

**MOVEMENTS THAT CARE: EMPATHY, SOLIDARITY
AND EMPOWERMENT IN THE PLATFORM OF THOSE
AFFECTED BY MORTGAGES**

By

Felipe G. Santos

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Declaration

I hereby declare that this dissertation contains no materials accepted for any other degrees, in any other institutions. The dissertation contains no materials previously written and/or published by any other person, except where appropriate acknowledgement is made in the form of bibliographical reference.

Budapest, 25 October 2019

Felipe G. Santos

To Lucia, for all her care

ABSTRACT

The Platform of Those Affected by Mortgages (the PAH by its Spanish acronym) has left an important mark in the history of Spanish social movements. It gave voice to the more than 700,000 families that have been evicted since the PAH was created in 2009; it has blocked thousands of evictions through civil resistance, and prevented many more through negotiations with banks; it has organized the biggest official petition in the history of Spain, gathering 1.5 million signature, and won changes in 5 regional housing laws. These numbers are just a fraction of the long-lasting impact of the organization in Spanish society, culture, and politics.

Despite the PAH's success, it was not founded by folks affected by the problem of evictions. Instead, 6 people who did not even have a mortgage created the organization. Why did those affected by the grievance not mobilize to confront one of the biggest problems of the post-2008's housing bubble Spain? Conversely, what led a group of non-affected people to start organizing in solidarity with them? Finally, how did the victims of the subprime mortgage crisis become empower to take ownership of their struggle and contribute to the creation of one of the most successful social movement organizations of Spanish history? This dissertation tackles these three questions and, in doing so, contributes to a better understanding of the processes and strategies of mobilization in social movements.

Those affected by mortgages did not mobilize initially because facing the risk of eviction destabilized their lives so much that they were paralyzed. Their shame and fear, the stigma associated with being a defaulter, the little time and energy they had after finding ways of subsistence, and the limited knowledge they had about the legislation affecting them as well as mobilization opportunities prevented them from taking action. Before being ready to confront the

banks that were evicting them, people affected by mortgages needed to go through a healing phase where some of their problems would be addressed.

Those who created the PAH started organizing in solidarity with people affected by mortgages because their empathy led them to take action. After being aware of the troubles of people struggling to meet their monthly instalments, they placed themselves in their position and took the responsibility to address their grievance. Once mobilization began, they engaged with the aggrieved community and empowered them to take ownership of their struggle and mobilize in solidarity with each other.

The dissertation explains the behavior and interactions of beneficiary and non-beneficiary constituents through the framework of the *Politics of Care*. In addition to their housing and financial problems, those affected by mortgages faced other emotional, identity, and participatory needs that prevented them from acting in solidarity with each other. Conversely, the empathy that the PAH's founders felt, led them to experience solidarity with a group they were not part of. When these two groups connected, the dynamics of care work that took place within the PAH provided emotional, identity, and participatory empowerment that ignited solidarity and mobilization among those affected by mortgages.

This dissertation makes several contributions to social movement studies. First, it explains how grievances may hamper the solidarity of those affected by them. Second, it follows how privileged allies may feel solidarity with an external collective and mobilize in their support. Third, it maps how social movement organizations empower heavily aggrieved populations to confront their struggles and act in solidarity with each other. In this way, this work contributes to a better understanding of the processes of mobilization.

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Finally, I despise the Hungarian Fidesz government who expelled my university from the country and caused me considerable stress and instability. As I have learned from the PAH and tried to convey in this dissertation, those who care for each other are stronger than those guided by selfish interests and hatred. Sooner rather than later, their legacy will disappear and they will become just a dark memory complementing the shelves of the Terror Háza.

In Manchester, 19 October 2019

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Introduction – Caring Movements

It is 9am and I arrive to one of the many eviction blockades organized by the Platform of Those Affected by Mortgages (PAH) in El Raval, a neighborhood of Barcelona that has become the perfect picture of the contradictions of gentrification. El Raval used to be a working-class area that grew during the second half of the XVIII century, and homed most of the people who moved to Barcelona to work for its burgeoning industry. It soon became one of the most populous neighborhoods in the city, where humble local and migrant families lived. El Raval starts as you move west from the Ramblas Boulevard, the most touristic street in Barcelona. The growing international popularity of the city after the 1992 Olympic Games has meant that tourism has flooded the area. Today, expensive hotels share the road with cheap rentals where migrants live in precariousness, and an eviction can take place next to a coffee shop that sells overpriced lattes to tourists and local hipsters.

While we waited for the judicial entourage to arrive, I started a conversation with Jorge¹, a professional photographer from Barcelona who used to work on development cooperation and who has been collaborating with the PAH for several years. I also spoke with Lidia, a Bolivian migrant who moved to Spain during the housing boom, who became indebted to buy a home, defaulted on her mortgage after she and her husband fell into unemployment during the crisis, and is now fighting her bank to avoid being evicted. I asked them about how they ended up in the PAH. Jorge moved back from his last job in Colombia and he wanted to engage in activism. As evictions were at their peak when he returned to Spain, he decided to

¹ All names used throughout the book are pseudonyms. The only exception to this rule are the names of the PAH founders used in Chapter 2.

join the PAH. Why does somebody not affected by a problem join a social movement to defend other people's interests?

Lidia told me about how she contracted a mortgage and the problems she faced during the crisis. Both she and her husband had stable jobs. She was a cleaning lady and her partner worked in construction, where he was making considerable money. When the crisis came, her husband lost his job, placing them in a difficult financial situation, as he earned much more than her. When they failed to pay their first mortgage instalment, their bank started to pressure them. As the deed in lieu of foreclosure is not a common figure in Spanish mortgage contracts and housing prices had fallen substantially since the crisis broke, giving up their home was not enough to cancel their debt. Lidia and her husband started to imagine what their lives would look like, pushed into homelessness, and still having to repay a debt they would never be able to return. One day, Lidia's husband disappeared. Later on she found out he had returned to Bolivia, escaping from his financial troubles and abandoning her. The bank did not care about this and continued pressuring her with daily calls demanding the money she owed. Lidia felt into depression and tried to kill herself. 'Look at these cuts, they are from a previous time when the bank drove me mad. I was depressed and didn't know what to do. I tried to kill myself twice. Now I am fine, and I am fighting them, because they cannot do these sorts of things'. She also spoke about how difficult it was for her to join the PAH. She mentioned how she thought that protests would not change anything and that she preferred to find other solutions by herself. She also mentioned that she approached the PAH when she saw no other solution and, once she joined the organization, she did not know what to do and was too embarrassed to speak with anyone.

Jorge knew Lidia's story already, but I was in shock. While I could not imagine how I would recover after her experience, she spoke about such a terrible episode of her life so easily

and in such a calm manner. It almost felt like she was talking about somebody else. Moreover, it was impressive to see the conviction with which she spoke during the assemblies and how she organized other people during eviction blockades. How did she manage to overcome her problems and find the power to confront financial institutions and contribute to the PAH with the energy and good mood she had?

This dissertation is about how Lidia and Jorge ended up in the same social movement organization and the processes they followed to do so. It is obvious that Lidia was aggrieved but her grievance was so overwhelming that it complicated her mobilization. Although it is not as obvious as Lidia's situation, Jorge also experienced a grievance, even if he did not live through it. He saw the situation of many people like Lidia, empathized with them and felt the need to act. The origin of Lidia's and Jorge's grievance is the same: an unjust model of housing and finance that pushes people into debt and throws them to the streets once they are not economically and financially productive. However, the way they experienced the grievance and reacted to it, was poles apart.

In order to fully understand how Jorge and Lidia connected, I spent one year as a participant observer at the PAH Barcelona. I also interviewed 71 members of the organization from all over Spain and did a qualitative text analysis of newspaper articles for the period 2009-2016. The collection of primary data took place between June 2017 and June 2018. Appendix I gives greater details about the methodology employed as well as some epistemological reflections that influenced this study. Appendix II provides a full list of the interviews conducted.

Different Mobilization from Different Sufferings

Most people join social movements because they are aggrieved and decide to collaborate with other similarly affected people to solve their trouble. For this, one needs to experience emotions like anger, anxiety, hope and a sense of mistreatment, which are feelings that urge individuals to act and approach others. Moreover, one needs to identify with others who are similarly troubled and be ready to dedicate time and energy to advance the group's demands. Collectives whose grievances encourage them to approach others and identify with them are likely to mobilize once they have the opportunity and resources to do so. Aggrieved individuals who are reached by the mobilization attempts of social movement entrepreneurs and have enough time and energy will most probably engage in contentious collective action. These types of successful and relatively straightforward mobilizations are those that have inspired most academic discussions and have been the seeds of groundbreaking social movement theories such as strain and breakdown (Davies, 1962; Gurr, 1970; Kornhauser, 1959; Piven & Cloward, 1977; Smelser, 1963; Snow, Cress, Downey, & Jones, 1998) political process (McAdam, 1999 [1982]; McAdam, Tarrow, & Tilly, 2001), resource mobilization (McCarthy & Zald, 1977), framing (Benford & Snow, 2000; Snow & Benford, 1988; Snow, Rochford, Worden, & Benford, 1986), and micromobilization (Beyerlein & Hipp, 2006; Klandermans, 1984; Klandermans & Oegema, 1987; McAdam, 1986; Snow, Zurcher, & Ekland-Olson, 1980). Even if these are the types of grievances that have attracted the most attention from students of protests and social movements, neither Jorge's nor Lidia's experiences fall under this category.

On the one hand, Jorge did not mobilize for a grievance he experienced himself, but acted in solidarity with another collective. He empathized with the struggle of those affected by mortgages and was dissatisfied with their situation, so he decided to take action. Jorge could have probably joined an organization that defended his own interests, like a trade union that

pushed for better working conditions for photographers, but he decided to dedicate his time to a cause from which he would not benefit directly. On the other hand, Lidia was paralyzed by her grievance. Financial distress and being under risk of eviction destabilized her life to a degree that she could not react to her situation. Instead of encouraging her to mobilize collectively, her mortgage problems made her 'biographically unavailable' (McAdam, 1986). Lidia dedicated all her time and energy to find a job and make small gigs that would help her repay her mortgage and she did not have time or energy left for activism. Moreover, mortgage problems often break people's relationships with their networks of friends and family. They may bring conflicts with family, as it was Lidia's case to the extent that her husband abandoned her. They may also distance people from their friends, as financial difficulties reduce one's resources for leisure and many people cut ties with their acquaintances because they are ashamed to let them know about their economic troubles. In other words, Lidia turned 'structurally unavailable' (Klandermans & Oegema, 1987; Snow et al., 1986). Moreover, some grievances generate avoidance emotions and stigmatize identities, some of the features of what this dissertation calls *cultural unavailability*. As I elaborate further during this work, I define cultural availability as the absence of emotional, identity, and knowledge constraints that pose barriers to participation in some or all movement activities. Lidia's case was an extreme but it is common that many aggrieved individuals experience fear, shame and insecurity. Many troubles may also affect individual's networks and willingness to socialize. Instead of facilitating the mobilization when political opportunities arise, grievances may also discourage non-conforming behavior, such as participation in protests and social movements. Under these circumstances, people prefer to hide from the public and avoid any confrontation. In other cases, even if individuals are willing to mobilize, it may be the case that their geographical location makes this situation impossible, as in the case of migrants and sweatshop workers.

Once we explore the variety of grievances and reactions to them, we realize the complexities of political solidarity, or lack thereof. If we understand solidarity as the willingness to contribute individual resources – time, money, and energy – to a collective end (cf. Durkheim, 1987; Hechter, 1987), it is easy to understand why people motivated by mobilizing grievances contribute their private resources to a collective end that will advance their position. However, the experience of Jorge and Lidia are more complex. Why was Jorge willing to make sacrifices for something he will not directly benefit from? Why did Lidia struggle to find the motivation to join efforts with folks that seek the same goal and were already doing it successfully? Reactions to grievances follow different processes. Some grievances foster internal solidarity. These types of reactions have been amply studied by previous literature and are not the focus of this work. Grievances may foster external solidarity. Even if one is not affected by the issue at hand, the injustice compels individuals to act. This type of reaction requires greater attentiveness than the rest. Finally, grievances may sometimes create so much disruption in people’s lives that they paralyze those suffering with them. Before being ready to mobilize, some individuals need to pass through a healing phase, where their needs related to emotions, identities and capacity to participate are addressed.

This work builds on previous studies of how the political process of contention unfolds, highlighting three aspects that has been overlooked so far. First, it provides an explanation of the process through which some non-beneficiary early risers start to mobilize in support of an external group. During the recent years, solidarity movements in the context of migration (Ataç, Rygiel, & Stierl, 2016; Della Porta, 2018; Monforte, 2019), state atrocities outside its borders (Nepstad, 2008; Russo, 2018) and those motivated by the dismantling of the welfare state due to austerity cuts (Cabot, 2016; Teloni & Adam, 2016) have been at the forefront of political events and scholarly attention in the global north. This dissertation maps the processes

through which some privileged allies empathize with an aggrieved collective, experience solidarity towards a group they are not part of, and decide to start organizing in their support.

Second, the dissertation sheds light on instances when grievances hamper solidarity among the affected collective. While most social movement research focuses on instances of successful mobilization and strategies to foster participation and recruitment, this work provides a comprehensive account of the paralyzing effects that some types of oppression have. While previous explanations are centered on how structures of social control (Piven & Cloward, 1977; Snow et al., 1998) as well as state (Davenport, 2007; Earl, 2003; Ortiz, 2013; S. Soule & Davenport, 2009) and cultural (Ferree, 2004) repression prevent contentious collective action, this work highlights the devastating effect that some grievances may have for those who face them to an extent that individuals become paralyzed.

Finally, the dissertation explores ways in which organizations foster solidarity among those aggrieved, and empower their members to take ownership of their struggle as well as contribute to the collective goals of the movement. This work is an effort to present a comprehensive account of empowerment that includes emotions, identities and skills. Previous studies about empowerment in social movement organizations have focused mostly on building knowledge and skills (Andrews, Ganz, Baggetta, Han, & Lim, 2010; Han, 2014). While other works have focused on social movement leaders' efforts to encourage certain emotions (Flam & King, 2005; Goodwin, Jasper, & Polletta, 2001; Goodwin & Pfaff, 2003; D. B. Gould, 2001; Jasper, 2011, 2018) and identities (Klandermans, van der Toorn, & van Stekelenburg, 2008; Melucci, 1995; Polletta & Jasper, 2001; Saunders, 2008; Snow & McAdam, 2000; Taylor, 2000), few mapped the process experienced by members themselves. Moreover, this dissertation develops a framework that highlights the interactions between changes in emotions, identities and skills and how they foster solidarity among the aggrieved community.

This work builds on previous studies of the political process (Choi-Fitzpatrick, 2017; Fligstein & McAdam, 2015; McAdam, 1999 [1982]; McAdam et al., 2001) and highlights two pathways of mobilization that are central to some movements that, in addition to the logic of justice that inspires most attempts to change society, are based on a logic of caring. When the beneficiary group is paralyzed by their grievance, they may need a first impetus from more privileged solidarity early-risers, who may address the problems that prevented the engagement of beneficiary constituents during the first stages of mobilization. This dissertation argues that, when these two groups meet, certain dynamics take particular importance. The beginnings of this type of mobilization require that those paralyzed go through a process of healing and empowerment within the organization. This phase is initiated by non-beneficiary constituents, who also need to make additional efforts to understand the needs of the collective they are mobilizing for. To understand these dynamics, we need to pay attention to how activists care for each other and the care logics that arise. To understand the processes at play, we need to place them under the framework of the Ethics of Care (Gilligan, 1982; Held, 2006; Noddings, 1986; Tronto, 1993, 2013).

The Ethics of Care of Contentious Collective Action

Care is ‘a species activity that includes everything that we do to maintain, continue, and repair our ‘world’ so that we can live in it as well as possible. That world includes our bodies, our selves, and our environment’ (Tronto, 2013, p. 19; see also Fisher & Tronto, 1990, p. 40; Tronto, 1993, p. 103). To have political meaning, care must consist of a relational action that goes beyond the act of thinking. According to Held, care consists of ‘attending to and meeting the needs of the particular others for whom we take responsibility’ (2006, p. 10), and also includes protecting others from ‘extraordinary incursions of violence or other forms of disruption into our daily lives’ (Tronto, 1993, p. 104). Caring consists of a four-step process

(Tronto, 1993, 2013), which provides a solid ground to understand mobilization originating from external solidarity. Any caring relationship starts with a person or collective 1) *caring about* another, which requires the quality of attentiveness. Second, it is necessary to take responsibility to address the identified need, 2) *caring for* the other individual or group. Third, one needs to be competent to address the identified need and 3) *give care*. Finally, the collective or person 4) *receives the care* and responds to it.

This process serves to analyze how mobilization originates from external solidarity. 1) Mobilization begins when a, generally more privileged group, cares about another collective and recognizes that it suffers from some needs that should be met. 2) After the detection of the need, the privileged group evaluates the conditions of the field and the possibility of addressing the needs of the paralyzed collective through contentious collective action. If they think that they have the chance to mobilize in support of the aggrieved group, they will assume the responsibility to confront their oppression. 3) After assuming responsibility, solidarity early-risers start efforts to enter into contact with the aggrieved and apathetic collective and care giving starts. This is the moment when the group initiates mobilization. 4) Once care activities take place, the person or group that has been cared for reacts to the interaction. For care to be considered political, the person or group that has received shall evolve in the direction of taking ownership of their struggle. This characteristic is what determines the sometimes thin difference between whether care relationships take place in the realm of contentious politics or through assistance-based solidarity activities. In other words, the privileged and empathic constituents need to be mindful about the process of politization of the beneficiary group and give up leadership and referential roles in their favor.

Care serves to understand the reasons why some aggrieved individuals do not join social movements, or at least struggle to do so at first, and how they are empowered once they do.

Somebody paralyzed by a grievance faces structural, biographical and/or cultural needs that complicate their participation in contentious collective action. Being part of networks and being reached by mobilization attempts are two of the strongest predictors of participation in social movements (R. V. Gould, 1993; Klandermans, 1997; Klandermans & Oegema, 1987; McAdam & Paulsen, 1993; Verba, Schlozman, & Brady, 1995). Some paralyzing grievances isolate individuals. They may generate conflicts with one's circles or lead them to isolation because their shame and fear, or simply, reduced economic capacities, push them to stay by themselves. The new situation of lack of 'structural availability' (Snow et al., 1980) produced by one's grievance becomes an extra burden for confronting the grievance itself. Moreover, even if one is a part of networks and aware about grassroots initiatives to confront one's grievance, the instability created by some types of oppression may leave those affected with no time to dedicate to anything beyond dealing with the consequences of the grievance itself. Finally, 'avoidance emotions' (Klandermans et al., 2008), 'spoiled identities' (Goffman, 1990 [1963]; Kaplan & Liu, 2000), lack of identification with the collective that the organization represents or not having certain 'civic skills' (Verba et al., 1995) will prevent people from approaching a SMO. In the case when some people, despite these burdens do approach a collective, they are passively recruited. Passive recruitment consists of privately approaching an organization without the will or capacity to participate. Some people may approach an organization looking for individualized solutions or may join as a last resort option. Plainly said, they may show up at assemblies but they will not contribute or socialize with others in any way. Under this circumstances, paralyzed individuals who are passively recruited need to go through a healing phase, where the needs that hampered their participation are addressed. I refer to these efforts as *care work*.

I identify three types of care work. First, *emotional care* are the interactions among activists that confront avoidance emotions, generate approach emotions and high 'emotional

energy' (Collins, 2004). Emotional care may take place through rituals, where the congregation of bodies with a shared focus of attention influence the emotions of its participants. In this case, it is organizations, rather than particular individuals who provide the care work. Emotional care also takes place through 'intimate social networks' (Goodwin & Pfaff, 2003), where particular persons provide emotional support to those in need. Second, *identity care* consists of the organizational efforts to maintain and repair members' individual and collective identities. *Self-concept care* refers to supporting members to develop positive 'self-concepts' (Gecas, 1982; Rosenberg, 1979), while *collective care* consists of the generation and maintenance of collective identities and the social movement community. Finally, *participatory care* are the efforts aimed at facilitating participation in the activities of the movement. These efforts may consist in offering newcomers easily accessible activism opportunities and making participation in each activity as easy as possible, training members to better contribute to the movement, and reducing the risks of activism in the members' lives so they are more comfortable contributing to the social movement activities.

When paralyzed newcomers approach the organization, they will be exposed to organizational rituals that confront the emotions that prevent their participation. Moreover, some more experienced members may encourage them to contribute to the group through easily accessible activism opportunities, such as taking minutes at the assembly. Once the initial step into activism is taken, paralyzed individuals start to mobilize and enter the *Escalator of Empowerment*. The escalator of empowerment refers to the evolution that individuals go through which increases their availability to take part in social movement activities. During this process, newcomers start being exposed to interactions of care work that make them more available to engage in activism. Moreover, newcomers may take conscious steps in the escalator trying to manage their emotions and joining organizational trainings, among other things. As they are exposed to care work, members become empowered to take ownership of

their struggles and contribute to the collective activities of the movement that aim at confronting their grievances.

These reflections and the dissertation are inspired by the case of the PAH. The PAH was founded by six people who did not have a mortgage but who decided to seek solutions to address the drama of evictions that was affecting many people who purchased their dwelling through indebtedness. Mortgage-affected people were both biographically and structurally unavailable prior to joining the organization. Facing financial distress and risking eviction destabilizes one's life to an extent that one has no time or energy to do anything else than addressing this problem. Moreover, the stress and shame of not being able to repay one's debts and afford a dwelling isolates individuals from their personal networks (Di Feliciano, 2017). Despite these circumstances, the PAH has become the biggest housing organization in Spain. Hence, the PAH is a 'typical case' (Gerring, 2007; Seawright & Gerring, 2008) of successful mobilization inspired by care that is perfect to explore the mechanisms of this phenomenon. I consider the PAH a typical case because it exemplifies a stable relationship between care practices and mobilization. These type of cases are the best suited to explore the casual mechanisms in a relationship of interest (Seawright & Gerring, 2008).

The Platform of Those Affected by Mortgages

The PAH was created in February 2009 with the objective of organizing those facing evictions. During the years of the housing bubble prior to the crisis of financial capital that started in 2008, thousands of families signed mortgage contracts to buy a dwelling. When the crisis came, many became unemployed and found they could no longer afford to pay their mortgages. As the deed in lieu of foreclosure is not a common clause in Spanish mortgage contracts and housing prices had collapsed, many found that not only they would lose their homes but they

would still carry six figures debts. Under these circumstances, a group of six people, none of whom had a mortgage, decided to start looking for ways to organize this paralyzed collective.

The PAH has become one of the most influential social movement organizations in Spain. It has expanded to all corners in the country and, as of 2019, is present in 254 locations. They have blocked thousands of evictions through civil resistance and prevented many more through pressuring banks. Moreover, it has rehoused more than 2,500 people in occupied apartments owned by banks and vulture funds (Plataforma de Afectados por la Hipoteca, 2016). Institutionally, the PAH has organized the biggest official petition in the history of Spain to this date, gathering almost 1.5 million signatures, and it has successfully lobbied to change the housing laws of five of the 17 regions in Spain. Moreover, many of its members are now elected representatives, the most iconic of whom, Ada Colau, was the spokesperson for the PAH and became mayor of Barcelona in 2015. Finally, the PAH has also reframed the social discourses about housing and the financial crisis, and improved social perceptions of occupation (Martinez, 2018).

Structure of the Dissertation

In the six chapters of this dissertation, I explore the processes of mobilization that originate from empathic and paralyzing grievances, and how these two distinct patterns connect. Chapter 1 presents the theoretical framework of the dissertation. It presents a categorization of the different reactions to grievances and focus on the mobilization that originates from those who experience external solidarity and those who became paralyzed by their oppression. To do this, it borrows from the debates on the Ethics of Care and applies them to the study of social movements. It theorizes the two processes of mobilization outlined and explores how they fit together. Care work is presented as a fundamental factor for social movement organizations to sustain mobilization and a crucial tool for the mobilization of paralyzed collectives.

Chapters 2 and 3 focus on the two types of mobilization explored in the dissertation. Chapter 2 explores the origins of the PAH from the perspective of the Politics of Care. It shows how external solidarity led the PAH's founders to create the organization and it follows the steps of the collective until the creation of its two most significant campaigns: *STOP Desahucios*, the PAH's campaign to block evictions through civil resistance, and *Obra Social*, the occupation of empty buildings owned by financial institutions to rehouse evicted families. Chapter 3 looks at the other side of the PAH's mobilization and explores how those trapped in their mortgages managed to overcome the burdens that complicated their participation in the organization. This section dissects the different ways in which facing financial distress and the risk of eviction paralyzes individuals and the process through which they manage to overcome these burdens, with the support of the rest of the organization.

Chapters 4, 5, and 6 explore the different components of care work, as they occur in the PAH. Chapter 4 focuses on how the PAH confronts the avoidance emotions with which paralyzed individuals arrive at the organization and how its members foster approach emotions through rituals and personal interactions. Chapter 5 addresses how the PAH improves its member's self-concepts and feeling of community through Identity Care. Finally, Chapter 6 explores how the PAH addresses the challenges of participation, such as the limited time of its members, the risks associated with activism and the lack of previous knowledge and experiences of most of its members.

I conclude the dissertation discussing its implications. The case of the PAH teaches us that some grievances, such as facing financial distress and the risk of eviction, instead of encouraging collective mobilization, hampers internal solidarity among the affected community. However, as we will learn from this study, solidarity can be constructed during the process of mobilization, when activists are cared for and care for others. The experience of

the PAH also highlights the importance that coalitions between privileged, empathic non-beneficiary activists and paralyzed beneficiary constituents, can have for the mobilization of heavily oppressed groups. The creation of internal solidarity among people facing the risk of eviction happened thanks to the initial efforts of a group of people not affected by the problem of mortgages, who began mobilization in solidarity with them. I hope that this analysis will convince scholars about the importance of care for social movements and why students and practitioners should pay greater attention to these dynamics.