



Better Advocacy, Better Inclusion

Social priorities, participation, and advocacy practices

The experience of 20 Spanish antiracist realities

NATIONAL REPORT Spain

Edited by

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Introduction

This report is one of the products of the project *Better Advocacy for Better Inclusion (BABI)*¹. Faced with racial discrimination in public policies that characterize the countries of the European Union, the project aims to identify and share reflections, knowledge, learning, strategies and experiences of political advocacy led and/or carried out with active participation of racialized people and migrants, with the aim of transforming these discriminatory institutional practices.

The final objective of the project is to promote the strengthening of the knowledge and skills of activists from social groups and grassroots movements, as well as professionals from civil society organizations, to carry out anti-racist political advocacy actions, more efficient and systematic, before the administrations: advocacy actions aimed at denouncing, making visible and preventing discriminatory institutional practices, both at the territorial and national level.

More specifically, this report tries to offer a review of some of the specific anti-racist political advocacy strategies and experiences promoted by grassroots groups, platforms and civil society organizations in Spain in recent years, as well as to identify the main needs and areas of rights (non-discrimination, citizenship rights, social rights, etc.) considered as priorities in the fight against institutional and structural racism: that is, to pressure political leaders and administrations to recognize their discriminatory practices and redirect them.

For this purpose, interviews were conducted with 20 activists belonging to different entities, movements, and anti-racist organizations in the state -all of them racialized people- and their content was analyzed. In the selection of the political advocacy experiences considered in this document, priority was given to those carried out by anti-racist groups led by migrants and racialized people, as well as by mixed collectives (that is, where people racialized as non-white as well as white people participated) where racialized people have an active participation.

We thank all the people interviewed for their participation and for their contributions, which made the preparation of this report possible.

¹ The project, led by the Italian organization Lunaria, involves organizations and associations from Greece (Antígona) and Malta (SOS Malta), as well as SOS Racisme Catalunya. For more information about the project: <http://www.sosracisme.org/proyecte-babi>

1 The national context

1.1. Short review of available official and unofficial data about discriminations, hate crimes, hate speech

In Spain, quantitative data produced by both administrations and civil society organizations do not allow an adequate dimensioning of manifestations of racial discrimination, much less explain the causes and structural mechanisms that allow the reproduction, normalization and social legitimation of racism. However, there is literature on the subject that can help to understand some of these dynamics.

According to the study "The self-perception of discrimination" (*"La autopercepción de la discriminación"*)², published in 2018 by Red Acoge, 60% of the immigrant population interviewed has been victims of racial discrimination in the last five years, or witnessed someone close to them experiencing a situation of discrimination.

Furthermore, the Consejo para la Eliminación de la Discriminación Racial o Étnica [*the Council for the Elimination of Racial or Ethnic Discrimination*] (CEDRE) published in 2020 the investigation "Perception of discrimination based on racial or ethnic origin by potential victims" (*"Percepción de la discriminación por origen racial o étnico por parte de sus potenciales víctimas"*)³, prepared on the basis of more than 1,600 interviews with people susceptible to being discriminated against and not enjoying real equal opportunities. The research concludes that in Spain racial discrimination continues to be mainly associated with physical features and skin color, although it is observed that the percentage of people who are discriminated against because of their religious beliefs and garments has increased (such as wearing a veil and distinctive clothing).

The groups that are perceived to be the most discriminated against due to skin color and physical features are people from non-Mediterranean Africa (82%), and the Roma population (71%), these being the groups that show a greater perception of discrimination. In this regard, the study determines that it is possible to speak of a perception of Afrophobia or of racism against people considered to be of a black "race" among people of non-Mediterranean African origin, which is not perceived with the same intensity by people of African descent (Afro-Caribbean or Afro-Latin). On the other hand, discrimination on religious grounds, which has increased considerably in recent years, is especially concentrated on the Maghreb group (56%) and among the Indo-Pakistani population (45%). This situation could be motivated by a growing stigmatization of these groups, associated with terrorist activity, and increasing Islamophobia.

The main areas where racial discrimination is manifested are:

- Discrimination in access to housing, which affects 31% of the people interviewed. Most individuals within the study population report experiencing discriminatory facts associated with this area, mainly affecting people from non-Mediterranean Africa (48%), people of Maghreb origin (46%) and the Roma population (31%). 21% of people perceive that they have been refused to rent a home due to their ethnic or racial origin, 18% have been refused to visit a home they wanted to rent or buy, and 20% feel they have had more problems and requirements to access housing.

2 Available here: https://redacoge.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/11/EstudioAutopercepcion_DEF.pdf

3 Available here: https://igualdadynodiscriminacion.igualdad.gob.es/destacados/pdf/08-PERCEPCION_DISCRIMINACION_RACIAL_NAV.pdf

- In the field of access to establishments, goods and services (30.5%). The most common discrimination situations have to do with the refusal to be allowed to enter a nightclub, bar, cinema, store, etc. (19%), receiving insults on the street (10%), and not receiving attention in public spaces, or being badly looked upon in stores or shopping centers (both with 7%).
- In the educational field, which affects 20% of the people interviewed. Discriminatory experiences are mainly associated with teasing, insults and bullying among students (14%), and exclusion from games and activities (9%). The groups that are perceived to be most affected are people from the East Asian population (30%), the Roma population (26%), the Andean population (25%), and those from non-Mediterranean African countries (23%). The study also observes teacher behaviors which perpetuate stereotypes and prejudices around students of diverse origins, and which condition negatively the way they are treated and how they perceive their own expectations.
- In the workplace, which affects 20%. The most prevalent situations are related to access to employment. The groups that are perceived as being most discriminated against in the workplace are the African and Afro-descendant population, people of Maghreb origin and the Roma population. The people who suffer the most discrimination are those who work irregularly (without a contract).
- In the health field, which affects 12%. Discriminatory experiences fundamentally translate into the perception of different treatment by health personnel (6%), as well as difficulties in obtaining a health card (2%).

According to the same CEDRE study, police treatment remains one of the perceived areas with the highest rates of discrimination associated with racial stereotypes, to a greater extent among the African and Afro-descendant population, which would be associated with the presumption of the administrative irregular situation of this group, as well as the Maghreb population (26%) and the Roma population (24%). The prevalence of discrimination in these groups increases considerably in the case of men; 25% of the people interviewed indicate that they have been asked for documentation on the street due to their racial origin (compared to 5% of women), and 18% have had their belongings searched for no reason (compared to 3% of women). In this regard, reports published by civil society organizations⁴ indicate that racialized people and/or with foreign nationality are stopped by the police more often than white people and/or people with Spanish nationality: for example, in Catalonia, 54.1% of the total identifications from the autonomous police of Catalonia [*Mossos d'Esquadra*] are directed at foreigners, when they only represent 13.70% of the Catalan population. In other words, for every person with Spanish nationality 7.4 with foreign nationality are stopped. Discrimination by police forces also affects people with lower incomes more intensely, which reveals the existence of a component of socioeconomic status in this type of discriminatory practice.

1.2.A general picture about CSO's and self-organized organizations/informal movements of immigrants/refugees/discriminated/racialized people

4 As, for example, the report "La apariencia no es motivo" ("Appearance is no motive"), available here: <https://www.pareudepararme.org/assets/img/informe2018-es.pdf>

The interviews carried out in the framework of this research allow us to offer a first approximation regarding how the political sphere of anti-racism is being structured at the Spanish state level⁵, both and mainly in regard to the collectives and other self-organized anti-racist grassroots movements, as well as the more professionalized civil society organizations. However, the information collected does not allow us to offer a complete “picture” of the multiplicity of anti-racist groups active in the territory at the Catalan or Spanish state level. Nor was it one of the objectives of this research to develop an exhaustive map of the anti-racism actors in Spain, its way of organizing itself, its political agenda, its way of influencing social transformation, etc.

Likewise, we think that the content of the interviews carried out with anti-racist activists during this research allows us to identify some key ideas that may contribute to understanding “where” anti-racism is today in Spain, which are the racist practices that concern most of the movements, how the different anti-racist spaces are being organized, what difficulties/barriers/structural limitations they are encountering in the development of their action, etc.

The organization of the spaces of anti-racism

In the first place, the information collected highlights the diversity that exists among anti-racist movements, at the level of their internal organization. In a very general way, the following typology of organized spaces can be identified:

- Grassroots self-organized spaces: groups of small dimensions, but with a relevant capacity for action at the local level. These are spaces that are built and articulated based on activism, functioning predominantly in an assembly-based manner, often with political objectives linked to the needs that derive from their own territorial reality;
- Self-organized networks and platforms: these are spaces made up of activists from different municipalities, provinces, communities, who come together to denounce or claim rights in specific areas of incidence, such as immigration legislation, racist control policies (centers of internment for foreigners [CIEs], racist raids, racial profiling etc.);
- Organizations of civil society: formally constituted organizations, with their own labor structure, active at local, regional or state level.

In this regard, it is important to highlight how our research has focused mainly on the first two types mentioned: the spaces of self-organized anti-racism, built and led by migrants and racialized people, or mixed spaces (that is, in which people racialized as non-white as well as white people participate together) where racialized people have or have had an active role in the design or implementation of political actions.

As we will develop more in depth in the second part of this report, effective leadership of political action by racialized people is a key demand of grassroots anti-racism spaces. Indeed, currently among the movements and organizations in Spain there is a coexistence of an anti-racism with a more political character, more typical of grassroots movements and built from a decolonial epistemology, and another kind of anti-racism

⁵ Translator’s note: the construct “Spanish state” is used throughout the text to refer to the country commonly referred to in English language sources simply as Spain, but denoting the internal cultural, linguistic and national diversity of the encompassed territories including for instance Basque, Catalan and Galician nationalities.

with a moral-leaning nature, more "white" or "whitewashed", characterizing the mode of working of civil society organizations, which focuses on a more individual or liberal reading of racism and does not take into account (or does not take into account with the necessary depth of analysis) the structural and institutional dimension of racist oppression⁶. These two ways of understanding racism and -consequently- anti-racism (political or moral, grassroots or institutional...) offer a key to understanding the different political agendas of the spaces that, with the necessary caveats and in a very general and imprecise way, we can classify in the first or in the second group.

Advocacy actions and strategies

From the interviews carried out, a picture emerged of how anti-racist grassroots movements recognize and use the concept of "advocacy" to describe the political actions of demand-making, denunciation, visibilization of racism, etc., that they carry out: that is, they incorporate political advocacy as part (and in some cases, as the central axis) of their action. In this regard, it is worth noting how the great diversity that exists between the anti-racist spaces considered during the research allowed us to identify a great variety of actions considered by the interviewees as "of incidence", which by way of synthesis we can list as follows:

- Demonstrations, rallies, protest actions or performance in public space etc.;
- Meetings with political and/or institutional actors (elected positions, congressmen, regional deputies, municipal councilors, technical personnel of the administrations, members of political parties, etc.) to promote legislative actions, modify action protocols, denounce institutional discriminatory practices, claim sanction mechanisms etc.);
- Coordination with other anti-racism spaces or with active social movements in specific areas (e.g.: housing, health, education, etc.) to carry out joint actions;
- Organization of communication actions aimed at the media (press conferences, production and publication of reports, presentation of campaigns, etc.);
- Campaigns to report and make racist practices visible on social networks (production of digital content, advocacy videos, live broadcasts on Facebook, Instagram, etc.).

Many of the spaces considered during the research, in practice, have carried out more than one of these actions over time, often in a coherent and coordinated manner, although not always within the framework of an advocacy strategy based on a theory of change⁷.

6 On this point, an introductory reading of the article may be useful: "The racist limits of Spanish moral anti-racism" (*"Los límites racistas del antirracismo moral español"*), by Mahdis Azarmandi. Available at: <https://www.elsaltodiario.com/1492/los-limites-racistas-del-antirracismo-moral-espanol>.

7 We refer to the explicit linking of advocacy actions and tactics to political theories of action that support them. In this regard, see, for example: Gen, S. & Wright, AC (2018). Strategies of policy advocacy organizations and their theoretical affinities: Evidence from Q-methodology. *Policy Studies Journal* , 46 (2), 298-326.

2.The results of the qualitative research

2.1. The methodology

This research is based on the content of a set of interviews carried out with anti-racist activists in Spain, with the aim of collecting information on the following points:

- the priorities of the political agenda of the anti-racist movements included in the investigation, as well as the rights they claim and the needs to which they want to address;
- the level of participation and leadership of migrants and racialized people in defining the political agenda of such spaces, their internal organization mechanisms, as well as the obstacles that may limit the protagonism, leadership and participation of racialized people in the anti-racist struggle;
- specific anti-racist political advocacy actions carried out by social movements in the Spanish state.

As already mentioned, during the research phase, semi-structured interviews were conducted⁸ with 20 activists from different spaces, movements and antiracist organizations (all racialized persons)⁹. From the content of these interviews, 20 anti-racist political advocacy actions/campaigns/spaces were identified, whose activity, objectives, approaches, etc. were condensed in summary sheets, with the aim of making them known as an experience of political anti-racism carried out in Catalonia and in the Spanish state in recent years.

The summary sheets regarding the advocacy actions, campaigns and spaces include information related to:

- A brief presentation of the space;
- The main needs that articulate its anti-racist action;
- Its mission and political agenda;
- Its mechanisms for internal participation and articulation with other spaces;
- An example of an advocacy action carried out in the past years.

At a methodological level, it is important to highlight that priority has been given to highlighting actions carried out from spaces of activism led by migrants or racialized people, dealing with both non-mixed spaces and mixed spaces shared with racialized and white activists.

Next, we will present a synthesis of the most relevant results of the research process, and successively the 20 summary sheets related to the selected experiences.

2.2. *An overall picture of the results of interviews*

Advocacy and political agenda

⁸ The semi-structured interviews were conducted, in the four countries, from a common script. In each country, the interviewers adapted the format of the questions according to the specificities of the different local contexts. The interview script is available in the annexes of this report.

⁹ The list of people interviewed in the framework of the investigation is available in the Annexes to this same report.

In the first place, from the interviews carried out it emerged that social movements know how to identify the advocacy work they do, are socialized and familiar with this concept, and consider it necessary to have their own advocacy strategy to be able to promote social transformation, from an anti-racist logic. In this sense, the majority of activists interviewed from the spaces mapped out in this research do have an advocacy strategy linked to their own political agenda: in some cases, this strategy even articulates different levels of actions (for example, at the local or state level), as well as different activities (mobilizations, communication on social networks, recourse to traditional media, etc.).

It is worth noting that, in the case of some of the experiences identified, it was possible to promote political advocacy actions directly from self-organized spaces of migrants and racialized people, autonomously. That allowed:

- To position proactive political spaces, at the local or even state level, led only by migrants and racialized people;
- To maintain its own anti-racist agenda, without having to support that of other civil society actors (e.g.: NGOs), who rather supported, in the background, the proposals of these spaces;
- To design advocacy actions based on the definition of own objectives and narratives, built from the margins of the political spectrum, and away from a moral - or even colonial - conception of anti-racism;
- To contribute to the change of the social discourse about immigration: from stories of "victims" to stories of actors of social transformation.

Regarding this last point, it is important to note that most of the people interviewed identified the ability to promote and disseminate narratives built from "oppression" –that is, by those who suffer it– as a key element for a truly transformative anti-racist advocacy. In this sense, the way "white" civil society organizations work was repeatedly criticized¹⁰, whose discourses often reinforce a "romantic" image of immigration, do not consider the structural mechanisms of racism, nor do they seek to review the social practices and privileges of the part of society not suffering from racism (the white population).

On the other hand, it is interesting to note that in some cases the construction of an "own" space requires the occupation of a "own" physical space (that is, a place, a public building, etc.) recognizable as a center to meet, work and plan the political action of one or more social movements. This aspect is particularly important - not to say necessary - for movements of immigrants and racialized people, who often find themselves having to self-organize in response to their exclusion from public policies and the rights and services that the social state should guarantee (due to their administrative situation, lack of a permit or employment contract to work, etc.). However, this need for self-organization is understood by some of the people interviewed as an opportunity, since it allows them to imagine and build a direct

¹⁰ When we speak of "whiteness", we refer to a position of superiority in a racial hierarchy constructed historically, politically and socially from the West: in this hierarchy, whiteness is situated as superior and, therefore, legitimized to subject the other categories constructed as being below and under it. In this regard, see: Echeverría B. (2010). *Modernidad y blanquitud*. México D.F.: ERA.

response to situations of racist oppression, without having to wait for the intervention of the relevant sectors of government.

Second, some of the priority issues on the political anti-racism agenda in the Spanish state could be identified:

- The regularization of people in an irregular administrative situation in the Spanish state;
- The repeal of the immigration law, as an “anti-immigrant code”;
- Racist police violence, the application of racial profiling and, more generally, control and criminalization of the bodies of racialized people by the different authorities;
- Exclusion from the labor market and racial discrimination within it;
- The exclusion of the enjoyment of basic social rights in the areas of health, housing, education.

In short, the spaces considered during the investigation prioritize the denunciation of the practices and mechanisms of institutional racism, as well as the responsibility of the different public administrations in their production, reproduction and social legitimation.

Internal organization

At the internal organization level, from the interviews we have identified the following types of spaces:

- Spaces and networks of self-organized activism at the regional and/or Spanish state level: these are spaces that have known how to articulate anti-racist movements and/or activists from cities and even different communities, in order to build strategies and joint advocacy actions on structural issues (regularization of immigrants, immigration law, police violence, etc.);
- Spaces for self-organized activism at the local level: these are self-organized anti-racist collectives, which function based on the activist work of the people involved to influence public policies at the local level (for example, on issues of social rights, access to housing, etc.);
- Platforms at the local level: these are stable alliances between different activism spaces and civil society organizations, which are created to be able to work on a specific issue in a given territory;
- Campaigns: these are specific alliances between different anti-racism actors, to carry out, in a coordinated manner, advocacy actions on a specific issue.

Regarding the composition of these spaces, the vast majority function from the activist work of their members, as well as from the self-financing of their political action. In general, these spaces make their decisions in an assembly way, and organize themselves into groups or work areas to implement their actions. Only in some of the experiences considered, advocacy campaigns were carried out using technical and financial resources from civil society organizations.

On this last point, as already mentioned above, the experiences considered refer mainly to non-mixed work spaces (self-organized, built and led by migrants and racialized people), and only in some cases to mixed spaces (that is, where people racialized as non-white people as well as white people participate) where nevertheless racialized people have or have had an active role in the design or implementation of political actions. The existence of non-mixed anti-racist work spaces is considered a necessity, so that racialized people have safe environments where they can share the violence they suffer and build their own narratives and strategies. The above, due to the fact that in more “white” work spaces, power dynamics and racial hierarchization tend to be reproduced, and the struggles of racialized people are not fully understood, which generates discomfort and questions the productivity of those spaces.

Finally, most of the people interviewed point out that in recent years anti-racism led by racialized people has grown, at least in some parts of the Spanish state (Madrid, Barcelona, etc.): these spaces, previously considered as more informal, more “anti-system”, are increasingly considered as necessary and legitimate interlocutors, by other actors of civil society and even by governments. Indeed, several people who were interviewed commented that the idea that one cannot talk about racism and anti-racism without racialized people has been installed in a relevant part of civil society and political parties. However, others pointed out that in other parts of the territory the work of anti-racist groups is still very invisible.

Obstacles to advocacy

With regard to obstacles to advocacy, the interviews particularly highlight the relevance of these six factors:

- 1) Institutional racism: the institutional racial practices of several sectors of government, legitimized in many cases at the normative level (e.g. immigration law, norms and directives on deportations, etc.), represent a central element that limits the advocacy action of anti-racist movements. Racism is a constitutive axis of the nation state: for this reason, “reforming” its racist practices is extremely complex, and small victories cost great efforts.
- 2) Construction of their own political discourse: the need for anti-racist collectives to work from the “urgency”, the “now”, the “short term” in the face of serious rights violations, often means that these spaces have to use their energy to influence the reform of racist institutional practices (action whose success, as we said, is particularly complex), without being able to focus on the construction of “radically different” and transformative proposals and strategies for action.
- 3) Administrative situation: in the case of migrants (not Spanish nationals), the fact of being in an irregular situation or in a situation of “precarious” regularity (that is, constantly under the threat of losing their residence card) represents a very serious limitation for the action of political incidence, as the individual risks in the face of repressive governmental action are very high. For this reason, the use of the privilege of white people at the disposal of the political agenda of racialized people (e.g. to occupy a place, demonstrate at the door of an office, face the administration etc.) can be a useful tool, if and when the leadership of the anti-racist action is recognized as belonging to racialized people.

4) Instrumentalization of the anti-racist discourse: in recent years, in parallel with the social and institutional legitimation of the anti-racist discourse, some governments and political parties have absorbed a part of such discourse, institutionalizing concepts and categories of political struggle that, in this way, lose strength and ability to produce political change. In this regard, some people underlined, for example, how some local administrations have carried out institutional campaigns defining themselves as anti-racists, while still maintaining discriminatory practices (for example, police control).

5) White privilege and white fragility: the non-recognition of white privilege by civil society actors, and even and above all by anti-racism actors, allows a more “moral” Eurocentric way of understanding racism to be perpetuated as opposed to “politics”, which complicates the mainstreaming of the anti-racist struggle in social movements. In the same way, the uncritical occupation of political spaces by movements and organizations made up predominantly of white people represents a further limitation of anti-racist advocacy.

6) Resources and participation: self-organized spaces depend on activist work to be able to carry out their actions, and the availability of time and resources for political action by activists may vary over time, depending on the personal situation of the people involved.

2.3. Summary sheets describing the 20 advocacy initiatives investigated

Name

#RegularizaciónYa [*#RegularizationNow*]

Town: Spain

Website (if available): <https://regularizacionya.com/>

A short introduction of the association/campaign/informal group/movement

The campaign was promoted by different spaces, collectives and anti-racist activists from all over the Spanish state, as a response to the comparative grievance that the COVID pandemic produced for migrants and refugees (and especially those in an irregular situation) in 2020. The campaign received support from more than 1500 associations and active activism spaces throughout Spain.

The main social needs

The situation generated by the coronavirus pandemic in 2020 later revealed that the migrant and refugee population was the one that suffered the most from the effects of austerity policies and cuts in public policies in the health, social, labor and economic sectors, practiced by Spanish administrations in the last decade: especially the almost 600.000 people who are in an irregular administrative situation. In this sense, the campaign denounces and proposes legal measures against precarious working conditions, lack of protection and exploitation of migrant workers, as well as regarding other manifestations of structural racism (the campaign manifesto is available at: <https://regularizacionya.com/adhesiones>).

The mission/political agenda

The campaign demanded from the Spanish government, among other things:

- The extraordinary permanent regularization for all people in an irregular administrative situation in the Spanish state, placing on center stage the legal rights that migrants must be guaranteed.
- The favorable and immediate resolution of all applications for asylum and international protection in the process of review.
- The favorable resolution of all residence and work authorizations submitted to the immigration offices still pending resolution or going through administrative appeals.
- The favorable resolution of all applications for the renewal of residence and work permits, regardless of minimum time requirements and without the need to present a valid employment contract.
- The prioritization of the right to family life for the procedures of family reunification and residence of minors born in Spain and outside it.
- The immediate release of all persons interned in Detention Centers for Migrants [*Centros de Internamiento de Extranjeros*] (CIEs).

- The transfer of people who are in the Temporary Stay Centers for Immigrants [*Centros de Estancia Temporal para Inmigrantes*] (CETI) in Ceuta and Melilla to guarantee their health, as well as their rights.
- The end of “push backs over the fence” and express deportations of migrant people arriving in Ceuta and Melilla.

The participatory path

The campaign was promoted, coordinated and dynamized directly by migrants and racialized and anti-racist groups from all over the state, who worked in a horizontal and assembly-based manner, mainly through communication channels on social networks. In the words of the campaign: *"this time it will be the migrants who will take the reins in the fight for our rights."* At first, a hundred collectives wrote a letter to the Spanish government, which constituted the heart of the political agenda of this movement. From there, the promoters of #RegularizacionYa carried out social debate within and outside the communities, to refine their political objectives and organize themselves despite the limitation of material resources. All work was carried out by activists.

One exemplary policy advocacy initiative

The campaign promoted the presentation of a Non-Legislative Parliamentary Motion (*Proposición No de Ley por la regularización*) for the urgent, unconditional and permanent regularization of people in an irregular situation, in the Spanish Congress of Deputies. Thanks to a joint effort for political advocacy at the Spanish level, in a very short period of time the political support of eight parliamentary groups was obtained, and the Motion was finally submitted in Congress. The connection with a migrant congresswoman who spent several years without papers in Spain was a key factor in this regard. These advocacy actions made it possible to place #RegularizacionYa and full title structural racism in the political debate. Unfortunately, in September 2020 the Congress rejected the proposal, with PSOE, PNV, Ciudadanos, VOX and the Popular Party voting against the proposal. In any case, this action represented a very significant step forward in the visibility and construction of shared advocacy strategies promoted directly by the communities of migrants and racialized people in Spain.

Name

Comunidad Negra Afrodescendiente y Africana - CNNAE [*Afro-descendant and African Black Community*]

Town: Spain

Website (if available): <https://cnaae.org/>

A short introduction of the association/campaign/informal group/movement

The CNNAE defines itself as an association of the black African and Afro-descendant community of Spain, as a space for political advocacy to eradicate structural racism, promote recognition, justice and development for African and Afro-descendant people residing in the country. This space was organized from the rallies held in June 2020 in many municipalities in Spain (including Madrid, Bilbao, Barcelona, Malaga, Zaragoza, Mallorca, etc.) to denounce the racist assassination of George Floyd at the hands of an agent of the Minneapolis Police Force, in the United States. It is made up of activists who work in territorial delegations located in eight different autonomous communities.

The main social needs

Recognize the collective rights of the black African and Afro-descendant community on an equal basis with that of the rest of the population of the Spanish State.

The mission/political agenda

The main objectives are, among others:

- Promote a comprehensive law against racism that guarantees the civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights of black Africans and people of African descent in Spain.
- Guarantee labor rights for black people who live in situations of labor exploitation, substandard housing, etc.
- Obtain the permanent and unconditional regularization of all migrants and refugees, as well as the repeal of the Immigration Law (*la Ley de Extranjería*) and the definitive closure of the different Detention Centres for Migrants [*Centros de Internamiento de Extranjeros*].
- Promote processes of historical memory from an anti-colonial and anti-slavery perspective that have truth, justice and reparation as the main axes.
- Promote educational policies and incorporate content into the educational curriculum about the history and culture of black, African and Afro-descendant populations.

The participatory path

Despite the fact that the Afro-descendant community has been advocating for years to ensure that their rights are guaranteed, the response to these demands from traditional political actors has not produced structural changes: rather, these claims have been misrepresented or exploited by administrations, political parties and even non-racialized civil society actors. For this reason, CNNEA was organized as a space by and for black people, from which to design and lead their own struggles and to create collaborative networks and strategic alliances with other anti-racism movements.

Internally, the activity is organized by activist work areas and groups (<https://cnaae.org/#areas>).

One exemplary policy advocacy initiative

On June 7, 2020, the CNNAE organized a demonstration in ten Spanish municipalities as a reaction to the death of George Floyd, and to protest against the structural racism of the Spanish State, reaching a concentration- despite the limitations caused by COVID19- of more than 3,000 people both in Madrid and Barcelona. The success of the call made it possible to position for the first time in Spain, at the media and political level, a self-organized movement of Afro-descendants capable of carrying out advocacy actions at the state level in relation to racist institutional violence, based on their own political agenda, and a movement focused on the needs of the black community. In this sense, the birth and rapid growth of this space represents in itself an extremely productive (although still fledgling) experience of self-organizing from below for political advocacy.

Name

Sindicato Popular de Vendedores Ambulantes [*People's Union of Street Vendors*]

Town: Barcelona, Madrid, Zaragoza.

Website (if available): <https://manteros.org/>

A short introduction of the association/campaign/informal group/movement

The People's Union of Street Vendors was organized in 2015 to be a space for dialogue with the public administration as a response to the police repression that the group of street vendors of African origin was suffering both in Barcelona and in other municipalities in Catalonia. It is the result of a process of self-organization by the same street vendors, who received the support of other anti-racist organizations and social movements in Catalonia. Since its creation, it has promoted and participated in numerous actions in the street, as a form of protest against police abuse, the immigration law, the criminalization in media of the group, among other issues. Based on the Barcelona experience, unions have been organized in cities such as Madrid and Zaragoza. Currently the Union works in a network with groups from Italy, Germany and France.

The main social needs

The Union arises from the need to show that street vending is a job like any other, in a context characterized by institutional and police pressure exerted on vendors, and aimed at controlling and limiting their presence in public space. Over the years, the Union has carried out civil resistance actions to demystify street vending as something related to illegal activity or to the mafia, as well as to make visible and denounce the impossibility of the vast majority of vendors to access the regular labor market, due to the barriers represented by the immigration legislation.

The mission/political agenda

The main objectives of the union are:

- Advocate for the regularization of migrants, in collaboration with other anti-racist movements.
- Offer mutual help between street vendors and establish alliances with other groups of migrants and/or non-white people.
- Promote the Union's own clothing brand (Top Manta) with the aim of improving the living conditions of the street vendors and making the harassment they experience visible.
- Raise awareness about institutional racism and racist immigration policies.

The participatory path

The Union is a self-organized space for street vendors of African origin. Decisions on strategy and actions to be carried out are made in an assembly-based manner. Since the beginning of its activity, it has generated alliances with other anti-racist activism spaces and organizations such as Tras la Manta, Tanquem els CIEs, SOS Racisme etc.

One exemplary policy advocacy initiative

In 2017 the Union gave life to the Diomcoop cooperative (<https://diomcoop.org/>), formed by people dedicated to unauthorized street vending, in response to their working needs. The cooperative- after a long process of advocacy- received financial support from the Barcelona City Council, which approved the Union's proposal in the municipal plenary session. Diomcoop hires street vendors so that they can regularize their situation in Spain: there are 15 cooperative members, and more than 20 other people were hired at peak times. One of the cooperative's lines of work is the Top Manta clothing brand, through which the Union's political discourse is made visible (for example, one of the brand's slogans is "Illegal people legal clothes": <https://www.topmanta.store/>). In June 2021, the Top Manta cooperative presented its first "kilometer zero" sneakers, manufactured under sustainability criteria in family workshops. All the profits of the sales of sports shoes will go to collaborate in the regularization of street vendors.

Name

Parad de Pararme [*Stop Stopping me*]

Town: Spain (Catalonia-Madrid)

Website (if available): <https://www.paraddepararme.org/inicio/>

A short introduction of the association/campaign/informal group/movement

The campaign was promoted between 2017 and 2019 by a network of more than 30 anti-racist organizations active against Islamophobia, police violence and in the defense of Human Rights in Catalonia, with the collaboration of International Rights Spain in Madrid, and support from Open Society Foundations. Both technical staff and activists from these organizations participated directly in the activities.

The main social needs

The campaign aimed to make visible and denounce racial profiling as a normalized criteria in many identifications or police controls in which documentation is requested from people, selecting them for their physical appearance and not for what they have done. These controls are carried out in a generalized way and with total impunity, both in public and private spaces where people with physical features identified as diverse by the majority population are to be usually found. It is a discriminatory and racist practice. Despite the fact that public security forces justify it as a necessary action for the effectiveness of their security task, according to official data, more than 74% of the identified persons have not committed any crime.

The mission/political agenda

The main objective of the campaign is that the administrations:

- Recognize the real dimension of police controls guided by ethnic profiling and condemn them.
- Take measures aimed at preventing and prohibiting identification based on skin color or physical, cultural and religious characteristics.
- Collect data on each identification and registration action they carry out (including motive, ethnic profiling and result) and regularly publish statistics on the matter.
- Introduce internal and external control measures, and apply sanctions against agents that carry out police controls in a discriminatory and unjustified manner.
- Facilitate complaint mechanisms for the population subject to arbitrary identifications and searches, and favor an external control system of these processes.
- Actively disseminate the rights and guarantees of people and respond to their concerns about the criteria for police identifications.

The participatory path

The identification of the problem was made from the cases of racial profiling reported to the *SOS Racisme Catalunya Attention and Reporting Service* [*Servicio de Atención y Denuncia*], and from the analysis of the discriminatory dynamics of the police forces. In this sense, some of the complainants have actively participated in the design of the

campaign actions and its materials (such as, for example, the advocacy videos: <https://www.paraddepararme.org/testimonios/>). Furthermore, the technical and activist team behind the campaign (linked to SOS Racisme) created a network of alliances with organizations and social movements in Catalonia, to disseminate the content of the campaign, and in particular a guide for victims of racial profiling, as well as witnesses to racial profiling: <https://www.paraddepararme.org/guia-es/>.

One exemplary policy advocacy initiative

Within the framework of the campaign, the report [Appearance is no motive](#) ("*La apariencia no es motivo*") was prepared, which presents an analysis of the experiences gathered through observation work and the collection of public data from the Catalan police and the local police from different municipalities on the subject of police identifications. The study confirmed the systematic, racist and criminalizing practice of this type of identification, since people of foreign nationality are stopped 7 times more than people of Spanish nationality. According to data from the Catalan police, 54.1% of police identifications have been carried out on people of foreign national origin. Taking into account that the foreign population represents 13.7% of the total population, the ratio shows a high index of disproportionality. The report was publicly presented in 2019: the information contained in the report made it possible to carry out political advocacy actions that resulted in the preparation of the document "Proposals for non-discriminatory police identifications" ("*Propuestas para unas identificaciones policiales no discriminatorias*"), by the Office for Civil Rights of the Government of Catalonia [*la Oficina por los Derechos Civiles del Gobierno de Cataluña*] (<https://centredocumentacioap.diba.cat/cgi-bin/koha/opac-retrieve-file.pl?id=ade8458376c1d09c71b89b5aed220468>): it is the first institutional document in Catalonia that openly addresses the problem of racial bias in identifications, published by an administration in charge of managing police forces. In October 2020 the document was presented to the Civil Rights Commission of the Generalitat of Catalonia [*Comisión de Derechos Civiles de la Generalitat de Cataluña*].

Name

Tanquem els CIEs/CIEs NO [*Close the CIEs/NO to CIEs*]

Town: Catalunya - Spain

Website (if available): www.tanquemelscie.cat/p/campanya-estatal-cies-no.html

A short introduction of the association/campaign/informal group/movement

The *Tanquem els CIEs* movement and the state campaign *No to CIEs* - Campaign for the Closure of Detention Centers for Migrants [*Centros de Internamiento de Extranjeros*], is a space where activists, organizations defending Human Rights, groups fighting against racism and xenophobia, social groups and neighborhood associations have converged since 2012. The configuration and the people who participate in this space have changed over the years, although an assembly-type organizational structure has always been maintained. The campaign does not ask for or receive funding from public administrations.

The main social needs

The campaign identifies the CIEs as the most prominent element of a violent and racist migration policy, which discriminates against people because of their origin and which is also expressed through discriminatory practices that violate rights, institutional violence and daily racism that affect life of migrants at the borders (such as forced deportations) and that are invisible to citizens.

The mission/political agenda

The main objectives of this space are, among others:

- Monitor the CIEs and report the continuous violations of rights that occur: mistreatment, administrative irregularities, abuses, etc.
- Seek improvements of the living conditions of detained persons, raising complaints and demands before the courts.
- Investigate and report deportation mechanisms.
- Make visible the CIEs and the entire framework of the border control system.
- Report the network of economic interests that are threatened when negotiating deportations (the European agency FRONTEX, transport companies and other sectors, etc.).

The participatory path

Tanquem els CIEs is defined as a collective ally in the fight against racism, where the issue of white privilege is very important to carry out the actions that are proposed: visits to people inside the CIE, putting one's own body on the line in protest demonstrations, etc. The activities of the campaign are decided and defined in an assembly manner. Over the years the participation of non-white migrants and racialized persons has varied, but there has always been representation of these groups in the assembly. All the people who participate in this space are activists.

One exemplary policy advocacy initiative

Between 2014 and 2016, large-scale social mobilization actions were carried out in front of the CIE in Barcelona: among the actions, a human chain was organized to surround the CIE building, in which hundreds of people participated, and a people's trial of the CIE was performed (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ErSfN0vDpol>). These advocacy actions, which involved a great coordination effort, made it possible to mobilize and incorporate an important part of Catalan civil society in the fight for the closure of these centers. As a result of the advocacy work carried out during the campaign, the Parliament of Catalonia approved a resolution against the Detention Centers. Also, the Barcelona City Council expressed its opposition to the reopening of the CIE, approving an institutional motion for its closure, presented by *Tancarem the CIE*. This agreement also denounced racist raids, deportation flights and fast-track deportations. The people's trial was the last act in a cycle of massive demonstrations in front of the CIE facilities, organized with the aim of highlighting the existing social pressure against the CIEs, and to convey to the institutions the demand to seize these rights-violating centers. In parallel to the organization of the trial, the online campaign #JoAcuso (*#IAccuse*) was launched: citizens could send their complaint to the CIE through social networks with the hashtag #JoAcuso. In 2017, the Barcelona City Council, as a result of the social pressure exerted, sent a task force to close off the CIE for reasons of security of the detainees. However, today, the Barcelona CIE is still open and functioning. In any case, the campaign is still active today and continues to organize advocacy and reporting actions at the state and local level.

Name

Fruita amb Justicia Social [*Fruit with Social Justice*]

Town: Lleida

Website (if available): <https://frutaambjusticia.wordpress.com/>

A short introduction of the association/campaign/informal group/movement

The “Fruita amb Justicia Social” campaign was promoted in 2018 by various social agents in the Lleida territory, in view of the exploitative condition of many of the workers of foreign origin who travel to the city to work in agribusiness, the main productive sector of the province. Among the promoters of the campaign are anti-racist movements and organizations, NGOs, organizations from the agrarian and environmental sphere, and some trade unions.

The main social needs

Every year, during the fruit picking season in Lleida (June-August), thousands of immigrant workers sleep in camps, barracks, on the street, etc, and they have to accept unjust and discriminatory working conditions. That's because many agribusiness companies do not comply with agricultural agreements, benefiting from immigration legislation, which leaves many immigrants in a state of invisibility and allows their exploitation in conditions of semi-slavery.

The mission/political agenda

The campaign has, among other objectives, the objective of influencing and exerting pressure:

- for the administrations to house in a dignified manner all seasonal workers who travel to the city of Lleida during the fruit collection season;
- for the government sub-delegation to initiate work and residence authorization procedures on account of being job holders for all workers who are in an irregular administrative situation;
- to guarantee universal access to healthcare for all workers involved in the fruit collection campaign;
- for the government branches in charge to increase the labor inspections regime of the region's agricultural establishments, and impose sanctions for the breach of labor agreements and regulations, especially for the failure to provide lodging for temporary workers as mandated by law;
- to promote local agriculture and eliminate institutional support for agribusiness that does not respect the rights of seasonal workers and the natural environment.

The participatory path

The people participating in the campaign are activists from different spaces of political and social struggles in the Lleida territory. The participation of racialized people, although reduced numerically, has been key over the years in defining the objectives, making the campaign visible (spokespersons) and for political advocacy actions.

One exemplary policy advocacy initiative

Since its activation, the activists of the campaign have lobbied the Lleida City Council and the other competent administrations for the institutions to guarantee decent housing conditions for workers. Demonstrations, conferences and forums were organized, press releases were written and disseminated, and advocacy actions were carried out (a list of the main actions carried out is available at: <https://fruitaambjusticia.wordpress.com/campanya-2/>). In 2019, the Lleida City Council approved the motion "For a Fair Lleida. Motion to support the campaign of temporary people 2019" (*"Por una Lleida Justa. Moción de apoyo a la campaña de las personas temporales 2019"*). The platform welcomed that the government wanted to debate the issue and that it was acknowledged that it was a central issue on the local political agenda, as well as positively appreciated that for the first time the local government approached the issue as a "labor" issue, and not as a "homeless" problem. However, the platform deeply criticized the municipality, considering the motion as a mere declaration of intent, not accompanied by concrete and transformative proposals. Since then, the activists of the campaign continue to monitor and denounce the actions of the administrations in this regard: in recent years there has been a partial improvement in the conditions of the shelter that the City Council makes available to the workers, although it is still far from the standards that are claimed.

Name

Espacio Antirracista de Salt-Girona [*Anti-racist Space of Salt-Girona*]

Town: Girona

Website (if available): <https://gironesantirracista.wordpress.com/>

A short introduction of the association/campaign/informal group/movement

El Espacio (EA) is an anti-racist platform that was activated in 2014 in the municipality of Salt, near the city of Girona. It was activated in view of the need for people and diverse groups to cope collectively and in an organized way with the growth of the extreme right, and the increase in aggressions and racist attitudes both in the social and institutional spheres, as exemplified by the presence of extreme right representatives in the Salt City Council since 2011.

The main social needs

Since its formation, the EA has denounced various expressions of racism: discrimination in access to housing and work; residential and school segregation; prejudices, rumors and the deprivation of political rights. The EA contends that many of the practices of discrimination based on origin are in fact instigated by the very same public institutions: practices such as arbitrary police identifications of members of certain ethnic groups, administrative obstacles to access housing, explicit mistreatment by some public officials or openly racist statements by some policy makers.

The mission/political agenda

Among the political objectives of the EA is the denunciation, among other issues, of:

- the existence of discriminatory dynamics in access to certain labor sectors and in working conditions;
- the dynamics of segregation of immigrant students and the lack of commitment in relation to racism on the part of socio-educational professionals;
- discrimination in obtaining a public health card;
- the segregation of public spaces;
- the discriminatory practices in access to housing;
- the discriminatory police control in the public space;
- the non-recognition of the right to vote of non-EU foreigners, who in Salt represent almost 40% of the total.

The participatory path

The EA is a space for activism where decision-making is carried out by assembly. Active people of the city participate in different spaces of political and social activism, both non-white racialized people and white people.

One exemplary policy advocacy initiative

Recently, the EA has carried out a successful advocacy action with the larger and neighboring Girona City Council in relation to the right to housing: many immigrants

living in the municipality felt threatened by the criteria established by the City Council for obtaining a favorable housing report; a discriminatory requirement in itself, that the Spanish government requires from foreigners who want to apply for a residence permit on grounds of family reunification. The certification visits at the immigrants' home, needed to obtain the aforementioned housing report, were carried out by local police officers and without notice. When writing the report, the certifiers looked not only at the housing and security conditions of the property, but also at other factors such as the tidiness of the house, the absence of some furniture items, the lack of hot water, etc. A negative certification also put families at risk of losing guardianship of their minor children. The shrewd advocacy action of the EA - starting with private meetings with city technicians and political representatives of the City Council, under the "threat" of a media campaign - succeeded in modifying the criteria for obtaining the report, limiting them to a structural assessment of the building. In addition, it was achieved that the City Council constituted a commission to evaluate the reports, case by case, in which a representative of the EA was included.

Name

Emergencia Frontera Sur [*Southern Border Emergency*]

Town: Spain

Website (if available): <https://www.facebook.com/EmergenciaFS/>

A short introduction of the association/campaign/informal group/movement

The Southern Border Emergency (EFS) platform was activated in 2018, in a context characterized by the arrival of non-European immigrants from the south of Spain to other autonomous communities, without the administrations guaranteeing their rights. This space was activated as a support network for these people, taking root in different municipalities of the state. In Catalonia, for example, at first about 40 people banded together in Barcelona, with participants also joining in from other municipalities in the region. The number of people involved in this space has varied over the years.

The main social needs

The main needs detected have to do with the breach of the right to housing, social rights and the right of people who have arrived in Spain to request refuge, by the different state administrations. From the outset, this space used the expression “dignified reception”, this being the term used by both administrations and the media to refer to the needs of immigrants: however, EFS did not approach its work from a purely welfare perspective, but from the active reclamation of the aforementioned rights.

The mission/political agenda

The main objective of this space is to provide support to people who arrive to the Spanish coast, in the face of the serious irregularities they suffer, especially in the areas of:

- right to health;
- right to housing;
- social rights,
- right to international protection, in order to regularize the administrative situation of the person.

The participatory path

This space was articulated as a working network at the state level: all the supportive work was carried out by activists, although many of them with experience and professional specialization in the areas of law, primary care, psychology, etc. It was configured as a mixed space- between people racialized as non-white and white people- by its very nature and by necessity: at first, racialized people focused on supportive actions and contacts with the migrants, while white people used their privilege to develop advocacy actions with the administrations.

One exemplary policy advocacy initiative

Within the framework of the #acogidadigna (*#DignifiedWelcome*) campaign, EFS carried out advocacy actions with local administrations, based on the monitoring of real cases. The fact that campaign activists constantly accompanied immigrants in their

procedures and in their relationship with the administrations in charge of guaranteeing their rights in the territory allowed for concrete improvements. For example, in the case of Barcelona, a substantial reduction in the waiting time for granting the card for soup kitchens was achieved by the City Council, so that a person could access a municipal soup kitchen without going through complex procedures that could leave a person without access to this service for a long time; or the simplification of procedures- with the relative reduction of waiting times- to be able to secure access to the public mental health services for people in need of such support.

Name

Sindicato de Mujeres Cuidadoras Sin Papeles [*Union of Women Caregivers Without Papers*]

Town: Barcelona

Website (if available): <https://www.facebook.com/sindicatodecuidadorasinpapeles/>

A short introduction of the association/campaign/informal group/movement

The Union began to organize in 2019, and was formally constituted in February 2020. Currently, there are seven racialized women (from Latin American countries and Morocco) who coordinate the actions of the Union. They have connected with other anti-racist movements in the city, such as *Tancada Migrant* and the *Stop Mare Mortum* platform (<https://stopmaremortum.org/>). They currently carry out their activities in the venue of the Ateneu del Raval community cultural center in Barcelona (<https://ateneudelraval.negocio.site/>).

The main social needs

Foreign women in an irregular administrative situation who work in Spain in the care sector find themselves in situations of extreme precariousness, generated in the first place by the impossibility of accessing the regular labor market. Currently, it is estimated that in Catalonia there are approximately 47,000 domestic workers with foreign nationality, which represent just over half of the total number of women engaged in this activity. Of these, in 2019 only 11% had regularized work. In this sense, the possibility of accessing a job represents an essential step for the regularization of these workers and for respecting their rights. (see: <https://www.publico.es/publico-tv/publico-al-dia/programa/841239/crean-un-sindicato-de-mujeres-cuidadoras-sin-papeles>).

The mission/political agenda

The Union is positioned as a space where women in an irregular administrative situation who work in the care sector can report the abuses they suffer by employers, both in terms of working conditions and treatment (which include situations of sexual abuse). In addition, they offer support to women in an irregular situation to seek job opportunities under fair conditions in the care sector (especially, through networking with other platforms and social movements), and in this way facilitate their regularization process.

The participatory path

The Union is made up exclusively of foreign women in irregular situations. They are the ones who define the work strategies of the space and carry out their actions. Currently, about twenty women regularly meet weekly. It is a self-organized space for activism that does not receive public funding.

One exemplary policy advocacy initiative

El Sindicato is still a new space, and yet it has already participated in an articulated manner with other anti-racist movements in public actions of social and political impact, such as the state campaign #RegularizaciónYa as mentioned before. Currently, with the support of the Ateneu del Raval, the Union is in the process of setting up a cooperative of dressmakers, with the aim of directly offering job opportunities for

women in irregular administrative situations, in the face of the discriminatory dynamics generated by the administrative regulation of migrants and the difficulties in being able to influence its reform. The Union project, still in its inception, has nevertheless made it possible to make visible the situation of violation of the rights of these women, even at the institutional level: recently the promoters of the Union have met with the president of the Parliament of Catalonia to discuss the work they are carrying out and the needs of the group of women they attend to.

Name

Colectivo Jardins de Sant Pau [*Gardens of Sant Pau Collective*]

Town: Barcelona

Website (if available): <https://www.facebook.com/c.santpau>

A short introduction of the association/campaign/informal group/movement

The Gardens of Sant Pau Collective is made up of neighbors and entities linked to the Raval neighborhood of Barcelona, concerned about the lack of protection experienced by young homeless migrants who frequent this urban park. During the summer of 2019, a joint operation of the Catalan police, the Barcelona Urban Guard (city police force) and the Spanish National Police, in coordination with the Barcelona City Council, identified all the young people who were in the park and expelled them away from the area. The City Council closed off the area of the park with physical barriers where the young people slept. This incident - the last in a long list of police interventions in the Gardens - was the catalyst for the organization of a response by some concerned neighbors in the area.

The main social needs

For years, people with different profiles of vulnerability or exclusion have lived and slept in the gardens of Sant Pau: people in an irregular administrative situation, children with their families, undocumented young people who have just turned 18 years old, and unaccompanied migrant minors, among others. Some slept in tents, others directly on the park ground. The Collective emerged to try to visualize and ameliorate the situation of lack of protection and the institutional violence that is exercised against these people, from a position of citizen's self-organization.

The mission/political agenda

The group proposes:

- to organize recreational, socio-educational and support actions aimed at people living in the park, in particular unaccompanied young people abandoned in a situation of vulnerability by the authorities;
- Generate strategies for political action, in particular to address health and social rights issues for homeless people who frequent the park.

The participatory path

Neighbors with different profiles and backgrounds participate in the group, as well as representatives and activists of social organizations, self-organized anti-racist movements of the neighborhood or the city, etc. The group is totally self-organized and led by activists.

One exemplary policy advocacy initiative

In March 2020, at the beginning of the COVID19 pandemic and in the face of the emergency measures to limit individual mobility taken by the Spanish government (which included a strict home lockdown which lasted four months), the Collective -in network with other collectives- promoted the online action *#DondeMeQuedo* (*#WhereDoIStay*), to defend the rights of young migrants in street situations and make

their subsequent lack of protection visible. More specifically, the campaign called for the police forces not to fine or criminalize young migrants living on the street for lack of alternatives, as well as to guarantee their health care and offer them a place to stay. The pressure actions carried out - in coordination also with communication actions carried out by NGOs such as the Arrels Foundation (www.arrelsfundacio.org/es) - forced the City Council to rectify prosecutory police actions against these young people by the police forces.

Name

Campaña El Racismo Sale de Fiesta [*Campaign Keep Racism Out of Parties*]

Town: Barcelona / Catalonia

Website (if available): <https://sosracismo.eu/tag/elracismosaledefiesta/>

A short introduction of the association/campaign/informal group/movement

The campaign was conceived, developed and produced within the framework of the activism group Això És Racisme (AER) [*This Is Racism*], linked to SOS Racisme. The group was created in 2017 with the aim of making visible and denouncing the most normalized discriminations at a social level, by citizens, businessmen, institutions, etc. In short, the group was born to carry out communicative actions against the invisibility of racism, which does not allow us to move towards a just and egalitarian society.

The main social needs

Raise awareness about ongoing racial discrimination practices in access to leisure venues, as well as provide information on what different actors can do to eradicate it: victims of mistreatment, direct witnesses, administrations and companies.

The mission/political agenda

- Inform about the right of admission to leisure venues and provide tools to report for people who may be discriminated against.
- Create awareness among people that may witness acts of discrimination, as well as among the general public, promoting an active position of rejection to racial discrimination in leisure venues.
- Request the involvement of the relevant areas of government so that the discriminatory actions do not go unpunished.
- Generate pressure on nightlife venues and related companies to comply with the law and collaborate to make nightlife a context of equal rights.

The participatory path

The AER group exists as a fluid space, made up of activists, who over the years have been able to change, transform and adapt their work agenda to the needs of the context. It is a mixed group, made up of people racialized as non-white as well as white people, and has a horizontal work dynamic consisting of assembly-based decision-making mechanisms. The involvement of people in the different activities proposed by the group varies depending on their knowledge, availability of time, topics of interest, etc.

One exemplary policy advocacy initiative

In 2018 the group launched an online campaign, identified with the hashtag #elracismosaledefiesta (*#KeepRacismOutOfParties*). Five short videos were produced, following a narrative thread that presents the problem of racial discrimination in leisure, from different points of view: the consequences of racial discrimination, the hypersexualization of racialized women, the power of the commitment of people who testify on racial discrimination at nightclubs, and discrimination against minors and the reaction of their parents (<https://www.youtube.com/hashtag/elracismesurtdefesta>). The

campaign has been conceived and produced by a working group of activists, people affected by racial discrimination when seeking admission to leisure venues, and people committed to the fight against it. It has also had the involvement of entities and groups involved in the fight against racism, such as the Asociación Antirracista de Madres Blancas con Hijos Negros (Ambhi) [*Anti-racist Association of White Mothers with Black Children*], the social theater association Forn de Teatre Pa'Tothom [*Theater Bakery for All*], the association Old School, and the DJ Day B. The campaign was a significant success in social media, which resulted in an increase in the number of reports of cases of racial discrimination in bars and nightclubs reported to organizations such as SOS Racisme. Furthermore, the increase in the number of reported cases made it possible to influence the Ministry of the Interior of the Government of Catalonia, so that it recognized the problem and enforced a specific protocol of intervention for the Catalan police, with the objective of guaranteeing the right of reporting for the victims of these cases of discrimination.

Name

Tancada Migrant [*Migrant Lock-in*]

Town: Barcelona/Catalonia

Website (if available): <https://racismenstanca.wordpress.com/>

A short introduction of the association/campaign/informal group/movement

In April 2018, a group of migrant people occupied the old building of the Escola Massana d'Art in Barcelona to denounce institutional racism and demand respect for the fundamental rights of migrants, racialized people and refugees. For two years, this occupied space - where some thirty people came to reside mainly from Senegal, Equatorial Guinea, Morocco, Venezuela - became the center of self-organized anti-racist struggles in the city of Barcelona. Furthermore, following the example of the group Tancada Migrant, in the following months occupations of buildings were organized in other cities of Catalonia with the aim of denouncing racism (for example in Girona: <https://twitter.com/tancadaxdretsgi>).

The main social needs

The campaign denounces and proposes legal measures against precarious working conditions, lack of protection and exploitation of migrant workers, as well as other manifestations of structural racism that affect foreign and racialized people in Spain, and denounces the responsibilities of the administrations in this regard.

The mission/political agenda

Among the twelve points of the Tancada manifesto (<https://racismenstanca.wordpress.com/manifiesto/>) are:

- The regularization of people in an irregular situation, without the requirement of a formal employment contract;
- The abolition of the Spanish Immigration Law (*la Ley de Extranjería*);
- The decriminalization of street vendors;
- The right to universal health care for all people, regardless of their administrative situation;
- The right to register in the census without having a fixed address, in order to have access to fundamental social rights.

The participatory path

The Tancada is a space for activism where decisions were made in an assembly way. Migrants and racialized people led the political action of the Tancada, with the occasional support of white people and mixed organizations.

One exemplary policy advocacy initiative

The ability of the Tancada group to confront the political leaders of Catalonia and Barcelona with the issues on its anti-racist agenda was relevant. For example, the Tancada Migrant met with the President of the Catalan government Quim Torra, accompanied by the member of the Catalan parliament Rubén Wagensberg of the ERC party, in his first official government act once he was in office

(<https://racismenstanca.wordpress.com/2018/06/04/comunicado-tancada-pels-drets-sobre-la-reunion-con-el-president-de-la-generalitat/#more-415>). Within the framework of the meeting, the President of the Catalan government proposed the creation of a monitoring or studies commission in the Parliament of Catalonia, to work on the demands of the Tancada. The Tancada representatives requested that the commission be made up entirely of migrants and racialized people. However, the proposal did not materialize at the institutional level. Nevertheless, the political work carried out by the Tancada group (which also met with the mayor of Barcelona, Ada Colau) was key to achieving registration in the census without having a fixed address in the Catalan capital. In addition, the experience of the Tancada group was key to the organization of subsequent anti-racist and self-organized social struggles, such as the #RegularizacióYa campaign mentioned before.

Name

Coordinadora Abriendo Fronteras [*Opening Borders Coordination Group*]

Town: Catalonia/Spain

Website (if available): <https://obrimfronteres.org/>

A short introduction of the association/campaign/informal group/movement

Abriendo Fronteras emerged as an organized platform in response to the European call for a campaign promoted and organized by citizen platforms, social collectives, NGOs and other entities, to demonstrate on February 27, 2016 against European policies on refugees and immigration, demanding the establishment of safe routes for refugees and an end to the deaths and constant human rights violations suffered by people on their journey to Europe.

The main social needs

The emergence of the campaign responded to the non-compliance by European countries of the legal obligations derived from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the European Convention on Human Rights, the Geneva Convention for Refugees (The Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, also known as the 1951 Refugee Convention), as well as different European Directives on the right to asylum for people fleeing wars and conflicts in countries such as Syria, Afghanistan or Iraq and other countries in Africa and America.

The mission/political agenda

Among the political objectives of the Coordination Group are, among others:

- Demand compliance with the regulations on asylum contained in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the European Convention on Human Rights, the Geneva Convention for Refugees, as well as the different European Directives in this regard;
- Demand the annulment of the EU-Turkey agreement and the repeal of the Dublin regulation, urging the immediate suspension of its application given that they violate previous European human rights legislation;
- Demand the implementation of legal and safe access to the asylum procedure, enabling the possibility of requesting asylum in Spanish embassies and consulates and facilitating the issuance of humanitarian visas and family reunification;
- Denounce the economic and trade policies based on exploitation, which condemn millions of people to poverty and misery, demanding the reform of the EU's foreign and neighborhood policies, to contribute to sustainable political and economic development in the countries of origin.

The participatory path

Abriendo Fronteras is a democratic platform with a horizontal structure, which is autonomously self-governing, for which decision-making is made by consensus or a majority quorum of the people present in each assembly. Given the voluntary, social

and supportive nature of the platform, it lacks its own financial resources and stable headquarters, so the meetings are held in different spaces, offered by various entities.

One exemplary policy advocacy initiative

In 2019 the Coordinator organized a caravan of voluntary people throughout southern Spain (starting from Valencia and reaching the cities of Granada, Motril, Tarifa, Ceuta, Jerez de la Frontera, Seville and Huelva: <https://obrimfronteres.org/manifiesto-caravana2019/>) to denounce the migration, economic, trade and environmental policies of the European Union, at one of the entry points for immigration into the EU. More than 100 organizations and groups from Spain participated in the Caravan, among them *Carovane Migranti* (<https://carovanemigranti.org>) accompanied by witnesses from Algeria, Tunisia and Mexico. With their experiences, the witnesses made it possible to connect the migratory reality of the Mediterranean with that of Central America, with the aim of making visible the protagonism of migrants, of which its greatest exponent is the exodus of displaced people that made up the Central American caravans in 2018, a new social movement of resistance that is walking for a livable life.

Name

Las Kellys [*The Kellys*]

Town: Spain

Website (if available): <https://laskellys.wordpress.com/>

A short introduction of the association/campaign/informal group/movement

Las Kellys is an association of Spanish women, created in 2016, and with a presence in seven territories of the State with the strongest tourism sector: Barcelona, Benidorm, Cádiz, Fuerteventura, Lanzarote, Mallorca and Madrid. It is made up of women employed as hotel maids- and their friends and relatives- both white and of migrant origin, and racialized as non-white people.

The main social needs

The creation of the association responded to the need to make visible the problems suffered by the workers in the hotel maid sector, claiming their rights and putting pressure on the administrations, the employers' associations and the major trade unions. The Kellys' mission is to solve these problems and improve the working conditions and, therefore, the quality of life of women employed in this sector.

The mission/political agenda

Among the Kellys' main claims are:

- The right to early retirement for women in the sector.
- The recognition of occupational diseases directly related to the motor and skeletal muscle apparatus.
- The modification of art. 42 of the Workers' Statute (*Estatuto de los Trabajadores*), to guarantee equal hiring.

The participatory path

The women participating in Las Kellys are a diverse group: some of them are unemployed, others are active, some are doing internships, some have temporary contracts and others have permanent contracts, some work on a regular basis, others for an external company, some have part-time contracts and others full-time, some are union members, some are Spanish, others are foreign. Some of them have been working as hotel maids for many years and are concerned about their health and under what conditions they will retire, others have been working for less time and are concerned about having a working life equal to or worse than that of their forerunners.

One exemplary policy advocacy initiative

At the end of 2018, the association presented the self-produced documentary "Hotel exploitation" in Madrid (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aLCahgRWTfl>), which portrays the situation of exploitation suffered by cleaning women in the hotel sector, as well as the advocacy actions carried out by the Kellys at a national and European level. The film was a self-managed and non-profit project, without subsidies or credits and made up of a basic film crew. In order to finalize the film, a crowdfunding initiative was carried out with the intention of meeting the expenses derived from the final editing, the music and the post-production of the film. The documentary had a lot of impact in the

media, and contributed to positioning the problems of the sector and the demands of the association at a political level, as well as to publicize the advocacy work carried out by Kellys, who were invited to speak in the Spanish Congress of Deputies and in the European Parliament. After her intervention, the Swedish MEP, Cecilia Wikström, assured that the European Commission would review the sector's compliance with European labor legislation.

Name

Stop Racisme Lloguers [*Stop Racism in Housing Rentals*]

Town: Olot, Catalonia.

Website (if available): <https://www.racismelloguers.cat/>

A short introduction of the association/campaign/informal group/movement

The Stop Racisme Lloguers platform emerged in 2018 in the municipalities of the Garrotxa region, where there were many cases of discrimination in access to housing, as a result of racist mechanisms of residential exclusion. As a consequence of this situation, a first open assembly was held so that people who had suffered these forms of racism could participate, and collectivize their experience.

The main social needs

The platform was activated as a social response to the need to address racial discrimination when accessing rental housing in the municipalities of the region, and more generally in Catalonia.

The mission/political agenda

The main lines of action of the campaign are:

- Public denunciation, so that the public is aware of the legal rights violations to which an important part of society is subjected.
- Give support to people affected by racism in access to housing, and in the process of public complaint, either by administrative procedure or in the criminal courts.
- Pressure the government to comply with its legal obligations in the face of the systemic vulnerability of the right to housing for racist reasons, and especially to enable useful, simple and effective mechanisms to report and correct these behaviors.

The participatory path

The platform is organized in an assembly manner, based on the volunteer work of the people involved. In the assemblies, both people directly affected by cases of racial discrimination in access to housing attend, as well as activists from different social movements in the territory.

One exemplary policy advocacy initiative

Since its creation, the campaign has put pressure on the Olot City Council, holding monthly meetings so that the administration can implement effective measures to eradicate racism in access to housing: in this regard, it is worth mentioning that in 2020 the Municipality's Housing Office [*Oficina de Vivienda del Municipio*] prepared a legal report on the violation of this right and the responsibilities of the local administration (<https://www.racismelloguers.cat/2021/01/oficina-dhabitatge-dolot-publica-un.html>).

Furthermore, it is worth highlighting the data collection made by the campaign, which has created a map of cases of racial discrimination in housing reported by citizens, which can be consulted on its website (<https://www.racismelloguers.cat/p/mapa-de-casos.html>).

Name

(Re)Acciona [(Re)Act]

Town: Tortosa

Website (if available): <https://www.instagram.com/atpreacciona/?hl=es>

A short introduction of the association/campaign/informal group/movement

(Re)Acciona was created as an evolution of other previous projects promoted by the Atzavara-arrels Association, and more specifically of carrying out a diagnosis on the state of social cohesion in Tortosa. Based on this experience carried out in 2018 and 2019, in February a group of volunteers organized various work sessions to think about improving coexistence in the Tierras del Ebro region, and in particular to report situations of discrimination based on origin, and create awareness and advocacy actions in this regard. It is important to highlight that (Re)Acciona represents the first experience of a self-organized anti-racist workspace led by young racialized people.

The main social needs

The report "The state of social cohesion in Tortosa" (*"El estado de la cohesión social en Tortosa"*) revealed the existence of social dynamics of latent racism, in some cases of a structural nature, which represent threats to social cohesion and can facilitate the reproduction of discriminatory practices directed at some specific groups.

The mission/political agenda

The objectives of the group is focused on creating empathy and reflection on racism in the Terres del Ebre region, establish a safe space for migrant and racialized people where they can explain and report problems in their lives, and generate training and awareness/advocacy proposals to establish itself as a local anti-racist alliance.

The participatory path

(Re)Acciona was activated by a group of young and racialized girls (most of them of Moroccan origin), who had already participated voluntarily in activities of social organizations in the territory of Tortosa. The decision-making mechanisms are assembly-based, and all activities in this space are carried out from activism, as this space does not have financial resources and a hired technical structure. It is interesting to note how in recent months the group made efforts to be able to connect with the young Roma population in the territory interested in anti-racist work.

One exemplary policy advocacy initiative

In 2020, the group launched a campaign through Instagram, "It also happens here below" (*"Aquí abajo también pasa"*): <https://www.instagram.com/atpreacciona/?hl=es>), to publicize real cases of racism reported by the users of the network. The aim of the campaign is to convey the idea that racism does not have to be seen as something "distant", which only happens in the United States, but that people from the community itself experience situations of discrimination based on their origin. The campaign had an important impact and media coverage at the local level, and made it possible to publicize many situations of racism that were invisible and normalized at the local level, as well as the consequences of these practices in terms of social exclusion, discrimination in access to rights etc. This activism allowed the group to consolidate

itself as a space to work on the issue of racism with local institutions, especially at the educational level, and to carry out educational actions in schools in the municipality.

Name

Espacio del Inmigrante [*Immigrant Space*]

Town: Barcelona

Website (if available): <https://espaciodelinmigrante.wordpress.com/>

A short introduction of the association/campaign/informal group/movement

Espacio del Inmigrante was a collective created by a group of independent people who, in the face of the situation generated by the changes in Spanish social and health care laws, organized themselves to offer a space of welcoming and support to those people excluded from accessing basic health rights due to their administrative situation. The group was located for years in an occupied building in the Raval neighborhood of Barcelona. The building, which housed the social and political work of the Espacio del Inmigrante for four years, in addition to functioning as a home for more than 15 families, was evicted in 2016. The space also functioned as a platform for different political, social and cultural groups that worked in the defense of the rights of migrants and racialized people, against subalternity and structural racism.

The main social needs

The group was created in 2013 when the reform of the health law approved by the Spanish executive excluded all illegal immigrants from accessing health care. Faced with this situation, the group found it necessary to activate a place of solidarity and mutual support between and for the migrant population, with the aim of providing self-organized care to migrants needing legal, medical, and psychological advice.

The mission/political agenda

According to its founding manifesto, the objectives of the group are:

- Create horizontal relationships with social groups.
- Decolonize ourselves mentally and psychologically.
- Share the voices and knowledge of migrant struggles with local struggles.
- Include invisible populations in social dynamics and empower them.
- Fight against borders and institutional systems of exclusion.

The participatory path

The actions of the group were proposed and designed through open assemblies, in a horizontal and participatory manner. The political leadership of the group was composed of racialized people. The group was not positioned as an NGO that performs services, but mainly as an actor informing people about their rights so that they can exercise them themselves. The group organized training spaces, cultural activities, debates, etc. with the aim of strengthening the social fabric of the neighborhood, linking it to the defense of the rights of the migrant population and the fight for the recognition of this population as political subjects.

One exemplary policy advocacy initiative

The group organized different actions of denunciation and political advocacy (demonstrations, debates, press conferences, etc.), against the Royal Decree 16/2012

(*Real Decreto 16/2012*), which excluded foreign nationals in an irregular situation from receiving medical assistance. At the level of political advocacy, the group was linked with campaigns and other platforms at the Spanish and Catalan level, such as Yo Sí Sanidad Universal [I Say Yes to Universal Health Care] (<https://yosisanidaduniversal.net/>) and the Plataforma para al Acceso a la Salud Universal en Cataluña-PASUCAT [*Platform for Access to Universal Health in Catalonia-PASUCAT*] (<https://lapasucat.blogspot.com/>), which pressured public administrations to guarantee universal health coverage. As a result of this joint advocacy work by different actors, in 2015 the Catalan Health Service in Catalonia recognized in an internal instruction that access to public health care had to be provided to foreign citizens registered in Catalonia who do not have the status of insured or beneficiaries of the National Health System, as a consequence of the laws instituted by the Spanish government

Name

Ex Menas [*Former Menas*]

Town: Barcelona/Madrid

Website (if available): <https://twitter.com/exmenas>

A short introduction of the association/campaign/informal group/movement

Ex Menas was created in 2018 as a collective that defends the rights of children and youth. The acronym "MENA" refers to the administrative expression "unaccompanied minor": the word Mena has been used over the years in media and politics to dehumanize people under 18 years of age who migrate alone to Spain, mainly from Morocco, constructing them as a social problem.

The main social needs

Among the main concerns of the association is the situation of helplessness in which the young migrant minors who live in the sheltered centers of the public administrations find themselves in and who, when they turn 18, are practically without aid from the institutions. When these minors turn 18, they stop receiving government support and find themselves without permission to be able to reside and work legally in the country. It is worth noting that in recent years in different communities of the country (Catalonia, Ceuta, the Basque Country, etc.) there have been cases or suicide attempts of young former shelter residents finding themselves in a situation of distress. In addition, the political and media construction of the "Menas problem" contributed to generating an environment of serious social hostility towards these young people, which has been materialized since 2018 in a considerable number of physical attacks by neighbors on juvenile centers- often "encouraged" by organized groups of the extreme right. In several cases, these attacks ended up causing physical harm to some young people or members of the center staff, as well as material damage to the buildings where they were staying.

The mission/political agenda

The idea of creating an association of migrant youth formerly tutored by the state was born from the need for these young people to have their own voice heard in a public debate that at that time linked them to the increase in crime or drug use, and that stigmatized them as a social problem and a threat to coexistence, etc. In short, the association was proposed as a bridge between social entities and young migrants who are in a situation of greater vulnerability to ensure that they are included in discussions about the issues this group faces. The group has focused on denouncing the mechanisms of social and above all institutional racism suffered by these young people, such as the difficulties in obtaining residence and work documents, or the existence of medical age tests for all those young people arriving in Spain without family references or documentation.

The participatory path

The group was promoted in Barcelona by young people who, for the most part, had been "unaccompanied minors" (and hence the name Ex Menas). As mentioned, the creators of the collective were boys and girls who feel that they have to organize to destroy the discriminatory, xenophobic and racist discourse that exists towards

unaccompanied youth. At first, the group was made up of a dozen young people, with very different life trajectories.

One exemplary policy advocacy initiative

Since its inception, members of this group have participated in political advocacy actions with institutional representatives and political parties, to make their needs visible. The group was made visible in the media in mid-2019, when it organized a demonstration to ask the government for more protection for the centers for minors under guardianship; this was a few days after there had been violent attacks on two centers located in municipalities in the province of Barcelona. The demonstration received significant media coverage, legitimizing Ex Menas as a group to be regarded in this area. In this regard, it is important to highlight that as an example of the result of the advocacy of different social actors, in June 2019 the Parliament of Catalonia unanimously approved the law that extends the duration of social benefits for all children living in the centers supervised by the Catalan government: they now have the right to receive public aid up to the age of 23.

Name

Campaña #padróXtotes [*Campaign #CensusRegistrationforAll*]

Town: Catalonia (different municipalities)

Website (if available): <https://twitter.com/hashtag/padroxtotes>

A short introduction of the association/campaign/informal group/movement

#padróXtotes brings together different actions carried out at the local level by different social movements in various municipalities of Catalonia, with the aim of claiming the right of every person living in a municipality to register in the census, which represents the “entrance door” to be eligible for a considerable array of social rights (for example, in terms of health, education, housing, etc.). The action was launched in 2020 by Coordinadora Abriendo Fronteras [*Opening Borders Coordinator*] and Fundación Ficat [*Ficat Foundation*] (<https://www.ficat.org/ca/>), which launched a manifesto which functions as an “umbrella” for carrying out decentralized advocacy actions locally.

The main social needs

According to the National Institute of Statistics, the census is defined as an administrative record in which the residents of the municipality are recorded, with registration mandatory for anyone living in Spain: residents of the municipality can have access to public services with the health card, work permits or the possibility of enrolling in educational centers. In other words, the registry in the census guarantees equal access for all to a set of functional rights. For years, in Catalonia it has been observed how many people (mainly of migrant origin) who reside in a municipality, due to different factors, do not have a title of occupation or legal document regarding the house in which they live, and that is why the local administrations do not let them access the registry. Local organizations such as the *Vallès Oriental Vol Acol·lir Platform*, *Dignitat Migrant*, *Terrassa Sense Murs*, *Premià Acull*, *Reus Refugi* or *Mollet Acull*, among others, have repeatedly expressed their concern about the continuous and manifest difficulty of registering citizens who reside in Catalan municipalities, especially in the case of people arriving from non-EU countries.

The mission/political agenda

The campaign aims, among others objectives:

- That all people always register at the address where they live, regardless of the documents that they provide to prove it.
- That when a job application lacks a fixed address, local governments allow people to register in a public social services center.
- Given that the fact of not being registered makes it difficult to process the residence of migrants in an irregular situation, that the administrations promptly notify them of the changes or expiration of the census.

The participatory path

As mentioned above, the campaign was created as an “umbrella” to carry out advocacy actions at the local level, in which very different groups participate (mixed anti-racist groups, social movements for the right to housing, NGOs, etc.). The use of a common

hashtag makes it possible to jointly communicate the results of the actions carried out through social networks, increasing the visibility of the campaign and its impact.

One exemplary policy advocacy initiative

The different groups involved in the campaign carry out protests and support actions for people who have not been able to register in a municipality: this collective action often allows solving individual problems (that is, obtaining the registration of the person) and at the same time makes visible the discriminatory aspects of the practices of many municipalities. Here are some examples of local actions and successes:

<https://twitter.com/SindicatP/status/1400139276881477637>

<https://twitter.com/NovesVies/status/1328673641702322178>

<https://twitter.com/SaraMMP/status/1354731317682970624>

Name

Catàrsia

Town: Barcelona

Website (if available): <http://catarsia.org/>

A short introduction of the association/campaign/informal group/movement

Catàrsia is an artistic-political collective of Asian-descendants of Catalonia. The group was created more than three years ago from the encounter between three people, the co-founders, and from the need to generate safe spaces for meeting and reflecting on specific racism targeted towards people who are considered as Asian. Currently, it is made up of a core of twelve active members, and they have more allies who offer support in various projects.

The main social needs

Catàrsia uses art, activism and education as a language to reach a young audience, facing the need to involve generations of non-white people to join anti-racism struggles and to become aware of colonial history and logic, as well as of their own whitening.

The mission/political agenda

The objectives of the group are:

- Make visible the presence of Asian leaders in the anti-racist struggle in Catalonia, who at this time are strongly invisible among anti-racist social movements.
- Politicize at the intra-community level the people and groups that lead the associative sphere of the communities of origin.
- Going beyond supporting migrant groups, emphasizing the idea that racism neither begins nor ends with the Immigration Law, but is sustained and reproduced through historical-political and cultural processes and imaginaries.

The participatory path

Catàrsia is a self-organized collective. From Catàrsia alliances are woven with other anti-racist grassroots collectives and especially with associations and groups of the Philippine community, as well as with Consulates and Embassies. In the same way, they participate in networks of anti-racist groups at the international level. In addition, they are a platform that supports and finances the work of Asian artists in Catalonia. They also intend to involve young non-white people born in Catalonia in these processes.

One exemplary policy advocacy initiative

The collective uses audiovisual art, theater and music to generate pieces and installations that make visible other types of references and role models of Asian origin, and publicly denounces how structural racism affects Asian communities. The main artistic-political project is the forum theater. Catàrsia developed in 2018 a co-created work entitled "8M - intersectional feminism?" ("*8M – ¿feminismo interseccional?*") and a second co-created piece in 2020 titled "As subtle as everyday" ("*Tan sutil como cotidiano*"). In addition, they organize meetings with Asian communities: in 2019, together with other collectives, they organized the [我们 我们 - wǒmen wǒmen](#), and

Encounter of the Chinese Diaspora (*Encuentro de la Diáspora China*) in Madrid. Furthermore, the group has organized two [FURIASIA](#) festivals; critical meetings for the Asian diaspora, one in Madrid in 2019 and another in Barcelona in 2020. Finally, in 2021 they opened the Spain chapter of GABRIELA, an international organization that works for the Philippines' women's alliance and which aims at the self-organization of the diaspora, and political advocacy in the Philippines. The objective of the network is to support the politicization and self-organization of female domestic and care workers. Communication campaigns are carried out to support reports of violations of the rights of women, minors, activists and indigenous peoples in the Philippines.

3. Conclusion

The interviews carried out in the framework of the research allowed us to identify some key ideas regarding how self-organized movements and civil society organizations are carrying out their anti-racist political advocacy action in Catalonia and in Spain. More specifically, we can characterize what are their strong points, their organization and articulation mechanisms and the obstacles and limitations they have to face (both at the institutional level and among civil society).

In particular, the following insights can be highlighted:

- In recent years, anti-racism led by racialized people has grown, at least in some parts of the Spanish state (Madrid, Barcelona, etc.): more and more these spaces are increasingly regarded as interlocutors by other actors of civil society and government. However, in other parts of the Spanish state the work of anti-racist groups is still very invisible.
- Advocacy actions promoted by self-organized anti-racist spaces enabled the positioning of their own anti-racist agenda, objectives and narratives, without having to support that of other civil society actors (e.g. NGOs), in addition to contributing to change the social narrative on immigration: from stories of "victims" to stories of actors of social transformation.
- There is a great variety of actions that are considered "of political incidence" by anti-racist movements and organizations, such as demonstrations, rallies, protest actions or performances in public space; meetings with political and/or institutional actors; communication actions such as press conferences, production and launch of reports, presentation of campaigns; protest campaigns on social networks; and so forth.
- Regarding the thematic areas of incidence, these spaces prioritize the denunciation of the practices and mechanisms of institutional racism, as well as the responsibility of the different government entities and levels in their production, reproduction and social legitimation. Among others: the regularization of people in an irregular administrative situation, the repeal of the immigration law, racist police violence, exclusion from the labor market and the respect of basic social rights in health, housing, education, etc.
- There is a multiplicity of spaces and networks of self-organized anti-racist activism, at the local, regional and state level: these spaces have often found ways to create networks to craft strategies and joint advocacy actions on structural issues, or to influence public policies at the local level.
- The existence of non-mixed anti-racist work spaces is necessary so that racialized people have safe environments where they can share the violence they suffer and build their own narratives and strategies. Likewise, the ability to promote and disseminate narratives built from "oppression" –that is, by those who suffer it– is considered a key element for a truly transformative anti-racist advocacy.
- The experiences that we analyzed show how, in recent years, anti-racist movements have been able to carry out successful political advocacy actions: especially at the local level, it has been possible to modify institutional discriminatory practices, predominantly in the sphere of social rights. In the same way, some experiences show the capacity of grassroots movements to

find innovative, transformative and self-organized ways to respond to the needs of migrant and racialized people, and at the same time visibilize and position issues on the political and media agenda.

- On the other hand, institutional racism, as the constitutive axis of the nation state, continues to be a key element limiting the advocacy action of anti-racist movements: for this reason, “reforming” their racist practices is extremely complex, and small victories cost great efforts. Likewise, the need for anti-racist collectives to work in the short term in the face of serious rights violations forces them to focus on advocacy for the reform of racist institutional practices, without being able to focus on the construction of “radically different” and transformative proposals and action strategies.
- For migrants, the fact of being in an irregular situation or under threat of losing their residence card represents a very serious limitation for political advocacy action, as the individual risks of repressive governmental action that the person faces are very serious.
- The incorporation of the anti-racist discourse of social movements by some government entities and political parties has ended up institutionalizing and instrumentalizing concepts and categories of political struggle that, in this way, lose strength and capacity to produce political changes.
- The non-recognition of white privilege by some civil society actors facilitates the perpetuation of a Eurocentric way of understanding racism, more “moral” than “political”, and complicates the mainstreaming of the anti-racist struggle in the social movements. In the same way, the uncritical occupation of political spaces by movements and organizations made up predominantly of white people represents a further limitation of anti-racist advocacy.

Appendix

List of entities and people interviewed

NAME	SOCIAL MOVEMENT/ORGANIZATION
Cheikh Drame Tine	Campaña Parad de Pararme
Marcel Alcántara	AixòésRacisme, campaña #Elracismosaledefiesta
Susan Kalounge	Activista afrofeminista
Karlos Castilla	Institut de Drets Humans de Catalunya (IDHC)
Paula Rossi	Emergencia Frontera Sur / Tanquem els CIEs
Kaire Ba	Comunidad Negra Africana y Afrodescendiente de España (CNNAE)
Gemma Ferreón	Catàrsia. Colectiva artístico-política de asiáticodescendientes
Vicky Columba	Regularización YA / Tras la Manta
Lamine Sarr	Sindicato Popular de Vendedores Ambulantes / Top Manta
Felipe Leikelen	Ateneu del Raval
Silvia Sánchez	Sindicado Mujeres Trabajadoras Sin Papeles
Omi Alouiz	Equal Health / Jardins de Sant Pau
Salma Amazian	uMMA. Movimiento Moro Antiracista
Rabha El Taouil	Re-Acciona. Grupo de trabajo antirracista de las Terres del Ebre
Samha Astaff Kadili	Atzavara Arrels
Mari Drammeh	Stop Racisme Lloguers
Nogaye Ndiaye	Fruita amb Justícia Social

Chaymae Essousi	Activista antiracista
Cecilia Themme	Red Mujeres Migradas y Racializadas / SOS Racismo Nafarroa
Mostafa Shaimi	Espai Antiracista Salt-Girona

DRAFT GRID FOR SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

In output 1 we should focus our attention to **the process** followed by our stakeholders in order to define their **policy advocacy strategy**.

1. The political agenda

- The political agenda of organization/movements representatives interviewed
- The organizational structure (who, what professional profiles, activists' statutory positions are engaged in Policy Advocacy activities?)

2. The level of participation

- Level, role and methodologies of migrants/refugees/discriminated/racialized people participation to the advocacy process (formal and informal collaborative/participatory processes)
- Eventual obstacles faced in direct participation/leadership of immigrants/refugees/racialized people to the Policy Advocacy strategy designing and implementing

3. One or more examples of advocacy campaigns implemented

- Definition of the problem/s and of its/their causes (who, how, where)
- Possible solutions identified
- Context analysis and strategy: who can give an answer? What are the main targets of the Policy advocacy activities described? And the main allies?
- Short- and long-term objectives
- Typology of activities developed
- Preparation of topics and development of key messages
- Communication (lobbying, public campaign, media work)
- Success' indicators
- Networking
- Monitoring and evaluation activities

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