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## The difficulties in spreading housing rights discourse in the face of 'right now' pragmatism on Twitter

### Abstract

**Social movements work in various overlapping dynamics: in the short term, trying to mobilize the largest number of sympathizers in their actions and in the long term, in a battle to change meanings and cognitive frameworks in a society. This article investigates how the Platform for Those Affected by Mortgages (PAH) uses Twitter in the two spheres above mentioned. The literature referring to collective mobilization explains activism in two complementary logics. A first one, rational, where participants only think about a concrete benefit, and a second, focusing on challenging established beliefs. As complex societies, the media and, more recently, social networks have gained in importance as a space where the legitimacy of these claims are discussed. In this analysis, frame theory has been applied to tweets referring to evictions published at the official account @LA\_PAH. Twitter, unlike other social networks, allows quick mobilization to gather activists and stop evictions, a valuable and positive asset. However, it ends up giving a limited image, focused on avoiding evictions, instead of a message to establish housing access as a good that must be guaranteed, outside the market. The extreme cases, those about families including children and elderly, predominate in the posts. This visibility certainly generates empathy but leads to the false feeling that only the most vulnerable citizens are affected.**

### Keywords

**Housing Rights, collective mobilization, social media, framing theory, Twitter, ciberactivism.**

### 1. Introduction

From the very beginning, the irruption of digital social networks polarized academics. The first generation embraced them, hoping that these would increase political participation and give voice to those who did not have any. The second wave was composed of those who looked at them with suspicion and mistrust. This article, in some way, aims at escaping from this duality and examining to what extent social media constitute a mobilization tool for social movements and a limitation to their intentions, in this case, the struggle for decent housing.

Although it is undeniable that the movements' main goals are on the streets and in the output of effective public policies, it is also true that their discourse with a disruptive message challenges the foundations of society. The symbolic, at this point, mixes with the strategic.

Concrete applicable proposals that guarantee a certain right to undertake pragmatic battles emanate from organizations internal debates.

Demands of the movements are never fully met. This fact can cause disappointment and a pessimistic view may prevail in terms of incidence. In this scenario, success is limited to secondary aspects, such as change in intangible values in the society's consciousness. This is being evolved little by little, from generation to generation. However, this dimension converts into an absolute relevance to become an end-goal in itself.

This paper examines how the discourse about the right to access to decent housing is reflected in the digital social network Twitter. At the same time, it co-exists with the daily activism to stop evictions. The case analysed is the Spanish social movement Platform for Those Affected by Mortgages (PAH)<sup>1</sup>.

The economic crisis after 2008 and the abusive mortgage legislation in this country left those who had contracted the loans unprotected and pushed them to organize PAH which emerged as a unifying and authorized voice on the matter after the real estate bubble burst. In recent decades, the Movement for Decent Housing in Spain has evolved, as home access became a problem in large cities. Initially, those who demanded the dissociation between home and property were the squatters. From the margins and with their faces covered, they challenged police officers, rejected any contact with press and had no intention to massify or create alliances with other groups. They did not intercede in neither parliamentary nor political party dynamics to gain influence.

Years later, confirming that young people were facing difficulties when trying to emancipate themselves, V de Vivienda emerged. With groundbreaking slogans, such as "You won't have a house in your fucking life," it was made up of students or recent graduates whom –under precarious working conditions– could barely share a flat in big cities. Although they achieved a significant impact in demonstrations taking place in regional capitals, they failed to broaden their base and become massive.

However, years later the conflict escalated. It was no longer young people who could not facilitate their options when it came to improving their accommodation, but entire families who were expelled from their homes. Despite an uncertain beginning, the PAH found an ally in the Indignados 15M movement, which also shared the blaming view of the banking entities as the responsible ones for the crisis and called for the defence of citizen access to basic rights, such as housing.

In recent years, the difficulties in home accessing persist, although it has shifted from impossibility to make mortgage payments to the monthly rent payments. Platform's activists also conceived the Alliance against Energy Poverty (APE)<sup>2</sup> in order to guarantee water, electricity, and gas supplies to those who are at risk of social exclusion. The irruption of vulture funds that have acquired properties and the gentrification processes in large urban centres keep this problem alive. Its consequences have been addressed from various academic fields, not only from urban geography (Sala, 2018).

## **2. Collective mobilization**

Traditionally, there co-existed two opposite views on motivations that lead individuals to mobilize: one that explained it from rationality, with a simple reward-effort equation, and another one that did so with a cultural component. However, heterogeneity of the big number of its members, and their motivations as well as diversity of origins make it difficult to establish a unity in the goals, benefits, and degree of involvement.

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<sup>1</sup> 'Plataforma de Afectados por la Hipoteca' in Spanish language.

<sup>2</sup> 'Alianza por la Pobreza Energética' in Spanish language.

With the upsurge of modern technologies, existing ties can be strengthened with much greater fluidity in comparison with what was possible earlier. Through data communication, protest movements reproduce the characteristics of face-to-face relationships. That is, they develop a sense of community and identity, camaraderie, and social ties. These pleasures are not available in everyday life routines, as much as the variety and challenge of conversation, cooperation, and competition (Della Porta & Diani, 2011).

With a certain agreed periodicity, often weekly, these groups meet in a physical space (some of them even have their own premises, as is the case of the Platform of Those Affected by Mortgages, PAH) and discuss the weekly agendas in face-to-face meetings. Here, the organizational structure becomes clear, whether there are leaders or spokespersons or, on the contrary, whether they have horizontal relationships. Roles adopted by different members are also latent, revealing who are the most active ones, the most passive ones and who the most radical ones. These roles can evolve over time, since not all participants have the same strength or the same availability in the same period. Although the horizontality and the absence of leaders are proclaimed at every organization, it is almost impossible to achieve. Moderators who spread the word and those in charge of various tasks are appointed, which can fall repeatedly among the most active members.

### **2.1. *The short-term results of the liberal view***

What prevailed in the classical literature referring to social movements studies, has been a paradigm, mainly in the United States, that places them within a dysfunction of the democratic system, and originate due to failure of political parties and governments to attend citizens' demands. It explains its emergence "from the conflicts and opportunity structures surrounding the process of state consolidation" (McAdam, McCarthy & Zald, 2008, pp. 48-49).

The success or failure of a social movement, according to this stream, is determined by its ability to mobilize and influence institutions. That is, by the magnitude of protest acts and specific policies that come into being as their consequence. Responding to a liberal logic, action is the result of a mathematical sum of individual behaviours.

For collective action to be carried out, organizations and political entrepreneurs must coerce potential participants or distribute selective incentives, thus allow them to receive greater benefits than they would as non-participants (Della Porta & Diani, 2011). However, a rational vision of such degree leaves aside the fact that profits and losses cannot always be easily determined. Notwithstanding, that belonging to a group and defending certain values are not linked to a material reward but rather to intangible assets such as pride, satisfaction, or recognition.

However, a predominant role of individuality instead of collective rights responds to a logic opposed to the object of study. Following the theory of resources mobilization, and responding to a simple effort-benefit calculation, the activists would mobilize just to obtain an individual profit.

Although a pragmatic purpose cannot be ruled out in all participation, this approach fails for being too reductionist as it dismisses intangible values, blurs boundaries between winners and losers, and even miscalculates and undervalues adventures with uncertain endings by participants. Neither does it account for the number of members who join a cause when it is close to its outcome.

### **2.2. *The European stream***

One of the aspects in which the success of a social movement lies, is the ability to awaken support at the citizenry base, and not only in direct confrontation with the consolidated political system. In contrast to the Anglo-Saxon vision exposed above, which focused on conflict and divergence, a series of continental European academics delved into the aspects of culture and identity that allow and support social movements.

Collective action produces a cultural change in the anthropological, molecular sense in our daily life, ways of life and in interpersonal relationships. At the same time, this change influences political institutions and systems. Changing today means doing so in symbolic codes, as long as “‘material effects’ depend on cultural models that structure everyday social relations, political systems and forms of production and consumption” (Melucci, 1989, p. 97).

It is an indisputable fact that there is a vast variety of contemporary movements that fight for the right to be, to develop a personal identity and other abstract values that escape a cost-benefit logic is undeniable. However, these antagonistic groups have a clear objective to influence. They will also demand the intervention or abstention of political parties and institutions recognizing the state as the rector of society. This means “the freedom to have which characterized *homo economicus* in industrial society is replaced by the freedom to be” (Melucci, 1989, pp. 177-178).

However, neither the new identity movements circumscribe their battlefield to the symbolic field, nor do the organizations that fight for basic rights neglect the underlying ideologies in society. In other words, the LGBTIQ+ collective, in addition to fighting for a change in values within society, will try to influence by promoting specific regulations, such as adoption, that allow access to equality. On the other hand, the PAH, as an organization that pursues a basic right such as housing, has not only tried to obtain the approval of a legislative initiative in the Spanish Parliament and stop evictions, but also to establish new cognitive frameworks about housing defying traditional ones.

The mobilization, from the American stream, is understood as a failure, from pessimism since the moment in which the demands of the organizations will never be completely satisfied. On the other hand, from the continental European point of view, any mobilization has positive consequences simply because it challenges established elites, creates new ties among participants, and establishes new alternative narratives, which is considered from the continental perspective as complete success in itself.

Both, the predominant interest in the Anglo-Saxon academic literature, where social movements pursue punctual actions reward in the short term as well as the culturalist, where social changes are slow and produced in the long term, are taken into consideration. These two complementary views are applicable in the analysis of daily activism in the fight to stop evictions (American view) and in study of long-term intangible cultural changes (European stream). Both are objectives of this work.

### **3. The Platform of Those Affected by Mortgages and Evictions**

On February 22, 2009, the Platform of Those Affected by Mortgages (PAH) was set up in Barcelona with the aim of giving support to those one who were not able to afford making mortgage payments. This confirmed that the pre-established legal framework protected financial institutions interests to the detriment of buyers. The platform was the continuation of V de Vivienda, a social movement born in May 2006 integrated by teenagers that were not able to emancipate themselves and opt for decent housing (Alemany & Colau, 2012).

When the real-estate bubble burst and the beginning of the crisis made it necessary to rethink the strategy in a scenario in which the problem of access to housing directly led to its loss for thousands of families in the Spanish state. In October 2008, V de Vivienda and a prominent group of young people with precarious jobs who could not emancipate themselves, organized a conference under the slogan of “We will not let the banks kick us out of the house,” which became the seed of the PAH.

In November 2010, the PAH itself achieved its first remarkable success by stopping an eviction in La Bisbal del Penedés, a Catalanian village. The event was recorded with mobile devices, uploaded to YouTube, and distributed virally on digital social networks. This caused the fact that many people who were in analogous situations came together and joined the group, stepping out from their individual cases to collective activism.

Being successful in avoiding an eviction took the activists themselves by surprise. They planned demonstrations in the homes at risk until that day, not to prevent expulsions (something they believed highly unlikely), but for the sole purpose of highlighting and denouncing the social conflict. As a traditional act of protest contemplated within the repertoire of social movements, beyond the fact that because of the cruelty and violence evictions transcended the usual limits.

Six months later, they blocked another eviction in Madrid. From that moment on, the movement actively spread against judicial launches under the slogan "Stop Evictions" and managed to prevent more than 500 judicial expulsions by the end of 2012 (Alemany & Colau, 2012). The rapid expansion, beyond the economic situation and legal collusion, is linked to the Indignados movement of 15M, promoting each other.

The PAH, on its part, benefited from an exponential growth in its symbiosis with 15M, with Stop-evictions being "one of the most widespread and replicated practices since 2011" (Toret, 2015, p. 228). Toret, a network researcher focused on Twitter, also recognizes in the platform "one of the most interesting, solid experiences, where the street, the use of networks and intervention in the media space are surgically combined, doing each of these successes not only desirable but possible" (Toret, 2015, p. 230).

The exponential growth of evictions consequently brought to light the lack of statistics in this field. First, the DESC Observatory and the General Council of the Judiciary began to collect data and it was not until 2013 when the National Institute of Statistics (INE) began to work in this regard and made public the number of foreclosures in process from 2014. On a quarterly basis, it collects the data sent by the College of Property and Mercantile Registrars of Spain (CORPME).

According to INE, between the first quarter of 2014 (the oldest figures available) and the first quarter of 2015 (the corpus of this research covers up to March 5, 2015), a total of 151,721 judicial processes involving foreclosures were initiated in Spain, of which 95,476 corresponded to homes and rustic farms (2015). On its part, the Social Conflict Observatory estimates that there were 167,000 execution processes in 2012, of which 90,000 gave rise to judicial launches, causing 15,000 evictions from habitual residences (2013).

The action of the PAH in the evictions, in some way, can be framed within the typical acts of protest of social movements. The organization, similarly to other movements, carries out actions that constitute a challenge to the authorities and institutions, and seeks to attract the greatest possible attention, from the press and from the citizenry. In this way they try to show how big and powerful they are and attempt to spread the deepest reasons for their claims.

However, the repertoire of protest actions has evolved over time. The first spontaneous demonstrations gradually turned into highly planned sophisticated cycles of protest. Approximately two centuries ago, manifestations were isolated and discontinuous, responding to specific and local events until their assimilation and acceptance ceased to be a challenge and they were institutionalized. This forced them to look for new innovative forms.

Nowadays, there is a wide repertoire of highly sophisticated protest, including even the virtual arena as a battlefield. Endeavour to influence multiple areas at the same time has become the goal. However, halting evictions elude this concept of the act of protest in the conventional sense, since its organization and forecasting slip away from PAH's hands. Contrastingly, it can be understood as a challenge to the established power and the visibility of social conflict.

These protest events represent only a small part of tasks carried out by the associations, although they are most likely recognized by the degree of spectacularizing, violence and staging. The term 'mobilization' ultimately refers to the process by which a group goes from being a set of individual passive spectators to active participants in public life, demobilization being the reverse process (Tilly, 1978).

#### **4. Twitter as a political activist media**

Since the 1990s, the Internet's role in politics has steadily increased. The Democratic Party in the United States effectively used the network for campaign funding. It was facilitated and amplified by networking in general and by the Meetup.org website in particular. This organization, unlike its rival, the Republican Party, had a tradition of mobilizing its bases (Andrejevic, 2007), a factor that evidenced a predisposition towards new types of involvement.

Social movements have struggled to carve out a place for themselves in the media agenda, so that their demands could be echoed. To some extent, they found an ally in the Internet to reach their supporters and the rest of the citizenry. In the 1990s, the Alter-globalization movement used technology and non-streaming media, creating Indymedia news sites, as well as mailing lists to coordinate their actions and hacktivists groups.

Subsequently, a second wave coincides with the rise of Web 2.0. The emergence of the Anonymous and Lulzsec collectives, the Indignados of 15M, Occupy, and movements of the squares, among others, took advantage of these user generated content sites for mass mobilization (Gerbaudo, 2017).

However, the participatory nature of the Internet and, more recently, of digital social networks, has been questioned on multiple occasions. Its architecture, in a certain way, favours the voice of large capitalist corporations, privileged consumers and, in a secondary role, citizens who wish to engage politically (Olsson, 2014). In the first stage, it was expected that social networks would serve to attract young people who were far from the political arena. However, those who ended up taking advantage were activists who already had previous experience in the offline world and other already established powerful players.

It is also advisable to keep in mind that the vast majority of content that circulates through social media is destined for leisure purposes, with the sole aim of entertainment, and only a small part deals with current political issues. In any case, the platforms' goal is to be able to achieve the greatest economic benefit possible, in a logic in which the market prevails over any political commitment. The primary business model consists in taking intangible elements of our daily activities and transforming them into data to sell to third party companies. In the specific case of Twitter, the platform allows datafication of feelings by creating an easy way to record and share the vaguest users' thoughts (Mayer-Schönberger & Cukier, 2013).

Especially social networks have become a place where the content of emotional nature predominates, the type of content that provokes the greatest reactions in the form of 'likes' and shares. Algorithms assign them higher relevance in order to give them greater visibility and to obtain a greater profit in all this (Pariser, 2017). In the case of evictions, the analysis object of this work is a subject with a markedly dramatic and emotional component (Pérez, Berná & Arroyas, 2016). The loss of a roof as protection, the children, elderly and middle-aged people involved at a few meters away from our homes generate an unusual empathy.

From the perspective of political activism, digital social networks, including Twitter, have become spaces for dissent. They try to influence in the media agenda shaping and, at the same time, they serve as a battlefield in which the objective is to gain visibility by establishing trending topics through elaborate strategies. The utopian of an alternative network, a self-governed and non-commercial space, was pushed to a secondary role. Nowadays Internet activists "have been more concerned with harnessing the outreach capabilities of corporate social networking sites such as Facebook and Twitter and the digital-popular culture that has emerged on these platforms" (Gerbaudo, 2017, p. 486).

Social media and traditional media are subject to elites' control, but they can become influenced and potentially used as counter-powers that challenge that hegemony. However, this kind of disruption is, as indicated, potential, which means that it does not happen automatically or in all cases. Even in the most optimistic postulates, it fails to be in equal

conditions: “The power of dominant and alternative media tends to be distributed unequally: alternative media are often facing resource inequalities and have to exist based on precarious labor and resource precariousness” (Fuchs, 2014, p. 80).

Although the role of the digital social networks in a mobilization success or failure, the arena where changes proposed by protest movements are debated and decided, end up being physical and not cyber-space:

[...] are not Facebook, YouTube or Twitter, but rather Tahrir Square, Syntagma Square, Puerta del Sol, Plaça Catalunya, and Zuccotti Park. The context of contemporary struggles is the large-scale colonization of the world by capitalism. A different world is necessary, but whether it can be created is uncertain and only determined by the outcome of struggles (Fuchs y Mosco, 2012, p. 129).

Somehow, the challenge of digital activism is to take advantage of the discomfort expressed on the Internet to transcend into effective and concrete measures. Pérez, Berná, and Arroyas observed that the debate that takes place on the networks is polarized between two large antagonistic groups. The media and politicians on one side and civil society and citizens on the other. This fact calls into question the vision of social networks as an enriching atmosphere for political-media debates (2016).

Although polarization and echo chambers have a negative consequence, on the other hand they reinforce ties between their members and allow them a space of trust and contention. Instead of strong conversational communities, Núñez, D'Antonio, and Fernández found a massive spread of messages with little discussion or deliberation in their analysis of the feminist movement in Spain (2016). Another relevant characteristic is the anonymity that platforms allow. Beyond the undeniable negative consequences, it presents an opportunity to freely express ideas, opinions and testimonies that would otherwise be impossible to spread, such as the case of those who have been victims of abuse (Bernárdez, López & Padilla, 2021).

In the case of the PAH, the use of Twitter is originated thanks to the confluence with the Indignados of 15M, who claimed dominance in this area and adopted some of the Platform's claims as their own, especially those related to housing right. At a national level, the organization has a profile on Facebook and Instagram also, while members coordinate their actions through instant messaging (IM) such as Telegram. They also have a YouTube account where they could weave an alternative story to the one shown by traditional media in the *escraches* campaign (Ramón Pinat, 2019). However, YouTube is not an interactive social media and its content only becomes viral when it is shared in other social networks.

## **5. Methodology**

In the present investigation, whose purpose is to visualize the housing right discourse on Twitter by the Platform of Those Affected by the Mortgage (PAH), the framework theory was applied. Unlike other methodologies based on linguistics, such as Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), frames allow reaching conclusions that are not very limited to the literal nature of the text. That is, it moves in the field of flexibility and elasticity. Therefore, its application could end up lacking scientific rigor, whereas the same reasons that make it an ideal methodology may be the cause for its distrust and rejection.

In this work, an approach based on data mining has been ruled out. The datafication that, as mentioned in the previous sections, brought a new business model innovative for corporations also meant the appearance of a new type of academic research. Through the extraction, storage and management of large databases with few resources, a series of investigations focused on a quantitative approach on network structures and the compilation of keywords.

However, after this first approach from positions close to positivism, a series of qualitative analyses gained space. Among them, Belotti, Comunello and Corradi's (2021) stands out. Despite having compiled a huge corpus of material over the years that allowed them to

apply data mining, they decided to carry out a content analysis of the tweets, focusing on the emotional component and in the “Ni una menos” movement identity construction. Milan and Treré (2019) also oppose the epistemological position that tries to explain the world through data. They propose a de-colonization that, in addition, gives relevance to the global South.

Following the line of the above mentioned, frame theory has been widely used in the analysis of social movements due to its flexibility and adaptation to the studied object. Frames can be understood as mental orientations that organize perception and interpretation. To understand a communicative act, reference to a metamessage about what is happening is required. That is, a framework of interpretation that is applied to that act, with a dynamic, collective and relevant character in social relations.

On the other hand, this interaction of meaning is not fully determined in advance but is rather a collective production. Not only does the interactive process consist of two utterances produced by the speaker and the listener, but also of the respective interpretations by them (Rivas, 1988).

In order to visualize how a social movement intertwines long-term awareness with daily activism in halting evictions, the following steps were carried out: first, the tweets from the official @LA\_PAH account between August 5, 2014, and March 5, 2015, were compiled. That is, a period of seven months. Second, those that explicitly mention evictions and those that are related to them through a continuity of the narrative were selected, resulting in a total corpus composed of 1204 units of analysis.

Tweets that speak about evictions and protests carried out in bank offices or public institutions were not included. Beyond the fact that those were acts of protest related to housing problems, they were discarded in order to take only mentions that refer to foreclosures of housing for permanent living purpose, whether for mortgage or rent (although in most cases the content does not differ from one another).

Subsequently, pairs of frameworks and their alternative counterpart detailed below (Figure 1) were applied based on the three components that Gamson considers essential for collective mobilization to crystallize and not remain an abstract desire: injustice, agency and identity (1992). It means that a disadvantage must be perceived as a grievance, something unfair, attributable to a guilty group and the existence of an ‘us,’ as a self-recognized group, that is able to modify that present.

Below, the three categories of frames with their opposing alternative frames established for the present analysis:

**Table 1:** Pairs of frames and alternative frames.

<b>Frame</b>	<b>Alternative frame</b>
Housing is a right	It is an economic commodity for sale
It is a social-collective problem	These are special cases
It is state government responsibility (structural intervention)	The municipalities’ Social Services must act (charity)

Source: Own elaboration.



**Housing is a right:** Justice vs. injustice. The vindication of the right to a house recognized in the Spanish Constitution's 47<sup>th</sup> article. This vision is also reinforced by the legislative initiative promoted in the Spanish Parliament by the movement. Also, the successive rulings of the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg, the Court of Justice of the European Union in Luxembourg and the relationship with human rights. The main goal of the Platform is to change the traditional concept of housing as a property to the right of use and possession.

**It is an economic commodity for sale:** The evictions are for monetary reasons, due to the high prices that cannot be paid. They are a product of the economic crisis that affects everyone and is suffered by those who contracted risky loans, and now must pay the consequences. On the other hand, banks are the main responsible for people that become homeless, along with vulture funds and the economic crisis. If someone cannot afford making payments, he/she must face the consequences. Gentrification processes and real-estate development are necessary, positive and serve to recycle neglected areas, negative for cities.

**It is a social-collective problem:** Housing access does not only affect a certain group, a minority portion of the population at risk. On the contrary, it is a much deeper problem with associated consequences that must be treated radically. Housing troubles are not circumscribed to groups at risk of exclusion or minorities but working class and middle classes who are ejected from their homes.

**These are special cases:** The information of every particular case is given in an isolated way without context. They are uncommon foreclosures; they are relevant because elderly people, families with children or disabled are involved. These extreme situations do not generate identification, empathy, although they do involve compassion, visibility and anger for awakening a sense of injustice.

**It is state government responsibility:** It demands a structural solution through state administration intervention, with protectionist policies that guarantee access to universal housing through an effective regulation of prices and contractual conditions, both for mortgages and rentals. There must be a change in the legislation with far-reaching measures. It included the conditions posted at the legislative initiative promoted in the Spanish Parliament by the movement. Far from palliative subsidies, it means a maximum solution.

**The municipalities' Social Services must act:** The solution involves the intervention of social services, the transfer of spaces, appealing to palliative charity. City councils must intervene to provide coverage and shelter to the neediest citizens. A housing alternative to an eviction in which minors or the elderly are involved. It is consistent with a minimum solution.

## **6. Results**

The @LA\_PAH is the official account analyzed. During the period between August 5, 2014, and March 5, 2015, it has been:

Total RTW: 68,244, average: 84,461 per tweet, max. 11,556 and min. 1

Total likes: 27,734, average: 23,035 per tweet, max. 5,390 and min. 0, total 1175 with at least one 'like.'

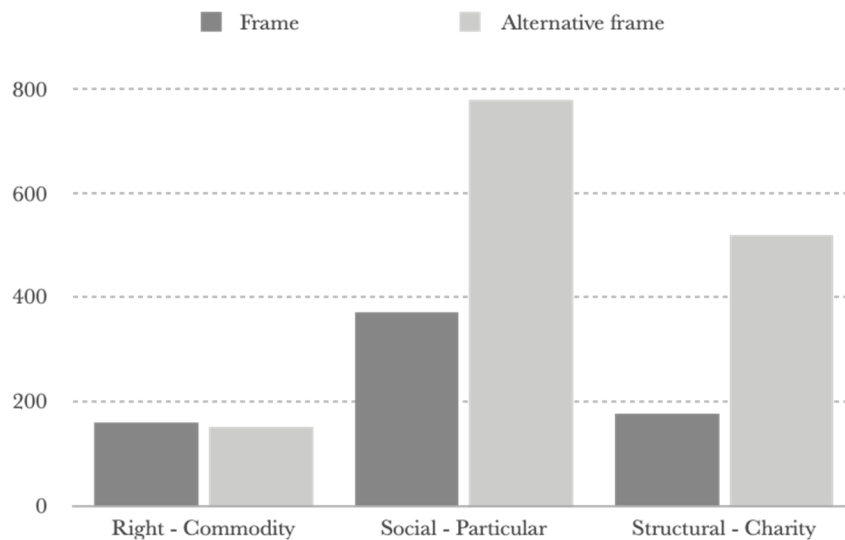
The framing of housing as a right is present in 160 tweets and as an economic commodity in 151. The conception of the problem as isolated cases has a presence of 780 posts out of 371 that do so as a social conflict. The frame that attends to charitable solutions is found in 521 opportunities and those that call for a structural intervention 177 (see Table 2 and Figure 1).

**Table 2:** Number of tweets in which each frame is present.

Housing is a right	As economic commodity	Social problem	Special cases	Structural	Charity
160	151	371	780	177	521

Source: Own elaboration.

**Figure 1:** Pairs of frames and alternative frames ratio.



Source: Own elaboration.

Of the 1,204 in total, the 250 most viral tweets (adding RTW and ‘like’) that present the most differences in relation to the sample as a whole, are those that demand a charitable solution (in 72 cases, with a proportion of 108) and the ownership of the dwelling as property (23, by 31.3). In the remaining cases, a slightly higher presence in the perception of home as a right (34 out of 33.17) and the clamour for structural resolutions (42 out of 36.7) while it is slightly lower in the diagnosis as a social conflict (75 per 76.9 on average) and as isolated cases (160 per 161.7) (see Table 3).

**Table 3:** Frames presence in the 250 most viral tweets, in relation to the total projection.

	Housing is a right	Economic commodity	Social problem	Special cases	Structural	Charity
	34	23	75	160	42	72
Scale (1.024)	33,17	31,3	76,9	161,7	36,7	108

Source: Own elaboration.

It can be observed that the most successful tweets published by the account practically maintain the same proportion of frames that in the total amount. However, those that refer to housing as a commodity frame are slightly lower and those that call for a charitable solution are notably lower.

## 7. Conclusions

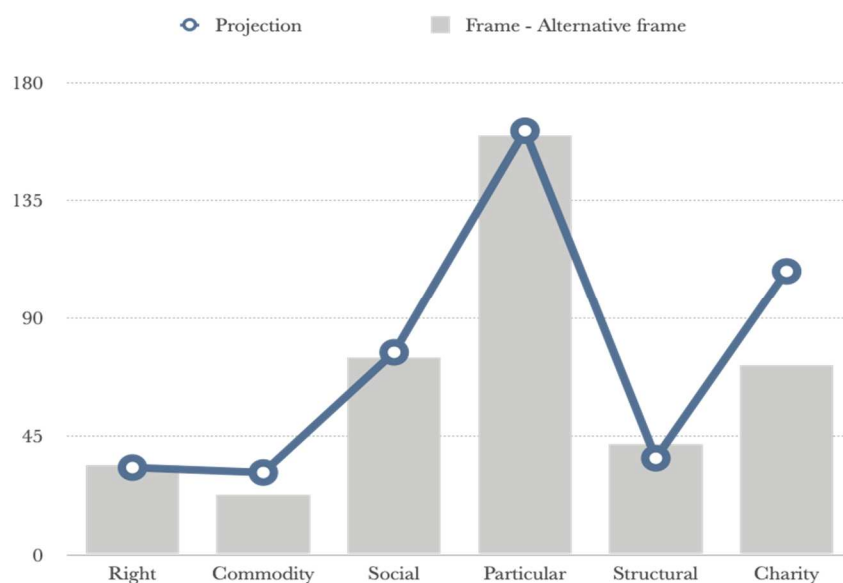
The Platform of Those Affected by Mortgage fights for the creation of policies that guarantee access to housing and, from a symbolic point of view, for the establishment of a decent home as a basic citizenship right. However, the presence of this framework as a right is below its alternative, as an economic commodity for sale. This responds to the impossibility of weaving a discourse without mentioning banking entities. They constitute the major real-estate property owners in Spain, responsible for the situation of housing emergencies.

Another negative effect in the use of the economic framework is that the organization’s goals are confused, and citizenry may think that they claim access to home as property, or even free. On the contrary, the platform demands to explore other formulas to a home access, such as a social rent, with amounts of money that do not exceed 30% of the resident’s income, under a temporary usufruct.

The frame with the most presence in the entire sample of tweets is the one that presents expulsions as particular cases (780, 64.8% of the total). This fact responds to the use of Twitter as a daily mobilization tool. In the case of the PAH, it is used to publicize evictions that will be carried out in order to gather as many activists as possible and halt them. The special cases visibility also produces identification with the audience, achieving empathy and rapprochement. However, on the other hand, they have a side effect when it comes to projecting the problem as a social conflict.

Another aspect that goes in the same direction is the fact that the exposed particularities make it difficult to perceive expulsions as not only affecting the most disadvantaged groups but the whole of society. In other words, if children, disabled and the elderly predominate among those expelled, among other social groups at risk of vulnerability, it is implied that these are only extreme cases. It shows that citizens with full faculties at working age are not affected by access to housing precariousness.

**Figure 2:** Research summary. The bars indicate the number of total frames and alternative frames present in the 1,204 tweets analysed, as shown in figure 1. The circles, the result of a math operation consisting in selecting frames and alternative frames identified in the 250 most viral tweets, dividing them by 250 and multiplying by 1,204, in order to compare them with the total.



Source: Own elaboration.

Something similar occurs with claims for a charitable solution. When an eviction takes place, all efforts are directed to find an accommodation for the suddenly ejected families, so they can spend at least next night under a roof. As a direct consequence, networks posts appeal to municipal social services. They are palliative patches, in opposition to the conditions posted at the legislative initiative promoted by the movement in the Spanish Parliament in order to enact the mortgage law. In accordance with the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg, the Court of Justice of the European Union in Luxembourg and article 47 of the Spanish Constitution demands. Urgent measures displace long-term race.

If we take publications that have received the highest number of retweets and 'likes,' we can see that the ratio to the total is proportionally maintained (see Figure 2). However, housing as a commodity framing is below average while those of charity are well below average. It can be interpreted that users of the analysed digital social network escape sensationalism and, on the contrary, demand far-reaching solutions.

By pairs of frames and counter-frames, those referring to social *vs.* special cases greatly outnumber the other two combinations. This is consistent with the fact that PAH's members themselves emphasize that the organization's greatest value is identity. Those who find themselves in an extreme situation of losing their home find shelter and consolation in the Platform. They arrive despondent thinking that they have personally failed in a competitive society and, instead, discover that they have been the target of a fraud, feeling empowered to change reality.

Finally, the predominance of content that makes references to isolated cases and calls for charitable solutions shows that the social network Twitter has become a much more effective tool in daily activist mobilization in opposition to a media in which movements spread a more complex long-term narrative.

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