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Spain's Mortgage Victims Platform (PAH) as a case of a hospitality social movement

ABSTRACT

In this article I analyse the Plataforma de Afectados por la Hipoteca (PAH) social movement in Spain through the concept of hospitality. In doing so, I develop a double hypothesis concerning the PAH. First, I consider the possibility of the PAH social movement as a public outcry of the ethics and politics of hospitality. Second, I identify a type of disobedient hospitality, practised by the PAH, which defies the legality enforced by dominant discourse. As a hospitality movement, the PAH promotes illegal hospitality based on civil disobedience and exploits the unconditional and conditional tensions within the idea of hospitality. I conclude that the activism of this social movement creates the possibility of a socialized and politicized hospitality that expands beyond its traditional private interpersonal sphere. I claim that in the future these concepts (basically hospitality as a movement) can be explored in other domains and political practices of social movements claiming rights and empowerment such as workers, immigration, gender or LGTB groups.

KEYWORDS

hospitality
social movements
housing
ethics
political theory
political philosophy
Spain

1. Below I will discuss the Deltombe case in France related to immigration policies (see Balibar (1999).
2. The Platform was born in Barcelona, Catalonia and rapidly spread to other cities of the Spanish State.

INTRODUCTION

¡Sí, se puede!' 'Yes, we can do it!' is a popular chant in the context of Spain's current economic crisis. In the last several years, the *Plataforma de Afectados por la Hipoteca* (Mortgage Victims Platform; PAH or Platform for short) has transformed this popular revolutionary motto into a chant that is used to fight against the economic and social crisis and its consequences, and to organize people who have been affected by subprime mortgages, evictions and foreclosures. After the housing bubble burst and the ensuing sovereign debt crisis, the PAH has also been prominent in organizing against austerity policies (particularly cuts in social services, privatizations), as well as supporting decent housing for all.

In this article, I analyse the PAH movement through the concept of hospitality. The semantics of hospitality 'engage with fundamental questions of the social, the political, the ethical and their respective spaces' (Friese 2010: 324). Hospitality, however, is rarely used in political vocabulary because it is usually considered to be a practice of the private sphere and linked to religious or traditional values. Only in tourism is its public use usually accepted (Boudou 2012: 267). Moreover, relating a social movement to the idea of hospitality may seem awkward because contentious politics rarely refers to hospitality. However, the social movement analysed here is precisely characterized by how it has socialized very personal – and until now private – situations.

Below, I develop a double hypothesis concerning the PAH. First, I consider the possibility of the PAH social movement as a public outcry of the ethics and politics of hospitality. I use the 'hospitality movement' label for this case, but such a label could be used in other domains or political practices. In doing so, I am aware of how Derrida distinguished between ethics *and* politics in relationship to hospitality (Rosello 1999: 222). In fact, the PAH links its discourse to political action precisely by engaging both ends of the ethical-political spectrum of hospitality: the ideals and duties of infinite hospitality towards stranger pilgrims and the public politics of hospitality. Second, the first hypothesis then leads me to identify a type of disobedient hospitality, practiced by the PAH, which defies the legality enforced by dominant discourse. In doing so, the PAH establishes a link between hospitality and civil disobedience, a link that had been identified earlier by the literature and other controversies.¹ In fact, the activism creates the possibility of a socialized and politicized hospitality that expands beyond its traditional private interpersonal sphere. Finally, in analysing my two hypotheses together, I consider the general vindication of the PAH: its conception of democracy as a political regime beyond liberal western standards; one that is linked, instead, to an account of radical democracy and citizenship.

1. The context

In 2008–2009, this social movement emerged in the context of Spain's severe economic crisis.² In a country, in which the unemployment rate has climbed to more than 25% (and 50% for young people), a growing number of families could (and can) not meet their monthly mortgage and credit payments. A key pillar of the pre-crisis economic boom, the Spanish real estate market was characterized by the absence of publicly subsidized affordable housing (not reaching 2%), a highly speculative private market and a weak rental market. As a result, during the period of economic growth between 1997 and 2007, household debt grew from 55 to 130% of household's disposable income

(Febrero and Dejuán 2009: 6). Mortgage contracts of 50 years were offered, and mortgages could cover the full value of the property. Financial products that used false advertising or abusive contract clauses disproportionately affected low-income individuals and immigrants. In 2011, in response to the case of a Moroccan immigrant in Spain who defaulted on a 130,000€ savings bank mortgage loan and was subsequently evicted, the European Court of Justice ruled that Spain's mortgage law was incompatible with a European directive on abusive practices in consumer contracts (see *El País*, 2013).

The public discourse promoted by Spain's central government denied the political nature of the issues of the burst housing bubble in Spain and instead considered them affairs of the private sphere. Common rhetoric included blaming the families and considering them irresponsible for living *por encima de sus posibilidades*/'above their possibilities'. The government even mentioned stimulating new housing construction as a plan to improve the overall economic situation. At the same time, the PAH manifestos frequently remark that the Spanish Constitution (article 47) recognizes the right to decent housing, and that this is linked to the use of private property, above all, for social purposes: article 128 highlights the subordination of all forms of wealth to the public interest.

In their official documents, the PAH does not deny the responsibility of individuals who took out mortgages to buy their homes. In fact, the platform publicly recognizes the families' fault in managing their own finances. However, as the PAH former spokesperson, Ada Colau, often reminds listeners, the platform distinguishes between individual responsibilities and the banking, economic and social policies pursued by public authorities. They consider that individuals are not responsible for the profound economic crisis provoked primarily by the financial sector. In a context of liberal economic policies and widespread corruption among politicians, the PAH denounces that the Government's bailing out of banks, but not of families and their financial situations, is highly irresponsible.

In a 2013 PAH-administered survey of those affected by foreclosures (a sample of 11,561 people), nearly half (45%) reported having difficulty in paying for food, 65% in paying for basic utilities bills (electricity, gas or water) and 70% in paying for clothing (Informe OESC 2013). More than 60% owed more than 80% of the mortgage, whereas 36% had the co-signature of a family member (Informe OESC 2013). In 34.5% of the cases, the banks had refused to explore solutions or strategies that did not involve losing the family house (foreclosure) and, in this way, seemed not to consider the social and economic impacts on vulnerable families and their children.

2. The PAH movement

Despite the historical tradition of social movements in Spain, the right to housing has traditionally been associated with the squatter's movement (Mir Garcia et al. 2013). However, the PAH is a broad platform that denounces 'mortgage fraud, unjust laws, lack of real estate market regulation and lack of housing public policy' (Mir Garcia et al. 2013: 56). This movement was fuelled by the widespread 15M (15 May) spontaneous social movement of 2011 and the subsequent creation of the initial 'V de Vivienda' group.³ Today, as one of the strongest social movements in Spain, the PAH has more than 200 local assemblies, and, according to its own statistics, has helped to stop around 1000 evictions.

3. Those movements were similar to the 'occupy' protests in the United States or the Arab spring demonstrations.

The PAH works through neighbourhood assemblies, bringing together activists and families affected by the housing crisis (primarily those at risk of default). Primarily, it helps affected families and puts pressure on banks and also on political institutions. Practically, it provides families with legal advice, organizes protests against banks and mobilizes civil disobedience and blockade protests in cases of evictions. The Platform is also an actor in the political arena, defending the rights of those affected by the economic crisis. The modus operandi of the Platform is based on campaigns. Since 2010, the campaign *Stop Deshaucios*/'Stop Evictions' has published weekly alerts of evictions, which also serve as calls for civil disobedience. Usually, activists and neighbours gather in front of the home threatened by eviction and protest using non-violent means against the public authorities and police officers charged with carrying out the eviction. The Platform has also organized large-scale events such as the 25 September 2011 demonstrations for changes in housing policy: stopping the evictions of families from their primary residence and defending the constitutional right to decent housing. In 2011, the PAH presented the Popular Legislative Initiative (ILP) to the Parliament with the support of other non-profit organizations and trade unions. The goals of the ILP were threefold: primarily to enact the 'deed in lieu of foreclosure', or the deed instrument where a borrower transfers the ownership of the property (home) to the lender in exchange for a release from all mortgage obligations and avoiding foreclosure; second, to promote public rental housing; and third, to paralyse immediately all evictions. This initiative collected 1,402,845 signatures; the minimum threshold for legislative initiatives in Spain is 500,000 (around 1.25 per cent of the adult citizens).

After several foreclosure-related suicides were reported by the national media and raised great social alarm, the PAH launched the 'Hay Vidas en Juego'/'Lives At Stake' in February 2013. This is a campaign of civil disobedience and 'escrache'/'direct actions' against the ruling political party, Partido Popular (PP). This campaign was controversial since it included non-violent protests in front of the homes of key politicians. After several politicians accused the PAH of violence and threats, Madrid's High Court ruled that, in fact, the actions were ordinary mechanisms of democratic participation of civil society and expressions of pluralism among citizens (see *El Mundo*, 2014).

3. The PAH as a hospitality movement

I argue that we can identify a dialogue between the concept of hospitality, broadly understood, and the ideals and actions of activists who support families affected by the mortgage crisis. In this section, I conclude that the PAH is a hospitality movement: its central goal is to publicly denounce exclusion from the constitutional right to housing and help those expelled from the economic system. As prior scholars have pointed out, the right of hospitality is also about defining the limits of the polity:

The right of hospitality is situated at the boundaries of the polity; it delimits civic space by regulating relations among members, strangers and bounded communities. It occupies that space between human rights and civil and political rights, between the rights of humanity in our person and the rights that accrue to us insofar as we are citizens of specific republics.

(Benhabib 2006: 22)

Hospitality is always in tension with the moral and legal prescriptions following the Kantian tradition (Friese 2010: 327). The Platform's aims lie squarely in these tensions:

It brings about tensions between 'being at home' and being considered a 'stranger', between alterity and belonging, closeness or distance, of private and public space, (political, social and cultural) membership and exclusion. In short, the semantics of hospitality engage with fundamental questions of the social, the political and the ethical and their respective spaces.

(Friese 2010: 324)

In fact, the platform has its foundations in an ethical commitment with hospitality: protecting those citizens at risk of being expelled from their neighbourhoods (economically excluded) and sometimes, moreover, by providing physical shelter to the affected families through squatting. At the same time, the Platform is also involved in defining the rules of hospitality in the public sphere, engaging in a national political debate on the right to housing. To capture this complexity and identify its diverse dimensions, I depict the PAH as a hospitality movement at three levels.

First, the movement is intrinsically, and even intimately, about the issue of hospitality since the so-called 'housing emergency' is all about defending family homes. Without a home, hospitality is not possible. At the same time, mortgage and economic problems used to be considered private affairs (even by affected individuals). As a result, the issue was invisible to the public eye. Many individuals who had experienced foreclosure or other loan default were afraid and embarrassed of publicly recognizing their problems because they considered them a personal defeat. They rarely reported their suffering:

Los primeros días no podía ni hablar, me daba vergüenza. Ahora ya no tengo vergüenza, pero estar considerada como morosa es muy doloroso. Las palabras y las etiquetas tienen mucha más fuerza de la que aparentan. Un corrupto puede ser un héroe, pero un moroso que no puede pagar la hipoteca es un desastre, un fracasado./The first few days I could not even speak, I was embarrassed. Now I'm not ashamed, but being considered a defaulter is very painful. Words and labels are much harder than they seem. A corrupt crook can be a hero, but a delinquent who cannot pay the mortgage is a disaster, a failure.

(Informe OESC 2013: 126)

Moreover, many families active in the Platform were of immigrant origin. After experiencing unemployment induced by the economic crises, these families were finally unable to pay the rent or mortgage and were 'economically expelled' from the Spanish society:

El día que el señor del banco le dijo a mi ex marido, que es marroquí, que se fuera a su país, ya terminó de darle la última puntada. Él ahí empezó a cambiar. Se sintió realmente 'un moro de mierda'. Llegaba la hora de comer y desaparecía 'Voy a buscar trabajo'. Y a lo mejor eran las cuatro de la mañana y llegaba a casa, cuando yo prácticamente me tenía que levantar para llevar a los niños al colegio. Y cuando yo volvía, él intentaba no estar con nosotros. Hacía todo lo posible por evitarnos. Hasta que al final decidió

que lo mejor era que nos separásemos/The day the man from the bank told my ex-husband, who is Moroccan, that he should leave the country, it was as if he was given the final push. Then, he began to change. He really felt like a ‘moro de mierda’ [pejorative for Moroccans]. Lunchtime would come around, and he would disappear – ‘I’m going to look for a job’. And maybe it was four in the morning, and he would come home when I practically had to get up to take the kids to school. And when I returned, he tried not to be with us. He did everything to avoid us. Until finally, he decided it was better for us to be separated.

(Informe OESC 2013: 134)

In this sense, the foreigner and the native-born affected by mortgage are both condemned to an economic ostracism by Spanish mortgage laws. After failing to meet mortgage payments, they are included on a list of general defaulters and thus have no second-chance opportunities for loans in a context of high-unemployment levels.

How the Platform’s aims and the hospitality movement relate is even more complex than the above. When the PAH helps those threatened by eviction or foreclosure, they are helping them to be ‘sovereign at home’ and maintain the possibility of hospitality, since ‘No hospitality in the classic sense [exists], without sovereignty of oneself over one’s home’ (Derrida and Dufourmantelle 2000: 55). Boudou also connects the possibility of offering hospitality to others and feeling attached to your own home (2012). Furthermore, the practice of hospitality involves a person’s identity as both host *and* guest. When activists offer shelter to foreclosure victims, they act as ‘social hosts’ of individuals and families who have been excluded silently from the housing market. These social hosts open spaces of hospitality and host the victims of exclusion there. In doing so, they rescue individuals and prevent them from falling outside the political community and right to housing. However, there are other ways to understand the PAH’s relationship with the hospitality movement.

Second, the actions of the Platform can also be seen as actions of hospitality at a collective neighbourhood level. The platform’s so-called *Obra Social* ‘Social Work’ has used civil disobedience usually with the support of the affected families’ neighbours and has also occupied and claimed empty apartments for families made homeless through foreclosure. Many affected families recognize the hospitality of neighbours who have helped families by protecting them from authorities or even bank entities. In the case of this woman, neighbours helped the original owners (re)occupy their home after being evicted once the bank declined to renegotiate the mortgage or offer a social rent.

Los vecinos me comentaron que el piso estaba vacío. Que ellos me ayudaban a entrar. Me han pagado la comunidad, me han dado de comer, me han pagado la luz ... Llegué a pensar que si me metían en la cárcel por lo menos me daban de comer y se me acababan los problemas. Cuando cambiamos la cerradura mi marido me dio las llaves y me dijo: ‘Ten, las llaves que un día te quité, te las vuelvo a entregar. Lo siento por lo que ha pasado’. Y delante de seis personas se puso a llorar como un niño. Y aquí estamos/The neighbours told me that the apartment was empty. They helped me get in. They’ve paid the community [building] fees, have given me food, have paid the electric bills ... I got to thinking that if I went to jail at least they [the jailers] would feed me [there], and my problems would end. When we changed the lock, my husband gave me the keys and said to me, ‘Here are the

keys I took from you that day, I'm giving them back to you now. I'm sorry for what happened'. And in front of six other people, I started to cry like a child. And here we are.

(Informe OESC 2013: 132)

The neighbour's direct acts of hospitality operate at the material level and resemble classic private-sphere hospitality. However, in this case, the gesture also has a political dimension since host-neighbours may face legal charges when sheltering families. In this example, the neighbours' support of the reoccupation of an empty flat can be considered a form of disobedient hospitality.

Third, the PAH movement's work in the national arena has opened the possibility of redefining state hospitality by challenging real estate markets, zoning policies, laws and even national discourse. The platform's legislative initiative (ILP) proposed new mechanisms and policies in order to promote constitutional principles such as the right to a decent home for all.⁴

It is important to place the Platform's actions and definition as a hospitality movement in the broader context of the public discourse about the economic bubble. On one hand, the Platform has identified and denounced the connections between the pre-crisis economic growth, the speculative housing bubble in Spain and the deregulation of the housing and real estate markets. With rates in Spain hovering above 80 per cent, the ideal of home ownership has dominated the Spanish psyche and has been strongly encouraged by governments through policies that promote home ownership over rentals. Indeed, mortgage payments are deductible from income taxes in Spain. On the other hand, the PAH offered an alternative to the dominant discourse presented by the market and the public authorities; this discourse highlighted the lack of regulation of the real estate markets, regularly fraudulent banking practices and the credit-based economy promoted by the public administrations, while accepting that individuals who contracted loans and home mortgages were responsible too. In a nutshell, the PAH transformed the individual and private dimensions of the mortgage crisis into a collective conflict confronting the banking sector and the state and expanded their actions to include, in general, all families excluded from housing market and victims of fraudulent banking practices (Mir Garcia et al. 2013). This switch in public discourse challenged the general criminalization of those unable to pay their financial debts and opened up the possibility of an alternative perspective. In admitting individual and collective responsibilities, the Platform reinforced the sense of duty towards co-citizens as guests of the movement.

Given the above, the PAH's recent censure of a 'housing emergency' in Spain is equivalent to denouncing a 'crime against hospitality'⁵ that is committed by the State given its duty to shelter citizens (the crimes may include enforcing foreclosures without second-chance possibilities). The PAH hospitality acts as a subcategory of national hospitality (Rosello 1999: 212), but acts on its own terms, namely by disobeying existing laws and challenging abusive contracts between banks and families. In the next section, I develop more deeply the link between disobedience and hospitality by distinguishing between conditional and unconditional characterizations of its practice.

4. Disobedience, illegal and (un)conditional hospitality

Ethical commitments can bring citizens to confront State laws. Similarly, ethical stances can bring together hospitality and disobedience. In western

4. However, the legislative initiative was cancelled by the platform once it was accepted by the Parliament because, compared to the original demands, the to-be-debated text was majorly altered and weakened (see http://www.eldiario.es/sociedad/PAH-retira-ILP-dacion-desahucios_0_123187836.html, accessed 11 November 2014 [12:00h]).

5. Although the PAH is not using explicitly this concept I borrow the idea of 'crime against hospitality' as a reverse concept of the *délit d'hospitalité*, used by French authorities in the Debré legislation against those sheltering illegal immigrants.

culture, the Old Testament is the most ancient text to offer dramatic examples of unconditional hospitality as a moral duty and its consequences. Abraham accepted three angels as guests although they were total strangers (Genesis 18). Lot, a nephew of Abraham, sheltered the angels who were sent by Yahweh to destroy Sodom and even protected them from the angry multitudes by offering his own two virgin daughters (Genesis 19, 1). Lot followed God's command of hospitality even when this obedience threatened his own family, seen – at that time – as his own property.

Henry David Thoreau was inspired by the Bible in writing *Civil Disobedience* and also linked the idea of hospitality with disobedience in his critique of Senator Webster's inability to behold slavery ethically:

His words are wisdom to those legislators who contemplate no essential reform in the existing government; but for thinkers, and those who legislate for all time, he never once glances at the subject. I know of those whose serene and wise speculations on this theme would soon reveal the limits of his mind's range and hospitality.

(2001: 27)

A more recent example is found in the 1997 Deltombe case in France (and the Debré legislation). A group of intellectuals defended Madame Deltombe (a French citizen) in a public letter after she allowed an undocumented man from Zaire to stay in her home and was subsequently found guilty of harbouring an illegal immigrant. The intellectuals 'urged their fellow country man to disobey rather than to abide by inhumane laws' (French film-makers' letter against the 'loi Debré' quoted in Rosello 2001: 44). Rosello points to 'guilty hospitality' as an ethical model. The 'guilty hospitality' is a response to an 'unacceptable definition of being national, legitimate host or the owner of the house' (2001: 44–45). This legislation has also been defined by the creation of 'inhospitality places', as the multiplication of detention centres that are specialized in confining immigrants. The first detention centre in France was created in the 1960s but public opinion only reacted some years later, in 1975. These laws distinguish regular detentions from special refusal of certain immigrants who are neither subject of justice nor citizen (Fichet 2003: 37).

In a similar vein, the PAH activists fight for an ethical response to the situations of evicted families in a context of housing emergency. Identifying this link creates a direct confrontation with the dominant and standard response by the state and banks and challenges the dominant individual 'guilt' narrative: those who signed a mortgage must pay even if it means having no second chances or eventually becoming homeless. Instead, the Platform presents an alternative view and replaces individual guilt with the idea of society's collective failure to provide shelter and a decent home to families in a context of economic crisis, a collective failure of hospitality to fellow citizens (native- and foreign-born).

The Platform's acts of disobedience, blocking evictions, consists of providing illegal hospitality to those expelled from the economic framework and therefore from the official hospitality laws that encourage ownership and mortgage contracts. These actions then challenge the 'making and unmaking' boundaries of state hospitality through real estate and mortgages laws. Here, there are two moments or phases of hospitality, unconditional and conditional, that correspond to how the PAH movement is related to the hospitality movement.

Unconditional hospitality, that of ethical commitment, is used by the PAH as its first driving force. This form of hospitality is subversive by definition because it opposes the laws of hospitality established by the state. Included here are actions performed during the *Stop Deshaucios*/'Stop Evictions' campaign in which activists and neighbours physically block police officers and other public workers' entry into the apartment or house, but refrain from attacking or otherwise showing violence towards those executing evictions. This is a dramatic process that usually involves a certain degree of violence and passive resistance. According to Derrida, this 'just hospitality' breaks with hospitality by the right that is established and protected by existing laws (Derrida and Dufourmantelle 2000: 25). These actions are characterized by publicity, non-violence and public communication – conditions usually found in acts of civil disobedience (see Brownlee 2013).

This primarily unconditional hospitality satisfies the characteristics of hospitality as a movement, since it is performed in the absence of 'pacts' and is directed to neighbours (or fellow citizens) who can be previously 'unknown' or anonymous. Reciprocity is not expected in these actions. Unconditional hospitality is the Platform's primary driving force. However, the Platform's political actions also extend beyond the idea of unconditional hospitality.

Derrida's tragedy, when unconditional hospitality turns conditional, is the second phase of the Platform's actions.⁶ Unconditional hospitality soon evolves into negotiations of how a family can remain in a home. Usually, PAH member-experts help families to bargain with public authorities and banks. Alternatives usually discussed include rental assistance, 'deed in lieu of foreclosure', mortgage release or loan renegotiations. During this period of renegotiation the PAH regularly pressurizes banks through organizing direct actions at bank branch offices or publicizing information about which entities are executing more evictions without offering alternatives to families involved.

The jump from unconditional to conditional hospitality is, in a sense, the jump from ethical to a political application of hospitality. By helping affected families, ethical imperatives turn into the discussion of concrete political solutions. Nevertheless, in time the bilateral relationship between families and banks (or the government) turns into a multilateral negotiation. The link between hospitality ethics and politics, in this case, is related to the jump from the activist radical ethical imperative of offering shelter, to the discussion of a political solution under the criteria for justice. The distinction and tensions between an ethical and a political approach in hospitality have been pointed out by some authors in the case of immigration. Bessone has criticized the link between the hospitality approach towards immigration with its territorial or methodological nationalism, pointing out the necessity of a conception based on political participation rather than belonging (2015). In my opinion, the PAH does not abandon the hospitality imperative but is forced to negotiate its political application.

5. Hospitality, sovereignty and radical democracy

The PAH is more than a hospitality movement or an example of unconditional hospitality; it is also a movement of disobedience. I sketched the link between hospitality and sovereignty above. In terms of challenging state sovereignty, the PAH is a political disobedience-through-hospitality movement that resists inclusion/exclusion as defined by existing institutional settings (housing

6. I use a temporal conception of unconditional/conditional Derrida's tension although its original meaning of this relationship is much more complex.

market regulations). As I argue in the following paragraphs, exploiting the tension between unconditional and conditional hospitalities, the PAH obtains political results that are the core of its actions and success.

On one hand, the Platform reminds us of the necessity of including an ethical perspective to hospitality when interpreting real estate market and public administration procedures. Unconditional hospitality and the civil disobedience actions that follow are directed towards public moral standards and can be considered as actions appealing to the public's moral conscience – a general characteristic of all kinds of civil disobedience. On the other hand, the PAH's actions appeal to radical democracy (Mouffe 1999) since unconditional hospitality as a source of mobilization makes the way for different forms of conditional hospitality that are defined by citizens. As Derrida pointed out, the unconditional movement established by the PAH cannot be sustained for long periods, instead unconditional hospitality must be specified sooner or later. However, unconditional hospitality does allow those affected by evictions and foreclosure to enter into new pacts of hospitality and acts here as a lever for a new individual and collective social contract. The Platform's success changes the conditions of individuals and families' negotiations, and the collective framework because it proposes a new social pact for – at least – the housing market.

These actions challenge the existing social contract through a symbolic and material antagonism (Mouffe 1999: 16) that is performed through civil disobedience. The political antagonism promoted by the PAH actions were performed through the so-called *escraches*'direct actions' of politicians who did not accept discussing the Platform's legislative proposals in the Parliament. Justice-as-rights seems to be replaced, at least, during the 'unconditional phase' of the protest by a radical conception of citizenship and belonging that engages classic liberty and equality ideals as constitutive elements of the democratic regime (Mouffe 1999: 122). Moreover, this radical citizenship is linked to hospitality because PAH actions operate on the borders of exclusion/inclusion of the economic system and effective citizenship as I have argued.

6. Conclusions

In this article, I have analysed the PAH as a hospitality movement because it is primarily a political movement that defends family homes (and the possibility of hospitality), promotes neighbourhood hospitality actions and offers a new public discourse on hospitality in the national arena. As a hospitality movement, the PAH promotes illegal hospitality based on civil disobedience and exploits the unconditional and conditional tensions within the idea of hospitality. While the Platform's unconditional hospitality phase promotes an ethical commitment without reciprocity (based on civil disobedience), the conditional hospitality phase redefines public understanding of justice and hospitality through state laws (legislative initiative, negotiations with public administration and banks). In summary, this social movement's peculiar type of hospitality sustains the central aspects of classic hospitality such as ethical compromise and host-guest relationship. On the other hand, the Platform's hospitality also has a public character that politicizes the classic openness towards the unexpected vulnerable pilgrim. This article has shown the strengths of hospitality for redefining the public conception of justice through social movements using the case of the PAH movement. In the future, these concepts can be explored in other domains and political practices of social

movements claiming rights and empowerment such as workers, immigration, gender or LGBTB groups.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I thank all the participants of the Hospitality Now! Conference in Paris on 1 July 2014 and am especially grateful to Benjamin Boudou (Sciences Po) and Nathan Bell (Monash University) for organizing the conference and accepting a first draft of this article. I also thank Mao-Mei Liu and three anonymous reviewers for their comments on a prior draft.

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SUGGESTED CITATION

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