STOP THE EVICTIONS! THE DIFFUSION OF NETWORKED SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND THE EMERGENCE OF A NEW HYBRID PUBLIC SPACE

THE CASE OF THE SPANISH MORTGAGE VICTIMS GROUP

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ABSTRACT:
More than 350,000 families have been evicted from their homes since Spain's property market crashed in 2008. The response of the Spanish civil society has been the emergence of a large social-network movement - the Spanish Mortgage Victims Group social movement - to stop the evictions, and to change the legislation. This paper examines how urban social movements cope with socio-economic crisis, based on the case of Spanish Mortgage Victims Group. It focuses on the genesis, dissemination and stabilisation of the social movement: how the idea, the organisational structure, procedures and practices to protest against evictions originally born in Barcelona have been successfully disseminated to other cities. The analysis is informed by texts, photos and films produced by the national and international media, social networks, and the SMVG’s website. Complementary interviews are also conducted with representatives of the SMVG. The paper adopts a new institutional theories perspective within organization studies. Firstly, by using the travel metaphor to understand how the idea, structure, practices and tactics of the movement travelled to other cities. Secondly, by exploring new institutional theories applied to the understanding of how social movements are not only born as a result of institutional arrangements, but can occasionally intervene in their reform and lead to significant social changes.

KEYWORDS
Urban social movements; organization theory; evictions; economic crisis; citizens resilience
INTRODUCTION
During the last years networked social movements, such as *Occupy Wall Street*, *Indignados* or *Taksim Park* protests have emerged based on mobile and wireless communication networks. What most of these movements have in common is non-political affiliation, distrust on mass media, no formal leadership nor formal organization, and relying on Internet and local assemblies for collective debate and decision-making (Castells, 2012). These networked social movements have created a hybrid public space between the Internet social networks and the occupied urban space where assemblies and protests take place. Based on the case of one of these networked movements (the Spanish Mortgage Victims Group) in this paper we argue that the capability - based on this hybrid condition - of these movements to be diffused is what has fuelled their power to resist, protest, induce cultural and eventually social change.

More than 350,000 families have been evicted from their homes since Spain's property market crashed in 2008. The Spanish laws are very favourable for the lenders. Some contracts contain clauses allowing for a sharp increase in interest if a borrower falls behind on payments and Spanish law also gives the lender the right to start accelerated proceedings to evict the borrower if a single payment is missed. In case of incapability to pay the mortgage, the Spanish law forces home-owners not only to give the property to the bank as part of the payment, but also to continue paying the part of the loan that is estimated (usually a low estimate) to be left once the price of the property is discounted. Furthermore, Spanish homeowners under threat of repossession cannot stop the eviction process while they fight contentious clauses in their mortgage contracts, If they win a court case, they may seek compensation but will not necessarily recover their homes. The response of the Spanish civil society to this social drama has been the emergence of a networked social movement to stop evictions, protest and change the existing legislation: the Spanish Mortgage Victims Group (Plataforma de Afectados por la Hipoteca PAH).

This paper examines how urban social movements cope with socio-economic crisis, based on the case of PAH. More specifically, the paper examines the genesis, dissemination and stabilisation of the PAH from organization theory perspective: how the idea (originally born in Barcelona), the organisational structure, procedures and practices to provide a solution to mortgage victims have been disseminated to more than 150 Spanish cities since 2009. As a result of the fast growth and spread of the PAH, the urban social movement has succeeded to stop more than 500 evictions. With the help of social networks and alliances with neighbourhood movements, as *Indignados*, 'flashmobs' are blocking the evictions of people who fail to meet their mortgage repayments. The anti-eviction movement also supports householders in their negotiations with banks to prevent evictions and succeeded to negotiate hundreds of ‘payment by account’. It moreover provided help and shelter for evicted families promoting the usage of the evicted houses as a social rent. The PAH also articulated protests and campaigns to change the eviction laws and succeeded to present a legislative popular initiative with more than 1,5 million signatures. In only four years the PAH has gained the trust of most Spanish citizens, as 80% of the Spaniards share the claims of this movement embodied in the legislative popular initiative (Colau and Alemany, 2012, p. 108; Metroscopia/El Pais 2013).

Next, the theoretical framework based on organization theory and the study of social movements is presented. Thereafter the methodology to gather and analyse the data is introduced. The Spanish
Mortgage Victims Group history and practice is then presented. The paper concludes with the discussion of the case under the prism of our theoretical framework.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

ORGANIZATION THEORY AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Social movement and institutional analysis within organization studies have in common an interest in change\(^1\), contestation and collective mobilization processes. In other words, how urban social movements such as the PAH make claims against and for certain practices with the purpose to resist and transform oppressing institutional arrangements (Scheneiberg and Lounsbury, 2008). The focus is on how organizations and groups embedded within institutions can change these systems, drawing on contradictions to introduce new practices, asserting new visions and contesting existing arrangements, evoking legitimacy crisis and making sense of the new practices. Social movements emerge from and exploit contradictions, or multiple logics, to forge new paths or produce change.

Contexts shape contestation and collective action: they create openings for challengers and shape their capacities and resources to produce change. Social movements often emerge as a sequence of shocks, disruptions, deinstitutionalization and reinstitutionalization processes (Scheneiberg and Lounsbury, 2009). Shocks like economic crisis, or new laws evoke uncertainty, sensemaking and new groups emerge to define the situation and establish their solutions as new bases of order (Schneiberg and Lounsbury, 2008 p. 653). Regardless of the new practices claimed by social movements succeed to establish or not, the legacy of previous movements will also shape the emergence of social movements, since paths may emerge through multiple waves. This is coherent with findings of urban movements researchers as Castells who concludes how:

> “regardless of the explicit achievements of the movements, its very existence produced meaning, not only for the movement’s participants, but for the community at large. And not only during the lifespan of the movement (usually brief), but in the collective memory of the locality... this production of meaning is an essential component of cities, throughout history, as the built environment” (Castells, 2004, p. 61).

The capacity of social movements to bring cultural, political and social change relies on many aspects, that will be explored in our case-study:

- **Their capacity to mobilize resources**, and recruit members and organizations, as social movements can mobilize masses, networks and political support to pressure states and other powerful actors for new practices, laws and policies. Often, their strength rests on the use of protests, boycotts and even direct actions to dramatize problems (also called event-mediated social movements Castells 2004, 2009) and disrupt daily operations and routines (e.g. Hoffman 1999). More specifically, in the context of the network society mobile and wireless networks facilitate the creation of networks of trust and resistance: messages are spread virally in the networks and always rely on a close source (Castells, 2009). Communication is therefore central in social movements and lies at the heart of the success of many of them (see for example Zapatistas movement and the use of media).

\(^1\) Castells defines social movements as social actors aiming for a change in values (cultural change). Castells, 2009.
• **Their ability to frame issues to increase acceptance** of their claims and a favorable public opinion climate for the diffusion of alternative practices. Similarly, public opinion climates enhance prospects for social movements, for example in contexts of economic crisis when citizens are more sensitive to certain issues such as the house evictions.

• **Their capacity to frame and reframe, theorize, transpose, translate, and recombine institutional logics** (Schneiberg and Lounsbury, 2008). As a result, social movements become agents of theorization, classification and diffusion. In practice, social movements devote lots of energies and time into theorizing their claims and framing them in a broader context. For example recycling community-based movements in the US in the 1960s, 70s framed their efforts for recycling as part of a broader project to restructure capitalism and reframe social order and the consume & discard society (Lounsbury 2005; Lounsbury, Ventresca and Hirsch, 2003). Often their success relies on the combination of new elements with prevailing models, myths or concerns (Schneiberg and Lounsbury, 2008) by netting a coherent and credible narrative. They also devote considerable energy to disseminate their approach via conferences, manifestos, mass media and social networks. In this line of thought, Manuel Castells explains how social movements spread and live in the ‘public space’, defined as “the space of societal, meaningful interaction where ideas and values are formed, conveyed, supported, and resisted; space that ultimately becomes a training ground for action and reaction” (Castells, 2009, p. 301).

• **The creation of a hybrid public space between the Internet and mobile social networks and the occupied space.** This is a space of autonomous communication, essential to allow social movements to be formed and relate to society at large beyond power centers (Castells, 2012).

• **Capacity to mobilize** simultaneously at multiple levels both to theorize and assert models, rules or laws at the global, multi-national and national level, and effect change at the local and micro-level.

• **Capacity to congregate political support not only to place but also to keep alternatives on the political agenda,** assemble political resources, defend new practices against counter-attacks, and create favorable political contexts for the spread of alternatives.

• **Capacity to gain the support of professional communities** that adopt the new practices, rules or claims. As the internal adopters/supporters of the new alternative practices increases, it does the practices’ legitimacy.

**NEW INSTITUTIONALISM THEORY AND THE GROWTH OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS**

In a first stage of an organizational field, for example after the introduction of new institutional arrangements or new societal context or shocks such as the economic crisis, a diversity of organizations emerges (DiMaggio and Powell, 1991). Once these organizations are stable they tend to the homogenization of their structures. Initially, a process of institutional definition or structuring takes place, a growth of the interaction between organizations is perceived; interorganizational structures of dominance and coalition patterns come out; the quantity of information that organizations operate grows; and increasingly participants develop a common perception of existence of an interorganizational field. Subsequently, organizations become more and more similar or isomorphic.

New populations grow slowly because the form is unknown and organizations exhibiting this new form are less likely to survive due to the ‘liability of the newness’ (Freeman, Carroll & Hannan, 1983).
The new organizations are challenged to carry out an activity or format poorly institutionalised (this is, new and consequently unknown). Organisation’s constituents and supporters engage with the new organization depending on the uncertain, risk or unconventionality that the organization shows (Suchman, 1995). When these organizations survive and the prevalence increases the innovative form becomes accepted as natural (Hannan and Carroll, 1992). In other words, the growth in the number of adopters of an organizational form, such as the PAH, contributes to the institutionalization ( adoption by imitation) of this practice or model as the taken-for-granted organizational solution (Tolbert and Zucker, 1983), in this case, to the problem of the mortgage victims in Spain. New organizational forms gain weight, visibility and legitimacy “as they become more common, crystallizing new communities of practice and prompting others to embrace innovations.” (Schneiberg 2012, p. 656).

Organizations are legitimate “when they are understandable, rather than when they are desirable” (Suchman, 1995, p. 573). Legitimacy enhances both the stability and the comprehensibility of organizational activities. And these two characteristics lead to continuity as society is more likely to supply resources to stable and comprehensible organizations. The legitimate organization is perceived as more predictable and more trustworthy. Legitimacy involves “the existence of a credible collective account or rationale explaining what the organization is doing and why” (Suchman, 1995, p. 575). Organizational labels or names (such as the PAH) are, hence, organizations’ symbolic attributes that resemble the labels or names prevalent in the specific organizational field (Glynn and Abzug, 2002).

Accordingly, in new institutionalism theory, imitation is conceptualized as a basic mechanism for circulating ideas that become rational myths (Meyer and Rowan, 1977). However, what ideas (organizational forms or practices) travel and become fashionable depend not only on the ideas themselves, but also on who transports and supports them and how they are packaged, formulated, and timed (Czarniawska-Joerges and Joerges, 1996; Sahlin and Wedlin, 2008).

THE CASE - THE SPANISH MORTGAGE VICTIMS GROUP SOCIAL MOVEMENT

THE PAH: GOALS, ACTIONS, MEMBERSHIP AND ORGANIZATION
The PAH, the Spanish Mortgage Victims Group, includes up to August 2013 160 local and autonomous groups dispersed in cities over all of Spain interconnected via a national platform. Local PAH group share similar claims: payment to the bank on account of the property via the reform of the
national evictions law, suspend house evictions, and the transformation of the evicted properties in social house renting.

PAH has launched several campaigns to achieve these goals: the stop evictions campaign, the legislative popular initiative to reform the evictions law, and the social housing project. Within the Stop Evictions campaign, and with the help of social communication networks and alliances with neighborhood movements, and Indignados, 'flashmobs' have blocked more than 500 evictions of people who fail to meet their mortgage repayments. The anti-eviction movement also supports householders in their negotiations with banks to prevent evictions and succeeded to negotiate hundreds of payments on account. With the Social Housing campaign they also provide help and shelter for evicted families promoting the usage of the evicted houses as a social rent. Similarly the PAH has also articulated protests and campaigns to change the eviction laws and succeeded to present a legislative popular initiative with more than 1,5 million signatures.

PAH groups are organised following these principles: independence and non-partisan; non-violence; free resources and advise; collective advise and decision-making through open assemblies; and freedom to elaborate local strategies.

Despite variations between local PAHs, rotation is usually high with a few members regularly attending the meetings and many new members that initially attend meetings sporadically to learn what PAH is. Regular attendance to the meeting is complicated for members who lack enough economic resources to fulfill basic needs such as food or transportation. The composition is heterogeneous and has evolved since the creation of the PAH Barcelona. The PAHs brings together housing activists, Indignados, professional volunteers (lawyers, psychologists) with the mortgage victims. Whilst the many mortgage victims were immigrants at the beginning of the crisis, nowadays up to 70% of the PAH members affected by the mortgages are born in Spain (Colau and Alemany, 2012).

Internal and external communication is crucial in the PAH’s strategy. The PAH activism practice relies both on internet and mobile communication networks (e.g. web platforms, forums, twitter, facebook) and regular meetings in local offices and protests. The documents, forms and protocols for action (from legal forms to negotiate with banks and administration, to protocols about how to resist without violence an anti-eviction protest) have been standardized and uploaded in the national and local PAHs’ websites open to everyone who wants to use them.

PAH have created media trending topics to inform, explain and convince the public opinion about their claims (interview with Ether Vivas, elideario.com/dentrodelaPAH/). They have also devoted lots of energy into how the message is communicated to the public opinion in a way that could be understood: introducing new concepts such as the “dación en pago” ([non-recourse debt], so difficult even to pronounce as one of the PAH activists admits, but that nowadays everyone in Spain knows what it means). They have also worked with corporative colours (orange and green), use of catchphrases and slogans (examples), and dramatization of their public actions and events. They have also communicated their claims and actions to international media and been published in BBC, New York Times, the Guardian or Al Jazeera.

When people join PAH they feel hopeless and depressed more than outraged (Colau and Alemany, 2012, p.94). At the PAH offices, the movement has generated “a space of trust and community via
face-to-face meetings where people have the opportunity to express and share their experiences. The creation of this space … is vital for the victims to understand the collective dimension of the issue as well as the structural factors behind individual decisions” (Colau and Alemany, 2012, p. 94). When mortgage victims join the PAH they change from being objects of an injustice to become active subjects that act to resist and change.

THE EXPANSION OF THE PAH

The PAH was born in Barcelona the 22th February in 2009 as a result of the work of activists who participated in a previous social movement “V de Vivienda” (H of Housing) since 2006. V de Vivienda gathered together a group of young people affected by precarious jobs and difficulties to access housing. The group organized protests and campaigns to raise awareness around the issue of the right to housing. However, despite its achievements, in the context of economic growth where most people owned their housing and saw how their value increased quickly, the claims enacted by organizations such as V de Vivienda were supported only by a minority.

The PAH, inheritages the profound critique of the capitalistic system from V de Vivienda, and succeeds to link the individual dramas of the evicted families in thousands of villages and cities with a sharp and well narrated structural crisis of the economic system. For example, with its claims the PAH reveals how the right to private property should not stand above the right to housing.

Since Spain’s property market crashed in 2008, other organized movements have also emerged to articulate the interests of the citizens affected by the evictions (for example in Murcia). The PAH Barcelona was, from its origins, designed to be reproduced and supported its multiplication in the close territory. The increasing number of adopters of the PAH around the metropolitan area contributed to stabilize this organizational form and make it acknowledgeable.

The PAH was created, according to their founders, with the strategy “to multiply thorough the territory” (Colau and Alemany, 2012, p. 103). The resources, practices, knowledge, experiences and structures produced by the different PAH have been “disposed and designed to facilitate the reproduction of the PAH” (page 103). From the city of Barcelona the PAH expanded through Barcelona’s metropolitan area, where nowadays the highest density of local PAH can be found. Then, by the end of 2010 from Cataluña it travelled via Murcia to the rest of Spain. Since Murcia is one of the regions where the construction sector and financial bubble has stroked hardest, the high levels of unemployment have lead thousands of citizens unable to pay their mortgage.

It was not until the 3rd November 2010 that the first eviction was suspended as a result of a stop-eviction protest in the Barcelona metropolitan area. According to the PAH it took a long time until mortgage victims decided to enact a collective protest which implies civil disobedience. This first campaign served as a protocol for the next thousands of protests enacted thorough the country (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FwrPYc1Uzwg). It also served to boost the PAH as a legitimate movement to defend the rights of the mortgage victims; and thus contributed to spread this organization thorough the country. Later, mostly since 2011 the PAH travelled to Valencia, Madrid, Andalucia, La Rioja, Canarias, Basque Country; and, more recently to Balearic Islands, Galicia, Castilla y León and Castilla-La Mancha.
The expansion of local PAHs was also boosted by the the *Indignados* movement (15-M) since 2011. The PAH participated in the national protests organized by *Democracia Real Ya* DRY (Real Democracy Now!) in November 2011, which was the germ of the *Indignados* Movement. After the first protests, neighbourhood and *Indignados* movements created local PAH (for example in Madrid) to continue their action, in what regards to the right to housing. Similarly in many cities, the Stop Evictions campaigns were supported by *Indignados* and neighbourhood movements.

The expansion of the local PAH resulted in small but constant public actions and news which, deliberately, maintained the house evictions issue constantly on the media, social and political agenda. Each PAH creates or joins the campaigns and actions they choose. For example, the PAH Barcelona lead the legislative popular initiative and the *Escraches* campaign (“exposure” protest in banks and politicians’ houses), Madrid has gathered a strong lawyers volunteering for advise, and led twitter communications.

Small victories, such as when an eviction is suspended (when more than 200 people successfully blocked an eviction in Madrid, 15 June 2011, El Pais 15/06/2011) or even defeats (when police has attacked violently the pacific resistance of the activists) have been broadcasted in the social media and contributed to amplify the PAH movement.

Since 2011 the PAH has continued growing and amplifying its local, regional and national campaigns. As a result in September 2011 the First National PAH Meeting took place where almost 40 local groups and 100 participants congregated. Since then, the local platforms meet twice a year. There is a website for the national platform and virtual forums serve as horizontal communication channel for this decentralized network.

**Figure 1. Map with the chronology of the local PAHs.**

**THE PAH’s ACHIEVEMENTS**

Since 2009 the PAH’s achievements have been many: 500 evictions stopped, hundreds of payment in account negotiated with banks, the ILP with more 1,5 million signatures, 80% of Spanish population supporting the ILP and PAH (Metroscopia/El Pais 8/04/2013) PAH has also gained the support of individuals working in other institutions such as: firemen or locksmith associations that refuse to unlock the doors of the houses to be evicted; more than 200 municipalities that have signed for open support to the PAH and its principles; magistrates who have supported the payment for account and stopped some evictions; or bank officers that have helped individually to negotiate and stop evictions.

Since the first evictions were stopped in 2011 both the State and banks have counteracted. For example larger police infrastructures have been devoted with dozens of riot police sometimes attacking violently peaceful protesters and citizens (Clot de Barcelona June 2011; El Pais 23/04/2012, Salt); activists and protesters have been asked for identification without motivation and put in prison; and, open dates for evictions have been launched to hinder anti-evictions campaigns.

**Figure 2. A chronology of the PAH networked social movement.**
DISCUSSION

The birth and diffusion of the PAH is the response of civil society to cope with the socio-economic crisis, protest against the injustice evictions and change the oppressing institutional arrangements. As a social movement is the result of its context, sparked by the shocking episodes of families being evicted and mortgage victims who committed suicide. Despite legal and political arrangements were similar previously to the economic crisis, the evictions law only affected vulnerable citizens in a pre-crisis context; and the difficulties to hold the right to housing, was only claimed by a minority of organisations, such as V de Vivienda. The crisis, the high rates of unemployment and the loss of houses became the spark that started the ignition of a collective response by the civil society.

The key to understand the PAH’s success was its strategy to be reproduced and diffused in order to fuel change (Schneiberg, 2013). The PAH Barcelona was one of the many responses of the civil society to deal with this new context. However, the PAH succeeded to become the legitimate organizational form to articulate and mobilize mortgage victims thorough the country. The first of PAH’s achievements was the creation of a ‘space of trust’ at the backstage of the movement: the open assemblies where the mortgage victims met, discussed their situation and found common solutions. These face-to-face meetings become spaces of transformation where victims (as objects of an injustice law) were transformed into activists and political subjects. There are many testimonies where these transformations of depressed, silent, guilty citizens are transformed into outraged, powerful protesters who struggle to defend their rights, in front of their neighbours, justice institutions and even the police if necessary. The first stop-eviction campaigned one year after the PAH Barcelona was created embodies this transformative process where for the first time one of the mortgage victims dared to publicly defend his house during the eviction launch via civil disobedience. As in Indignados or OWS movements, the face-to-face meetings become spaces of trust and community (Castells, 2009, 2012) where collective identity emerged. In these meetings individual dramas were framed and connected to the global issue of the right to housing and the injustices of the capitalism.

As the number of adopters of the PAH increased, the PAH became the prevalent organizational form to respond to the mortgage crisis. The idea travelled initially by hand of the people coming from the metropolitan region and attending the face-to-face meetings in Barcelona. These members reproduced the PAH progressively around the Barcelona Metropolitan Area and further on in Cataluña. The density and cohesion characteristic of dense urban areas as Barcelona provided opportunities to diffuse the PAH very quickly.

The PAH movement was deliberately designed to be reproduced and diffused as contemporary movements as autonomous and decentralized networked local cells, as “an amorphous nebula of indistinct shape and with variable density” (Melucci, 1996, p. 113). The PAH fulfills the description of other contemporary social movements:

“A movement consists of diversified and autonomous units.... A communication and exchange network keeps the separate, quasiautonomous cells in contact with each other. Information, individuals, and patterns of behaviour circulate through this network, passing from one unit to another, and bringing a degree of homogeneity to the whole. Leadership is not concentrated but diffuse, and it restricts itself to specific goals. Different individuals may, on occasion, become leaders with specific functions to perform. This structure... makes it extremely difficult to actually specify the collective actor. Melucci (1996, pp. 113–4)”
Practices, procedures, forms, documents, were standardized and packed into files that could be downloaded freely from the PAH’s websites. The organizational design was simple in its principles and aims, easy understand, decode and translate to the new local context (legibility…). The message was also connected to the public opinion’s rationales and experiences, thus providing a wide social support to its claims. The PAH also created internal and external communication networks to facilitate its diffusion, as agents of communication (Castells, 2009), or social movement infrastructure (Haug, 2013). The success was not only in the message but in how it was packaged, formulated and timed (Czarniawska-Joerges and Joerges, 1996; Sahlin and Wedlin, 2008). V de Vivienda or PAH “did not say anything new, but differently”, as some members affirm (Adau and Colá 2012): the message was packed following communication strategies of corporative colours, slogans, videos with direct targets, creating ‘trending topics’. The message was also sparked by mediatic events (Hoffman, 1991) such as evictions, police violence and even mortgage victims’ suicides.

As the number of local adopters of the PAH increased the more visible and legitimate this organizational label turned out to be. It was only when the PAH amassed a considerable number of adopters in Cataluña and succeeded to jump in the media via the stop-eviction campaign, that the idea of the PAH overcame the challenge of the ‘liability of newness’ (Freeman, Caroll and Hannan, 1983) and succeeded to travel outside the region and landed in Murcia to spread later thorough the country, and now via social and mass media networks as well. Thereafter, the alliances and interconnections with other social movements such as the Indignados, also contributed to further diffuse the PAH in other regions.

Similarly, behind the successful diffusion of the PAH is the creation of a hybrid public space (Castells 2012) between the communication networks and the urban space where protests and assemblies take place. The creation of this hybrid public space rests at the heart of the success to diffuse the PAH; whose main resources come from the communication networks and the urban space where face-to-face assemblies and protests take place. PAH’s members describe stop-eviction campaigns as “magic moments” where the sense of community is strengthened when confronting police forces via civil disobedience. They describe it as “the magic to confirm that together, things that seemed unavoidable can be changed, and impossible things can become true” (Colau and Alemany, 2012, p. 128)

The PAH created a public space within the assemblies where members could theorize, categorize and frame their claims (Schneiberg and Lounsbury, 2008), and where a collective identity was formed (Flesher 2010). For example, new concepts completely unknown by the public opinion such as “account by payment” were popularized and nowadays are acknowledge by common citizens. In this public space, the PAH contributed to the ‘sense-making’ of the evictions and framed them in the context of a socio-economic system that perpetuated inequalities, as for the right to housing. The capacity of the PAH to link micro-events with global issues of social injustice, and sense-making of individual dramas contributed as well to connect with the public opinion’s rationalities and sensitivity. Similarly, the movement gained increasingly internal adopters in state and corporate institutions such as firemen or judges.
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