

Yes it's possible! Framing processes and social resonance of Spain's anti-eviction movement

ABSTRACT

There are few empirical studies on the cultural consequences of social movements (SM). This article contributes to alleviating this problem, examining the cultural outcomes produced by the action of the Platform for People Affected by Mortgages (PAH), one of the most important social movement organizations (SMO) to appear in Spain in the 2010s. Concretely, through qualitative methods we analyse the content and form of the PAH's discourse and the communicative practices developed to disseminate it to the population. Following, we examine this diffusion using quantitative methods. The article shows that PAH activists produced a discourse with a form and content that sought to achieve *alignment* with the common sense of the majority of the population, that their communicative practices took advantage of the opportunities offered by social and mass media, and, lastly, that the PAH's diagnosis and proposals *resonated* among a majority of the population.

KEYWORDS

Cultural outcomes, framing, strategic communication, mediation, housing movement, Spain

INTRODUCTION

Revived academic interest in the consequences, outcomes and impacts of the SM that have emerged since the 2000s (Betancor-Nuez and Díez-García 2019) has generated a number of important studies (e.g. Bosi et al. 2016, Calle 2007, 2016, Uba 2009). The majority of these have focused on the impact of SM in terms of laws and policies (Pleyers and Álvarez-Benavides 2019), substantially mitigating the relative lack of prior studies on this issue (Aguilar and Romanos 2019). However, only a few of these recent contributions have focused on the cultural impact of SM on society. Thus, despite the recognition of social movements as key forces in maintaining or changing the culture of a society (e.g. Johnston and Klandermans 1995, Earl 2004), there is only a small body of empirical studies on their cultural outcomes (see Earl 2004; Giugni 2008: 1591-1592; Van Dyke and Taylor 2018 for a review).

The few studies examining the cultural outcomes of SM have focused on three areas: collective identities (e.g. Polleta and Jaspers 2001); the values, beliefs and opinions of the population (d'Anjou 1996, d'Anjou and Van Male 1998, Gamson and Modigliani 1989, Rochon 1998), and cultural products or artifacts, such as discourse (Gamson and Modigliani 1989, Snow et al. 2013) and visual culture. In this article we focus on the latter two areas in examining the case of the PAH, which is one of the most important SM to develop in Spain in the current decade and outstanding reference for other movements worldwide (Martínez 2018: 2). The PAH seeks to support anyone unable to pay their monthly mortgage and therefore at risk of losing their home and falling into debt. It was born with the organization of an initial group in Barcelona in February 2009 and by March 2019 included 255 local groups across Spain.

In view of the high socio-political importance acquired by the PAH, we ask: has it been successful in disseminating its diagnosis and proposals? To answer this question, we examine two outcomes associated with the PAH's *framing* activity, that is, the work of elaborating a discourse to justify and give meaning to its actions to current and potential constituents. First, we analyse the content and characteristics of this discourse and the practices used to spread it, and secondly, we examine its *resonance* within both the media and the population, which we understand within the former as the presence of the movement's frames in mass media (XX) and within the latter as the conjunction of these frames with the culture of the population (McCammon 2013). As a result, this article helps alleviate the noted limited existing empirical research on the cultural outcomes of SM in general, as well as in regard to the specific case of the PAH.

We analyse the two mentioned cultural outcomes using a *framing analysis* approach from SM studies (Snow et al. 1986; Snow and Benford 1988), complemented by certain ideas and concepts from communication studies. A framing approach reintroduces the analysis of the cultural work of SM in research on collective action, dominated by analyses of resource mobilization and rational choice theory in the 1980s. However, the majority of studies carried out from a framing perspective have, in general, focused on the framing task carried out by the leaders of SMO (Ketelaars 2016: 343), although Snow et al.'s (2013) recent study on the cultural contribution made by SMO with their framing activity is a noteworthy exception.

EXTERNAL COMMUNICATION IN SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Framing activity and the spread of messages

SM communicate with the communities they are part of through their action. This communication includes the tasks of framing and the diffusion of messages on the part of SMO.

Framing, as Druckman (2001: 226-228) shows, has been understood and analysed in two primary ways. One, more linked to communication studies, considers framing to be a way of constructing a story. The task consists of selecting specific words, rhetoric and images, as well as specific issues and elements, and making connections among them in order to promote a particular vision (Entman 2004: 5). The other way of understanding framing has been more associated with SM studies. It refers to the use of specific *frames* in discourse, in the sense of Goffman's (1974) "schemata of interpretation". Frames, in this perspective, are "bundles of beliefs and meaning" (Johnston 1995: 234) or, as Bourdieu (1991: 105-116) says, "the categories of perception and classification systems", which include essentially the words and the names which construct the social reality. Frames understood in this way guide our perceptions and interpretations of the world and the position we occupy in it (Snow et al. 1986: 464). In this article we see these two conceptions of framing as complementary, and we take both into consideration.

For an SMO, the framing task, according to Snow and Benford (1988), must include the development of three key frames for the movement: a *diagnostic* frame, consisting of defining a situation as a problem and the assignment of blame; a *prognostic* frame, which proposes solutions to the problem; and a *motivational* frame, which provides

justification for the need for collective action. Understanding cultural heritage as a “toolkit” (Swinder 1986), the elaboration of frames consists of the creative work of combining and articulating diverse elements (frames, beliefs, ideas, legislation, symbols, etc.) for the movement's own ends. This work is a continuous strategic process of framing and reframing over time, which takes place according to the needs considered at each moment by the SMO in its search for *alignment* with its target audience. Alignment means achieving some kind of connection between the visions and problems of this population and the proposals of the SMO (Benford and Snow 2000).

The spread of messages and frames to non-participants in an SMO can be considered the *external communication* of a movement. This can be carried out through the communication networks the movement is a part of or close to (such as “independent” radio and press), social media (Facebook, YouTube, Twitter, etc.), as well as through the movement's efforts to disseminate its messages through the mass media (TV, radio and major newspapers).

External communication can be strategically managed or not. As Holtzhausen and Zerfass (2015) point out, strategic management of external communication does not automatically derive from strategic action, but it does specifically imply that communicative practices are managed strategically. Madroñero and Capriotti (2018) show that there exist multiple ways of conceiving strategic communication, but that the majority share the understanding that this step is taken after determining organizational objectives and target audiences, and before deciding on tactics and communication activities. Sharing the preceding understanding, the authors continue, strategic communication tends to be conceived as the organization's line of argument or the general lines or policies of communication. Lastly, recent contributions (e.g. Moreno et al. 2017) add the integration of social media as essential to communicative strategy.

The aim of the external communication of an SMO is to get its messages and frames across to its target population. In order to do this, SMO generally must attempt to change the dominant frames of the population, as well as confront the communicative actions of their opponents, who also try to impose their frames on the population. Thus, SMO and their opponents engage in a communicative struggle to impose their respective frames. The struggle to maintain or change frames is central because of its performative effects on reality. Frames contribute to creating or reinforcing collective identities (Snow and Benford 1988) and to fostering interpretations and behaviours favourable to the interests and/or objectives of specific social agents (Bourdieu 1991: 103-159)

Conditions for the social resonance of frames

The success of external communication depends on the messages and frames attaining a *presence* in public space and *resonance* in target audiences. In Western societies the presence of discourses in public space since the postwar period has depended above all on their dissemination through the mass media (Gamson 1992). Since the mid-1990s, digital media have become increasingly important and are now decisive in diffusing the messages of SM (Castells 2012). Digital media are particularly useful for connecting with audiences that are close to the movement, but to reach those that

are more distant, the mass media continues to be important (Romanos 2016). Clearly, having a significant presence in one type of media can open the door to the dissemination of the same message through the other type of media.

The structure of the existing media can be interpreted, according to Cammaerts (2012), as a *structure of opportunity*, which along with the *discursive opportunity structure* of Koopmans and Olzak (2004) -defined below, form the *mediation opportunity structure* of a particular moment. Taking advantage of the opportunities offered by this structure depends on the capacity of SMO to adapt their actions and the format of their messages to the logic of the media they intend to use. Thus, many movements have learned to organize their protests with the dramaturgy and format necessary to increase the likelihood of appearing in the mass media (e.g. Champagne 1984), as well as to manage social media so that they can spread their messages (Castells 2012). Regarding the latter, SMO can control the moment, the number of times a message is emitted and how it is framed.

Their presence in the mass media also depends on what is considered news or what is of interest to the media at any particular time, which for Koopmans and Ozak (2004: 202-203) forms part of the *discursive opportunities* of a specific moment. In addition, the discourse of SMOs is re-framed in the mass media based on journalists' interpretations of events (Mateus 2018), their routines, ideological perspectives, and the organizational constraints and pressures of their institutions and from interest groups (Scheufele 2000: 3017). This re-framed discourse is what reaches the audience, and may be either close to or far from that elaborated by the SMOs.

The resonance of movements' frames in target audiences is conditioned by three main elements. Firstly, the degree of resonance obtained in the mass media. A message and frames that are reproduced numerous times and by a greater variety of speakers and media attain much greater visibility. The existence of the conditions for this type of reproduction to take place is, according to Koopmans and Ozak, another of the elements forming part of the discursive opportunities of a particular moment. Secondly, resonance requires as a precondition that there be an *alignment* (Snow et al. 1986) between the collective action frames and the population to be mobilized. Lastly, Flam (2005) adds that the success of the alignment and resonance requires the situation to be interpreted through certain *feeling rules* by target audiences that encourage the desire to act to change the situation.

Furthermore, Benford and Snow (2000) also point out that the degree of resonance of a movement's frames in target audiences is associated with their degree of *credibility* and *relative salience*, that is, the extent to which they touch on important and meaningful aspects of people's lives. Credibility depends on three factors: the *consistency* of the beliefs, demands and actions advocated by the SMO; the *empirical credibility* of the frames, that is, their apparent fit with the events they explain; and the *credibility* of the frame articulators, something also pointed out by Bourdieu (1991: 103-159). Benford and Snow (2000) consider the relative salience of the frames to depend on three other factors: the *centrality* of the defended movement for its target audience; the *experiential commensurability* between the movement's framings and the experiences of the population to be mobilized, and *narrative fidelity*, that is, the connection between the movement's frames and the cultural visions of the population to be mobilized. Hence, criticisms or denunciations made by the

movement must be supported by the existing cultural conceptions of justice—the *polities*—in order to be seen as legitimate by the population (Boltanski and Thévenot 1991). Lastly, as argued by d'Anjou and Van Male (1998), SM foster cultural changes in a society if their frames contribute new approaches to dominant visions, which to align with these cannot be too culturally distant.

METHODOLOGY

This article uses a *mixed methods approach* that combines quantitative and qualitative methods. The latter sought to answer the question: What were the framing and communicative strategies of the PAH? Thus, these methods have been used to obtain data on the discourses and communicative practices of the PAH. These data were gathered through field work carried out from the beginning of 2014 until February 2019 by a team of three persons. The data were collected using three techniques. The first was *non-participant observation* carried out over three months and within the core of the Barcelona PAH by one of the authors of this article. This process took place at the beginning of 2014 and consisted of attending weekly assemblies and various protest actions. Data were registered through note taking *in situ* completed just after observations were made. The decision to observe this particular node of the PAH was based on it being the first created and one of the most active and influential in terms of the decision-making of the whole Platform. The second technique used was *analysis of organisational documents*. We examined documents representing the PAH as a whole, excluding those which were specific to local groupings. Lastly, we carried out *interviews with key informants*, which in our case were leaders of the local groups in Barcelona, Sabadell, Terrassa, Madrid, La Coruña and Cadiz.

The data from the discourses enunciated by activists in assemblies and protests and registered in field notes, the audio recordings of interviews and the organisational documents were analysed following the *micro-discourse analysis* approach (Johnson 1995). This approach suggests that discourses should be examined to discover the cognitive frames contained in them. Concretely, we analyzed the frames of diagnosis, prognosis and motivation to action inductively. In addition, in our analysis of the documents we examined the form of the story within the text and, therefore, the arguments, images and styles used. The observational data on the organisation of communicative practices and the explanations given by the activists in the interviews were analysed following an inductive *thematic qualitative analysis*; that is, examining the issues observed and explained in relation to communicative strategies and practices.

The quantitative methods sought to answer the question: Did the PAH's frames resonate in the mass media and among the Spanish public? To measure resonance in the mass media, we carried out a *quantitative content analysis* of journalistic articles (news and reports) based on a sample from four main Spanish newspapers. The newspapers were chosen based on two criteria: first, their importance in terms of their diffusion and number of readers and, secondly, ideological diversity. We selected the following four newspapers applying these criteria: *El País*, *El Periódico*, *El Mundo* and *ABC*. These papers are among the six with the broadest diffusion (OJD 2018)¹

¹ Data from *Oficina de la Justificación de la Difusión*, March 2018.

and the largest number of readers (AMIC 2018) in Spain, and represent two different ideological orientations: the first two are located on the centre-left, and the latter two on the right.

The newspaper articles were gathered through the MyNews digital archive. This source includes 1.445 media from 1996 to the present and allows users to search for content using Boolean equations. Through this tool, we selected two types of articles published in the four newspapers. First, we looked at those published between 1 January 2007 and 18 May 2018 that were focused on ‘evictions’, taking as an indicator that their titles or subtitles contained this word in Spanish, ‘desahucio’, in singular or plural. In this way, we avoided the inclusion of articles that might address this issue but without being directly focused on it, thus, not overstating its presence. Secondly, we chose articles that were about the PAH and published between 1 January 2009 and 18 May 2018. As in the preceding case and for the same reasons, we examined those that included the name ‘Plataforma de Afectados por la Hipoteca’ or the abbreviation ‘PAH’ in their title or subtitle. In total, we obtained 1.976 articles on evictions and 242 on the PAH, distributed among the newspapers as shown in Table 1.

[Insert Table1]

The quantitative analysis required the creation of two matrices, one with information from the articles on evictions and the other referring to the articles on the PAH. In the latter, we read and coded the 242 articles using categories constructed prior to the analysis. These were constructed based on the types of frames we were looking for and the results obtained by one of the authors of this article in a previous study (AuthorA). Thus, the following codes were used: *diagnostic frame*, which included articles in which evicted persons were presented as victims; *prognostic frame*, which included articles where dation in payment, a moratorium on evictions and social rent were presented as potential solutions to resolve the problem of evictions; and *motivational frame*, which captures discourses that presented the PAH as effective in stopping evictions and/or in carrying out actions that would help to change laws. Logically, the frames contained in the articles were reconstructed by the journalists who wrote them, but they maintained the fundamental meaning given to them by the PAH. Finally, the data were analysed through *analyses of frequencies*.

The resonance of the PAH's frames among the public were examined with an *analysis of frequencies* of data from five sources: First, the database made by the PAH on its appearances in mass media from 2009 to 2011, which is a complete but non-systematic list of appearances; second, the basic public data existing in March 2019 about the use of Facebook, Twitter and YouTube offered by these companies; third, the historical data compilation of the perceived main problems in Spain, made by Europa Press in 2015 with data from the barometers of the Centre for Sociological Research²; fourth, historical data compiled regarding the public's trust in banks and political parties in Spain made by the mentioned Centre; finally, the following opinion

² <https://www.europapress.es/nacional/noticia-asi-cambiado-preocupaciones-espanoles-80-20151007191158.html>.

surveys carried out by Metroscopia: ‘Clima Social’ 8.11.2012 and 5.03.2013, and the surveys for *El País* in 17.02.03 and in 22.03.2013³.

DISCURSIVE ELABORATION, COMMUNICATION AND SOCIAL RESONANCE OF THE PAH’S FRAMES

The PAH came into existence in February 2009 in response to the early symptoms of the economic recession in Spain and the implosion of the ‘real estate bubble’ at the end of 2007. This scenario revealed a growing number of unpaid mortgage loans and foreclosures (figure 3), which added to the already existing problem of access to affordable housing. Between 1997 and 2007 the price of housing increased by 200% (Colau and Alemany 2012: 28), with many families taking on debt to acquire a home; at the same time, social concern regarding difficulties of access to housing grew enormously (figure 6). Existing housing movements before 2009 had protested the situation with complex and radical frames, and only connected with limited sectors of the population (for squatters see González: 2015; for other housing movements see Aguilar and Fernández 2010: 697-702). At the end of that decade, according to the perception of PAH activists’ (Colau and Alemany 2012), the discourse that most resonated in the mass media in regard to the growing number of evictions was that those affected were responsible for their own situation, having taken on mortgages they were unable to pay. However, the common sense of the majority of society was characterised by low levels of trust in banks and politicians, as revealed by the approximately 70% of population that indicated such distrust in both in surveys in the years prior to the economic recession (table 2).

Framing and communicative practices

The PAH wants its collective action frames to *resonate* not only with persons unable to pay their mortgages but with the broader population as well, as it considers the general population to also be affected by the malpractice of banks and politicians, and it seeks their solidarity and support. External communication is viewed as key to achieving this, and the organisation understands that this task must be carried out in all its public actions. As a result, communication has received constant organisational attention and analysis and has been a specific focus of PAH activists.

Since the initial opening of a *weblog*, the PAH has learned from trial and error and from the knowledge contributed by new activists, as well as from the occasional help of professionals. This learning process has provided a repertoire of regular communicative practices and a protocol for the minimal communicative tasks that each local group should carry out in its actions. In addition, from the beginning, two strategic ideas have guided external communication practices. The first is that of elaborating a discourse with content and form that could potentially *align* the organisation's frames with the common sense of the majority of the population. The second is to take advantage of all the possible communicative channels to spread the PAH's discourse and ensure it resonates.

3 https://elpais.com/politica/2013/02/16/actualidad/1361053281_008924.html;
https://elpais.com/politica/2013/03/16/actualidad/1363470095_882443.html

Based on the first strategic idea and in order to counteract the frames of the dominant discourse, the PAH has interpreted the problem of evictions in an alternative manner. As a *diagnostic frame*, it considers those who are affected to be victims of a collective scam that was based on fostering home ownership on families and individuals without providing the possibility of more viable and accessible alternatives. This scam was orchestrated by bankers, major construction companies and experts and politicians in both central and regional governments. As a result, the Spanish population in general can also be considered a victim of the abusive practices of the banks (based on deceptive clauses, disinformation, threats, etc.) and of unfair and anomalous legislation regarding mortgages in comparison to regulations in place in the majority of European countries. In addition, the PAH accuses public administrations and the judiciary of favouring the interests of financial entities and leaving the public unprotected. They argue that Spanish authorities have violated the constitutional right of citizens to decent housing and demand the implementation of policies and regulations that guarantee this right in accordance with European Union and international rights (see PAH-DESC 2013: 19-82). Thus, the movement's accusations and demands are supported by conceptions of justice with social legitimacy.

The objectives and solutions proposed, as presented in their *prognostic frame*, are in the short-term to avoid evictions and obtain dation in payment, that is, the liquidation of mortgage debt with the entity that provided the loan with the loss of the property that served as a guarantee for the loan. Along with this, when the persons affected need it, they should obtain what the PAH refers to as a 'social rent' from the financial entity, in other words, an apartment that is the property of the mentioned entity with a rent that is accessible for the evicted person. The long-term aims are to foster the legal recognition of dation in payment and public policies that assure the right to housing for all the population.

Lastly, as a *motivational frame* the PAH argues that active participation in the organisation makes it possible to obtain acceptable solutions for the individuals affected and will permit the organisation to achieve its long-term objectives. For this frame to resonate, the PAH publicises all that it achieves: the number of evictions stopped (4.095 up until 25 May 2015), motions approved by local governments based on PAH proposals and the passage of Catalan anti-eviction law 24/2015.

The discourse of the PAH is presented in short and easy to read material with practical information aimed at all persons affected (such as 'The Green Book', Figure 1), but a more elaborate, and in-depth argumentation is found as well in more analytical material (e.g. the 2013 report by PAH-DESC). Thus, the organisation presents a solid analytical and normative discourse that is scholarly but understandable for a broad/the vast majority of the population.

[Insert Figure 1]

Leaving aside the more scholarly material, messages are constructed to be attractive and understandable from the perspective of the common sense of the majority. Thus, they are formulated to be positive and to transmit that the weak can defeat the powerful (Sala and Tutor 2016: 98). The central slogan 'Yes, it's possible' is one example, but in addition, in the 'recuperation' of buildings (occupying buildings owned by banks to provide housing for evicted persons), they avoid disseminating

images of doors being forced open. Referring to these actions as ‘recuperations’ and not as ‘occupations’ is aimed at achieving greater social acceptance for them, as it is assumed that the majority of the population are not sympathetic to ‘occupations’ linked to squatters’ movements.⁴ Ingeniously, the PAH has re-signified well-known cultural icons, such as using the slogan ‘stop evictions’ on stop signs or referring to the occupation of buildings as the ‘Social Project of the PAH’, co-opting the Spanish banks’ use of the term ‘*social projects*’ in reference to their charitable work.

Two other important methods are, first of all, the use in discourses of the actual stories of those affected; the aim being to personalize the issue and, as a result, facilitate empathy and identification within the population so that they see the issue as having *salience* in the sense of Benford and Snow (2000). The second method is that in public actions, PAH activists wear green t-shirts with the black logo of the PAH and carry banners with the slogan ‘stop evictions’ (figure 2); thus, they are recognized as members of the PAH by opponents, passers-by and the audience in subsequent news and reports on the actions.

[Insert Figure 2]

The second strategic idea has been implemented first of all using social media in an active and skilled manner. The web pages of the PAH and its more important local groups contain a great deal of the material produced by the PAH as well as announcements of actions, which are subsequently spread through social networks. The central PAH has a Facebook page, as do local groups, and a YouTube channel with 176 videos it has produced. Each campaign is announced and followed on Twitter, which serves as a catalyst through ‘retweeting’ of content and as a means to follow local groups’ attempts to block evictions (Muñoz-Alonso 2016: 46). Secondly, after significant debate, an effort was made to appear in the mass media, including media and programmes not necessarily sympathetic to the PAH. Appearance in the mass media is considered key to reaching all of the population, as clearly, not everyone can be reached through social media.

Lastly, the PAH has designed a coordinated and integrated media management plan – crystallized in the mentioned protocol– to increase its communicative impact in both social media and mass media. In short, local groups are encouraged to begin by posting a communique regarding any action on their webs or blogs and to communicate with local journalists about the action; subsequently they should report on the actions on Facebook and Twitter and, if possible, include live streams, and then conclude the action with further communications to journalists and an account of what happened using photos and videos to be spread on social networks and sent to journalists.

The social resonance of the frames

The PAH’s use of social media has permitted it to disseminate its messages in the manner that Cammaerts (2012: 125-127) refers to as *self-mediated*, in other words, in a form decided upon by the SMO. Although it has used social media since its origins,

4 Sólo el 8% de españoles mostraban simpatía hacia el squatters’ movement en 2005 (CIS Survey, 2597) y 2010 (CIS Survey, 2831).

Alonso-Muñoz (2016) reveals a more intensive use of them beginning in May 2011 with the appearance of the so-called 15-M movement, as well as an increase in the production of tweets from that point on (until reaching more than 3.500 in 2013), which coincided with the debate in Spain's parliament of a proposed anti-eviction law 1/2013 and the PAH's *escraches* campaign (public actions and denunciations aimed at specific politicians who voted against the proposed legislation) (figure 2). According to Alonso-Muñoz's analysis, until 2015 the PAH had a lot of influence through Twitter, and its messages were received by a high number of users. March 2019 data from social media suggest an important presence of the PAH in social networks: its national Facebook account has over 108.000 followers; its videos on YouTube have been seen more than 2 million times, and its Twitter account is followed by over 91.000 persons and generates an average of 12.91 daily tweets.

In the first two years of its existence, the PAH appeared on television and radio and in newspapers in the regions of Catalonia and Murcia, as well as in local media within municipalities in those two regions where there were local PAH groups, as revealed in the PAH's database on its appearances in the media. However, attention from the major national media only began with the first eviction stopped by the PAH in November of 2010 in Catalonia (AuthorB: 56); this was helped by the organisation's agile management of social media (Sanz 2015: 44), which, according to Feenstra and Casero-Ripollés (2012: 135), was able to regularly generate the following communicative sequence: mobilization announced on social media, development of the action and successful conversion into news in the mass media.

Our data analysis of the articles in the four newspapers we studied provides additional important information. Figure 3 shows that the problem of evictions appeared in these newspapers before the establishment of the PAH in 2009, but that we find 2.5 times as many such news in 2011 and then a similar growth in their number in 2012, followed by a gradual decline until 2017, although with a rebound in 2015. The comparison of this dynamic with the number of foreclosures reveals that there is no relationship between them. However, the dynamic behind the media presence of the issue can be linked to the newsworthiness of the social events explained below.

[Insert Figure 3]

Figure 4 shows that the increase in 2011 took place in May, coinciding with the emergence of the 15-M movement, or the *indignados* ('the indignant'), which the PAH became part of. This movement was key because it adopted PAH's diagnosis and actions, and mobilized its networks to expand the visibility of the protests against evictions as well as the housing problems (Romanos 2013). As Feenstra and Casero-Ripollés (2015: 135) point out, the significant attention given to the *indignados* by the mass media led to the emergence of issues and problems that had previously been largely ignored by the media. This is the case with evictions, and articles mentioning the PAH, the latter doubling from 2010 to 2011 (figure 3). The newsworthiness of 15-M and its demands have to be understood as part of the *discursive opportunity structure* (Koopmans and Olzak) of that moment, which the PAH took advantage of thanks to its strategy of participating in the mass media.

[Insert Figure 4]

The opportunity for participating in the media continued during 2012, with the presence of news about the PAH and evictions increasing. Chavero (2014) suggests that the newsworthiness of evictions in that year was the result of the suicides of two persons who were going to be evicted from their homes, the growth in the activity of the PAH after 15-M and pressure generated by reports from the CGPJ and the EU Court of Justice, which urged a change in Spain's Mortgage Act. From our perspective, this newsworthiness, as well as the increase in information about the PAH, is also related to the launching of the PAH's *Social Project* campaign in December 2011 and the gathering of signatures in favour of an *Iniciativa Legislativa Popular* [Citizen's Initiative] (ILP), starting in April 2012 and continuing until February 2013. This would appear to explain why there was the highest presence of news about the PAH in 2013.

While the PAH maintained the same orientation and practices toward the mass media, starting in 2014 news on evictions and the PAH began to decline. PAH activists associated it with the loss of newsworthiness of the issue for the mass media. They were concerned about their reduced presence in the mass media and hoped to see it increase with their new national campaign for an ILP in the Parliament in 2018.

Figure 5 shows that the *diagnostic frame* that identifies families as victims appeared in 122 articles and in all four newspapers. The PAH's *motivational frames* appeared in 44 articles and also in all the newspapers; of these, 65.9% highlighted the effectiveness of the PAH in stopping evictions, 25% their potential in achieving a change in laws, and 9% focused on both these aspects. Lastly, the *prognostic frames* appeared in 111 articles.

[Insert Figure 5]

Different surveys carried out in 2012 and 2013 included key questions about the PAH and its activity. These surveys show that a majority of the Spanish public (81%) saw the PAH as useful and effective in defending against evictions (Metroscopia 22.03.2013) and similarly large majorities (90%) supported the ILP to change the mortgage system and the controversial *escraches* (78%) (Metroscopia 5.03.2013). This support for the *escraches* can be interpreted as a measure of the low legitimacy politicians hold for the public (Flesher Fominaya 2015: 480), and in agreement with all the previous ideas -contained in the PAH's motivational frames- reveal the credibility and legitimacy earned by the PAH and its actions in the eyes of the majority of the population.

These surveys also show that 70% of the Spanish blamed the mortgage system for the evictions (Metroscopia 17.02.2013), and 91% thought that the banks had taken advantage of the good faith and lack of knowledge of their clients (Metroscopia 8.11.2012), two ideas included in the PAH's diagnostic frames. In addition, surveys on trust (table 2) show that in 2010 those with little or no trust in the banks had risen to 77% of the population, the increase specifically due to growth in the percentage expressing no trust in the banks. The evictions and the banks -specifically identified as problems by these PAH's diagnostic frames- were considered to be among the country's three main problems (Figure 6). This was the case for the very first time since this data had first been collected at the end of the 1980s, and in a context of great concern over unemployment, economic problems and political corruption

(AuthorC: 185-188). Finally, looking further at the survey data, we see 90% of the Spanish said they were in favour of a moratorium on evictions and supported dation in payment becoming law (Metroscopia 17.02.2013), two of the demands from the PAH's prognostic frames.

[Insert Figure 6]

All these ideas included in PAH's frames *resonated* among a large part of the population. The latter would have appropriated these ideas and, therefore, would interpret them through the problematic of those affected by the mortgage difficulties. This resonance would have been possible thanks to the *alignment* that had been produced between the PAH's frames and the common sense of the majority of the population. For example, concern for the difficulty in accessing housing that the general population had connected with the PAH's objectives, and the poor opinion generally held of the banks and politicians connected with the criticisms the PAH had made of them. Many of the ideas contained in the PAH's frames were new for the majority of the population, as they had not previously been present in public space. This is the case, for example, for the responsabilization of the banks for the problem and the proposals for a moratorium on evictions and dation in payment. Furthermore, taking into account that only a small minority of citizens participate in the PAH, we can conclude that this resonance was possible because of the diffusion of the PAH's frames in both social media and mass media.

Lastly, although only survey data from 2012 and 2013 exists to evaluate the resonance of the PAH's frames among the citizenry, it is worth commenting that any subsequent attempts to do so would have to consider the existence, starting in 2014, of citizen parties, such as Podemos, and municipal candidatures in various cities, such as Barcelona en Comú and Ahora Madrid. These parties and formations have a discourse centered on the citizen participation and social democratization (Calle 2016) consistent with the 15-M movement and the PAH; and in certain municipalities where they have governed, they have established measures to stop evictions and promote the social use of empty apartments (Calle 2018: 104). The discourse of these parties and the measures established, with their following in the media, could have affected the resonance of the PAH's or other similar frames among the citizenry.

DISCUSSION

The strategic communicative decisions taken by the PAH and its resulting communicative practices have fostered the social resonance of its frames.

The strategic decision to use all available communicative channels and the communicative practices implemented made it possible for the PAH to take advantage of *mediation opportunities* (Cammaerts 2012) at each moment and, as a result, its frames had a high presence in public space. The active and agile use of social media permitted the PAH a *self-mediated* dissemination of its frames, while a coordinated and comprehensive communication plan to attract mass media helped capture the attention of the latter and the diffusion of frames through it.

The level of diffusion of the PAH's frames changed in connection to the *structure of discursive opportunities* (Koopmans and Olzak 2004) at each moment. Between 2011 and 2013, the PAH increased this level through social media and achieved its highest level of diffusion in the mass media thanks to this structure being favourable. In 2011, the newsworthiness of the 15-M movement also benefited the PAH, as the problem of evictions entered the mainstream medias' agenda. The two following years, the newsworthiness of evictions and the activities and campaigns of the PAH led to the high media presence of its frames.

The resonance among a majority of the population that diverse key ideas contained in the PAH's frames obtained, is surely to thank for the presence and resonance of these frames in both social and mass media but so are two additional factors. The first is that to the extent that the credibility of the source of a message is a determinant of that source's power to impose interpretations (Bourdieu 1991) and frames (Benford and Snow 2000), it makes sense to think that the resonance of these frames among the population could have been fostered by the combination of the PAH's credibility and the crisis in trust and legitimacy suffered by both the political parties that had been governing the state and the banks, which occurred between 2011 and 2014 (AuthorC: 185-188).⁵

The second factor is the qualities of the framing developed by the PAH. These could have allowed the *alignment* of the movement's frames with the common sense of the majority. The diagnosis and a good part of the proposals of the PAH connected with existing cultural perspectives (producing what Benford and Snow 2000 have referred to as *narrative fidelity*) and, surely, with majoritarian conceptions of justice among the population, something which Boltanski and Thévenot (1991) consider essential for success. Presumably, the discursive forms or manners of communicating must have helped establish this alignment, for example, by having a discourse elaborated at diverse levels of analytical and argumentative complexity for diverse publics, presenting positive messages, and using the personal stories of those affected to produce specific *feeling rules* (Flam 2005) in the general public. The latter could have facilitated, as well, the public developing a *sense of injustice* (Gamson 1992) regarding evictions, empathy toward those facing them, and belief in the *salience* (Benford and Snow 2000) of the problem.

Lastly, the resonance of the PAH's frames among a majority of the population meant a change in the way in which that population interpreted the problem of those affected by mortgages and in the legitimate solutions. Presumably, the less radical and complex diagnosis and proposals of the PAH (e.g. the issue of 'social rents' and 'recuperations', criticizing the mortgage system instead of pointing to the socioeconomic system and private property and defending 'squatting') would have facilitated that new elements in the frames were more acceptable and able to be incorporated within the majoritarian common sense of the citizenry.

CONCLUSIONS

⁵ AuthorC (185-188) shows that, in 2014, 69% considered the government (the PP) bad or very bad, and 64% so considered the main opposition party (the PSOE).

The analysis of the PAH corroborated the idea raised by Snow et al. (2013) and Van Dyke and Taylor (2018) that SMO, with their framing activity, can generate original cultural products or artifacts in the form of texts, icons and signs, as well as ideas, visions and beliefs regarding reality. In addition, as shown in the case of the PAH and as demonstrated by Rochon (2000), d'Anjou (1996) and d'Anjou and Van Male (1998), a movement's frames can contain new ideas and/or visions that, disseminated among a majority of the population, lead to cultural change in society.

The case of the PAH also suggests conditions that facilitate the resonance of a movement's frames among the non-participant target audience through a movement's activities. One of these conditions is that, as Benford and Snow (2000) say, the frames have specific qualities, such as being culturally prominent and consistent for their target audience. In addition, as pointed out by d'Anjou and Van Male (1998), when the frames include new cultural notions, these must be acceptable within the visions of the target audience, which in the case of the PAH meant less radical and complex diagnosis and proposals than prior Spanish housing movements.

Another condition that contributes to resonance is the capacity of movements to disseminate their frames through the *mediation opportunity structure* (Cammaerts 2012) of the moment. The experience of the PAH shows that this depends on the interaction between the communicative action of the SMO and the *structure of discursive opportunities* (Koopmans and Olzak 2004) at each moment. Therefore, it is dependent on both the ability of the SMO to capture the attention of the media system, as well as the degree of social interest and newsworthiness that conditions the attention received in social media and mass media. In addition, the case of the PAH's frames suggests the accuracy of Snow and Benford's interpretation (2000) that the resonance of the message of an SMO among its audience is facilitated if the SMO enjoys a high level of social credibility.

Lastly, the PAH also reveals that having a communicative strategy can facilitate the resonance of the movement's frames, as does having a comprehensive plan for the dissemination of its messages in social media and mass media, the aim being that dissemination in the former attracts the attention of the latter and vice versa.

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Tables

Newspaper	Number and percentage of articles about evictions (2007-2018)	Number and percentage of articles about the PAH (2009-2018)
El País	669 (33.9%)	75 (31%)
El Mundo	288 (14.6%)	43 (17.8%)
ABC	667 (33.8%)	28 (11.6%)
El Periódico	352 (17.8%)	96 (39.7%)

Source: Elaborated by authors based on data from MyNews.

Table 1: Distribution of articles by newspaper and search results.

Political parties						
	01-2003	10-2003	10-2005	12-2008	11-2009	10-2010
A lot	2.5	2.2	3	1.7	1.4	0.9
Some	25.2	26.7	31.6	22.1	18.6	14.5
Little	37.4	39.1	42.2	42	38.2	35.7
None	30.4	28.7	20.5	30.2	39	45.6
Do not know	3.5	2.6	1.8	3.2	2.4	2.8
No answer	0.9	0.7	0.9	0.7	0.4	0.5
(N)	2484	2495	3033	2471	2486	2483
Banks						
A lot	4.7	4	4.6	3.2	2.1	1.6
Some	27.9	29.4	31.3	28.8	22.2	19.7
Little	34.4	35.5	36.9	36.6	36.8	36.2
None	30.8	27.6	24.1	28.7	37.2	40.5
Do not know	2	2.8	2.3	2.3	1.5	1.8
No answer	0	0.7	0	0.4	0.2	0.2
(N)	2484	2495	3033	2471	2486	2483

Source: Elaborated by authors based on data from CIS.

Table 2: Evolution of trust in political parties and banks, 2003-2010.

Figures



Source: Cover

Source: page 6

Figure 1: Extract from the PAH's Green Book (edition 2016).



Source: El País. 10.20.2013

Family in Social Project apartment



Source: El País. 08.08.2014

Protest in bank branch



Source: El Periódico. 03.26.2013

Escrache protest in front of the home of a politician



Source: El Periódico 01.17.2013

Protest in front of the PP's headquarters in Barcelona

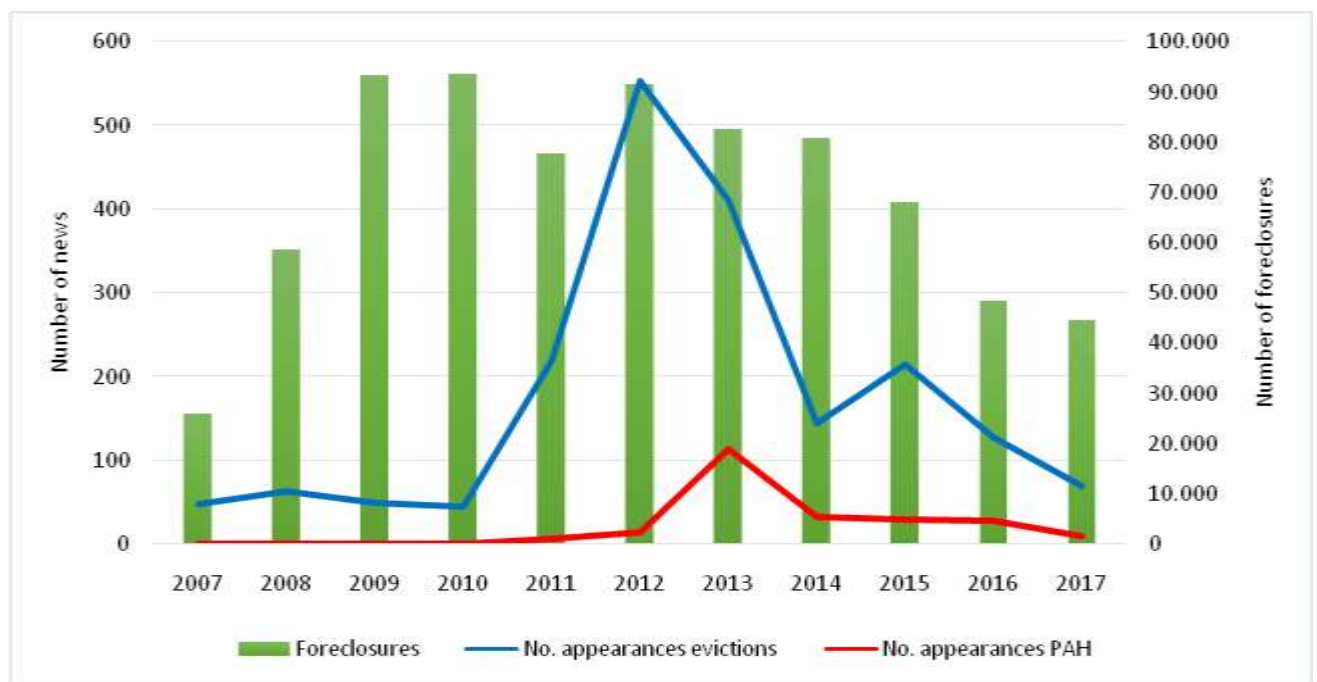


Source: El Periódico. 03.26.2013
 "Recuperated" apartment block as part of Social Project



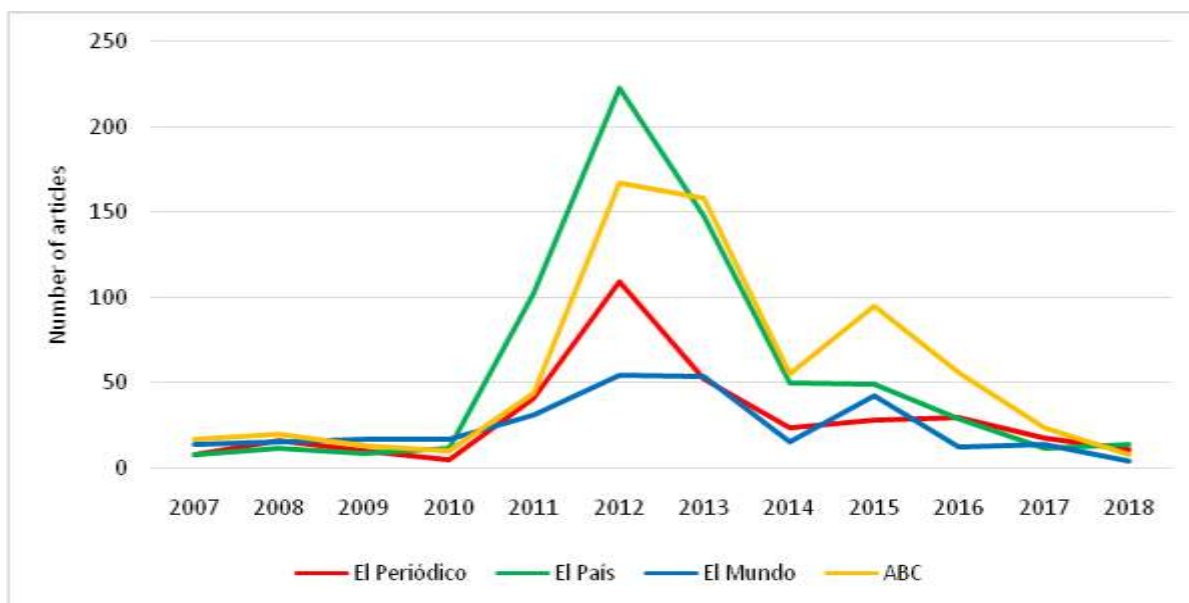
Source: Facebook post. 02.12.2019
 Press conference in front of bank headquarters

Figure 2: Photographs of actions of the PAH circulated in the media.



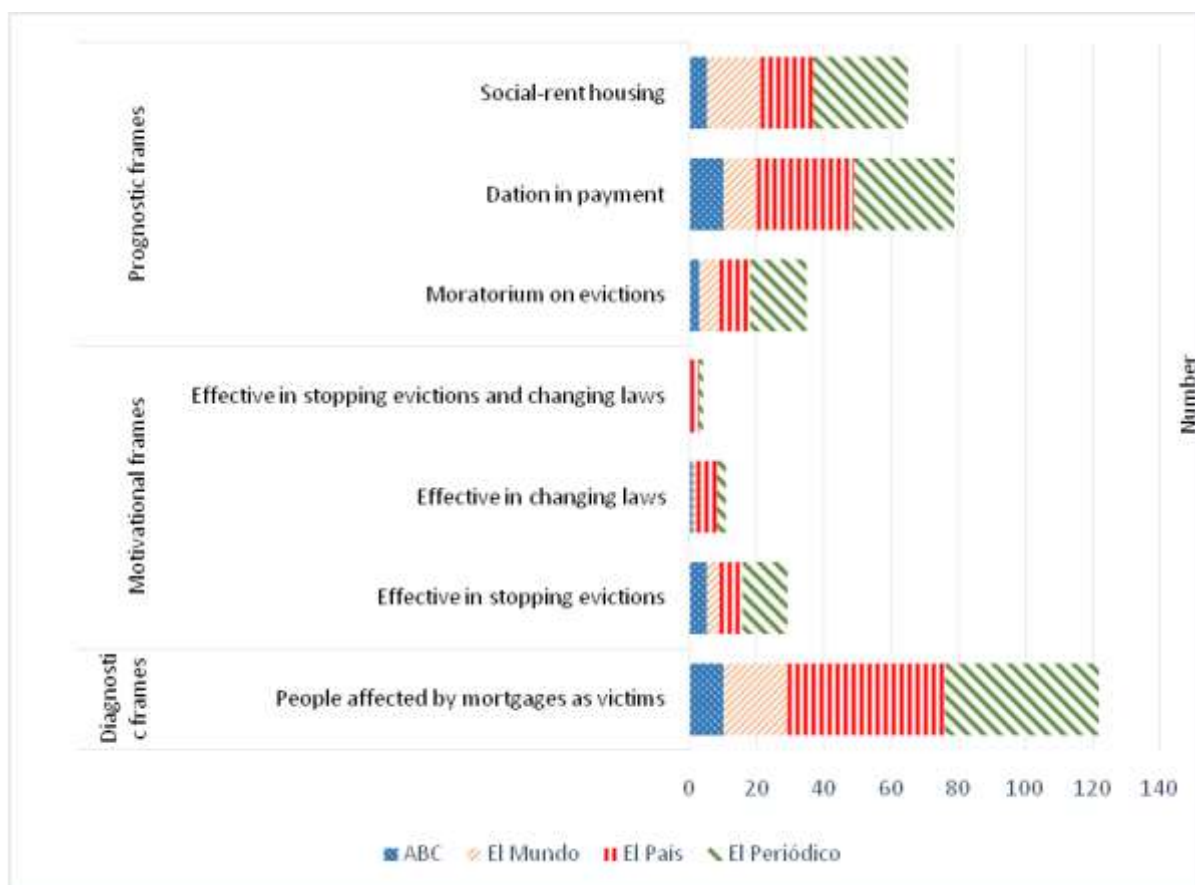
Source: Elaborated by authors based on data from MyNews in appearances and from Barómetro social de España in foreclosures

Figure 3: Evolution of foreclosures and articles on the PAH and evictions, 2007-2017



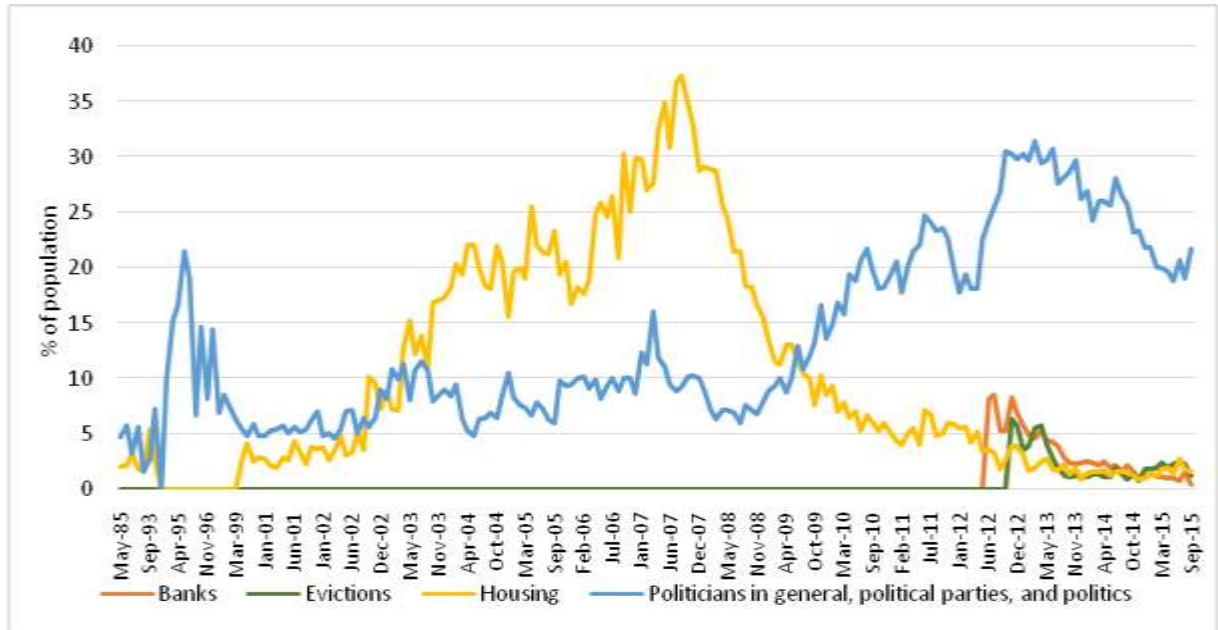
Source: Authors

Figure 4: Evolution of articles on evictions. 2007-2018



Source: Authors

Figure 5: Distribution of frames by newspaper.



Source: Elaborated by authors based on data from Europa Press (2015).
Figure 6: Perception of the country's three main social problems, 1985-2015