

Tsunami Democràtic and the Catalan
independence social movement:
innovation in the content, organization
and mobilization forms

Beatriz Martínez Sancho

*Aalborg University | Culture, Communication and Globalization (CCG)
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Abstract

Tsunami Democràtic was founded in August 2019, two months before the Catalan politicians involved in the referendum that took place in 2017 were sentenced to prison. Other organizations related to the Catalan independence social movement had been active before, therefore Tsunami Democràtic innovated in the content as well as in the forms of organization and mobilization creating a new approach. In order to analyze the content, organization and mobilization forms, data from their Twitter account has been obtained. In addition, surveys have been conducted for this paper in order to include the opinion of its followers. To conclude, two members of Tsunami Democràtic gave an interview to 30 Minuts, a program of the Catalan TV channel TV3, and their statements will also be introduced in the analysis of this paper.

The findings of the analysis show that Tsunami Democràtic was created just before the sentence was public in order to be ready for a hard result, however, the content of the organization mainly focus on the independence of Catalonia and the right to self-determination. In addition, the organization is decentralized, since they do not have leaders and their members are not known. It is the first time an organization within the Catalan independence social movement adopts this type of organizational structure. In relation to the mobilization forms, Tsunami Democràtic aims to internationalize the movement, organizing protests that involve other states and gain international attention, such as the blocking of Barcelona El Prat airport and the highways that connect Catalonia and the Basque Country to France.

Keywords: Tsunami Democràtic, Catalonia, Catalan independence social movement

1. Introduction

The Catalan independence social movement has gained popularity during the last two decades, as several actions have been taken by the Catalan government. The independence movement include both the political institutions that implement political actions in order to achieve the independence, as well as the organizations that constitute the social movement and become the speaker of the society. The Catalan government has launched referendums and political actions for the society to vote on independence. However, Catalonia's relation with the Spanish government is complex, and the referendums have never become official. Therefore, the independence social movement has gained popularity and has become crucial for the coverage of the independence movement, providing national and international attention. The Catalan independence social movement has been coordinated during the years by organizations such as Òmnium Cultural and Catalan National Assembly. The organizations have been launching cultural acts, speeches and protests, among other actions, in which the participants were able to demonstrate and be an active part of the movement.

In 2019, the Catalan politicians that were involved in the referendum launched in 2017 were sentenced to jail, as the referendum was declared illegal by the Spanish Supreme Court. The Catalan independence social movement was still active, organizing protests and actions. However, two months before the sentence was published, Tsunami Democràtic was founded as an organization within the Catalan independence social movement. The creation of the organization was encouraged by the possible jail sentence that was going to be published two months after, however its motto is 'rights, freedom and self-determination' (Tsunami Democràtic, 2020), which demonstrate that the jail sentence is not the only determinant of its foundation. The organization started to gain popularity on social media even before the first action took place. Once they started organizing actions, the society already knew the organization and its objectives, and the protests had a massive participation (Puente, 2019). Tsunami Democràtic's aim is to achieve its motto through a non-violent civil disobedience, organizing protests that have the focus on the international coverage, such as the blocking of Barcelona El Prat airport and the highways that connect Catalonia and the Basque Country to France. On the other hand, the organization does not have leaders and its members are not known, an organizational structure that has been implemented for the first time in the Catalan

independence social movement. This paper will analyze how Tsunami Democràtic has innovated the social movement in regard to the organizational structure, the forms of protest and the content. Social media has been key for Tsunami Democràtic to gain popularity and as a tool to organize and coordinate the actions. Therefore, the content of its Twitter account will be analyzed, providing data related to the use of hashtags and the interaction with followers. In addition, surveys will be conducted in order to include the opinion of its followers about content as well as forms of protest and organization. Furthermore, the analysis will also include the content of the interview for 30 Minuts, on TV3, of two members of Tsunami Democràtic.

1. Background information

This part will provide an overview about the history of the Spanish and Catalan territories, the Catalan independence movement and the civil associations that play an important role on the Catalan independence social movement.

1.2. Construction of Spanish and Catalan political systems

In order to contextualize the relation between the Spanish state and Catalonia, nationalism is a key concept. Guibernau (2013) describes nationalism as “both a political ideology and a sentiment of belonging to a community whose members identify with a set of symbols, beliefs and ways of life, and have the will to decide upon their common political destiny” (p. 369). The history between Catalonia and the Spanish state is extensive but a relevant day that marked the relation between them is 1714, when the Spanish Succession War ended, and the Bourbons got the throne of the country. Catalonia supported the Habsburg during the war, and, at the end of the conflict, they lost their administrative and legal privileges, becoming part of the Spanish system. The resistance to the Bourbon kingdom was expressed by the siege of Barcelona, and that day became the national day of Catalonia, the ‘Diada’ (Dowling, 2018, p.9). From 1808 to 1939 Spain built a state while Catalonia built a cultural project and “Spanish nationalism arrived after cultural Catalanism (partly developing as a response)” (Ibid, p.10). Guibernau (2013) affirms that when a state aims to homogenize the different cultures that coexist within the same state, the creation of a share identity is the main objective (p. 370). Therefore, the author states

that when the sense of community is created, the culture promoted by the state has more power, thus, the other cultures and languages that coexist within the state become weaker or even annihilated (Ibid).

The dictatorship of Franco from 1939 to 1975 had one purpose regarding Catalonia: assimilation, the Catalan culture and language were persecuted by the regime. However, during the 1960's, still within the dictatorship, Catalonia was the center of the economic and cultural modernization of Spain, thus, following Dowling (2018), "there was no greater failure of Francoism than its losing the battle over culture" (p. 21). In addition, at the final phase of the dictatorship and the transition period, social movements started to be created within the Catalan society, awaking a desire of cultural and political freedom. The relation between the Spanish state and Catalonia has not become easier since the ending of the dictatorship, therefore, "Spanish political life has had one singular constant in the twentieth century: the unresolved dynamics of region, nation and state" (Ibid, p. 6).

According to Requejo & Caminal (2012) "the construction of political systems that are increasingly refined in national and cultural terms constitutes one of the most prominent challenges of the normative and institutional revision of modern democracies" (p.1). The authors mention the new political voices that do not feel represented and recognized by the majority of the state, what creates the need for liberal democracies to handle the internal diversity regarding the national and cultural pluralism (Ibid, p. 2). Thus, nowadays, "societies have become too complex to be described using political conceptions that were designed for a much lower level of social, national and cultural diversity than that which currently exists" (Ibid, p. 5). This challenge of plurinational democracies may create collective identity, leading to a "shared 'sense of we'", as Snow & Corrigan-Brown indicate (2015, p.175). The authors define the 'sense of we' as "shared perceptions and feelings of a common cause, threat, or fate that [...] motivate people to act together in the name of, or for the sake of, the interests of the collectivity" (Ibid). The concept 'nations without states', following Guibernau, refers to "nations, which in spite of having their territories included within the boundaries of one or more states, by and large do not identify with them" (2013, p. 369). According to the author, the outcomes of the 'nations without states' can be two. On one hand, the first one is the assimilation by the state, replacing the culture of the national minority for the one promoted by the state.

On the other hand, the second possible outcome involves the failure of the state in the assimilation, that may lead to a disengagement of the population and a sense of community with those that share the same ideas, thus, “in opposition to the majority nationalism instilled by the state emerges a novel emancipatory nationalism defending the right of national minorities to decide upon their political future” (Ibid, p. 371).

As Guibernau (2013) affirms, the state power has the control in relation to the recognition of national minorities (p. 370). The independence social movement in Catalonia has grown during the last two decades, as their voices have not felt represented and recognized within the Spanish state, a society that has been facing how to deal with different nations within the same democracy. Guibernau (2013) determines the challenges the intellectuals and political leaders have in the case of national minorities, such as the creation of a mass movement that legitimize the cause and the importance of the international visibility (p. 372). These two concepts, the creation of a mass movement and its internationalization, will be further expounded below.

1.3. Independence movement

Since 2006, the idea of an independent state has grown in the Catalanian population, according to the Centre d’Estudis d’Opinió (CEO), an institute part of the Catalan government (Centre d’Estudis d’Opinió, 2019). In that year, 14.9% of the people questioned wanted an independent state. On the contrary, 34.1% wanted Catalonia to be a state of a federal Spain, and 37.3% as an autonomous region in Spain. According to the last questionnaire available from November 2019, the idea of an independent state has 37.7%; a state of a federal Spain 21.7%, and an autonomous region 28%. The idea of an independent state had its pick between 2013 and 2014 with 48.5%. At that time, the idea of Catalonia as a federal Spain had 21.3%, and as an autonomous region within Spain, 18.6%. From that pick, the percentage of an independent state decreased, and the others increased (Ibid). This change in the statistics could be caused by the change in the politics and the social movements.

Catalonia launched its new statute in 2006 describing Catalonia as a nation, while the People’s Party (‘Partido Popular’) was in charge of the Spanish government (BBC, 2019). The People’s Party appealed to the Constitutional Court because they believed the statute did not follow the constitutional laws. In 2010, the Constitutional Court declared

that 14 articles of the statute were not in line with the Spanish Constitution (Marull, 2016). In addition, in 2009 the economic crisis hit Spain and that had its influence in Catalonia; it was then when the idea of an independent state started to gain popularity in the Catalan society. In 2012, the first massive protest took place, aiming for an independent Catalan state within Europe. The 9th of November 2014, 2.3000.000 people voted in a symbolic referendum that took the politics involved to Court (Ibid). Furthermore, the 1st of October 2017, a banned referendum was organized in Catalonia, which was declared illegal by Spain's Constitutional Court (BBC, 2019). The Catalan parliament then declared the independence on the 27th of October, but the Spanish government dissolved the Catalan parliament and Spain's Supreme Court sentenced the Catalan leaders involved in the referendum to prison (Ibid). The highest sentence of 13 years was for Oriol Junqueras, who was the former vice president. Other 9 people had sentences between 9 and 12 years. The president back then, Carles Puigdemont, fled abroad (Ibid). Tsunami Democràtic, the organization analyzed in this paper, created its social media accounts in August 2019, two months before the sentences were published by the Supreme Court. In an interview for 30 Minuts, on TV3, two members of the organization that hide their faces mentioned with changed voice that the organization had been on the making for a year, getting ready for a possible hard jail sentence for the politicians (30 Minuts, 2019).

1.4. Civil associations

Civil associations have been key in introducing the Catalan nationalism in the Spanish government's political agenda. The independence movement has been categorized as 'bottom-up', as it has been developed by the civil society and reached the attention of political institutions afterwards, situating the civil pro-independence organizations more influential than political leaders (Cramer, 2015). However, both political and civil organizations have cooperated over the time as they share the same objectives, such as the idea of a Catalan state (Ibid, p. 108). This paper focuses on Tsunami Democràtic, a decentralized civil social movement that promotes non-violent civil disobedience. Tsunami Democràtic's motto is 'rights, freedom and self-determination' and they use social media and their own app to promote protests (Tsunami Democràtic, 2020). They do not have leaders or visible faces and, even though they have the public support of Catalan politics, as it is for example the case of Carles Puigdemont (Cadena Ser, 2019), the organization is not related to any of the political parties (Puente, 2019). Tsunami Democràtic has promoted different types of protests that had not been

developed before in the Catalan independent social movement, such as the blocking of El Prat Barcelona airport and the highways that connect Catalonia and the Basque Country to France (Ibid). Regarding their organizational tools, they use secure and encrypt networks for communicating: their most used social media network is Telegram, being the 70th most used Telegram account in the world, and, on the other hand, for messaging and email they use Signal (Colomé, 2019 & Puente, 2019). Tsunami Democràtic has launched an app that uses QR codes for providing access, working as a trust system: the QR codes need to be shared personally between the supporters, avoiding the use of the app by people trying to infiltrate the organization and receive relevant information about the protests that are taking place (Puente, 2019). The information shared through the app vary depending on the geographic position of the user, as they organize different protests in different areas. The organization uses the app to receive information from the users as well, for instance, their location, and they get access to their camera when they accept it in order to scan the QR code. Thus, the app is a source of information for both the users and the organization (Méndez, 2019). However, Tsunami Democràtic is being investigated by the Spanish government for terrorism and the ‘Audiencia Nacional’, the centralized court in Spain, ordered the closure of their webpage and social media accounts (Herrera, 2019). Thus, Tsunami Democràtic recommended their followers to use Telegram and the app, networks that are more secure in terms of intervention than, for instance, Twitter (Ibid).

Even though this paper focuses on Tsunami Democràtic, Catalan National Assembly, Òmnium Cultural and El Govern (Catalan government) will also be included in the development of the paper, the first two for being a key more centralized civil associations that have been promoting the idea of a Catalan state (Assemblea Nacional Catalana, 2020) , and El Govern for being the institution that directs the policy and administration of the Government of Catalonia, being in charge of the executive and of the regulatory powers (El Govern, 2020) . Focusing on the civil associations, Òmnium Cultural and Catalan National Assembly will be further expounded. Firstly, Òmnium Cultural is a cultural organization that defends Catalan culture and language, and it is not related to the government. It was founded in 1961 but it was closed down by Franco from 1963 until 1967, thus, the members “continued working clandestinely and from Paris to defend and promote Catalonia’s language and culture” (Òmnium, 2020). Besides the cultural focus of the organization, they also defend civil and human rights, “since 2010

Òmnium is the group that has carried out the largest peaceful demonstrations in Europe, along with the National Assembly of Catalonia (ANC), in support of the people of Catalonia's right to democratically decide their own political future by means of a self-determination referendum" (Ibid). The organization claims that 99% of their funds come from their more than 125.000 members, and just 1% from the Catalan government for specific cultural projects. Their president is Jordi Cuixart i Navarro, currently imprisoned accused of sedition (Ibid).

Secondly, the Catalan National Assembly is "an organization of civil society that is strictly independent from the parties and the administration" (Assemblea Nacional Catalana, 2020). The organization is centralized as it has a National Secretariat composed of 77 national secretaries that are selected by universal suffrage. However, the organization aims to allow every member to actively participate in the activities, as a bottom-up approach (Ibid). The Catalan National Assembly was founded in 2012, currently having around 90.000 members and it has organized multiple demonstrations for independence every year (Ibid). The supporters of the Catalan National Assembly have been demonstrating for the independence over the years, but it was also a good opportunity to express their frustration on how the economic crisis was being handled in both Catalonia and Spain (Cramer, 2015, p. 112). Political opportunity has been key in the development of the Catalan independence social movement as the economic and political situation in both Catalonia and Spain may have affected the way the statistics were changing over the time. The political opportunity theory will be explained further later in the project and will be used in the development of the analysis. In addition, resource mobilization theory will also be expounded as the social movement has grown in supporters partly thanks to the way the organizations and institutions have handled their resources. In addition, networked social movements and collective identity will also be explained further to analyze how they have influenced the social movement and specially Tsunami Democràtic.

2. Methodology

This paper will investigate how Tsunami Democràtic has innovated the Catalan independence social movement. The objective is to analyze the content, organization and

mobilization forms of Tsunami Democràtic and contextualize it with other social and political organizations that existed before the creation of Tsunami Democràtic. The problem formulation is:

How has Tsunami Democràtic innovated the Catalan independence social movement in relation to content, organization and mobilization forms?

This study is framed through a critical realism approach, as the way to understand the social world is to identify the structures that generate the events and discourses (Bryman, 2012, p. 29). Critical realism is part of the epistemological approach in philosophy of social science. As Bryman (2012) mentions, critical realism “accept that the categories they employ to understand reality are likely to be provisional” (p. 12). The structures that have generated the creation of Tsunami Democràtic, such as the political and organizational opportunities, will be further analyzed throughout the paper.

According to Bryman (2012), the case study is an intensive analysis of a case, usually associated to a location such as a community or organization (p. 67). In this case, this paper focuses on Tsunami Democràtic and how the organization has innovated the Catalan independence social movement. The paper does not aim to analyze the Catalan independence social movement itself; it analyses how an organization has innovated the content, forms of organization and mobilization. Therefore, the analysis of this paper can be framed as a case study. In addition, the analysis of this paper has both approaches: qualitative and quantitative; a favorable research method for a case study (Ibid, p. 68).

3.1. Outline and structure of the project

This paper will look at how Tsunami Democràtic has innovated the content, organization and forms of mobilization of the independence social movement in Catalonia. The organization and their social media accounts were created in 2019 but the independence social movement has been active in Catalonia before with other institutions as the main organizers of protests and actions. However, the creation of Tsunami Democràtic in 2019 has affected the way the social movement is organized. Tsunami does not have leaders and its members are anonymous as they do not publish names of the people involved in the organization. This decentralized structure has not been used before in the Catalan

independence social movement, as other organizations, such as Catalan National Assembly or Òmnium Cultural, have leaders and the names of their members are public. In addition, this paper will analyze if the actions taken by Tsunami Democràtic and the content of their social media have innovated the social movement and how.

The first part is an introduction to the topic, an overview of the content that will be analyzed throughout the paper. After the introduction, the background information is explained so the data used in the analysis is contextualized. The chapter that follows the background information is the methodology in order to explain how the data will be obtained and analyzed, the methods chosen and the relation between them. After the methodology chapter, the theories will be described. This paper will apply four theories to the analysis, all of them related to social movements theory: political opportunities theory, resource mobilization theory, networked social movements and collective identity, this last one being the theory that it is common to the other three theories. The analysis will be the next chapter, a chapter that will be using the theories in order to analyze the data collected. The analysis will be divided in four topics: opportunities, resources, mobilization as well as organization and connectivity. With these four topics, the analysis will investigate the problem formulation and how Tsunami Democràtic has innovated the Catalan independence social movement in relation to content, organization and mobilization forms. A discussion will follow, providing an overview of the social movement in Hong Kong, as it shares some similarities with Tsunami Democràtic. At last, a conclusion will show the results of the analysis and will answer the problem formulation of this paper.

3.1. Choice of theories

The theories used are political opportunity, resource mobilization, networked social movements and collective identity, all of them related to social movements theory. Political opportunity, resource mobilization and networked social movements have collective identity as shared characteristic, so the theoretical approach is a triangular approach in which all the theories are interconnected and have collective identity as the main indicative of connection. Political opportunity theory will be used in the analysis to investigate how the political, economic and social context can delimit the outcomes of a social movement (Meyer, 2004, p. 125). In this case, the theory will explain how the

context around Tsunami Democràtic has been key for the development of its achievements. By using resource mobilization theory, the analysis will investigate the resources that have been mobilized by Tsunami Democràtic in order to succeed. The resources can be human, social-organizational, cultural and moral, including aspects such as labor, skills, social networks, beliefs, identities or legitimacy, among others. Some resources can be found internally within the organization and others are searched externally, but the union of all of them make it easier for the movement to achieve its goals. In regard to networked social movements, the theory will be used to analyze how social media platforms such as Twitter are facilitating the development of social movements. Twitter allows citizens to engage with social movements no matter the location and in an affordable way. Thus, this theory will be applied to the analysis of content, followers and interaction. At last, collective identity, as a shared characteristic of the other three theories, will analyze how the shared perceptions and feelings of the Catalan independence cause may be key for the success of the protests of Tsunami Democràtic (Snow & Corrigall-Brown, 2015).

3.2. Analysis

This paper will have a quantitative and qualitative analysis. The mixed methodology will provide new data that will be contextualized with the data that was already available in relation to the topic.

3.2.1. Quantitative analysis

Regarding the quantitative analysis, two methods will be applied: the analysis of the data obtained from Twitter and the surveys conducted to Tsunami Democràtic followers on Twitter. In relation to the first quantitative method, this paper will look at the Twitter account of Tsunami Democràtic and analyze the content of their tweets, the interaction with the users and the relation of the activity with the political situation. Even though the analysis is not a comparison between different organization, this paper will also look at the Twitter accounts of El Govern, Catalan National Assembly and Òmnium Cultural to contextualize the data and investigate how Tsunami Democràtic has innovated the social movement. The Catalan independence movement has been considered both social and political. Thus, El Govern, the Catalan government, will be included as the

main political institution that has created actions that aim to achieve the independence of Catalonia. In addition, the Catalan National Assembly and Òmnium will be included in the analysis as they are organizations that have promoted the Catalan social independence movement. Twitter has been used as the platform analyzed in this paper since all the four organizations have an account and use it to promote their objectives and actions. However, Telegram is also a relevant social media platform used by Tsunami Democràtic as it is more secure for them in terms of possible intervention by the Spanish government.

In regard to the Twitter analysis, the content of Tsunami Democràtic on Twitter (@Tsunami_dem) will be analyzed with two tools: Twitonomy and Socialblade. Both platforms are online and provide an overview of the data obtained from Twitter accounts, creating statistics that include the number of followers, tweets or hashtags, among other data. This analysis focuses on the Twitter account of Tsunami Democràtic (@Tsunami_dem), but data from @govern, @assemblea and @omnium will also be included, in order to contextualize and analyze how Tsunami Democràtic has innovated the social movement that already existed in Catalonia. Thus, after including the data from these three other accounts, the analysis will evaluate whether and how the content of the publications of Tsunami Democràtic is different from the content published by other organizations related to the social movement. Their accounts on social media, such as Telegram or Twitter, are in fact a resource for the organization itself, a social-organization resource (Edwards & Kane, 2014).

Regarding the second quantitative method, the results of the surveys conducted for this paper will be included in the analysis. The survey was designed for Tsunami Democràtic's followers on Twitter; therefore, the first question was whether the participants follow the organization or not. Some of the participants chose 'no' as the answer and the results of those surveys were deleted from the final results. When 100 participants selected 'yes' as the answer to that first question, the survey was closed, and the final results collected. In addition, the survey was both in Catalan and Spanish. In order to collect the answers, the survey was published in Twitter and Facebook, being the members of the Facebook groups related to the Catalan independence movements the ones that provided more answers. Regarding the structure, questions related to content, organization and mobilization forms were included, and some of the questions had the possibility of multiple answer.

The survey started, as mentioned before, questioning whether the participants followed Tsunami Democràtic on Twitter, when they started following them and whether they follow other organizations related to the Catalan independence movement. Afterwards, the participants were asked to provide their opinion on how they see Tsunami Democràtic, as a social, political or independence movement, and whether and how they consider Tsunami Democràtic as an innovative movement. Later in the survey, the questions were related to the content, and how would the participants characterize Tsunami Democràtic's content, as freedom of politicians imprisoned, the right to self-determination, the independence of Catalonia or other. The next few questions targeted the outcomes of the organization, for instance, if Tsunami Democràtic has been able to reach a different group of the society that did not feel identified with the movement before and whether they have been able to determine the political and social agenda or not. The survey finished with questions about the forms of organization of Tsunami Democràtic and the relation that may have with the way they manage their actions. The questions spotlighted the decentralized organization, in which the answers provide information on how the participants feel about the fact that the organization does not have leaders and if that influences in a positive or negative way. The last question of the survey focused on the actions organized by Tsunami Democràtic, giving the option to the participants to decide if they think that the actions are innovative or not in relation to the actions organized before Tsunami Democràtic was created.

3.2.2. Qualitative analysis

Two members of Tsunami Democràtic gave an interview to 30 Minuts, a program of TV3, a Catalan TV channel. Both members were fully covered with clothes, and the camera was behind them. In addition, their voices were changed as a security measure. The interview will be included in the analysis as the members of Tsunami Democràtic talked about matters that are important and relevant for the topic of this paper.

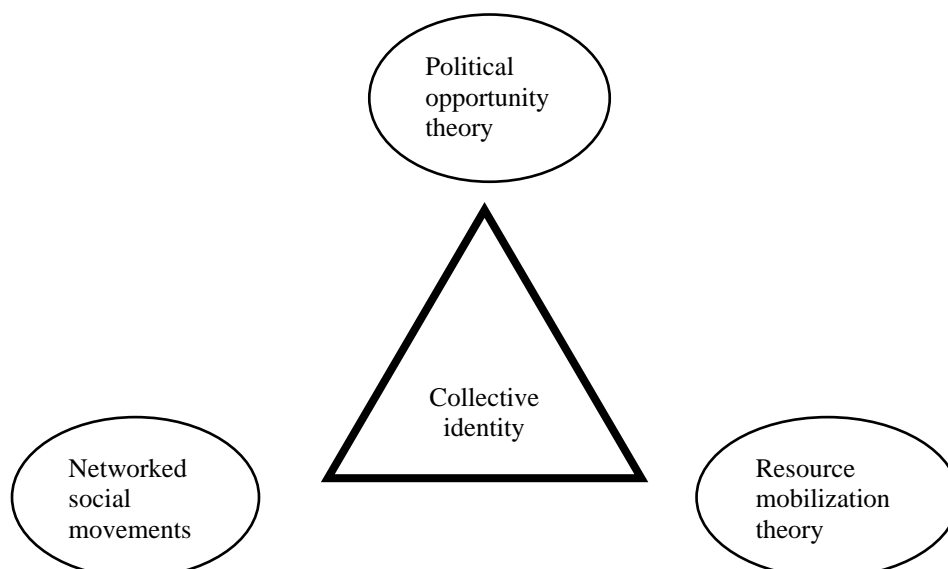
3.3. Limitations

Regarding the limitations, this paper was designed in the first place with the possibility of an interview with Tsunami Democràtic. At the beginning of the process, Tsunami Democràtic accepted to answer a set of questions through email, that could be analyzed

and be the main method for this paper. However, when the questions were sent to their email address, they did not answer back. After a few weeks of insisting and looking for alternatives, interviews to experts on the topic was the method chosen. However, the situation, mainly caused by Covid-19, was not the appropriate and the experts contacted were not able to answer the questions at that time. Another alternative had to be searched, and the surveys was the most convenient one, as they could be shared through the internet, avoiding space and time limitations. Once the survey was designed, it was shared through Twitter and Facebook. Most of the groups related to the Catalan independence movement on Facebook are private, and in other to publish content, one needs to become a member. In some of the groups the acceptance was not obtained. However, the survey was finally published in a Facebook group with 9.5K members and it received several answers, enough to reach 100 answers that would allow to introduce the results in the analysis.

4. Theory

The theoretical section of this paper focuses on different aspects related to the social movement theory. In order to present the complexity of the theory, this paper will integrate different dimensions, such as political opportunity theory, resource mobilization theory, networked social movements and collective identity. As a triangular structure, the main theories that will be expounded are political opportunity theory, resource mobilization theory and networked social movements. However, this paper determines collective identity as a common characteristic, therefore, collective identity will be included in all the three theories.



The three theories that have collective identity as a common characteristic complement each other and provide an overview that will be used in the analysis of this paper. Political opportunity determines how the world around, including political, economic, social, organizational and identity factors, is affecting the social movement (Giugni, 2011). In the case of the Catalan independence social movement, factors such as the financial crisis, imprisonment of politicians, the level of openness of governments or even collective identity, among others, have an impact on the social movement and how it has been created and developed. Everything around the movement is part of the construction and development process, even if the movement itself is not aware of it. The world around shapes the movement, thus, sometimes whether a movement succeed or not does not depend on the movement itself; the political, economic or social factors, among others, can also be disadvantageous for the movement (Meyer, 2004). However, it will always be able to create a collective identity, an identity that remains active even though the movement has failed, and that identity would be able to create a new movement once the political opportunities and resources become favorable (Snow & Corrigall-Brown, 2015).

Therefore, movements can be created and developed shaped by different factors such as political, economic or social and, at the same time, use different resources in order to achieve their purposes. The use of resources can be a deliberated process chosen by the movement or it can be unintentional. Similar to the case of political opportunity, the resources used by a movement shape its creation as well as its development and provide advantages or disadvantages for the movement to achieve its purposes (McCarthy & Zald, 1977). The resources available for a movement can be found internally within the movement or externally and can be, for example, the members of the movement, the knowledge, the money and, among others, the identity (Edwards & Kane, 2014). Thus, the collective identity is also part of the resources used by a movement, as it empowers the movement and creates a sense of community that can create a greater exposure of the movement in political and media agendas, ultimately achieving its goals.

Finally, the networked social movements allow people to share personal expression and create a collective identity (Wang, Liu & Gao, 2016). Tsunami Democràtic manage participation and coordinate goals, letting people to express themselves and creating a sense of community but controlling the flows of

communication (Bennett & Segerberg, 2012). The use of social media, specially the hashtags on Twitter as well as the way the organization interact with the users of social medial platforms determine their organizational and content tactics. Tsunami Democràtic uses its social media account and its own app to organize and coordinate the protests and the interaction with its followers. Thus, social media is the organizational tool they have chosen to accomplish its goals. In a centralized organization, members and leaders are able to communicate with people involved within the organization or the participants of the actions they organize. In addition, they can coordinate the actions physically and be the link between the organization and the citizens. However, in a decentralized organization with no leaders, social media plays an important role as a communicative and organizational tool. The way Tsunami Democràtic interacts with its followers on Twitter and the content they share will be further studied in the analysis chapter.

The theories will be further expounded to show how they interact and provide an overview of how the case analyzed in this paper is constructed. The theories will be applied throughout the analysis, as this paper focuses on how has Tsunami Democràtic innovated the content, organization and mobilization forms of the Catalan independence social movement. Firstly, political opportunities will be analyzed, as the factors around the movement could have been key, for example, for reaching audience, media coverage and symbolic power. Furthermore, the resources the movement has used will be defined as they can show how the movement has changed the forms of organization and mobilization in relation to previous organizations, such as Catalan National Assembly and Òmnium Cultural. Finally, networked social movement will be used in the analysis as a part of the quantitative analysis focuses on Twitter and how Tsunami Democràtic has used networks in order to achieve its objectives and innovate the movement.

4.1. Collective identity

Firstly, this paper will include an overview of collective identity theory since it will be included in the three theories as the shared characteristic. Manuel Castells (2010) defines identity as “the process of construction of meaning on the basis of a cultural attribute, or a related set of cultural attributes, that is given priority over other sources of meaning” (p. 6). Snow & Corrigall-Brown (2015) differentiate between three types of identity: social, personal and collective (p. 174). Social identities are “the identities attributed or

imputed to others in an attempt to situate them in social space” (Ibid) and they mention as examples the social roles such as gender, ethnic or national categories. Regarding personal identities, the authors refer to the self-attributions as personal distinctive, such as professions or musical genres, for example. The last type of identities described by Snow & Corrigall-Brown is collective identities. These identities can or cannot be related to social identities such as national, gender and ethnic categories and the ‘sense of we’ created along these identities is “animating and mobilizing cognitively, emotionally, and sometimes even morally” (Ibid, p. 175). In the case of the Catalan independence social movement, the collective identity is not only constructed by the nation identity but also by language, culture, political ideology, and so on. As Snow & Corrigall-Brown mention, the collective identities are “shared perceptions and feelings of a common cause, threat, or fate that constitute the shared ‘sense of we’ motivate people to act together in the name of, or for the sake of, the interests of the collectivity, thus generating the previously mentioned sense of collective agency” (Ibid, p. 175).

The emerge of collective identity “appear to be associated with conditions of sociocultural change or challenge, socioeconomic and political exclusion, and political breakdown and renewal” (Ibid, p. 176). Thereupon, collective identity is a key factor of political opportunity and resource mobilization theories and ultimately to networked social movements. On one hand, political opportunity theory explains the way factors such as political, economic or social influence the creation and development of both social movements and collective identities. The collective identity that already existed in Catalonia before the creation of Tsunami Democràtic could be an influential factor in the development of the organization. In addition, collective identity can be a resource used by the social movements since it empowers the cause and leads to other resources. For example, if a person can contribute to the movement with their skills, they will more likely be part of the movement if they also share the same collective identity. Finally, the networked social movements provide an option for the movements to create a symbolic power. The more the information published by the movement in social media is shared and commented by the users, the faster the collective identity becomes powerful. Political opportunity theory will be described below, following by resource mobilization theory and networked social movements.

4.2. Political opportunity

Political opportunity theory was developed in the early 70's, having had since then additions and modifications as the social movements developed and changed (Zhang, Jennings & Zhao, 2018). The theory examines the frequency, content and outcomes of social movements and how the political opportunities influence the way actors may gain access to the power or manipulate the system (Eisinger, 1973, p.25). According to Giugni (2011), political opportunities refer to “those aspects of the political system that affect the possibilities that challenging groups have to mobilize effectively” (p. 271). Thus, the aspects of the political system may also include economic and social aspects, among others. As mentioned before, in the case of the Catalan independence movement, economic aspects such as the financial crisis may have also affected the development of the movement. The theory is used to explain social mobilization, particular tactics or strategies, formation of organizations as well as influence on public policy and, furthermore, to analyze the interaction of the challenges and the political context that delimits the development and outcomes of the social movement (Meyer, 2004). When describing the political environment that may affect the way political opportunities are favorable or not for a social movement, Eisinger (1973) mentions factors that “help to establish the chances of success of citizen political activity” (p. 11), such as the aspects of formal political structure, the climate of governmental responsiveness, social structure, and social stability (Ibid). The protests for which the activists are mobilizing are set by the political context and not by themselves; thus, it is the political situation or changes in the political system what creates the necessity or desire for mobilizing and not the other way around (Meyer, 2004, p. 127-128). That world around the opportunities is defined by Meyer as ‘political structure’, “the political context and the rules of the games in which those choices are made” (Ibid, p. 128). Meyer affirms that external factors affect the way a social movement is:

“(a) mobilizing, (b) advancing particular claims rather than others, (c) cultivating some alliances rather than others, (d) employing particular political strategies and tactics rather than others, and (e) affecting mainstream institutional politics and policy” (Ibid, p. 126).

Regarding the openness of the political system, the frequency of protests is directly related to how open the political system is. Thus, if the political institutions provide access and include the society in the political decisions, it is more unlikely that

the citizens decide to mobilize, as there are more direct ways to be heard (Meyer, 2004, p. 128). This is the case of Switzerland, where the government launches referendums for the citizens to vote on political decisions of any kind, becoming direct participants in the decision making of the Swiss government (Lucchi, 2017). In addition, citizens that want a change in the constitution, on new laws or against certain international treaties can create a popular initiative or demand a referendum (Ibid). This system provides a more direct access to the political decisions than a protest, and it requires less resources. On the other hand, there are cases where, although the political system may be open, the citizens may not feel completely heard. Therefore, they may intent to express themselves and, if they are not repressed by the political system, they may try to achieve their goals by creating a mobilization (Meyer, 2004, p. 128). As mentioned before, political opportunities not only refer to the political system, but also the economic, social and organizational factors. Giugni (2011) refers to Tilly's (1978) idea of the five components that constitute a more general model that analyses social mobilizations, a model not only based on political opportunities. This general model includes, besides political opportunities, interests, organization, mobilization and collective action (Giugni, 2011, p. 272). Based on this general model, this paper will analyze the content, organization and mobilizations forms of Tsunami Democràtic and how they have been innovated in relation to previous organizations. The political opportunities theory will be applied in the analysis, as the creation and development of the movement is based on opportunities related to these components.

Furthermore, when focusing on the political opportunities factor, Giugni (2011) focuses on four types of opportunities: discursive, specific, perceived and dynamic opportunities (p. 272). Firstly, regarding discursive opportunities, the author mentions the institutional opportunities and cultural dimension. The institutional opportunities are, among others, the state capacity and propensity for repression or responsiveness of political authorities. On the other hand, the cultural dimension includes, for example, the notions of citizenship or national identity (Giugni, 2011, p.274). In relation to this factor, the Catalan independence movement has been created based on a national identity that is not shared with the rest of the Spanish territory, and therefore, the movement claim the independence of Catalonia. All the notions in relation to culture, nation, citizenship and institutions are factors that influence the way the social movement develops. As Giugni (2011) mentions, "what matters is not only the extent to which social movements face an

open or closed institutional setting, but also the extent to which their claims and identities relate to prevailing discourses in the public domain” (p. 275). Secondly, according to the ‘specific opportunities’ perspective, the political opportunities can be different depending on the field or sector they belong to, as “political opportunities are movement-specific, field-specific, and issue-specific” (Ibid, p. 276). The political system can be more or less open depending on the challenges or issues it is facing and, therefore, “political opportunities are more favorable for certain movements than for others” (Ibid, p. 276). In the case of Spain, housing activists or mobilizations in relation to austerity can be treated by the government differently than the Catalan independence movement, as the consequences are different, and the government can respond with a more or less open approach depending on the consequences. The author differentiates the high and low-profile policies: if the movement aims to change matters that are related to high-profile policies, as it could be a threat to the state, the opportunities are less favorable. On the contrary, the opportunities would be more favorable if the social movement demands a change in low-profile policies (Ibid, p. 276).

The third type of opportunities delimited by Giugni (2011) is perceived opportunities. Regarding this third type, the author explains how political opportunities are not always noticed by the members of a social movement, thus they can be misinterpreted or simply ignored based on internal strategic reasons (p. 277). Opportunities may be available for the mobilization to gain power and succeed, but they are not seen by the actors involved and therefore not taken advantage of. Finally, regarding the dynamic opportunities, the author mentions how the political opportunities have been defined as static over the time. However, the author refers to McAdam et al. (2001) as they suggest changing the static version to a more dynamic view and move away “from the search for the conditions favoring or preventing challengers to mobilize and focus instead on processes and mechanisms” (Giugni 2011, p. 279). Instead of focusing on the factors that are advantageous or disadvantageous for the movement, these dynamic opportunities suggest that there is an option to search for mechanisms and resources that can provide the success of the movement.

Regarding the outcomes of a mobilization, Meyer (2004) differentiates the opportunities for policy change and for mobilization. Sometimes the political opportunities were favorable for a mobilization and it succeeded by achieving its goals and

changing policy, however, it is not a pattern that always operates the same way. “Successful mobilization *sometimes* leads to policy reform, but the opportunities for policy change are distinct from those for mobilization” (Meyer, 2004, p. 137). A mobilization may be successful with a massive participation and coverage in the media, but it may not lead to a policy change. Success in mobilizations does not always lead to success in policy change and the other way around. Furthermore, an example of an outcome of a mobilization, besides the change on policies, can be the creation of collective identity. According to De Andrés, Campos & Zapata (2014), the different “contexts (at the national, regional, and global levels) shape contestation and collective action, creating openings for challengers and shaping their capacities and resources to produce change” (p. 253). Thus, in order to achieve its goals, besides favorable political, economic and social opportunities, it is important for the movement to use or acquire the necessary resources that will facilitate its success and the creation of the collective identity. The next section focuses on resource mobilization theory and how the creation of a collective identity is also important as a resource available for the movement to achieve its goals.

4.3. Resource mobilization theory

According to McCarthy & Zald (1977), resource mobilization theory examines “the variety of resources that must be mobilized, the linkages of social movements to other groups, the dependence of movements upon external support for success, and the tactics used by authorities to control or incorporate movements” (p. 1213). In other words, the resources the mobilization has internally, the relations they create and what resources those relations provide, the external influence and how authorities conduct control over them. According to De Andrés, Campos & Zapata (2014)

“The capacity of social movements to bring about cultural, political, and social change relies on an array of events, arrangements, infrastructures, contingencies, and practices. One of these factors is the capacity of movements to recruit members and organizations, connect to networks, mobilize resources, and gain political support to pressure states and other powerful actors to adopt new practices, laws, and policies” (p. 253).

Edwards & Kane (2014) distinguish between four types of resources: human, social-organizational, cultural and moral resources. Regarding the first type, human resources, the authors include labor, experience, skills, expertise and leadership. Human

resources are provided by individuals and not organizations, thus, individuals decide how and why they want to contribute to the social movement, making voluntary participation key for success. In most of the cases, the expertise of lawyers, web designers, administrative personnel and so forth is necessary for a well functioned organization. These profiles are normally inside the organization, as an important human resource, therefore individuals involved in the movement apply their skills and find people with skills they do not have, so the organization gain the resources necessary in order to achieve their goals. The human resources are key in the development of a social movement (Ibid, p. 213). On the contrary, social-organizational resources are not provided by individuals but generated by the organization itself. These resources can be, among others, infrastructures, social networks and social media. People involved in the creation of these resources can limit them, causing inequality in their access (Ibid, p. 214).

The third type of resource mentioned by Edwards & Kane (2014) is the cultural resources, referring to beliefs, values, identities and behavioral norms (p. 215). The authors differentiate between human and cultural because the first type of resources depend on the individuals and they decide how and why to use them, whether the cultural resources are difficult to control once they are shared and public (Ibid, p. 217). Regarding the last type, the moral resources, the authors refer to Cress and Snow (1996) and include legitimacy, authenticity, solidary support, sympathetic support, and celebrities (Edwards & Kane, 2014, p. 217). Social movements can delegate their public exposure to celebrities in order to access other resources, as celebrities can reach a broader audience generating attention not only in the public sphere but also in the media and potential organizations to make agreements with. All the types of resources are interrelated, as for example the use of celebrities as a moral resource can also generate cultural and human resources if the correct individuals and skills are reached (Ibid).

The resources, according to Edwards & Kane (2014), can also be differentiated by being fungible and context dependent or proprietary. A fungible resource can be money, as it can be changed for other resources if needed, such as “the purchase of equipment, hiring of staff, founding of organizations, organizing events, and in the production of cultural resources” (p. 219). Furthermore, the authors mention the limits of the fungible resources, such as legitimacy or authenticity. For example, celebrities can generate attention in the public and the media, as mentioned before, but they can also

influence negatively to the legitimacy of the social movement if the society discover that the celebrities have been selling their ideas and goals just in exchange for money (Ibid). On the other hand, proprietary resources are, among others, material resources, human labor or moral resources. They are provided by individuals and individuals decide how and why to contribute to the organization. On the contrary, as mentioned before, cultural resources are less proprietary as they are available to the public, thus, individuals do not have control over them (Ibid, p. 220).

According to Edwards & Kane (2014), the resources can be accessed by different mechanisms, such as aggregation, co-optation, patronage or relationships. The aggregation system uses the resources provided by individuals and convert them into collective resources, being at first individual resources and becoming after shared resources that the whole group can make use of in order to beneficiate the movement. On the other hand, co-optation refers to the use of the resources of other groups with permission when the resources are not available within the organization. The partnerships and collaborations between organizations are quite beneficial, as they can share resources and succeed in achieving their own goals. Patronage refers to the monetary support, and sometimes also the provision of human resources, by an individual or institution that provide resources for the social movement. Individuals or organizations that share the movement's ideas and support it economically can also be key in the development of the movement, as the money can be exchanged for example for human or material resources (Ibid, p. 220-226). As mentioned before, it is more likely for individuals or organizations to contribute to the movement if they share a collective identity. This becomes a relevant resource for a social movement, as collective identity is a symbolic power that the movement has and can use in order to acquire other resources and achieve its goals. Nevertheless, even though the movement may not achieve its goals, the collective identity remains active and may be a resource that stay available for another movement to emerge (De Andrés, Campos & Zapata, 2014). In the case of social movements that use social media as a tool to gain followers and coverage, mobile and wireless networks become a resource for the movement to create a trustful system, a network of people that trust each other and share the movement's goals (Ibid). Therefore, "movement supporters and sympathizers who are not activists in physical protests or actions can still help virally spread the movement's message through their social networks" (Ibid, p. 253). The

networked social movements include the social media platforms as resources for achieving its goals, and they will be further expounded below.

4.4. Networked social movements

Social media platforms like Twitter have facilitated the development of social movements in terms of followers, interaction as well as political and media coverage (Wang, Liu & Gao, 2016). “These networked platforms not only enable social movement organizations to mobilize geographically dispersed publics, but also afford new ways of citizen engagement through personalized information sharing” (Ibid, p. 850). According to Wang, Liu & Gao (2016), traditional social movements evaluated their success based on how they mobilized their resources, how the political opportunities influenced and whether they achieved their goals or not. However, the networked social movements also include the collective action, the collective identity. The movement can gain political outcomes but also symbolic power. In the case of Twitter, the social media platform spreads information, reaching a broader audience and helping movements to gain popularity using the hashtag to mobilize collective attention (Ibid).

Bennett & Segerberg (2012) differentiate between collective action and connective action. Collective action is coordinated by organizations and the social media platforms are used by organizations to manage participation and coordinate goals (Ibid, p. 756). Social media is a communicative and organizational resource that can be part of the development of an organization. On the other hand, connective action networks “are typically far more individualized and technologically organized sets of processes that result in action without the requirement of collective identity framing or the levels of organizational resources required to respond effectively to opportunities” (Ibid, p. 750). The authors divide the connective action into two types: self-organizing networks and organizationally enabled networks. Regarding the first type, self-organizing networks, the coordination of organizations is not necessary in order to succeed, there is a large-scale personal access to social technologies and personal expression is shared on social media. Regarding the second type, organizationally enabled networks, there is an organizational coordination, but it is loose, and the organization is the one providing the social technology outlays. In addition, the personal expression through social networks is moderated by organizations (Ibid).

The Catalan independence social movement, with all the different organizations and institutions, develop different types of connectivity, as it can be the use of social media, applications, conventions, lectures, speeches, and so forth. Bennett & Segerberg (2012) describe this personalized and digitally mediated collective action as being able to scale up more quickly. In relation to this ability to scale up, it is important to include the notion of virality. As Wang, Liu & Gao (2016) mention, virality is defined by how fast an information is spread, the number of people that reaches and where they are situated geographically (p. 851). The hashtag is a relevant tool for achieving the virality of a message or a movement. Wang, Liu & Gao (2016) consider that before the networked digital media, the way social movements had to reach audience and visibility was to gain space in the media, in newspapers, radio or television programs. Nowadays, social platforms such as Twitter serve as a tool for social movements to reach audience themselves, using hashtags or interaction with followers as the main mechanisms.

In the analysis part of this paper, the followers, interaction and hashtags of Tsunami Democràtic's Twitter account will be analyzed in order to evaluate how the organization has innovated the Catalan independence social movement in relation to content, organization and mobilization forms. Networked social movements theory provide an overview of how the organization is built up in terms of its use of social media, and how their information can go viral on the internet reaching a broader audience. As mentioned before, the political opportunities that have influenced the way the organization has been created and developed will be explained, and the resources they have used in order to achieve their goals will be defined. This part of the theory will provide an overview of which factors have influenced the its creation and development, and how Tsunami Democràtic has innovated the organization and mobilization forms. In addition, collective identity will be fundamental for every part of the analysis, as it is an important characteristic of the three theories: it can be part of the creation of the organization, it can be a resource the organization uses in order to achieve its goals and it can create a networked social movement, in which the community and personal expression are created based on a shared sense of community.

5. Analysis

This part of the paper includes the quantitative and qualitative analysis used to evaluate how Tsunami Democràtic has innovated the independence social movement in relation to content, organization and mobilization forms. The analysis will be divided through themes: opportunities, resources, mobilization, organization and connectivity. Within the themes, the quantitative analysis will first include the data from the Twitter account @tsunami_dem in order to investigate how the content and language have been innovated in relation to other organizations that are also active in the Catalan politics and social movement, such as @govern, @omnium and @assemblea. In addition, hashtags and ways of interaction in Twitter will also be analyzed and contextualized with the data from the other three accounts. Secondly, the quantitative analysis will include the results of the surveys conducted for this paper.

Lastly, the qualitative analysis will include the analysis of Tsunami Democràtic's interview with 30 Minuts, an interview that provides relevant data for this project as it is the only time members of Tsunami Democràtic have been interviewed by a TV channel. During the interview, the two members of Tsunami Democràtic show their backs, not their faces, and they are fully covered with clothes so their bodies are completely hidden. In addition, their voices are changed, so they cannot be recognized in any way. During the interview, they explain the reasons for such security measures:

“How can it be, that in 2019, in order to defend a political project, to exercise the non-violent protest, we need to take so many measures, so many security measures and secrecy? It is not in any way our will. Perhaps it is the part that makes us, that generates us sadness the most, this one. The majority of the political proposals, to not say all of them, can be dialogued, can be talked, and can be applied. But not the independence one. That one is completely investigated, and we can find examples in a big scale, such as the ministers or political leaders that are imprisoned, but also in smaller scale. These days there are controls of Guardia Civil [Spanish police] all around the territory and they ask questions that are directly ideological, right? Are you independentist? They look in the car trunk to check if you have the ‘estelada’ [Catalan pro-independence flag]. Therefore, at the moment, we can say that there is a very important criminalization of a political idea” (30 Minuts, 2019).

The members of Tsunami Democràtic explain why they have decided to take all those security measures and secrecy; not because they have chosen that specific structure and type of organization, but because the Spanish government is investigating them, and it is the only way to maintain the structure avoiding the possible intervention. They mention criminalization, as, even though the protests they organize aim to be under a non-violent approach, the Spanish government is investigating them for terrorism. In addition, they mention the case of the ‘estelada’ (the Catalan pro-independence flag), a flag that symbolizes the independence ideology but that sometimes can be taken as a symbol of rebellion.

At the moment of writing this paper (March 2019) and according to the data extracted from Twitonomy, Tsunami Democràtic has 231,085 followers and they do not follow any account. Since the creation of the account in Twitter and other social media platforms, the organization has been clear on how they are not part of any political party or institutional organization. Thus, this can also be seen in their list of users they follow, as they do not show sympathy in this way to any individual or institution. In relation to how the account has been used as a valuable source of information by others, 581 of their tweets have been retweeted, a total of 574,549 retweets, thus, 89.11% of the total of tweets have been retweeted. In addition, 582 tweets have been favorited, a total of 1,094,904 times: 89.26% of the total of tweets have been favorited. In relation to interaction, they have mentioned 148 users, an average of 0.23 mentions per tweet. Further, they have retweeted 65 times. This shows that the account does not focus on interacting with users, their purpose is informative, to promote their actions and get support. The analysis will include the data of tweets, retweeted users, users most mentioned and hashtags of Tsunami Democràtic’s account on Twitter (Twitonomy, 2020).

To contextualize the data, this paper will also look at the Twitter accounts of @govern, @omnium and @assemblea and analyze them with the data extracted from Socialblade and Twitonomy, as this contextualization will provide an overview of how Tsunami Democràtic has innovated the Catalan social movement in relation to content, organization and mobilization forms. At the moment of writing this paper (March 2020), @tsunami_dem has 231,027 followers, @govern 276,389, @assemblea 388,964 and @omnium 305,752. Tsunami Democràtic gained a big number of its followers in a period of 11 days: the 13th of October 2019 the organization had 66.58K and they reached

202.8K on October 22. The 20th of December they had 236.9K, being its pick of followers, and since then it has decreased slightly, due probably to the lack of activity they have had since then. @Assembla gained more than 10K followers between the 16th and the 25th of October: from 374.17K to 385.2K. On the other hand, Òmnium Cultural gained more than 57K followers in the same month. The situation in Catalunya those days, mainly due to the jail sentence of Catalan politicians and the actions launched by Tsunami Democràtic, made also @Assemblea and @Omnium gain popularity in Twitter (Socialblade, 2020).

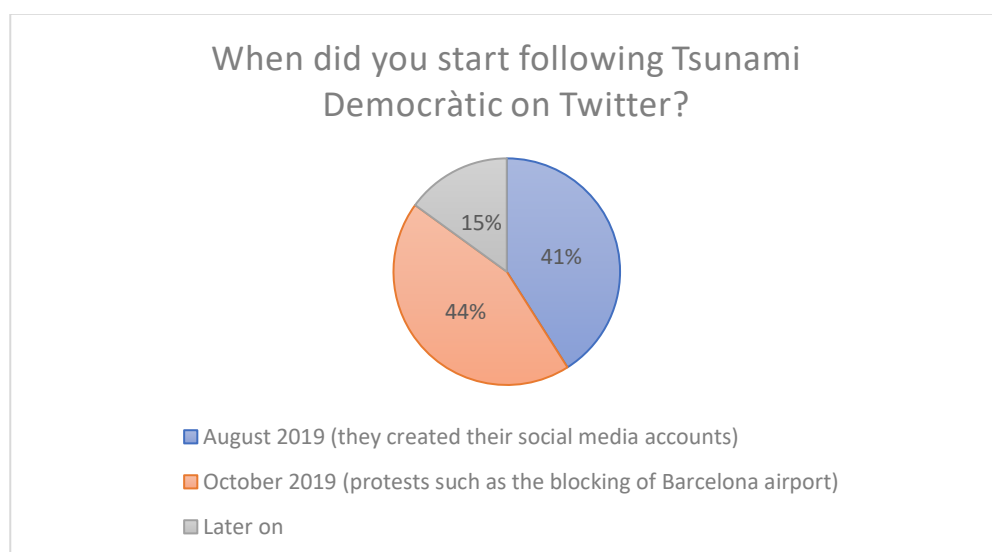
5.1. Opportunities

The political opportunity structure will be studied through the four types of opportunities described by Giugni (2011): discursive, specific, perceived and dynamic. Regarding the discursive opportunities, the author differentiates between institutional opportunities and cultural opportunities. Institutional opportunities are based on the state's capacity and propensity for repression or responsiveness of political authorities (Ibid, p. 272). In the case of the cultural dimension of this type of opportunities, the author mentions the notions of citizenship or national identity, which is an important opportunity for Tsunami Democràtic to succeed. The people that participate in Tsunami Democràtic's actions share the ideology of the organization and the notions of national identity, which become a relevant political opportunity for the organization to develop.

On the other hand, the institutional opportunities can be described through the process of creation of Tsunami Democràtic. The Twitter account of Tsunami Democràtic (@tsunami_dem) was created the 1st of August 2019 (Twitonomy, 2020). As mentioned before in the project, the jail sentence of the Catalan politicians was published two months after, in October, and they were getting ready for a possible hard sentence (30 Minuts, 2019). This political situation was the main political opportunity that influenced the way the organization was created. Tsunami Democràtic started its activity in response to the jail sentence of the Catalan politicians, and the account gained popularity in social media and the Catalan society very fast, becoming the speaker of the population that thought that the sentence was too hard. The organization has the motto 'rights, freedom, self-determination' (Tsunami Democràtic, 2020), thus, the general objectives they are claiming are the rights to express and protest freely, the freedom of the politicians that

are jailed and the self-determination of Catalonia. However, the creation of the account was stimulated by the possible hard jail sentence that was going to be published soon after, a political opportunity for the organization to gain popularity and create actions that could be attended by all the people that were already following them in social media before the sentence was published. Thus, the organization was ready for that moment, with a big number of followers and enough coverage in the media for creating successful actions. The imprisonment of politicians shows the complex situation between the political situation in Catalonia and the court system in Spain. The court system works under the frame of the Spanish Constitution and laws, but there is a disconnection with the Catalan cause. This disconnection was even more visible when the sentence that sent the politicians to jail was published and the Spanish political power did not make any apparent changes.

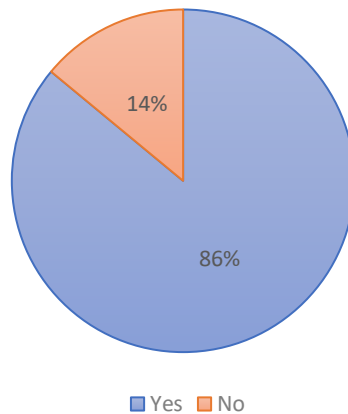
The results of the surveys conducted for this paper show that Tsunami Democràtic's followers on Twitter started following them either in August or October 2019. In August they created their social media accounts and gained coverage in the media, thus, people started to get to know them and their objectives. However, in October, once the jail sentence was already published, they started to be active and organized important protests such as the blocking of Barcelona El Prat airport or the border between Catalonia and France as well as the Basque Country and France. During that month they gained popularity and followers in their social media channels. According to the results of the surveys, 44% started following them in October, 41% in August and 15% later on.



Zooming out, the political opportunity was not only the jail sentence of the Catalan politicians, but also the general situation in Catalonia regarding the independence movement. Some opportunities are more favorable for certain movements than others, and the success of a movement will also depend on if the changes in the policies they claim are high-profile or low-profile policies. The independence of a territory is a matter of high-profile changes in policies, which make it more difficult for the opportunities to be favorable for the movement. Important actions have taken place in the last few years, such as elections and referendums, so the Catalan independence social movement was also political, and the government has taken political actions. This political situation was also a political opportunity for Tsunami Democràtic, as the social and political movements had already gained popularity in the last few years, and some actions had already taken place. Tsunami Democràtic had then to find a new system, new ideas for actions or a new motto that would allow them to gain popularity, as a lot had already been done in the Catalan society. It was their opportunity to innovate and create a new version of the social movement, and they chose the imprisonment of the Catalan politicians as the main political opportunity perceived by the organization (Giugni, 2011), as other opportunities may have affected the creation and development of the organization but may not have been noticed by them (Ibid).

Furthermore, the actions that had already taken place in Catalonia before the creation of Tsunami Democràtic were organized by both political and social organizations. Regarding the social organizations, Tsunami Democràtic has not been the first organization that coordinates protests claiming the freedom of politicians, right to self-determination and independence of Catalonia. According to the surveys conducted for this paper, 86% of the people that participated in the study affirmed that they follow on Twitter other organizations related to the Catalan independence movement besides Tsunami Democràtic. On the other hand, the rest, 14%, just follows Tsunami Democràtic on Twitter. The organizations most mentioned in the surveys that the participants follow are Òmnium Cultural, Catalan National Assembly and local organizations. However, some answers included political parties, thus, it can be seen how social and political actions may overlap when it comes to the independence movement, and citizens may not difference between social and political organizations due to the shared ideology.

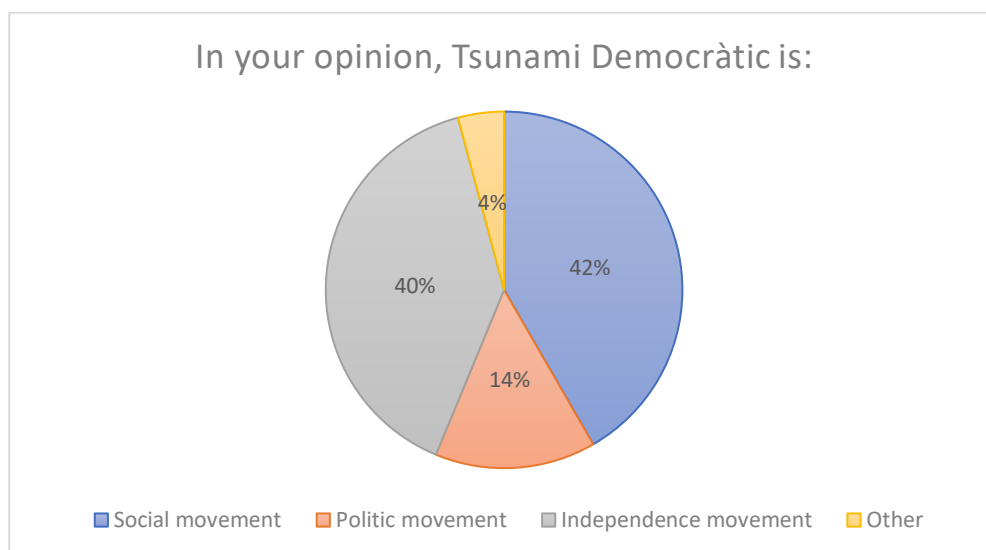
Do you follow other organizations related to the Catalan independence movement?



In addition, the survey includes a question that focuses on how people categorize Tsunami Democràtic: social movement, political movement, independence movement or other kind of movement. The results show that 42% of the participants think Tsunami Democràtic is a social movement, 40% believe it is an independence movement, 14% a political movement and 4% other kind of movement. The participants had the option to choose more than one option, and it can be seen in the results that social and independence movements had the majority of the votes, being both interconnected in order to categorize the movement. Tsunami Democràtic affirms that they do not belong to any political party or have any connection to the political sphere. In addition, they aim to be the voice of the people that share the same objectives: freedom of politicians, right to self-determination and independence of Catalonia (30 Minuts, 2019). Citizens can get involved within the movement without being categorized with any political party; thus, citizens can be categorized just for their ideologies, the ideologies they share with the organization and the people attending its protests. However, two of Tsunami Democràtic's objectives are the right to self-determination and the independence of Catalonia (Tsunami Democràtic, 2020). For that matter, the organization can also be categorized as an independence movement, a movement that created protests and actions in order to achieve the independence of Catalonia. Thus, Tsunami Democràtic can be a social movement and an independence movement at the same time. Furthermore, just only 14% of the answers pointed Tsunami Democràtic as a political movement. The option 'other' was chosen by the 4% and some of the answers are:

- “An organization related to a political party”
- “A democratic movement”
- “A very intelligent movement of the political elites to put together peoples’ anger and turn protests into controlled disobedience. The whole independence process is based on this, the defense of the rights and privileges of a political class, which fights with each other for power, thus conducting an election race that ends in IO, and the subsequent suppression (by also the Catalan government). The threads of the Tsunami and the Catalan police end in the same hands”
- “A political movement we were sold as a social movement”
- “A social-political movement (social involvement for democracy)”

This can be seen as a result of how people may believe that both social and political movements have the same objectives due to the shared ideology, but they difference between the type of organization: a social movement does not change policy; a social movement aims to be the voice of the people that want a change in the policy to be done. It is then when the social movement can gain coverage and power in order for the political movement to consider the change in the policy. The way citizens, and in particular the participants of the survey, think of Tsunami Democràtic is an opportunity that may be framed within the perceived opportunities described by Giugni (2011). Whether Tsunami Democràtic followers think their structure, forms of protests and so on are the appropriate ones for the movement to succeed becomes an opportunity for the movement itself.



As Giugni (2011) mentions regarding the specific opportunities, political opportunities may be more favorable for some movements than for others. The Catalan independence movement is claiming high-profile policies changes to the Spanish government, such as the independence of Catalonia, therefore, the opportunities will then be less favorable than in cases of low-profile policies. During the interview to 30 Minuts, the members of Tsunami affirmed that:

“Sir Marlaska should know that surely Tsunami will not end with any of the detentions that he could command. With not even one because Tsunami are lots of thousands of persons, and it is surprising that they have not understood it yet. Tsunami will end when there are two million people in Catalonia that have the right that their political proposal can be talked, dialogued and, if the citizens want, applied. It is the only way for this Tsunami to end” (30 Minuts, 2019).

The members of Tsunami Democràtic express the power of the people that the movement focuses on. With this citation, they explain that investigating them, sending politicians to jail or imposing economic fines to the participants of the protests will not be able to terminate the movement. They explain that the movement is the people, the people that share the same ideology and motto, the citizens that also want rights, freedom and self-determination of Catalonia. One of the objectives of Tsunami Democràtic is to demonstrate that they are the people: they do not have a structure with a few leaders, they aim to be the speaker of all the population that share the same ideology and objectives. However, even though they explain that Tsunami Democràtic is the power of the people, it is an organization anyways that is behind the protests organized. Therefore, the non-violent civil disobedience can be framed out of the Spanish legal system, creating an issue based on legal approaches.

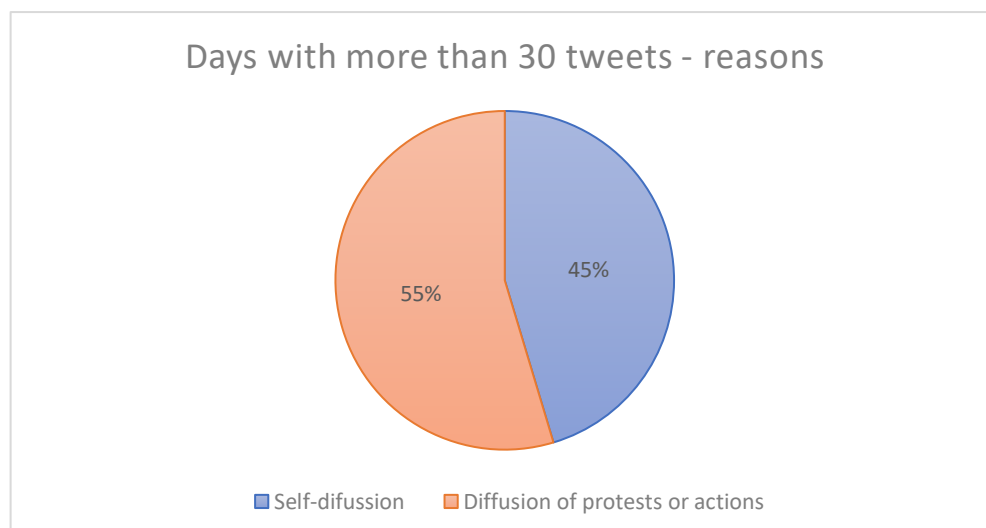
The fourth type of opportunities described by Giugni is the dynamic opportunities. The author believes that the opportunities have been static over the time, but they are changing to a more dynamic view focusing on processes and mechanisms (2011, p. 272). The political situation that surrounds the movement is a way to determine the processes and mechanisms the movement has in order to succeed. Their Twitter account has been more or less active depending on the political situation, and this part of the analysis will describe, using the data extracted from Twitonomy, the dates they published the largest number of tweets. The 5th of September the organization posted 87 tweets, being the highest pick. The organization tweeted pictures of posters in the streets all over Catalonia

with the motto ‘Canviem l’estat de las coses’ (Let’s change the state of the things) to show how they were getting ready and spreading the word (@Tsunami_dem). The organization was being created in social media but also in the streets of Catalonia. During October 14, they posted 75 tweets, being the day in which the Supreme Court made public the sentence of the Catalan politicians who would be in prison between 9 and 12 years. Tsunami Democràtic published in their social media accounts, including Twitter, the actions that they were going to organize, such as the blocking of the Barcelona El Prat airport. In addition, they published a video of Pepe Guardiola and the motto ‘Spain, sit and talk’, a video that had the logo of Tsunami Democràtic. The football coach’s speech went viral, being 21,963 times retweeted, the most retweeted tweet of their account. This example shows two important aspects of this analysis: the use of external resources and the internationalization of the organization: a Catalan football coach that is known globally helps spreading the word and the motto of Tsunami Democràtic in English, a language that can internationalize the movement and their goals by gaining international attention (Twitonomy, 2020). This will be further analyzed in this paper.

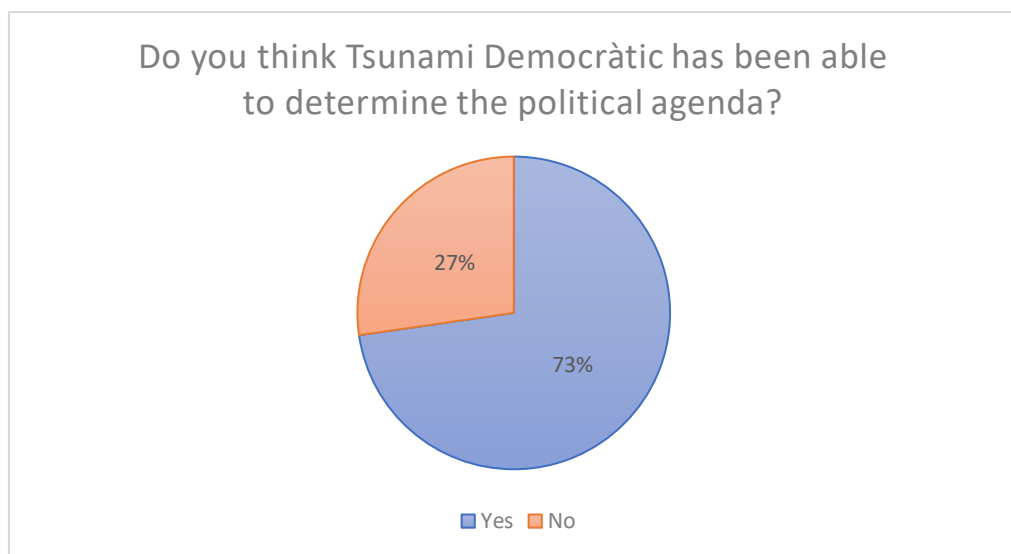
Further, during October 30, @Tsunami_dem posted 35 tweets. Tsunami Democràtic had launched its own app and the Guardia Civil (Spanish police) asked the provider of the app to close it down, accusing the organization of terrorism. The openness of the political system determines the frequency of protests, being a factor of political opportunity (Meyer, 2004). In this case, the Spanish government is investigating them for terrorism and trying to close their accounts on social media and their own app. This action taken by the Spanish government made the organization publish more tweets than usual, sharing with their followers the situation they were facing. Thus, the repression of the political system was also a political opportunity, in the form of institutional opportunity in the discursive opportunities described by Giugni (2011), that had an impact in the development of the organization. The tweets focus on the criminalization and censorship they considered were affecting their freedom of speech, and they published a FAQ section in a form of several tweets, including answers also in Spanish and English. Even though they use Catalan as the official language in their tweets, in this occasion they also posted the information in Spanish and English so it could reach a broader audience and be spread both nationally and internationally.

Two dates are relevant in November: the 9th and the 12th. They posted 31 tweets during November 9 and 41 tweets during November 12. During both days the organization was especially active in social media because they were launching new actions. On one hand, the 9th of November new actions were taking place in more than 300 towns, including concerts and speeches, and the organization posted pictures and videos. On the other hand, the 12th of November the highways between Catalonia and France and between the Basque Country and France were being blocked. Meanwhile, videos and pictures of the actions were published in the tweets (Twitonomy, 2020). In relation to the outcomes of a mobilization, Meyer (2004) explains that the opportunities for mobilization may not be the same as the ones for policy change. Tsunami Democràtic has not yet achieved its main objectives such as freedom of the politicians that are in prison or the self-determination of Catalonia. However, they have launched successful actions and protests that had not been done before, and the success of the mobilization is indisputable even though they have not yet achieved policy change (Puente, 2019).

Since January, they have only tweeted twice: on January 14, they published 13 tweets, and February 18, one tweet. During January 14, @Tsunami_dem published several tweets in the form of a list of updates. The organization was not active on social media and did not organize protests or actions for a while, thus the list was a reminder of their current status on that date. Their last tweet was published the 18th of February, and it is actually a retweet from @AlertaSolidaria, an organization that organized a protest because more than 200 people were asked to declare for being part of the blocking of the highways that connect Catalonia and the Basque Country to France.



Furthermore, according to the results of the survey, 73% of the participants think that Tsunami Democràtic has been able to determine the political agenda, while 27% think they have not been able to achieve that. It is the world around the movement, the political and social context, that determines the opportunities the social movement may have in order to achieve its goals. However, social movements do not have the opportunity to change policies, thus, they need to reach the political power and therefore determine the political agenda. Once the social movement has entered the political agenda, it is possible for the policies to be changed.



In addition, collective identity was also both an opportunity and a resource for the organization. On one hand, the independence social movement had already created a collective identity that Tsunami Democràtic could make use of, a collective identity based on the independence of Catalonia. As Snow & Corrigan-Brown (2015) mention, a social identity can be created based on nation factors, situating people in social spaces. The Catalan independence social movement has created a collective identity, as it is not only based on nation factors, but also on language and culture, among others. Collective identities create a sense of community, and when people mobilize, emotions, moral and intellectual play an important role (Ibid). Therefore, this collective identity based on nation, language and culture, among other factors, is an example of the discursive opportunities described by Giugni (2011), specifically the cultural dimension of them. Continuing with collective identity in relation to resources, Tsunami Democràtic was able

to reach a large number of followers and media coverage in a short period of time partly because the identity of the independence social movement was already created and they could use it as a resource to gain popularity and organize successful protests faster. In addition, that collective identity was able to mobilize newspapers, skilled people and even celebrities: if the collective identity is shared with the media and celebrities, for example, it is more likely that they collaborate with the organization to help them gain local, national and international attention. Besides collective identity, other resources affected the way Tsunami Democràtic developed, and will be further analyzed below.

5.2. Resources

During this part of the analysis, the four types of resources described by Edwards & Kane (2014) will be further expounded. These four types are human resources, social-organizational resources, cultural resources and moral resources. Firstly, regarding human resources, as mentioned before in the paper, besides their internal members, the organization has had the help of newspapers, photographers and journalists when organizing big actions (Cramer, 2015, p. 112). The skilled people such as video specialists, web designers, content creators, and so on, that share the same collective identity as the organization, are an important resource for them, thus, they become also a powerful human resource. One example of how the movement has been advantaged by the use of resources is the ‘Catalan Way’ (Vía Catalana), a human chain that united from the French border to the north of Valencia in 2013 (Ibid, p. 112). The organization used a webpage where people could sign up, a newspaper participated in spreading the word, photographers were taking pictures and videos all around the way and journalists were chosen to cover all the activities: human resources were clearly an important part of the success of the chain (Ibid).

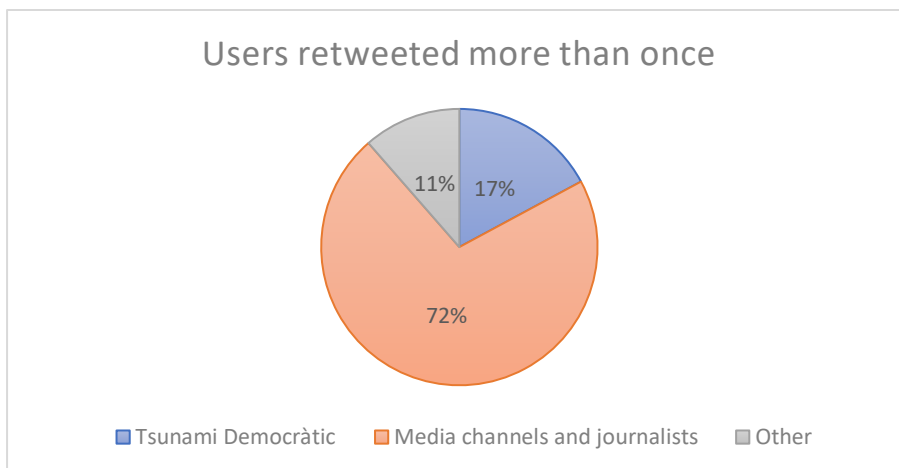
In addition, these human resources are also part of the cultural and moral resources, as they share the same beliefs, values and identity as well as providing legitimacy, authenticity and sympathetic support to the organization (Edwards & Kane, 2014). In addition, celebrities such as Pep Guardiola have been key in the development of the collective identity and the internationalization of the movement. Other celebrities have also shown their sympathy to Tsunami Democràtic, as it is the case of the TV presenters Toni Soler, Jair Domínguez or Puyu, the singers Lluís Llach and Cesc Freixas

and the actors Josep Julien (Gorman, 2019). Celebrities are a valuable source of information and morality for the people; thus, they are also a moral resource for the organization (Ibid). In the case of Pep Guardiola, the international football coach made a video in English with the motto ‘Spain, sit and talk’, and when Tsunami Democràtic published the video on its Twitter account, it became the most favorited and retweeted tweet of the account (Twitonomy, 2020), providing both national and international attention. Tsunami Democràtic is anonymous and, therefore, the people behind the organization are not known. The organization delegates its public exposure to celebrities such as Pep Guardiola, celebrities that are not related to any political party, as Tsunami Democràtic assure that they do not have any connection to political parties. Pep Guardiola in this case acted as part of the collective identity shared by Tsunami Democràtic and also as a moral resource for the organization. In addition, its public exposure can reach international attention and the attention of more skilled people that share the same identity and want to be part of the movement. Regarding social-organizational resources, Tsunami Democràtic uses its social network in order to achieve its goals, share its objectives and gain popularity. In addition, they rely on their accounts on different social media channels to organize, inform and coordinate their actions. Summarizing, political opportunity theory, resource mobilization theory, networked social movements and collective identity are interrelated and the connection between them can analyze the structure of Tsunami Democràtic.

In relation to the Twitter analysis and the users they have retweeted, the first is themselves, 6 times, being a source of self-diffusion. The majority of the rest are newspapers or television programs such as:

- @naciodigital and @VilaWeb - 5 times
- @MonDiari, @FAQSTV3 and @elpuntavui - 3 times
- @La_Directa, @agenciaacn and @diariARA - twice

In addition, @AlertaSolidaria was retweeted 4 times. It is not a media channel, but an organization that supports people that are sentenced for participating in a social or political movement.

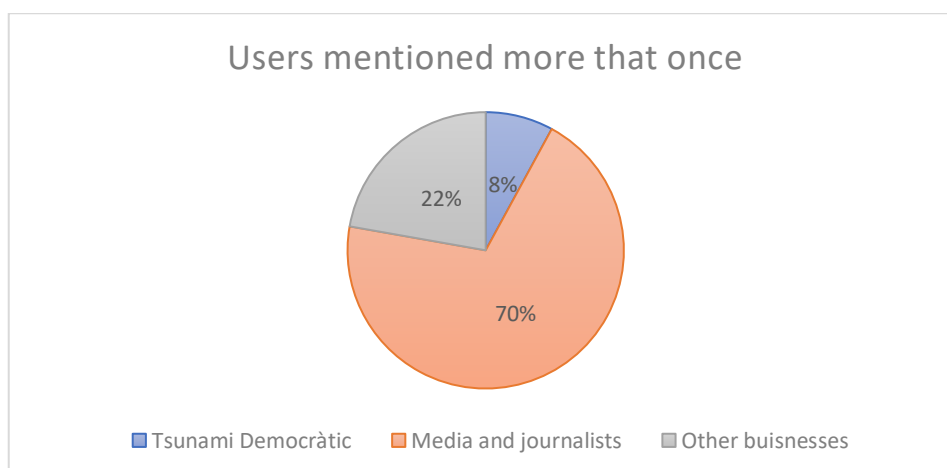


Regarding the users most mentioned, besides themselves (5 times), the rest are journalists and newspapers or television programs such as:

- @estherveraARA (director of Diari ARA) – 13 times
- @jordiborras (photojournalist) - 13 times
- @vpartal (director of VilaWeb) - 10 times
- @La_Directa and @lalertacanal – 3 times
- @VilaWeb – twice

Other businesses are also mentioned:

- @caixabank (a Catalan bank) – 8 times
- @iberdrola (electricity company) – 4 times
- @repsol (energy company) – twice



The interaction with media channels and journalists can be seen as a use of resources, since the journalists can publish content based on the organization and the protests they launch, spreading the word and reaching a broader audience. Journalists are a human resource that it is obtained by the organization externally: they can or cannot be part of the organization, but they help the movement by communicating about it. In addition, the use of the media and celebrities for reaching a broader audience and gain national and international attention is part of the moral resources, as media channels and celebrities can provide legitimacy, authenticity and sympathetic support to the organization (Edwards & Kane, 2014).

5.3. Organization

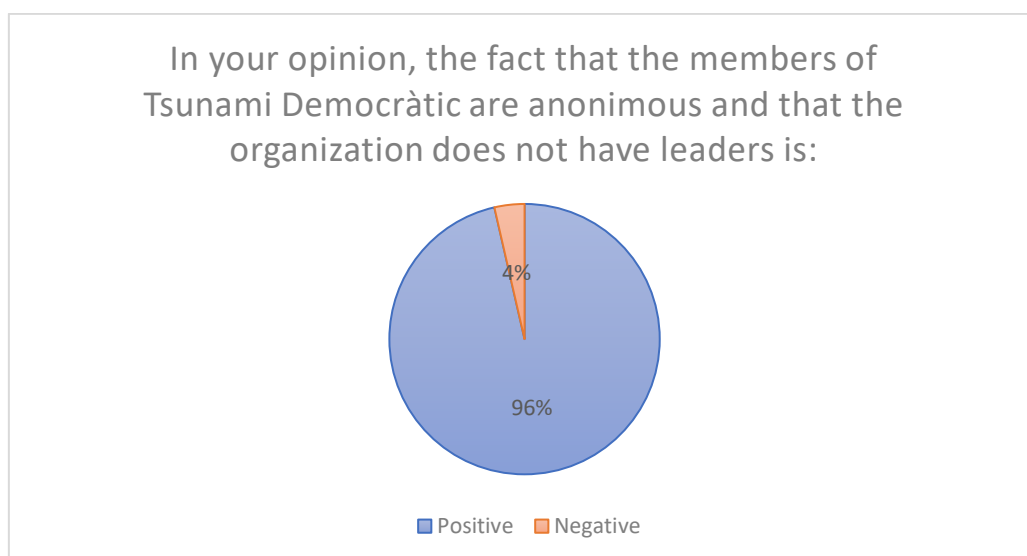
Tsunami Democràtic uses its social media accounts as a tool to coordinate the collective action, the protests and the content shared on internet. Even though they do not have leaders, there is still a coordination of the collective action and the content shared on social media. Tsunami Democràtic is an organizationally enabled network, since there is an organizational coordination. However, it is a loose coordination as they do not have leaders and they present a bottom-up structure, where people have the power to share and provide ideas for action (Bennett & Segerberg, 2012). In addition, the organization uses social media, such as Twitter and Telegram, as a source of information and a platform where people can comment and share their personal expression. Individuals can share content on social media freely, but the organization acts as an intermediary selecting the topics and organizing the actions and protests that are taken place in the streets: the activists are mobilizing and Tsunami Democràtic is coordinating. However, the coordination is loose as they do not have leaders and it is a bottom-up structure, leaving power for the individuals to be in charge once the protests are in place. Tsunami Democràtic is still behind providing information and support through its social media accounts and its own app, but they do not provide a physical coordination when the protests are taking place. During the interview to 30 Minuts, the members of Tsunami Democràtic affirmed that:

“We can carry these actions as citizens because there are trust networks already established, and that exist in all the neighborhoods and in all the villages and in all the cities in this

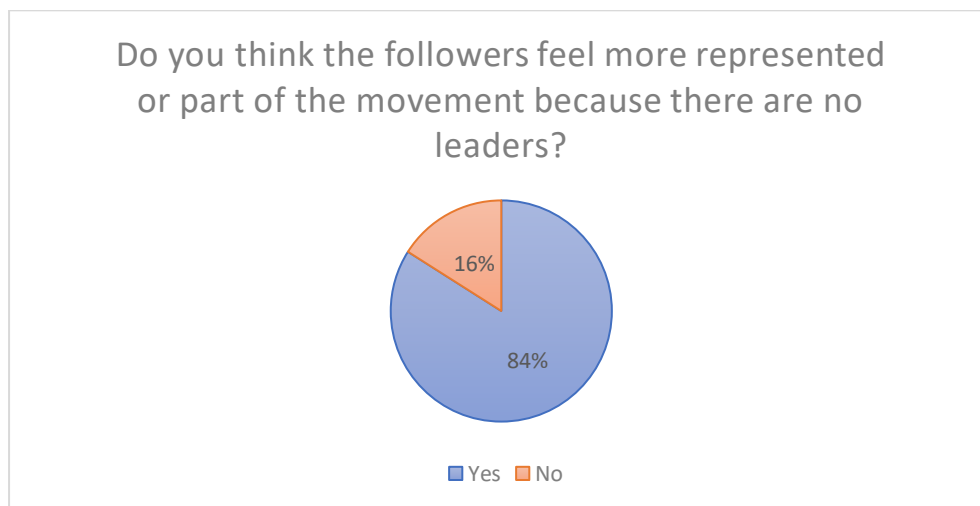
country. And that is how Tsunami organizes, through these trust networks that after a long time of mobilizations and self-organizations, has been created“ (30 Minuts, 2019).

The networks that already existed in Catalonia before the creation of Tsunami Democràtic are important for the success of the organization. The Catalan independence movement was already active, and the collective identity and networks could be useful for Tsunami Democràtic since the first day of its journey. Again, they aim to be the speaker of the people: their objective is organizing all the energy and ideas that people have to create a powerful and massive movement instead of numerous smaller ones (30 Minuts).

According to the results of the surveys, 96% of the participants think that it is positive the fact that the members of Tsunami Democràtic are anonymous and that the organization does not have leaders, while 4% believe it is negative. That is one of the main characteristics that difference Tsunami Democràtic from other organizations such as Òmnium Cultural and Catalan National Assembly. These last two organizations share who their members are, and they have a structure of leadership, leaders that are in charge of the coordination of the protests. However, the participants of the survey think that not having leaders is positive for the development of Tsunami Democràtic. It is a different type of organization and it is the first time an organization related to the independence Catalan movement adopts this structure. Thus, this new approach may be considered by the citizens as a new opportunity for the movement to achieve its objectives.

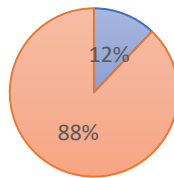


In addition, another question of the survey was “Do you think the followers feel more represented or part of the movement because there are no leaders?” The results show that 84% of the participants think the followers feel more represented, while 16% believe they do not. The fact that the organization does not have leaders leaves more space for decision and action for the participants of the protests. Tsunami Democràtic is coordinating through social media and their app, but they are not physically present in the protests communicating each step of the action and every detail of how it should be conducted. Thus, the participants of the protests can therefore decide in group some aspects of the process. When participants feel more represented by a movement, it is more likely that the movement gain popularity and coverage exponentially.



Another question of the survey related to the absence of leaders is: “The fact that they do not have leaders influence the organization and coordination of protests as following” having for answers two options. The first option was: “Negatively, without leaders it is more difficult to control a protest and can lead to violence, for example”. The second option stated: “Positively, they are coordinating through social media and at the same time their followers have more power of decision”. The results show that 88% of the participants believe it is positive, while 12% think it is negative. Tsunami Democràtic communicates the protests and actions they organize through their app and social media accounts, providing information about the process and the objectives, and informing when the actions should end. The majority of the participants of the survey think that this is positive for the organization, because it leaves more space for the activists to decide and be an active part of the movement.

The fact that they do not have leader influence the organization and coordination of protests as following:



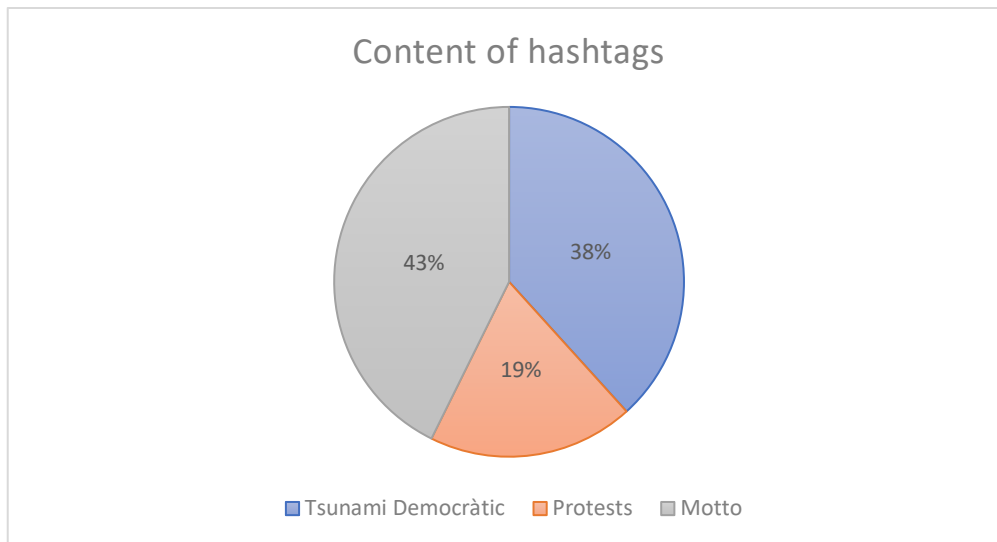
■ Negatively, without leaders it is more difficult to control a protest and can lead to violence, for example

5.4. Content and connectivity

Tsunami Democràtic has used social media and its own app as tools to communicate and coordinate actions. In this part of the analysis, the content of their publications and how they publish them will be studied.

In relation to the content of their Twitter account, their hashtags most used are:

- #tsunamidemocràtic - 183 times
- #laforçadelagent ('the strength of the people') - 169 times
- #18d (the date of a protest) 28 times
- #tothomalajonquera ('everyone to La Jonquera', the area next to the French border) - 27 times
- #spainsitandtalk - 20 times
- #bewater - 15 times
- #barcelona - 11 times
- #ocupemlajonquera ('let's occupy La Jonquera') - 9 times
- #vallèsoccidental (an area of Barcelona) - 8 times
- #baixllobregat (an area of Barcelona) - 8 times



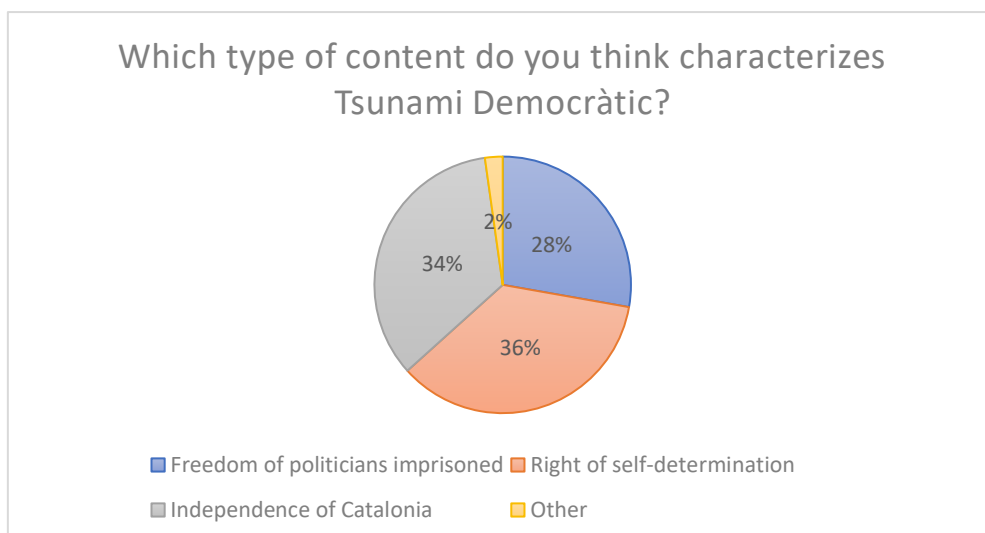
Two of them are in English, again as a sign of the internationalization they aim to achieve. #laforçadelagent (“the strength of the people”) is the second most used after #tsunamidemocràtic, showing that the social movement they want to build is a bottom-up structure where people have the power to decide and be part of it. In addition, the tweets most retweeted and favorited are in the three languages: Catalan, Spanish and English, trying to reach a broader audience and achieving the internationalization of the movement. During the interview to 30 Minuts, on TV3, the members of Tsunami Democràtic affirmed that:

“In the moment that you block a border that separates Spain from the French state, you are situating another state inside, explicitly, of that conflict. The same occur when you are saturating or detaining the activity of an international airport, as it can be Barcelona El Prat airport. It is obvious that the solution will go through the external action, and the negotiation will come thanks to the external action and, therefore, all these actions, yes, they have the focus also to the world” (30 Minuts, 2019).

Tsunami Democràtic has been clear on its purpose of the internationalization of the movement, both in the way they use English and in the form of its protests. They aim to gain external action as well as attention from all around the world. Blocking an international airport or the highways that connect Catalonia with another state are some of the ways they have chosen to achieve that.

One of the questions included in the survey conducted for this paper was based on the content that characterizes Tsunami Democràtic. The possible answers were freedom of politicians imprisoned, right of self-determination, independence of Catalonia and other. The participants had the option to choose more than one answer. The results show that the right of self-determination had 36% of the votes, independence of Catalonia 34%, freedom of politicians imprisoned had 28% of votes, and the option of other had 2%. Tsunami Democràtic was created mainly to be prepared for a possible hard jail sentence of the Catalan politicians, however, the results of the survey show that freedom of politicians imprisoned is not the most selected answers. The participants believe that the content that characterizes Tsunami Democràtic is more related to the independence of Catalonia and the right to self-determination. Again, the main political opportunity may have been the imprisonment of the Catalan politicians, a situation that was new in the Catalan society and that helped Tsunami Democràtic to create a different movement with a different structure and content. However, their ultimate goal is to achieve the self-determination of Catalonia. In relation to the option ‘other’, some of the answers were:

- “Politics with less corruption and with vote”
- “Democratic values”
- “It is an important tool for the world to know that Spain is not a democracy and that it does not respect human rights”
- “It is unclear, I would say that it obeys party criteria”
- “Thirst for democracy”
- “To control the protest”



In order to contextualize the data, firstly the information of the Catalan National Assembly account on Twitter will be included through the data extracted from Twitonomy. @Assemblea joined Twitter on February 22, 2011. Its users most retweeted are the different assemblies that they have around Catalonia, such as @AssembleaValls or @assembleasmx. Thus, they interact with themselves, creating a sense of community. Further, the user most replied to is themselves (@assemblea – a total of 372 times). Otherwise, they have retweeted other users just once to each of them. In addition, the users most mentioned are (Twitonomy, 2020):

- @assemblea (146 times)
- @epaluzie (the president of @assemblea – 284 times)
- @pep_cruanyes (a Catalan lawyer and historian – 43 times)
- @junqueras (former vice-president – 43 times)
- @KRLS (former president Carles Puigdemont – 37 times)
- Other politicians, journalists and organizations that show the interaction with the Catalan government and the independence social movement

Secondly, Òmnium Cultural joined Twitter on April 1, 2008. Their most retweeted users are related to the organization, as it can be the different assemblies, their president @jcuixart, their vice-president @marcelmauri and other groups that claim the freedom of politicians, such as @usvolemascasa ('We want you home'). They create a sense of community as it is in the case of Catalan National Assembly. Regarding the users most mentioned, besides the president and the vice-president of the organization, they are mostly writers, following the cultural focus of the organization (Twitonomy, 2020).

Tsunami Democràtic and Òmnium Cultural do not interact with politicians or any individuals nor organizations that are related to the Catalan government. However, even though the three organizations acclaim to be politically independent, the Catalan National Assembly presents a connection with the Catalan government based on the interaction with its members through social media. The creation of a decentralized organization by Tsunami Democràtic is how they have innovated in terms of organization: their members are not public, they do not have leaders, and, in addition, they do not show any connection or interaction with the Catalan government and political parties. In the interview analyzed in this paper, the members of Tsunami Democràtic affirmed that:

“The initiative was communicated to the different politic agents, not just the political parties. They were aware, partly, of what was being developed, and since that moment there has not been any other type of relation” (30 Minuts, 2019).

Therefore, politicians and political parties were aware of what was going to happen even before the creation of Tsunami Democràtic, but they assure that the relation with them ended there. The lack of connection with the political sphere is a relevant aspect for Tsunami Democràtic to gain popularity, as they aim to be the voice of the people and not the voice of the political agents.

In relation to the content of their messages, the hashtags most used by @assemblea are (Twitonomy, 2020):

- #objectiuindependència (‘objective independence’) – 875 times
- #capalaindependència (‘towards independence’) – 280 times
- #makeamove – 277 times
- #standupforcatalonia - 123 times
- #11subjectiuindependència (‘independence objective’) - 123 times
- #marxesllibertat (‘protests for freedom’) – 72 times
- #autodeterminacióÉsundret (‘self-determination is a right’) – 27 times
- #autodeterminacióNoÉsdelicte (‘self-determination is not a crime’) – 26 times
- #vagageneral18o (‘general strike 18O’) – 13 times
- #1oct – 12 times

On the other hand, the hashtags most used by @omnium are (Twitonomy, 2020):

- #amnistiaara (‘amnesty now’) – 93 times
- #catalunyaconfinamenttotal (‘complete confinement of Catalunya’) – 86 times
- #nitdesantallúcia (‘Sant Lucía’s night’) – 85 times
- #premiÒmnium (‘Òmnium award’) – 75 times
- #premisvoc (‘awards Voc’) – 60 times
- #esprintsolidari (‘spirit of solidarity’) – 53 times
- #tinter2020 (awards of literature) – 31 times

- #revoltes (protests) – 31 times
- #compartircultura (‘sharing culture’) – 27 times
- #coronacio (in relation to Covid-19) – 26 times

Most of the hashtags of @assemblea are based on the objective of independence, freedom of politicians, self-determination and dates of protests. The Catalan National Assembly’s content is based mainly on its motto, on the independence of Catalonia, but they do not show any connection with their followers. On the other hand, Òmnium Cultural has a more cultural content related to Catalan literature, culture and society. However, they also show their connection to the Catalan independence social movement. @Assemblea does not use its name on the hashtags in order to self-promote the organization, while @Òmnium has used it in relation to awards they have received. Regarding the hashtags used by Tsunami Democràtic, they have something in common with the ones used by Catalan National Assembly: they use both Catalan and English as main languages, as the last one can provide the internationalization of the movement. On the contrary, Òmnium just uses Catalan as language for communicating with its followers. Both Tsunami Democràtic and Catalan National Assemblea use the dates of the protests they organize as hashtags, so it can reach a larger number of users. However, the main difference is that Tsunami Democràtic does not use its motto ‘Rights, freedom and self-determination’ but instead they use hashtags that refer to the people and how important they are for the success of the protests they organize. Thus, they show a closer connection with people and express their bottom-up structure in form of hashtags, as the strength of the people is the key to success in this case of movement. In addition, they use “Spain, sit and talk” as the message from Pep Guardiola went viral and they had the opportunity to use it in order to reach a broader audience (Twitonomy, 2020).

Regarding the Catalan government (@govern), they created their Twitter account on May 19, 2010. At the moment of writing this paper (March 2020), they have 276,609 followers. The user most retweeted and mentioned is @QuimTorraïPla (the current president of Catalonia). In addition, the users most mentioned and replied to are, besides @QuimTorraïPla, @govern and the different ministries and its ministers of the government, such as agriculture, health, culture and so forth. Further, the most used hashtags are (Twitonomy, 2020):

- #govern - 832 times
- #president - 765 times
- #consellera ('female minister') – 321 times
- #conseller ('male minister') – 318 times
- #portaveu ('spokesperson') – 233 times
- #sabiesque ('did you know that') – 215 times
- #catalunyaenpositiu ('Catalonia in positive') – 207 times
- #parlament ('parliament') – 168 times
- #bondia ('good morning') – 134 times
- #palau ('palace') – 124 times

This shows the official content of the account, as they interact with the different sectors of the government and the most used hashtags are in relation to the president of the government, the ministers, the parliament and so forth. The Catalan government has launched relevant political actions in the last few years, such as referendum to vote for independence. Thus, they share the identity and motto of the Catalan independence social movement. However, they do not mention in their Twitter account the content of the social movement, such as freedom of politicians, self-determination and independence of Catalonia. The Catalan National Assembly shares through Twitter the content of the Catalan government, however, the Catalan government does not share nor interact with the Catalan National Assembly on Twitter: it remains official, sharing official content and interacting with the official accounts and its members. In the case of Tsunami Democràtic and Òmnium Cultural, they share the same dynamic: none of the accounts show any connection or interaction with the rest of the organizations and institutions related to the independence movement.

Tsunami Democràtic, besides the content, has also innovated the organizational forms. Even though the Catalan National Assembly claims to be politically independent (Assemblea Nacional Catalana, 2019), they share and interact with the Catalan government and with politicians. On the contrary, Tsunami Democràtic and Òmnium cultural remain distant from the political sphere, and do not show any interaction with the political system. In addition, both the Catalan National Assembly and Tsunami Democràtic claim to have a bottom-up structure. However, the Catalan National Assembly has leaders and its members are known, members that intervene in the decision

making and act as mediators during the actions they organize. On the other hand, Tsunami Democràtic does not have leaders and, even though they coordinate the protests through its social media accounts and its own app, they do not have mediators physically while the protests are taken place. It is a different type of organization, and the bottom-up structure is more visible in the case of Tsunami Democràtic since the people attending the protests are in charge and decide how to manage the situation on some level. Thus, people have more power in terms of organization and decision in the case of Tsunami Democràtic than in the case of the Catalan National Assembly and Òmnium Cultural. During the interview to 30 Minuts, the members of Tsunami Democràtic affirmed that “the key to all of this is not in the pyramidal organization, but in the horizontal coordination” (30 Minuts, 2019). The members talked during the interview about the importance of their own app:

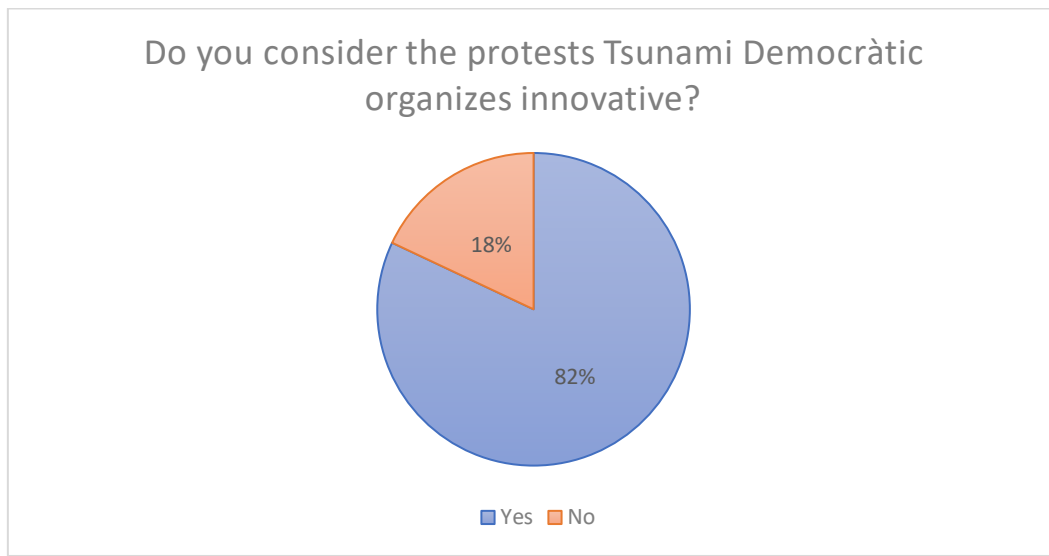
“People are not willing to leave their jobs, right? To leave their life, their leisure time and their friends to initiate a revolutionary process. That wouldn’t have any sense. But if we had the capacity to organize those hours, those time zones, those days in which people are available and want to go to protest, if we could organize all of this, if we could coordinate it, we could definitely get more effective protests ahead. Therefore, the initiative of the application has a lot to do with that” (30 Minuts, 2019)

Tsunami Democràtic uses social media and its own app in order to collect all the energy and ideas from the people and organize them in the forms of protests. With the app, they receive information when the protests are taking place and they can partly control them.

5.5. Mobilization

According to the results of the surveys, 82% of the participants believe that the protests Tsunami Democràtic organizes are innovative, while 18% think they do not show any innovation when compared to the protests organized by institutions that already existed before the creation of Tsunami Democràtic. Institutions such as Òmnium Cultural and the Catalan National Assembly have been organizing protests before the creation of Tsunami Democràtic, protests that shared some of the same motto, such as the independence of Catalonia. However, Tsunami Democràtic has organized protests in some extent inspired by international movements, such as the case of Hong Kong where the airport of the capital was also blocked by activists (Kaeding, 2015). The protests of

Tsunami Democràtic have had a different approach regarding the audience they want to reach, compared with the Catalan National Assembly and Òmnium Cultural. Tsunami Democràtic has blocked an international airport as it is Barcelona El Prat, and the borders between Catalonia and France. Blocking an airport and the border with another state can expand their situation and objectives towards the European Union and can provide international coverage.



The actions were designed to be spread internationally, and it can be seen both in the way Tsunami Democràtic uses English in its social media content, and also in the type of protests, as the actions they have organized have in many cases involved other states. The participants of the protests welcomed the actions positively as it can be seen in the number of attendants of the actions that blocked Barcelona El Prat airport for several hours: approximately 10.000 people (Pichel, 2019). Thus, that euphoria may be dangerous for the movement. Tsunami Democràtic's members that gave the interview to TV affirmed that: "We frame ourselves within the frame of the civil disobedience and the non-violent action. And we understand that everyone that participate in any of the actions of Tsunami also adopts that frame of non-violence" (30 Minuts, 2019). However, controlling a protest with no leaders can be challenging, including the moment when Tsunami Democràtic may believe the action should end but the activists have the energy and motivation to keep protesting. During the interview, the two members stated that "surely the most complicated moment is the moment when the actions end, because lots of people feel that they still have the energy to endure a few hours more or a few days more in that action.

But the key to success is to reserve those energies for the next action” (30 Minuts, 2019). Tsunami Democràtic trusts the participants of their protests to not create any action that may affect their legitimacy and rigor:

“The only possible guaranty that this will not end until we achieve the goals is that the actions start and end how they are proposed. If there are collectives or persons that want to take advantage of the protest, and the actions and the rigor and the legitimacy that Tsunami has to make ‘sub actions’ within their actions, then yes they can be dangerous to the development of our actions. Therefore, we encourage that everyone can get their actions ahead within their actions” (30 Minuts, 2019).

Legitimacy and rigor are important resources for the movement, and they cannot put them at risk in the protests. Therefore, the members of Tsunami Democràtic assure that the protests are framed in a non-violent approach, and people that want to take advantage of this, should start their own protests instead. However, that is difficult to control as they do not lead the protests themselves physically.

The main goals of the protests Tsunami Democràtic organizes are based on its motto, such as the rights, freedom of politicians and the self-determination. However, each action has a specific objective that can help to achieve the main goals, for example, the internationalization of the movement with protests such as the blocking of Barcelona El Prat airport and the borders with France may help to gain international attention that can have an influence in the national level. In relation to the goals, the members of Tsunami Democràtic affirmed during the interview the following:

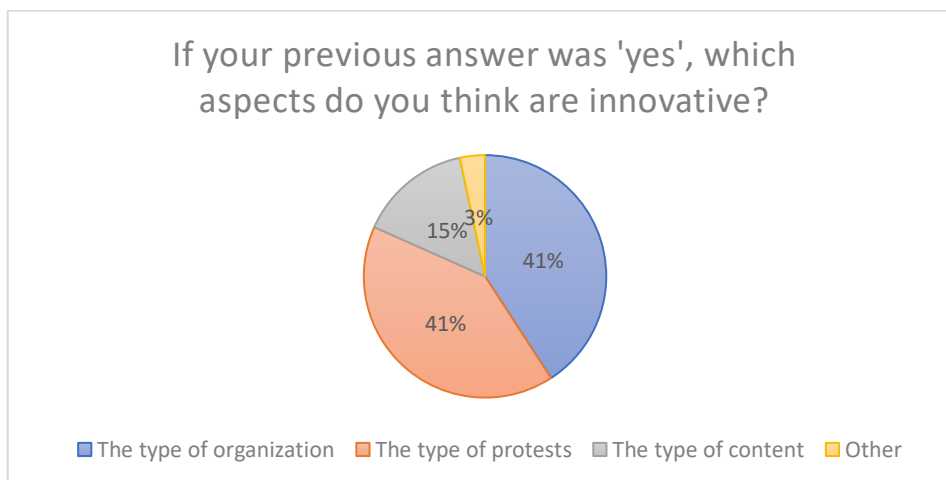
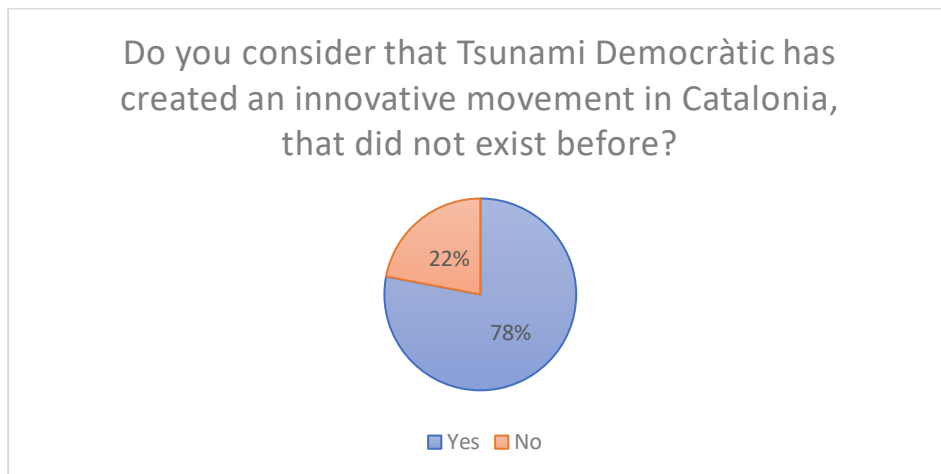
“The goal is not the control of the territory, no. The goals are the rights, the freedom and the exercise of the right to self-determination. The actions start and end with a very clear goal. If not, perhaps we would be talking of an insurrection. That in these moments it is not what Tsunami is proposing” (30 Minuts, 2019)

Tsunami Democràtic’s members explain how its purpose is not to take over the territory but to claim the rights, freedom and the right to self-determination of the Catalanian people that share the same ideology (Ibid). Even though they do not aim to change the political situation themselves, their objective is to create a non-violent civil disobedience, which frames its actions out of the legal framework. The actions they

organize within the non-violent civil disobedience approach help them to gain legitimization, as they aim to be the speaker of the people. However, the actions are also delegitimizing the Spanish government and the Spanish laws; it is a confrontation of interests.

5.6. Conclusion of the analysis

The analysis of this paper has investigated the content, organization and mobilization forms of Tsunami Democràtic in order to conclude whether the organization has innovated the Catalan independence movement and to which extent. 78% of the participants of the survey think that Tsunami Democràtic has created an innovative movement in Catalonia. Furthermore, 41% of the participants believe that the innovative aspect is the type of organization, another 41% think it is the type of protests and 15% of the participants think that it is the content what is innovative.



The main political opportunity that influenced the way Tsunami Democràtic was created and developed is the jail sentence of the Catalan politicians that was published in October 2019. The collective identity and the independence social movement had already been created in the Catalan society and there were different organizations that promoted the self-determination and independence of Catalonia. In order for the new organization, Tsunami Democràtic, to gain popularity within the society, new content and forms of organization and mobilization needed to be adopted. In this case, the organization was created for the Catalan society to be ready for a possible jail sentence of the Catalan politicians. The motto of the organization is the same that the one of the Catalan National Assembly: both organizations claim rights, the freedom of politicians and self-determination of Catalonia. However, Tsunami Democràtic was created in a moment where the political situation was different, as numerous Catalan politicians were about to be sentenced to prison. That political situation, in addition to the already existing collective identity and independence movement, made Tsunami Democràtic gain popularity potentially within the first two months. The social and political movements share the same ideology, mainly the independence of Catalonia.

The participants of the surveys have chosen social movement as the type of movement that characterizes Tsunami Democràtic with 42% of the votes. However, 40% of the participants chose independence movement as the answer. Both types of movements can be interconnected, since Tsunami Democràtic is a social movement that shares the identity with the political movement, an identity based on the independence of Catalonia. Both, social and political movements, can also be framed within the independence movement when it comes to ideology. Moreover, just 14% of the participants chose political movement, which means that the citizens difference between the political movement that has the power to change policy, and the social movement that aims to be the speaker of the people in order to enter the political agenda. The openness of the political system influences also the frequency of the protests and the outcomes of the movement. On the other hand, collective identity has been both an opportunity and a resource for Tsunami Democràtic. The already existing collective identity helped Tsunami Democràtic to be situated quickly in the society and gain coverage. In addition, collective identity has been a resource for the organization, as skilled people and celebrities have helped to promote the organization's objectives and actions because they

share the same ideology. Furthermore, that collective ideology provided legitimacy to the organization.

The second topic investigated in this paper is the resources; the analysis differences between human, socio-organizational, cultural and moral resources. Human resources can be skilled people, journalist or celebrities, for example, that participate in the movement and help to spread its objectives and actions. The human resources in this case are also cultural and moral resources as they share beliefs, values, legitimacy, sympathetic support and identity, among others. The socio-organizational resources are those related to social network, such as the tools they use in order to communicate and promote its actions. Thus, their social media accounts and their own app are examples of socio-organizational resources. In this case, Tsunami Democràtic and the other two organizations part of the social movement analyzed in this paper, the Catalan National Assembly and Omnium Cultural, have been using the same resources. Human resources, in the form of internal members or external individuals, have been key for the three organizations. However, Tsunami Democràtic has functioned as a speaker for the citizens, and more individuals can feel represented and may want to get involved within the movement because it is less likely that one can be categorized. The organization does not have leaders and their members are not known; thus, people can participate in the movement freely without being publicly part of an organization. The creation of their own app is also a difference between Tsunami Democràtic and the other two organizations, consisting of a more private and powerful tool to communicate and organize protests.

In regard to this bottom-up structure, the absence of leaders, Tsunami Democràtic has been able to organize and coordinate protests without being physically present in the action, just coordinating through social media and the app. The analysis of the third topic, the organization forms, shows that 96% of the participants of the survey think that the fact that they do not have leaders is positive in general, and 88% believe that this fact is also positive when referring to the coordination of protests. In addition, 84% of the participants feel more represented by this movement because its members are not known, and they do not have leaders. Clearly, this has been one of the facts that have provided the popularity Tsunami Democràtic has in such a short period of time. It consists of a new type of organization and the citizens welcomed it positively. As mentioned before, the independence social movement had already other organizations, such as the ones included

in this paper, but they did not provide space for a direct participation of citizens in the decision-making process, not other than having leaders coordinating the protests and people participating in them. However, Tsunami Democràtic leaves more space for participants to decide and to control the protests on some extent.

The results of the analysis show that, regarding the fourth topic, the content and connectivity, Tsunami Democràtic has innovated the independence social movement. The hashtags are the most powerful tool to analyze the content of their publication in Twitter. Tsunami Democràtic's hashtags show the importance the organization give to the strength of the people and that bottom-up structure that characterizes them. In addition, the hashtags illustrate their objectives, such as the internationalization of the movement. 36% of the participants of the surveys think that the content of Tsunami Democràtic is related to the self-determination of Catalonia, 34% to the independence and 28% to the freedom of the Catalan politicians. Those aspects are part of the motto of Tsunami Democràtic, and the organization illustrates the motto through their content in social media. The content of Tsunami Democràtic has been contextualized with the Catalan National Assembly, Òmnium Cultural and El Govern. Regarding the content they share, the Catalan National Assembly shows a connection with the El Govern, as the social organization shares the official content of the Catalan government and also its ministers, however, it does not show any connection to the other organizations related to the social movement, such as Tsunami Democràtic or Òmnium Cultural. Furthermore, Tsunami Democràtic and Òmnium Cultural do not share the content of neither the other social movement organizations nor the Catalan government.

On the other hand, El Govern shares the identity in relation to independence with the social movement organizations but does not show any connection with the organizations themselves. The members of the Catalan National Assembly and Òmnium Cultural are public, likewise the members of El Govern. In addition, all the three institutions have leaders. However, Tsunami Democràtic's members are not known and they do not have leaders, thus that makes it an innovative way of organizational structure within the independence movement. The Catalan National Assembly and Tsunami Democràtic share their content in both, English and Catalan, while Òmnium Cultural and El Govern just use Catalan as a language for its publications. The use of English, the use of international human resources and how the protests are designed to reach an

international audience, make Tsunami Democràtic innovative. Lastly, the content of the hashtags of the four organizations is based on the independence ideology. The Catalan National Assembly shares content related to the independence, the self-determination, the freedom of politicians and the dates and information of the protests they organize. In the case of Òmnium Cultural, besides the content based on the independence ideology, the organization shares content related to Catalan culture, literature and society. El Govern, being the Catalan government and an official institution, just shares official content. In the case of Tsunami Democràtic, the organization shares its motto (rights, freedom of politicians, and self-determination of Catalonia) but also content that shows the bottom-up structure, content that illustrates that the strength of the people is also one of its objectives. Thus, this focus on the people is an innovative approach in the content of the independence social movement.

The last topic analyzed is the mobilization forms, and Tsunami Democràtic has innovated in regard to the type of protests and actions they organize. 82% of the participants of the surveys believe that the protests they organize are innovative. Firstly, the protests have targeted for the first time an international audience, an international intervention. When an international airport or the borders with a different state are blocked, the coverage and involvement are beyond the national level. Tsunami Democràtic uses English in the content of their messages, and the organization uses celebrities, such as Pep Guardiola, that can acquire international coverage and attention. This kind of protests were not common within the Catalan independence movement, and none of the other organization had tried it before. Secondly, the organization form influences also in the protests, as the participants of the protests have more power to decide and control once the protests are taking place. Thus, the bottom-up structure is also visible during the actions.

6. Discussion

Tsunami Democràtic has launched actions that have some similarities with other international movements. The main actions they have organized have been designed with a focus on the internationalization of the movement. Moreover, the actions may have been inspired by social movements such as the one in Hong Kong. The Chinese-speaking world

has also experienced relevant social movements in the recent years. In 2014, Taiwan and Hong Kong were in the international attention as occupation movements were launched: Sunflower Movement in Taiwan and Umbrella Movement in Hong Kong (Kaeding, 2015, p. 210). Both movements were protests against the influence of the mainland China, and according to Kaeding, “they are essentially about the reaffirmation of a distinct local identity” (Ibid, p. 210). The author mentions four factors that influenced the growing social movement culture: the post 1980s generation, the globalization and financial crisis, the effects of integration with Mainland and the political developments since the early 2000s (Ibid). Hong Kong passed from being a colony of Great Britain to become a Special Administrative Region of the mainland China in 1997, thus, the political changes and developments may have affected the way the collective identity of the region was constructed (John, 2019). In the Spanish case, the country passed from being a dictatorship to become a democracy in the 1970’s and, at the same time, Catalonia from suffering censorship to being able to demand its liberties (Gálvez, 2017). In addition, the financial crisis, globalization and the influence of the bigger nations are similarities in both cases.

Social movements in Hong Kong, however, started to gain power earlier back in 2003 when a mass protest against a law considered a threat to values and civil liberties succeed and made the then chief executive Tung Cheehwa resign (Kaeding, 2015). Mainland China then started to get even more involved in the local politics and again social movements responded with more protests. During the next few years, several protests took place with the same goal: minimalizing the intervention of mainland China and demanding universal suffrage (Ibid). In 2009/2010, the Anti–High Speed Rail Movement changed the way of protesting and included in its agenda activities such as carnivals, movie screenings, discussion forums, music and dramatic performances (Ibid). This can also be seen in the Tsunami Democràtic case, a movement that while blocking the infrastructures such as highways, it uses those protests to organize concerts and debates. In addition, Internet has been key in the development of both social movements. According to Lee (2015), social movements can use Internet as a tool to empower the citizens and engage in online activism, as it is a way to communicate with the public (p. 310). With Internet and social media, citizens can organize themselves and create mobilizations without the help of institutions or political parties (Ibid).

The protests kept being part of the society and in 2011 the Occupy Central as part of the global Occupy movement took place in the central area of Hong Kong. The Occupy Central focused its efforts in the universal suffrage issue and it got escalated to areas away from the Central Hong Kong, a movement later called the Umbrella Movement. The movement used symbols as a way of demanding universal suffrage, as for example a yellow banner hanging from Lion Rock, a mountain in Hong Kong (Ibid, p. 213). Regarding the use of symbols in Catalonia, the yellow ties are a symbol for the independence movement and the freedom of the politics that have been jailed (El Periodico, 2018). The Umbrella Movement gained support from the society and “offered a rare opportunity for citizens to reflect on what kind of society Hong Kong is and what it should become” (Lee, 2015). The identity created by the movements had an impact on the way the society valued the civil liberties, democracy, socioeconomic equality, local culture and language, thus, anti-Chinese sentiment became part of the identity (Ibid, p. 214). Thus, “this development, in conjunction with the failure of weak local governments to make a credible case for Chinese identity, as well as the decline of established parties, led to the rise of identity politics” (Ibid, p. 215). Currently, the social movement in Hong Kong is still powerful, and in August 2019, a massive protest occupied the airport for two days cancelling almost 1,000 flights (Hollingsworth, 2019). Meanwhile in Catalonia, Tsunami Democràtic was being created and in October 2019 they launched the protests in Barcelona airport that also cancelled flights and gained international attention (Puente, 2019).

7. Conclusion

This paper has demonstrated that Tsunami Democràtic has innovated the Catalan independence social movement in relation to content, organization and mobilization forms. Firstly, regarding the content, Tsunami Democràtic’s motto is the main focus of its content. Rights, freedom and self-determination appear in all its publications in social media as well as during the protests they organize. One of the main political opportunities that has influenced the development of Tsunami Democràtic is the imprisonment of the Catalan politicians. Therefore, they claim the freedom and right of expression in every announcement. The results of the surveys conducted for this paper show that 36% of the

participants think that the content of Tsunami Democràtic is characterized by the right of self-determination, 34% by the independence of Catalonia, 28% by the freedom of imprisoned politicians and 2% by other approaches. Therefore, even though the organization was created just before the jail sentence was published and they informed that they were getting ready for a hard sentence, the participants of the survey think that the content of the organization is best characterized by content related to the independence and self-determination of Catalonia. The imprisonment of politicians was a political opportunity they had when the organization was created. However, its content does not only focus on that, it focuses also on the objectives of an independent Catalonia or the right to self-determination. In addition, one of the main goals of Tsunami Democràtic, besides its motto, is the internationalization of the Catalan cause. The organization publishes content in English so it can reach a broader audience. Further, celebrities have participated in campaigns for the internationalization of the Catalan cause, as it is the case of Pep Guardiola. Celebrities, besides the power to reach a broader audience, they also provide legitimacy and popularity to the organization. In this case, Pep Guardiola act as a human and moral resource for the organization.

Focusing on the Twitter analysis, the interaction through the social platform and the hashtags used by the organization have shown how Tsunami Democràtic aims to demonstrate the bottom-up structure, the internationalization of the movement and the ideology. Besides the self-promotion on the social media accounts, they also mention journalists, newspapers or television channels. Human resources, such as journalists, photographers and video producers have been key for the development of the organization and the protests they organize, which can also be seen in the way they interact with the media. The Twitter analysis shows how Tsunami Democràtic does not interact with political institutions or politicians. This is not the case of the Catalan National Assembly, an organization that interacts with the political sphere through social media.

The organizational form of Tsunami Democràtic is innovative compared to the organizations that existed before, such as the Catalan National Assembly and Òmnium Cultural. Tsunami Democràtic does not have leaders and the name of its members are not public. The secrecy and security measures they adopt are a protection system they create themselves, which can be helpful for not to being discovered and censored during the ongoing investigation for terrorism by the Spanish government. Thus, the organization is

decentralized, a new type of organization within the Catalan independence social movement. Organizations such as the Catalan National Assembly or Òmnium Cultural have a centralized organization, with a structure and leaders that are publicly known. One of the main objectives of Tsunami Democràtic in relation to the organization itself is to show the importance they give to the power of people. Tsunami Democràtic is organizing and coordinating the actions behind its app and social media accounts, which give more space for the participants of the actions to decide and become an active part of the protests. As mentioned before, the use of human resources is also connected to how Tsunami Democràtic has innovated the Catalan social movement in regard to organization forms. They do not have leaders or a list of the names of its members. In some cases, the organization has searched for external help in order to be able to organize successfully some actions, which again shows the importance they give to the power of the people. 94% of the participants of the surveys think that the fact that they do not have leaders is positive and, in addition, 84% feel more represented by the organization because they do not have leaders. The decentralized form of organization has both innovated the Catalan independence social movement and at the same time it has aroused interest from the citizens. The members of Tsunami Democràtic during the interview for 30 Minuts stated that “the key to all of this is not in the pyramidal organization, but in the horizontal coordination” (30 Minuts, 2019).

Lastly, regarding the mobilization forms, Tsunami Democràtic has innovated the way they focus on the internationalization of the movement when organizing actions. The objective of the internationalization of the Catalan cause can be seen in the design of the protests Tsunami Democràtic has organized: blocking of Barcelona El Prat international airport and the highways that connect both Catalonia and the Basque Country to France. With these actions, the organization wants to obtain international attention and involvement. In addition, Tsunami Democràtic uses social media and its own app to coordinate the protests, not having physical coordination once the actions are taking place. This is an innovative approach as the organization is decentralized and their members are unknown. 88% of the participants of the surveys think that the fact that they do not have leaders is positive, because they coordinate through social media and at the same time the participants of the protests have more power of decision. Thus, the bottom-up structure is also seen in its mobilization forms.

Tsunami Democràtic is an organization that has innovated the Catalan independence social movement regarding content, organization and mobilization forms, but the aspects in which they have innovated the most are in relation to mobilization and organization forms, since the content, ideology and motto are more similar to organizations that already existed before the creation of Tsunami Democràtic. However, the way they created a decentralized organization, the importance of the internationalization of the movement as well as the coordination of all the actions through social media and the app are completely new approaches within the Catalan independence social movement.

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