extremeño (PIDE)
- 371. Solidaridad Internacional
- 372. Som Lo Que Sembrem
- 373. SpanishRevolution.tv
- 374. Talde Animalista
- 375. Tierra de Campos Existe
- 376. Todos A SOL
- 377. Tossa en Acció (Girona)
- 378. Trabajadores del Instituto de Adicciones del Ayuntamiento de Madrid

- 379. Trabajadores indignados en lucha Ayto. madrid (Madrid)
- 380. Transversales
- 381. Tribunal Ciudadano de Justicia (Madrid)
- 382. Ultravioleta, Asoc.(Difusión Bioconstrucción)
- 383. Unidad, República y Socialismo
- 384. Unión Interinstitutos de Madrid
- 385. Unión por la tercera República (Madrid)
- 386. Unión Sindical de Trabajadores (A Coruña)
- 387. Up! (Universitarios Preparados Preocupados
- 388. Venres Negros Val Miñor Do ensino Público

## REFERENCES

- 20 minutos.es. (3<sup>rd</sup> Aug. 2013). El PSOE Compara la Actitud de Rajoy ante el Caso Bárcenas con la de Nixon en el ‘Watergate’. In *20minutos.es*. Retrived 14<sup>th</sup> Nov. 2013, from <http://www.20minutos.es/noticia/1887963/0/psoe-video/compara-rajoy-nixon/presidente-dimision/>
- A. M. (14<sup>th</sup> Sep. 2012). Penas de 1 Año de Cárcel a quien Incite por Tiwtter a Alteraciones Graves de Orden Público. In *Público.es*. Retrived 14<sup>th</sup> Nov. 2013, from <http://www.publico.es/espana/442338/penas-de-hasta-1-ano-de-carcel-a-quien-incite-por-twitter-a-alteraciones-graves-de-orden-publico>
- Aduriz, I. (5<sup>th</sup> Aug. 2013). Un Alcalde Gallego del PP Afirma que Quienes Fueron Ejecutados por el Franquismo “lo Merecían”. In *Público.es*. Retrived 14<sup>th</sup> Nov. 2013, from <http://www.publico.es/461422/un-alcalde-gallego-del-pp-afirma-que-quienes-fueron-ejecutados-por-el-franquismo-lo-merecian>
- Alexander, Jeffrey C. (2002). On the Social Construction of Moral Universals: The ‘Holocaust’ from War Crime to Trauma Drama. *European Journal of Social Theory*, 5 (1): 5-85
- Alonso, Luis E., & Fernández, Carlos J. R. (eds.) (2012). *La Financiarización de las Relaciones Salariales, Una Perspectiva Internacional*. Madrid: La Catarata.
- Aglietta, M. & Orléan, A. (1990). *La violencia de la moneda*. México DF: Siglo XXI.
- Barth, Fredrik. (1969). *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries; the Social Organization of Culture Difference*. Illinois: Waceland Press Inc.
- Bessinger, Mark R. (Jun, 2006) Structure and Example in Modular Political Phenomena :The diffusion of Bulldozer/Rose/Orange/Tulip Revolutions. *Perspectives on Politics*, 5 (2): 259-276
- Blumer, Herbert (1951). Collective Behavior, in *New Outline of the Principles of Sociology*. A. M. Lee (ed.), 166–222. New York: Barnes & Noble.
- Bourdieu, Pierre (1990). *The Logic of Practice*. Cambridge: Polity Press.



- Burton, John (1979). Institutional Values and Human Needs, in *Deviance, Terrorism, and War: The Process of Solving Unresolved Social and Political Problems*, 55-84. New York: St. Martins Press and Oxford; Martin Robertson.
- Caballero, A. (27<sup>th</sup> Jun. 2012). En España se Celebraron 23.248 Manifestaciones solo en 2011. In *La Voz de Barcelona.com*. Retrived 14<sup>th</sup> Nov. 2013, from <http://www.vozbcn.com/2012/06/27/118695/2011-peticiones-manifestaciones-espana/>
- Cáritas. (2013). *Desigualdad y Derechos Sociales*. Madrid: Fundación Foessa and Cáritas Española.
- Congress. (1<sup>st</sup> Aug. 2013). Pleno del Congreso de los Diputados. In *Congreso*. Retrived 14<sup>th</sup> Nov. 2013, from <http://www.congreso.es/portal/page/portal/Congreso/PopUpCGI?CMD=VERLST&BASE=pu10&FMT=PUWTXDTS.fmt&DOCS=1-1&QUERY=%28DSCD-10-PL-132.CODI.%29#%28P%C3%A1gina%29>
- Cué, Carlos E. (31<sup>st</sup> Mar. 2012). Rajoy Lanza una Amnistía Fiscal en los Presupuestos más Restrictivos. In *El País*. Retrived 14<sup>th</sup> Nov. 2013, from [http://economia.elpais.com/economia/2012/03/30/actualidad/1333111096\\_251883.html](http://economia.elpais.com/economia/2012/03/30/actualidad/1333111096_251883.html)
- Del Riego, C., & Izquierdo, Luis. (17<sup>th</sup> April. 2013). Cospedal: “Los Votantes del PP son los que Pagan la Hipoteca”. In *La Vanguardia.com*. Retrived 14<sup>th</sup> Nov. 2013, from <http://www.lavanguardia.com/politica/20130417/54372496568/cospedal-votantes-dejan-comer-antes-hipoteca.html>
- Donnelly-Landolt, D. (April, 2013). *Globalization and Structural Violence: An Examination of Causal Effect of Globalization on Structural Violence*. Roger Williams University: Conference Program.
- El HuffPost. (30<sup>th</sup> Nov. 2012). El PP Dice que Cumple a “Rajatabla” su Programa Electoral. In *El Huffington Post*. Retrived 14<sup>th</sup> Nov. 2013, from [http://www.huffingtonpost.es/2012/11/30/el-pp-dice-que-el-gobiern\\_n\\_2219846.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.es/2012/11/30/el-pp-dice-que-el-gobiern_n_2219846.html)
- EFE. (14<sup>th</sup> Dic. 2012). Rajoy Dice que los Mercados Empiezan a Confiar en España. In *EFE*. Retrived 14<sup>th</sup> Nov. 2013, from <http://www.efe.com/efe/noticias/espana/portada/rajoy-dice-que-los-mercados-empiezan-confiar-espana/1/1/1930285>
- EFE. (18<sup>th</sup> Sep. 2013). Montoro Asegura que España va a Volver a Asombrar al Mundo “Muy Pronto”. In *El País*. Retrived 14<sup>th</sup> Nov. 2013, from [http://economia.elpais.com/economia/2013/09/18/agencias/1379496506\\_380568.html](http://economia.elpais.com/economia/2013/09/18/agencias/1379496506_380568.html)

- E.P.A. (2007). Encuesta de población Activa, *datosmacro.com*. Retrived 14<sup>th</sup> Nov. 2013, from <http://www.datosmacro.com/paro-epa/ccaa?anio=2007>
- Escobar, Arturo (1995). *Encountering Development: the Making and Unmaking if the Third World*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Europa Press. (19<sup>th</sup> Aug. 2013). El Gobierno Adjudica un 18 de Julio el Contrato para Reformar el Valle de los Caídos. In *Público.es*. Retrived 14<sup>th</sup> Nov. 2013, from <http://www.publico.es/463467/el-gobierno-adjudica-un-18-de-julio-el-contrato-para-reformar-el-valle-de-los-caidos>
- Europa Press. (11<sup>th</sup> Sep. 2013). Wert Niega que la Universidad Pública haya Perdido Alumnos. In *Público.es*. Retrived 14<sup>th</sup> Nov. 2013, from <http://www.publico.es/467496/wert-niega-que-la-universidad-publica-haya-perdido-alumnos>
- Fairclough, N. (2000). "Representaciones del Cambio en el Discurso Neoliberal." *Cuaderno de Relaciones Laborales*, 16, 13-35
- Foucault, M. (1977). *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of Prison*. New York: Vintage Book; A division of Random House. Retrived 14<sup>th</sup> Nov. 2013, from [http://itpedia.nyu.edu/mediawiki/images/3/3e/Foucault-Discipline\\_and\\_Punish.pdf](http://itpedia.nyu.edu/mediawiki/images/3/3e/Foucault-Discipline_and_Punish.pdf)
- Galtung, Johan (1993). International Development in Human Perspective, in *Conflict: Human Needs Theory*, 301- 335. Burton, J. (ed.), US: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Galtung, Johan (Aug. 1990). Cultural Violence. *Journal of Pace Research*, 27 (3): 291-301. Sage Publications Ltd.
- Garcia-Montalvo, J. (2006). Deconstruyendo la Burbuja: Expectativas de Revalorización y Precio de la Vivienda en España. *Papeles de Economía Española*, 109
- Garcia, Elsa (5<sup>th</sup> Nov. 2012). Procure No Caer en Este Juzgado. In *El País*. Retrived 14<sup>th</sup> Nov. 2013, from [http://politica.elpais.com/politica/2012/11/04/actualidad/1352058962\\_290830.html](http://politica.elpais.com/politica/2012/11/04/actualidad/1352058962_290830.html)
- Giménez, Luís SM. (24<sup>th</sup> Jan. 2013). Amnistía Internacional Entrega a Interior 60.000 Firmas Contra los Abusos Policiales. In *Público.es*. Retrived 14<sup>th</sup> Nov. 2013, from <http://www.publico.es/449494/amnistia-internacional-entrega-a-interior-60-000-firmas-contralosabusos-policiales>
- Girollena Pous, Jose Maria (1961). *One Millon de Muertos*, Barcelona: Planeta.
- Girard, René (1989). *The Scapegoat*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

- Gómez, Luis (6<sup>th</sup> May 2013). La Iglesia Inscribió 4.500 Propiedades sin Publicidad y sin Pagar Impuestos. In *El País*. Retrived 14<sup>th</sup> Nov. 2013, from [http://politica.elpais.com/politica/2013/05/05/actualidad/1367768798\\_397124.html](http://politica.elpais.com/politica/2013/05/05/actualidad/1367768798_397124.html)
- Graeber, D. (2011). *Debt: The First 5.000 Years*. Melvillehouse, New York: Brooklyn. Retrived 14<sup>th</sup> Nov. 2013, from <http://www.unwelcomeguests.net/archive/audiobooks/Debt,%20The%20First%205000%20Years/David%20Graeber%20-%20Debt,%20The%20First%205000%20Years.pdf>
- Gramsci, Antonio (1999). *Selection from the Prison Notebooks*. London: Hoare, Quentin & Nowell Smith, G.
- Granovsky, M. (23<sup>rd</sup> Dic. 2012). El Poder Economico Quiere Disciplinar al Magistrado que lo Enfrente. In *El Pais*. Retrived 14<sup>th</sup> Nov. 2013, from <http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-210462-2012-12-23.html>
- Gurr, Ted (1970). *Why men rebel*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Hall, P. A. (1992). The Movement from Keynesianism to Monetarism: Institutional Analysis and British Economic Policy in the 1970s, in *Structuring Politics Historical Institutionalism in Comparative Analysis*, 90-113. Steinmo, S., Thelen, K., & Longstreth, F. (ed.). London: Cambridge University Press.
- Hetcher, Michael (Sep. 2004). From Class to Culture. *American Journal of Sociology*, 110 (2): 400-45
- Hernandez, Josafat (Jun. 2012). Una Mirada al Movimiento #YoSoy132 de México desde la Influencia del 15M de España: Dos Movimientos Sociales Hermanos. *Revista Cultural Vozed*. Retrived 14<sup>th</sup> Nov. 2013, from <http://www.vozed.org/2012/07/una-mirada-al-movimiento-yosoy132-de-mexico-desde-la-influencia-del-15m-de-espana-dos-movimientos-sociales-hermanos/>
- Hobsbawm, E. J. (1995). *Age of Extremes: The Short Twentieth Century, 1914-1991*. UK: Abacus.
- Horowitz, Donald (2000). *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. Updated Edition With a New Preface, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. University of California Press.
- Jiménez, M. (4<sup>th</sup> Feb. 2013). La Troika Pide que España Concrete la Reforma de la Supervision Bankaria. In *El Pais*. Retrived 14<sup>th</sup> Nov. 2013, from [http://economia.elpais.com/economia/2013/02/04/actualidad/1359989306\\_375007.html](http://economia.elpais.com/economia/2013/02/04/actualidad/1359989306_375007.html)

- La Sexta.com. (30<sup>th</sup> Dic. 2012). Más de 42.000 Manifestaciones dan Color al Año de los Recortes. In *La Sexta.com*. Retrived 14<sup>th</sup> Nov. 2012, from [http://www.lasexta.com/noticias/nacional/mas-42000-manifestaciones-dan-color-ano-recortes\\_2012123000081.html](http://www.lasexta.com/noticias/nacional/mas-42000-manifestaciones-dan-color-ano-recortes_2012123000081.html)
- La Vanguardia.com. (24<sup>th</sup> Sep. 2013). Militares Amenazan con Juicios Castrenses a los que Promuevan Independencia de Catalunya. In *La Vanguardia.com*. Retrived 14<sup>th</sup> Nov. 2013, from <http://www.lavanguardia.com/politica/20120924/54351788689/militares-amenazan-tribunales-castrenses-independencia-catalunya.html>
- La Vanguardia.com. (2<sup>nd</sup> Sep. 2013). La CE Pide a España Sancionar la Banalización del Franquismo y el Nazismo. In *La Vanguardia.com*. Retrived 14<sup>th</sup> Nov. 2013 from <http://www.lavanguardia.com/politica/20130902/54379931169/ce-espana-sancionar-banalizacion-nazismo-franquismo.html>
- Laurent, Eloi (2012). *Economie de la confiance*. París : La Découverte.
- Lazzarato, Mauricio (2012). *The Making of the Indebted Man: An Essay on the Neoliberal Condition*. Los Angeles: Semiotext(e).
- Marshall, Humphrey T., and Bottomore, T. (1998). *Ciudadanía y Clase Social*. Madrid: Alianza Editorial.
- Marshall, Humphrey T., and Bottomore, Thomas (1992). *Citizenship and Social Class*. UK: Pluto.
- Matea, M. de los Llanos, and Sanchez, C. (March, 2006) *La Construcción en España*, *Boletín Económico*, 46-61. Banco de España.
- Mauss, M. (1967) *The gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies*. Norton Library. Retrived 14<sup>th</sup> Nov. 2013, from [http://goodmachine.org/PDF/mauss\\_gift.pdf](http://goodmachine.org/PDF/mauss_gift.pdf)
- McAdam, D., Tarrow S., and Tilly, Ch., (2001) *Dynamics of Contention*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Melucci, Alberto (1995). The Process of Collective Identity, in *Social Movements and Culture*, 41–63. Johnston, H., and Klandermans, B. (eds.), Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Minsky, Hyman P. (May, 1992). The Financial Instability Hypothesis, Working Paper 74, *The Jerome Levy Economics Institute of Bard College*. Retrived 14<sup>th</sup> Nov. 2013, from <http://www.levyinstitute.org/pubs/wp74.pdf>

- Muñiz, Andrés (20<sup>th</sup> Sep. 2013). Garzón, a la Jueza Argentina: “En España no hay Ninguna posibilidad de Investigar el Franquismo”. In *Público.es*. Retrived 14<sup>th</sup> Nov. 2013, from <http://www.publico.es/internacional/469406/garzon-a-la-jueza-argentina-en-espana-no-hay-ninguna-posibilidad-de-investigar-el-franquismo>
- Nasser, A. (26<sup>th</sup> Jun. 2011). El PP Retira en Granada la Placa a los Fusilados. In *Público.es*. Retrived 14<sup>th</sup> Nov. 2013, from <http://www.publico.es/espana/388809/el-pp-retira-en-granada-la-placa-a-los-fusilados>
- Noguer, M. (27<sup>th</sup> Jul. 2013). El Espejismo de las Elecciones Plebiscitarias. In *El País*. Retrived 14<sup>th</sup> Nov. 2013, from [http://ccaa.elpais.com/ccaa/2013/07/26/catalunya/1374868846\\_071828.html](http://ccaa.elpais.com/ccaa/2013/07/26/catalunya/1374868846_071828.html)
- Norris, Pippa (2006). Political Activism, in *Development in European politics*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. Jones, E., Heywood, P. M., Rhodes, M., Sedelmeier, U., (eds.), UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- OCDE. (2008). *Growing Unequal? Income Distribution and Poverty in OECD Countries*. OECD. Retrived 14<sup>th</sup> Nov. 2013, from <http://www.oecd.org/els/soc/41527936.pdf>
- OIT. (2010). *Informe Mundial Sobre los Salarios 2010/2011. Políticas Salariales en Tiempo de Crisis*. OIT. Retrived 14<sup>th</sup> Nov. 2013, from [http://www.ilo.org/global/publications/books/WCMS\\_146710/lang--es/index.htm](http://www.ilo.org/global/publications/books/WCMS_146710/lang--es/index.htm)
- Paczynska, Agnieszka. (2008). Conflict and Development, in *Conflict: From Analysis to intervention*, 233-249. Cheldelin, S., Druckman, D., and Fast, L. (ed.), New York and London: Continuum.
- Polanyi, Karl (2007). *The Great Transformation. The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time*. Buenos Aires: Fondo Cultural de Economía.
- Público.es (28<sup>th</sup> Jan. 2013) Aguirre: “La II República fue un Auténtico Desastre para España”. In *Público.es*. Retrived 14<sup>th</sup> Nov. 2013, from <http://www.publico.es/449698/aguirre-la-ii-republica-fue-un-autentico-desastre-para-espana>
- Punto de Mira. (26<sup>th</sup> Sep. 2012). Rodea el Congreso 25-S, Policía Infiltrado entre los Manifestantes. In *Youtube*. Retrived 14<sup>th</sup> Nov. 2013, from <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4FLW4OjIcrU>
- Przeworski, A. (2001). “How Many Ways Can Be Third?”, in *Social Democracy in Neoliberal Times: the Left and Economic Policy Since 1980*, 312-32. Andrew Glyn (ed.), Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Rodríguez, Susana (21<sup>st</sup> Jun. 2013). ¡Yupi, Mi Novio tiene Trabajo!, sí ese que Dignifica. In *20minutos.es*. Retrived 14<sup>th</sup> Nov. 2013, from <http://blogs.20minutos.es/tu-blog/2013/06/21/yupi-mi-novio-tiene-trabajo-si-ese-que-dignifica/>
- Romanos, Eduardo (Jun, 2013). *Difundir la Indignación: Un Estudio de los Intercambios entre Movimientos Sociales dentro de la Nueva Ola Internacional de Protesta*. Madrid: Universidad Complutense de Madrid.
- RAH. (2011). *Diccionario Biográfico Español*, Real Academia de la Historia
- Sanz, Luis A. (10<sup>th</sup> Oct. 2013). Wert: ‘Nuestro Interés es Españolizar a los Niños Catalanes’. In *Mundo.es*. Retrived 14<sup>th</sup> Nov. 2013, from <http://www.elmundo.es/elmundo/2012/10/10/espana/1349858437.html>
- Sola, Jorge (2013). *El Poder de las Ideas en el Proceso de Desregulación Laboral en España*. Madrid: Universidad Complutense de Madrid.
- Stone, Ch., Trisi, D., Sherman, A., and Chen, W. (Sep 2013). *A Guide To Statistics on Historical Trends in Income Inequality*. Washington DC: Center on Budget and Policy Priorities. Retrived 14<sup>th</sup> Nov. 2013, from <http://www.cbpp.org/files/11-28-11pov.pdf>
- Tarrow, Sidney (1996). Social Movements in Contentious Politics: A Review Article, *American Political Science Review*, 90 (4): 874-883.
- Toch, Hans (1965). *The Social Psychology of Social Movements*. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill.
- Torrús, A. (12<sup>th</sup> Jul. 2013). España impide a los Historiadores Investigar en sus Archivos. In *Público.es*. Retrived 14<sup>th</sup> Nov. 2013, from <http://www.publico.es/espana/458737/espana-impide-a-los-historiadores-investigar-en-sus-archivos>
- Tranche, Rafael R. (16<sup>th</sup> May, 2013). Vivir por Encima de Nuestras Posibilidades. In *El País*. Retrived 14<sup>th</sup> Nov. 2013, from [http://elpais.com/elpais/2013/05/07/opinion/1367943599\\_530998.html](http://elpais.com/elpais/2013/05/07/opinion/1367943599_530998.html)
- Vergés, Ricardo (2011) La Información Asimétrica en el Sector Inmobiliario Español (2): Crisis y Stocks, *Observatorio Inmobiliario y de la Construcción*, 48
- Viñas, A., Casanova, J., Fontana, J., Raguer, H., Espinosa, H., Mainer, J. C.,... Preston, P. (2012). *En el Combate por la Historia; El Combate de la Guerra Civil, El Franquismo*. Barcelona: Presente y Pasado SL.

Volkan, Vamik D., (1998). *Bloodlines: From Ethnic Pride To Ethnic Terrorism*. US: Westview Press.

Voroufakis, Yanis (2011). *The global Minotaur: America, the True Origins of the Financial Crisis and the future of the World Economy, Economic Controversies*. London: Zed Books.

Wacquant, Loïc (June, 2010). Crafting the Neoliberal State: Workfare, Prisonfare, and Social Insecurity. *Sociological Forum*, 25 (2).

Weber, M. (1998). *Ensayos sobre sociología de la religión*. Madrid: Taurus.

Ximénez de Sandoval, Pablo (April 2012). Rajoy, No Nos Falles. In *El País*. Retrived 14<sup>th</sup> Nov. 2013, from [http://sociedad.elpais.com/sociedad/2012/04/02/actualidad/1333351770\\_439551.html](http://sociedad.elpais.com/sociedad/2012/04/02/actualidad/1333351770_439551.html)

## FOOTNOTES

---

<sup>i</sup> The main narrative frame used by the current government, p. 31

<sup>ii</sup> The ex-Prime Minister of the region of Madrid, Esperanza Aguirre said in TV that ‘labor unions are a thing of the past and soon they will disappear’, p.42

<sup>iii</sup> 15 M is an organization formed by educated youth systematically insulted by followers of the right party, p.42

<sup>iv</sup> Mass graves are still being found nowadays, p. 49

<sup>v</sup> Everybody that did not think like them were considered communist “Reds” –“Rojos”, p. 49

<sup>vi</sup> Catalan, gallego, asturiano, euskera, cántabro etc., p. 49

<sup>vii</sup> A term used by John Burton (1979), p. 49

<sup>viii</sup> In Spanish: “Todos los Españoles tienen derecho a disfrutar de una vivienda digna y adecuada. Los poderes públicos promoverán las condiciones necesarias y establecerán las normas pertinentes para hacer efectivo este derecho, regulando la utilización del suelo de acuerdo con el interés general para impedir la especulación. La comunidad participará en las plusvalías que genere la acción urbanística de los entes públicos”, p. 77



---

## BIOGRAPHY

Patricia Gutiérrez Sierra grew up in a town called Ramales de la Victoria in the north of Spain. She attended the University of Malta, where she received her Bachelor of Arts in (Hons) Anthropology and Psychology as a minor area in 2012. She went on to receive her Master of Science on Conflict Analysis and Resolution at George Mason University, and the degree of Master of Arts on Conflict, Resolution and Mediterranean Security in 2013. She will be working with a NGO in Guatemala beginning 2014.