

Spanish social movements in the digital age: the demonstration against the Popular Party and the call for the “botellón”

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The article deals with the topic of new technologies (ICT), their influence in social mobilizations and its impact in the Spanish press analysing two facts. During the history, some technologies (such us fix telephone or Internet) have created new uses which were not expected by society. Moreover, in last few years we have witnessed different situations where we have seen the power of mobile phones to mobilize social communities: the reaction against the Popular Party after 11th March, 2004 in Madrid or the social mobilizations against Barcelona City Hall, because of the prohibition of drinking alcohol in the streets on 17th March, 2006 can be good examples in Spain. Hence, we propose an article in which we analyse whether the main Catalan dailies (La Vanguardia, Avui, El Punt and El Periódico) gave importance to the influence of ICT (above all, cell phones) during that two events we pointed out before.

Phone communications contributes to the maintenance of local communities and close groups, and in some cases takes part in the organization of social movements (Rheingold, 2002). Taking into account this statement, this article deals with the topic of new technologies (ICT) and their influence on social mobilizations. During the few last years, in Spain we have witnessed different situations in which we saw the power of ICT (concretely mobile communications) to mobilize social communities: the reaction against the Popular Party after 11th March, 2004 in Madrid, when a crowd was called by mobile phone for a demonstration in front of the Popular Party's headquarters; another example is the social mobilizations against Barcelona City Hall because of the prohibition of drinking alcohol in the streets –called *botellón* in Spanish – on 17th March, 2006. Therefore, the relationship of mutual shaping between technology, phone in this case, and social practices produces a more complex outcome than a unilateral growing control and the privatisation of the public space (Lasen 2005: 59-60).

These examples should lessen the importance of some pessimistic theories about the influences of ICT (above all, the Internet) on our societies (Wolton, 2000: 93-130). For this reason, we are able to consider more optimistic theoretical positions, such as the constitution of social worlds on the web (Haythornthwaite & Hagar, 2005) or virtual communities (Rheingold 1996, 2002; Castells 2003 and Sillence & Baber, 2003). For example, Sillence & Baber define a digital community “as a group of people engaging with a community that exists within the shores of a technological domain, e.g. the web” (Sillence & Baber 2003: 93). However, if the influence of the Internet has been studied, the role of mobile telephony on our societies is a new research subject.

Hence, we propose a paper in which we analyse if the main Catalan dailies (*La Vanguardia*, *Avui* and *El Periódico*) gave importance to the influence of mobile communications during the social demonstrations against the PP (13th March, 2004) and against the Barcelona City Hall's prohibition of drinking alcohol in the streets (17th March, 2006). In the second analysis, we added a fourth daily, *El Punt*, which is the main local daily in Barcelona.

For this reason, we used the content analysis to investigate this connection between mobile communications and social movements. It allowed us to analyse whether Catalan journalists gave importance to the role of mobile phones to mobilise society in the demonstrations on which we have focused our attention. According to Berelson, a content analysis is an objective, systematic and quantitative study of the explicit communication that serves to explore and analyse any informative documents (Berelson 1952: 18). Furthermore, we are going to interview some experts to support the results.

Above all, considering that there are other researchers that have analysed the influence of the Internet to mobilize societies, our main objective is to demonstrate the importance of mobile communications in such demonstrations. In fact, mobile communications can be, like Internet, powerful tools to mobilize consciences. The demonstrations against the Popular Party and Barcelona City Hall are two examples.

But, we must answer one main question before describing the events and the consequences they had. Why is it important for the communication sciences to determine whether the Catalan dailies considered importance the influence of the mobile communications on social mobilizations? The best way to explain our point of view is

referring to Castells. Castells' thesis revolves around the rise of the network society upon politics, politicians and power. We have to consider two trends in understanding this society. Firstly, there is a worldwide crisis of political legitimacy. The cause, a lack of trust in the political class. According to several surveys, politicians are considered as the least trusted professional class by the public opinion. And the second element to take into account is the decrease of the elections vote. Voter turnout is declining worldwide. And, more and more, vote is associated with negative meanings. When people do vote, their vote is negative, for instance, against the ruling party or the *status quo*. Finally, we should consider the political parties as empty shells, formed by people without any links to society.

Above all, we are before an increasing individualisation. The ancient and traditional forms of socialisation have largely disappeared. The rise of NGOs has contributed to create a growing gap between the political class and the citizenship. There are two spheres of explanation for these shifts: changes in the nation states (appearance of supranational structures) and changes in the media (lack of credibility in traditional media because of their links with the political power).

Hence, we attend a new form of communications to engage communities consisted on the pervasive presence of the ICTs (Mobile communications, for instance). The loss of the traditional media for focusing several messages has provided the appearance of new type of mobilizations. Calling to a demonstration by means of mobile phones means a phenomenon never seen in the world and, further on, it means a new type of social relationship. We are before a change in the social structures and, studying the two events happened in Spain, we study the new forms for mobilising communities. Recall us the calling to the two analysed demonstrations were absolutely independent of any political or media participation. Spanish media didn't handle the dissatisfaction of people; people sent their anger by means of SMS.

For the first time ever in Spain, demonstrations were due to the call by means of TICs. And some media stress the importance of the mobile communications in the demonstrations. This own acknowledgement by press suggest a new outlook, a new scene of social relationship and social mobilizations. The journey of the traditional media is over, there is something beyond them, a disappointment beating in the hearts of people caused by several factors and unable to be canalized by the traditional media. This is the general scene in the twentieth one century.

1. Social demonstrations and mobile communications in Spain

1.1. 13th March, 2004. Demonstrations against the Popular Party (PP) after the 3/11 terrorist attacks

In Madrid, on March 11th 2004, a radical Islamic group associated with Al Qaeda conducted the largest ever terrorist attack in Europe, bombing 3 trains belonging to the Spanish railway company, Renfe. They killed 199 people and more than 1,000 were injured. The bombing was executed via remote control-activated mobile phones.

The most important point, in a political sense, was that this attack happened three days before the Spanish parliamentary elections (14th March, 2004). As Castells et. al. (2004: 212) point out, the political context was "dominated by the debate on the participation of Spain in the Iraq war, a policy opposed by the vast majority of the citizens. Yet, the conservative party

(PP) was considered the likely winner of the elections, based on its record on economic policy and its stand on Basque terrorism”.

In this situation, the PP Government stated that ETA (the Basque terrorist group) was responsible for the attacks. And, although after a few hours the investigation started to point towards Al Qaeda as the culprit, the Spanish Government continued to insist on ETA’s responsibility. Moreover, the Spanish public television (TVE) also stated that ETA was the culprit.

Therefore, Spaniards started to see the high price they had to pay for participating in the Iraq war and how the government manipulated the information during the terrorist attacks so as not to acknowledge that the attacks were a consequence of the Spanish presence in Iraq. Actually, a lot of citizens had critical information on the terrorist attacks because of the Internet. For example, some French online newspapers stated that Al Qaeda was the culprit a few hours after the attacks.

As Castells et. al. (2004: 213) say, “the use of these alternative communication channels led to mobilizations against the PP on Saturday 13th, a day of reflection, when, according to the Spanish law, political demonstrations and public statements are forbidden”. However, the first civil mobilization against the attacks was the official demonstration that took place on 12th March, with the support of all the political forces. But, “while the demonstration was called against terrorism and in support of the Constitution (an oblique reference to Basque separatism), many of the participants were displaying banners opposing the war” (Castells, et. al. 2004: 213).

In this situation, many political activists, started to criticise the manipulation of information that the Government was perpetrating. Therefore, the activists started to circulate text messages to the addresses programmed on their mobile phones. The most famous message, as Castells et. al. (2004: 213-214) say, was: “*Aznar off the hook? They call it day of reflection and Urdazi works? Today, 13M, 18h. PP headquarters, Genova street, 13. No parties. Silent for the truth. Pass it on!*” On Saturday 13th, SMS traffic increased by 40% compared to a regular Saturday. And, although the PP started a network with a different message, such as “*ETA are the authors of the massacre, pass it on!*” the message was not credible for the majority of Spaniards.

In this context, on the afternoon of 13th March, different demonstrations took place in front of the headquarters of the PP in some Spanish regional capitals and, above all, in Madrid. For this reason, the Interior Minister, Angel Acebes, finally had to appear on TVE acknowledging Al Qaeda’s possible role, on Saturday at 20.20 pm. Later, Mariano Rajoy, the candidate for the PP in the parliamentary elections, appeared on television to reject the demonstrations, too. Therefore, the possibility of a political change was coming true. And, on 14th March, the Socialist Party, with its leader José Luís Rodríguez Zapatero, won the election.

1.2. Mobile phones and ‘botellón’: Barcelona, 17th March, 2006

During the last few years, a new way of having fun has appeared in Spain. It is called *botellón*, (people meet and buy drinks, ice and cups in the nearby shops and then drink in public squares). The word *botellón* is an augmentative form of *botella* (*bottle*), so the literal translation would be *big bottle*. Although this activity started off as simply small groups of

youngsters –because of the high price of alcohol in the bars and discothèques– the first macro *botellón* happened in Sevilla on 16th February, 2006 when 5,000 youngsters jointed together – called via the Internet– to celebrate the end of their university exams.

After Seville, different youth groups started a competition between different Spanish cities to summon the biggest *botellón*. The first city which tried to do it was Albacete, but only 600 people attended the *botellón*. However, the biggest call for *botellón* was on 17th March, 2006 on the pretext that it was the beginning of the spring. But, this call became a *national competition* between 22 Spanish cities to organize the biggest *botellón* in Spain. The cities were: Seville, Jaén, Murcia, Oviedo, Barcelona, Madrid, Ibiza, Burgos, Valencia, Almería, Granada, Valladolid, Bilbao, A Coruña, Pontevedra, León, Salamanca, Segovia, Zaragoza, Teruel, Ciudad Real an Málaga. The call was via the Internet and mobile phones.

Our case study is Barcelona. In the Catalan capital, 500 youngsters responded to the call via the Internet and mobile phones to be in the Raval Boulevard to have the macro *botellón* at night. The gathering was also a demonstration against the Barcelona’s Civic Regulation that had been approved by the City Hall during the last term of office.

The gathering in Barcelona ended when 200 youngsters attacked the police who tried to finish the *botellón*.

The important thing for our research subject is that this *botellón* was the second main public concentration called for via the Internet and mobile phones after the demonstrations against the PP two years earlier.

2. Mobile telephony and society. Theoretical framework

2.1. Background. The beginning of social mobilizations via mobile phone

When researchers studied the influence of ICT on society, many of them pointed out the influence of the Internet (Rheinhold 1996; Moragas 2003; Haythornthwaite & Hagar 2005). Following this, some of them started to understand that mobile telephony also had an important role in mobilizing the civil society (Ling & Ytrri 1999, Eldridge & Grinter 2001; Sillence & Baber, 2003; Castells et. al. 2004). They point out that text messaging allows people to alter plans spontaneously (Ling & Ytrri 1999) and to coordinate other forms of communication, e.g. sending a SMS message to propose a subsequent telephone call or e-mail (Sillence & Baber 2003: 96).

However, the main research in mobile communications was done by Manuel Castells, Mireia Fernández-Ardevol, Jack Linchuan and Araba Sey in 2004: *The Mobile Communications Society*. As they point out, “this research offers an analytical overview of existing research on the social uses of wireless communication technology” (Castells, et. al. 2004). These researchers analyse the status of mobile communications in the world and they point out the changes society can experience with the increasing use of mobile communications.

Although the research talks about the demonstrations against the PP in Madrid (the 13th of March 2004), it also proposes some other cases in which mobile communications were important factors in political changes. The first example is the Philippines, where in January 2001 thousands of mobile phone touting Filipinos took part in massive demonstrations now dubbed “People Power II”. As Castells et. al. (2004: 197) highlight, “this four-day event has

become legendary as the first time in human history that the mobile phone played an instrumental role in removing the sitting president of a nation-state (Joseph Estrada) from power”.

The second example is in South Korea in 2002. The election of the president Roh Moo-Hyun has been largely attributed to the Nosamo, an online support group known by this Korean acronym for “People who Love Roh”. This is an example of the power of ICT in mobilizing societies. As Castells et. al. (2004: 206) point out, “while the Internet-based campaign had lasted for years providing the core political network, it was the mobile phone that mobilized large numbers of young voters on the election day and finally reversed the voting result”.

Although Castells et. al. (2004) highlight some political examples of the power of mobile communications, we must say that nowadays SMS have become a very useful tool for some organizations to mobilize its members, such as sports organizations and their fanbase.

2.2. Mobile phones and new trends in the practice of communication

Castells’ research points out some new trends in the practice of communication because of the uses of mobile telephony. The previous work of Ling & Yttri (1999), Eldridge & Grinter (2001) or Sillence & Baber (2003), described the capacity of SMS to mobilize groups as one of the most important communicative practices they observed in their research: “The emergence of unplanned, largely spontaneous communities of practice in real time, by transforming an initiative to do something together into a message that is responded to from multiple sources of convergent wills to share the practice” (Castells, et. al. 2004: 240).

Secondly, Castells et. al. (2004: 239) highlight the greater autonomy of mobile phone users: “Mobile communication is seen to facilitate the combination of autonomy and safety by making the individual free to relate to the world at large, while still relying on their personal support infrastructure”.

Thirdly, mobile communication has increased interpersonal sociability. People create their own networks of relationships and they keep in touch using wireless communications. Thus, as these authors point out, “peer groups become reinforced in the hybrid space of physical, on-line and wireless communication interaction” (Castells, et. al. 2004: 240).

Finally, these authors describe other new trends in the practice of communication via mobile phones, such as the capacity of users to become producers of new content and services, the convergence between wireless communication and the Internet, the user’s perception of these mobile phones as a function of consumerism or the transformation of language with the appearance of new forms of written expressions.

2.3. Mobile telephony in Spain

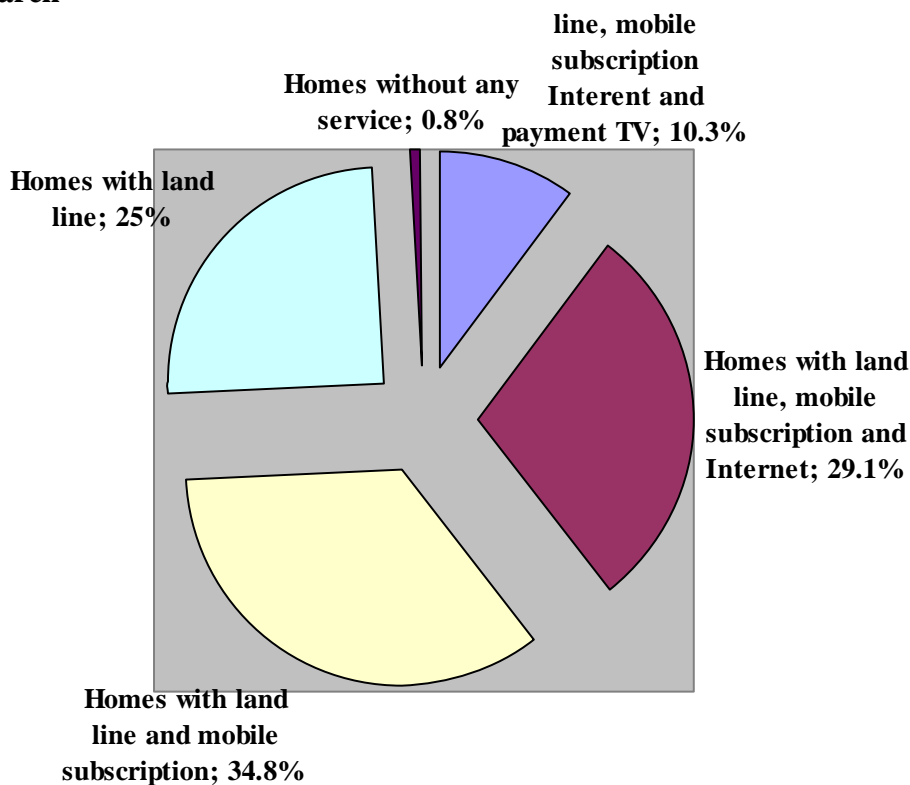
In Spain, 75% of Spaniards have a mobile phone. Taking into account the last survey of the Bilbao Vizcaya Argentaria Bank Foundation (Fundación BBVA) in 2005 –which took a population sample of 6.006 people (+14 years old)– Spaniards make an average of 3.4 calls per day and 50% of the subscribers use their mobile phone to send SMS. However, youngsters are the social group who most use the mobile phone. In Spain, 94% of youngsters between the ages of 14 to 35 have a mobile phone and 92% of these youngsters use it to send SMS.

Hence, after the voice service, SMS is the second most used service by mobile subscribers. In the last quarter of 2006, Spanish mobile operators earned 433.88 million euros from SMS services and the total income for the last year was 1,638.57 million euros.

One of the newest statistics about the extent of mobile phone use in Spain is provided by the Telefonica Foundation (2006). This foundation did a study about the situation of ICT in Spain and presented an interesting conclusion: in 2006, 10.3% of Spanish homes had a land line, mobile phone subscription, Internet and subscription television; 29.1% of Spanish homes had a land line, mobile phone subscription and Internet; 34.8% of them had a land line and mobile phone subscription; 25% of Spanish homes had only a land line and only 0.8% of Spanish homes did not have any of these services (Fundación Telefónica 2006: 23).

Figure I. Percentage of ICT services in the Spanish homes in 2006

3. Research



To check if the main Catalan dailies gave importance to the influence mobile communications during the social demonstrations against the PP on 13th March, 2004 and against the Barcelona City Hall's prohibition of *botellón*, on 17th March, 2006, it was necessary to do a content analysis of them.

The content analysis allowed us to discover the presence of ICT in the news items of the main Catalan newspapers that talked about these demonstrations. According to Berelson, a content analysis is an objective, systematic and quantitative study of the explicit

communication that serves to explore and analyse any informative documents (Berelson 1952).

The articles we analysed were taken from the Politics and Opinion sections in the first case and from the Society and Opinion sections in the second one. We must take information from these sections in order to analyse, not only whether the journalists thought that the role of mobile communications was important in the demonstrations, but also to check the contribution of the Catalan opinion leaders in reinforcing the image of mobile phones as powerful tools to mobilize society.

3.1. Demonstrations against the PP on 13th March, 2004

In the case of the demonstrations against the Popular Party on 13th March 2004, we have analysed three main Catalan newspapers, *Avui*, *El Periódico* and *La Vanguardia*. For the other analysis of the *botellón demonstrations*, we have added other daily, *El Punt*, which is the main local newspaper in Barcelona.

Two sections of those newspapers were studied: Politics and Opinion. Firstly, we quantified all news items published on 14th, 15th and 16th March, 2004. After, we counted the number of news items about the demonstrations against the PP on 13th March, 2004. Finally, we quantified the news items which referred to the “mobile communications” or “SMS” and we established where these words were published.

Figure II. Quantitative treatment of the presence of word “ICT” or “SMS” in the

Quantitative treatment of the presence of the word “ICT or SMS” in the newspapers								
Demonstrations against Popular Party								
14 March 2004								
	Politics				Opinion			
	Total section	News about the fact	SMS	Headlines	Total section	News about the fact	SMS	Headlines
Avui	25	1	0	0	17	0	0	0
La Vanguardia*1	36	4	3	0	10	1	0	0
El Periódico*	35	5	4	4	10	2	1	0
15 March 2004								
	Politics				Opinion			
	Total section	News about the fact	SMS	Headlines	Total section	News about the fact	SMS	Headlines
Avui	33	1	0	0	11	0	0	0
La Vanguardia*1	63	1	0	0	19	1	0	0
El Periódico*	32	1	0	0	8	2	2	3
16 March 2004								
	Politics				Opinion			
	Total section	News about the fact	SMS	Headlines	Total section	News about the fact	SMS	Headlines
Avui	32	0	0	0	14	0	0	0
La Vanguardia*1	49	0	0	0	31	2	1	0
El Periódico*	32	2	1	2	18	1	0	0

newspapers

* The news about 13-M appeared in the section *Tema del día* (Today news).

(Note): In all the tables, we use SMS to refer both to SMS and mobile communications.

Upon analysing the results, the first information we obtain is that 50% of the news items related to the demonstrations on 13th March, 2004 published by the three main newspapers refer to mobile communications in their content.

However, *El Periódico* is the only daily which considers that the mobilization power of mobile communications was important during the three subsequent days after the demonstrations. *Avui* does not, on any day, highlight the words “SMS” or “mobile

communications” in its news items or opinion articles about the demonstrations. Instead, this daily published two news items about the demonstrations without referring to the role of these new technologies. *La Vanguardia* is at an intermediate level. On 14th March, 2004, this newspaper includes four news items about the demonstrations and three of them highlight the words “mobile communications” or “SMS”. Also, the daily published an opinion article about the demonstrations that day, but the contributor didn’t mention “mobile communication” or “SMS”. The other two days, the information and opinion flow related to the demonstrations reduced considerably.

Therefore, *El Periódico* is the daily which best reflects the new technologies as a mobilization factor. Especially on 14th March 2004. On that day, there are five news items about the demonstrations and four of them refer to “mobile communications” or “SMS”. Also, the daily published two opinion articles and one of them highlighted the importance of these new technologies as a mobilizing factor. This daily also published, in the Opinion and Politics section, between one and two news items related to the demonstrations on 13th March 2004 over the following two days.

Actually, *El Periódico* is the only daily which highlights the importance of mobile communications in the headlines of some pieces of news. In the Politics sections, the words “mobile communications” or “SMS” appeared twice in the headlines, three times in the subtitle and once in the highlights.

3.2. Demonstrations against Barcelona City Hall’s prohibition of ‘botellón’

There is another analysed event: the social mobilizations against the Barcelona City Hall’s prohibition of drinking alcohol in the streets or the *botellón*, to use the Spanish expression. To do this content analysis, we checked the Society and the Opinion sections of four newspapers: the mainstream Catalan dailies and the main local newspaper in Barcelona, *El Punt*.

Quantitative treatment of the presence of the word "ICT or SMS" in the newspapers									
Social mobilizations against the prohibition of drinking alcohol in the streets									
15 March 2006									
Society					Opinion				
	Total section	News about the fact	SMS	Headlines	Total section	News about the fact	SMS	Headlines	
Avui	20	1	1	0	10	0	0		
La Vanguardia*1									
El Periódico*									
El Punt*2									
16 March 2006									
Society					Opinion				
	Total section	News about the fact	SMS	Headlines	Total section	News about the fact	SMS	Headlines	
Avui	18	0	0	0	15	1	1		0
La Vanguardia*1									
El Periódico*									
El Punt*2									
17 March 2006									
Society					Opinion				
	Total section	News about the fact	SMS	Headlines	Total section	News about the fact	SMS	Headlines	
Avui	14	2	2	0	15	2	2		0
La Vanguardia*1	24	2	2	0	11	0	0		0
El Periódico*	11	1	1	0	10	1	1		0
El Punt*2	17	1	1	0	6	0	0		0
18 March 2006									
Society					Opinion				
	Total section	News about the fact	SMS	Headlines	Total section	News about the fact	SMS	Headlines	
Avui	21	2	1	2	14	2	1		0
La Vanguardia*1	34	2	1	0	12	0	0		0
El Periódico*	4	4	0	0	10	0	0		0
El Punt*2	19	1	1	0	7	0	0		0
19 March 2006									
Society					Opinion				
	Total section	News about the fact	SMS	Headlines	Total section	News about the fact	SMS	Headlines	
Avui	17	3	1	0	13	1	1		0
La Vanguardia*1	26	3	0	0	11	1	1		0
El Periódico*	5	5	0	0	9	1	1		0
El Punt*2	8	3	0	0	9	0	0		0
* The news about 11-M appeared in the section <i>Tema del día</i> . About the social mobilizations against the prohibition, the news on 18 and 19 March 2006 appeared in the section <i>Tema del día</i>									
*1 The news about the prohibition of drinking alcohol in the streets appeared in the section <i>Vivir</i>									
*2 The news about the prohibition of drinking alcohol in the streets appeared in the section <i>Països Catalans</i>									

Figure III. Quantitative treatment of the presence of the word “ICT” or “SMS” in the newspapers

In this second case, *Avui* is the daily which leads the news items and opinion articles which refer to the mobilization power of new technologies in the *botellón* prohibition demonstration on 17th March, 2006. Between the 15th to 19th March 2006 this newspaper published eight news items and opinion articles in which they mentioned the words “mobile communications” or “SMS”. *La Vanguardia* only published four articles mentioning the words “mobile communications” and “SMS”; *El Periódico* three and *El Punt*, two. Although *Avui* is the leader, it only referred to the effects of ICT in the headlines twice (once in the headline and another time in the subtitle).

In this analysis, we increased the number of days studied. The reason is that *Avui* began to publish news items and opinion articles about the *botellón* two days before it happened. 46.8% of the news items or opinion articles published by the four newspapers refers to the role of “mobile communications” or “SMS” in the calling of the demonstration.

The opinion leaders (contributors) gave more importance to the mobilization effect of the Information and Communication Technologies than the journalists in the event that took place on 17th March, 2006. 87.5% of the opinion articles related to the *botellón* referred to the role of new technologies. However, only the 44.4% of the opinion articles related to the demonstrations on 13th March referred to the effects of ICT or mobile communication.

4. Conclusions

After analysing the treatment of the three mainstream Catalan dailies (*La Vanguardia*, *El Periódico* and *Avui*) and the main local Catalan newspaper (*El Punt*) of the social mobilizations against the PP on 13th March 2004 and the mobilizations against Barcelona City Hall’s prohibition of *botellón* (17th March 2006), we conclude that:

- a) The demonstrations against the Spanish conservative party (PP) on 13th March 2004 happened in an exceptional political context, especially because Spain held parliamentary elections the next day. For this reason, the Catalan mainstream media had to deal with two main news items: the terrorist attacks and the parliamentary elections. Although the terrorist attacks were breaking news, parliamentary elections are always an important event for a democracy. For instance, on Sunday (election day) all the newspapers gave more importance to the parliamentary elections than to the investigation about the authors of the terrorist attacks on the front page and the following ones.
- b) During the days that followed the terrorist attacks in 2004, it was the first time that information and communication technologies devices began to act as mobilization elements in Spain. Therefore, they were highlighted in the news making process. Analysing the percentages of our content analysis, the news items gave more importance to ICT than the opinion articles regarding the demonstrations on 13th March 2004.
- c) In the demonstrations against the Popular Party, journalists assessed the use of ICT to mobilize society as a novelty, while the contributors chose other themes that

followed a conflict logic. The logic is different in the *botellón* event on 17th March 2006: while the power of mobilization of new technologies, especially mobile communications, is not a novelty for journalists, the contributors consider it an important factor.

d) The greater number of published news items and opinion articles about the *botellón* is due to the fact that it was a major event in the current Catalan situation, while the demonstrations against the PP shared priority with the parliamentary elections and the investigation of the terrorist attacks.

e) Another conclusion is the awareness of the opinion leaders about a new form of social mobilization by means of mobile phones and ICT devices. While only 44.4% of the opinion articles about the demonstrations against the PP referred to the role of ICT in the call, 87.5% of the opinion articles did the same in the case of the *botellón*.

f) Although *El Periódico* was not the only newspaper which wrote about ICT after the terrorist attacks in 2004, it was the only one which highlighted the importance of these new technologies in the headlines. In the other case study, the situation described above happens in *Avui*.

g) Finally, this paper shows and justifies the aim of the article. As we said in the beginning of the paper, we are before a new type of social relationship, the fallen of the traditional media and the appearance of the TICs. TICs have changed the ancient structures of the society in all the aspects. The acknowledgment by the media suggests the changes are real and we live with them in the daily life.

Above all, as Lasen (2005: 30) says, “technological change results from the struggles and negotiations among interested parties: inventors, producers, different users and governments”. For this reason, the same author concludes: “The adoption by society of new technological devices is a relationship of mutual shaping, where technology accommodates, but also transforms, existing social practices” (Lasen 2005: 30). Lasen takes some important notes of the work of Fischer (1992: 5): “As much as people adapt their lives to the changed circumstances created by a new technology, they also adapt that technology to their lives” The social demonstrations we analysed in these pages can be a good example of this conclusion.

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