







INFORMATION AND DOCUMENTATION CENTRE on Racism, Ecology, Peace and Non-Violence









CREDITS

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INTRODUCTION

European society and governments have so far failed to recognise the structural and systemic nature of xenophobia and racism. This lack of recognition undermines the effective and substantial guarantee of rights and equal opportunities and represents one of the main barriers to the full implementation of the principles of equality and non-discrimination, despite the fact that these are enshrined in Articles 20 and 21 of the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union (2000/C 364/01).

The distance that characterises relations between national and European institutional decision-makers and the people most exposed to the risk of xenophobic and racist discrimination contributes to this non-recognition.

The critical analysis of this gap and of the anti-racist advocacy actions aimed at reducing it, together with the design and testing of a training module on the theme of advocacy, are at the heart of the work carried out as part of the BABI - Better Advocacy for Better Inclusion project. This toolkit collects the results of a two-year-long work process that sought to address a very complex issue: that of the participation of people at risk of discrimination in the formulation of public policies that affect them.

Following the publication of a Handbook presenting the outcomes of a qualitative

research activity carried out in the field in the four countries involved, this toolkit, divided in three parts, intends to offer some reflections and working tools that we hope can contribute to strengthen advocacy initiatives aimed at preventing and countering discrimination, xenophobia and racism.

Part One offers a critical analysis of the issue of direct participation of racialised people in advocacy initiatives that affect them. Some political and organisational limits of historical anti-racist movements are highlighted, as well as the mechanisms of structural exclusion that still characterise the functioning of institutional decision-making processes. These elements contribute to hinder the effective participation and leadership of racialised people and migrants in the political actions of the anti-racist movement.

Part Two focuses on the limitations of the measurement tools (indicators) used at the international, national and European levels when attempting to measure the "social inclusion" of migrants, asylum seekers and refugees. The importance of accompanying the use of indicators with the collection of qualitative information gathered directly in the field is underlined after providing an overview of the main sources available at national and international level.

Part Three provides a detailed description of a training module specifically addressed to anti-racist activists engaged in advocacy and policy advocacy. The module, designed from the results of the research activities carried out during the BABI project, was tested in Rome in June 2022 and then revised to better calibrate the thematic axes, the timing and the proposed working methodologies.



PART 1



ANTIRACIST MOVEMENTS AND ADVOCACY ACTIONS: A CRITICAL REVIEW ON 'PARTICIPATION'

The concept of participation of racialised political subjects, migrants, minorities, and young children immigration in the antiracist advocacy actions has been an important theme that the BABI project has investigated during the field research in the four countries surveyed (Italy, Spain, Greece and Malta). However, the concept of 'participation' is in itself contested among different agents and political subjects and raises different questions related to the power relations and structures that influence or determine participatory different approaches and discourses around the role of minorities to determine social and political antiracist agendas and Firstly. advocacv actions. will consider the influence of the construction of an institutionalised antiracist movement in Europe and raise a critical debate on the concept of participation therein. Thereafter, we will present the results of our research on different participatory paths, presenting exemplary cases that have been studied while analysing antiracist advocacy of social movements and entities in the different contexts of study.

1.1. Antiracism in Southern Europe and the concept of participation

Literature on the rise of antiracist movements and mobilisations Southern European countries situates them at the end of the 80s and beginning of the 90s; characterised by concrete stages of immigration flows in these countries and the oppressive politics that followed, regarded as a common reference point despite the particularities of each country¹. In this context, antiracist mobilisations arose as a countermovement reaction concerned with the need to defend against racist violence and systematic discrimination and violations of migrants' rights. Existing literature on antiracist collective actions in Southern Europe tend to emphasise the dominant roles that certain actors played, such as trade unions. catholic church-related organisations (like Caritas in countries such as Italy or Spain), or white-led solidarity networks concerned mostly about issues of social exclusion and migrants' primary needs (residential status, housing, labour

¹ Ruzza C., 2000, "Antiracism and EU institutions". In *European Integration*, vol. 22, pp. 145-171; Favell A., 2000, *Europeanisation and the emergence of a new political field: Immigration politics in Brussels*. Translation of Culture et Conflict DEC 2000, pp. 153-185.

rights, etc.). However, some authors and activists² racialised criticise interpretation of the history of the antiracist struggle in Europe as framed mostly from the perspective of the institutionalised white-led antiracist entities and their advocacy actions, and thus consider it biased due to the poor/scant historical registry, academic attention and public recognition of the role and actions of migrants and racialised people within the antiracist struggle.

In Spain, for example, there is a registry of the existence of black African, Arab, gypsy and Latino communities that in the 90s began to weave networks that would lead not only to active street fighting movements, but also to cultural promotion and advocacy associations³. These networks and associative movements were based on the antiracist theories of the United States. Pan-Africanism and decolonial theories. used to point to the capitalist system as the generator of a system of oppression that puts 'race' as its main axis. However, the actions and claims of the migrant communities were not considered nor analysed from their

theoretical basis by the institutional entities and NGOs that also began to arise as part of the Spanish antiracist struggle and that were mostly led by white activists.

Institutionalized antiracism strategies and mainstream NGOs that arose in the 90s in Southern Europe focused mainly 'reductionist' antiracist on actions (based on moral or behavioural perceptions of racism), reducing racism to its moral expressions or to its more explicitly violent expressions⁴. These are based on obsolete conceptions or visions of racism, which do not focus on combating structural racism. Limiting racism to its maximum expression in the form of aggression makes it invisible and denies the fact "that racism is a social, economic and political structure articulated by white supremacy and that has consequences far beyond aggressions.

Buraschi D., Aguilar Idañez, M.J., 2019, Racismo y antirracismo: Comprender para transformar. Available at: http://bitly.ws/ujn5; Anne C., 2020, 1983 o el nacimiento de una nueva generación de antirracistas. Available at: http://bitly.ws/ujmU

Buraschi D., Aguilar Idañez, M.J., 2019, *Racismo y antirracismo*: Comprender para transformar. Available at: http://bitly.ws/ujn5; Gómez-Reino C.M, 2006, *Weak, disorganised and fragmented: Anti-Racist Mobilisation in Spain.* Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, Working Papers Online Series 69/2006. Available at: http://portal.uam.es/portal/page? pageid=35,49194& dad=portal& schema=PORTAL

⁴ Buraschi D., Aguilar Idañez, M.J., 2019, *Racismo y antirracismo: Comprender para transformar.* Available at: http://bitly.ws/ujn5

In the end, aggression, verbal or physical, is just the ultimate expression of a hatred that is based on a system of stereotypes and prejudices that go much more unnoticed"⁵. Taking this into account, is paradigmatic to observe how the antiracist and decolonial theory, written and disseminated by migrants and racialised collectives, is often not taken up (or at least not in its totality) by white antiracist organizations. Fighting racism without taking into account antiracism theories may contribute to a continuation of colonial and racist logics.

This is being increasingly pointed out and criticised by social movements formed by people with racialised and migrant backgrounds, who also point out to the fact that for decades white NGOs have been occupying the front line of the antiracism movement in Europe; speaking in the voice of the oppressed and mostly focusing on assisting actions aimed at 'saving' those collectives that 'needed to be saved', in line with reductionist perceptions of racism and paternalistic logics. The claim that follows from certain racialised and migrant collectives is that the place that these traditional NGOs should occupy is that of allies of an already existing (although often made invisible) antiracist movement led by racialised

people and migrants. This implies standing side by side with the oppressed collectives to respond to their demands from a place of privilege.

This claim emerges stronger in countries such as Italy and Spain, with increasing discriminated pressure from racialised people claiming to take into account autonomous spaces of political expression, the construction of their own discourses and claims, greater media visibility and a direct relationship with institutions. The claim, made by those who organise from below, is to get their message and their voice to the political and institutional denouncing institutional and structural racism and giving a transforming approach to their position as political subjects in a system that does not recognise them as such. This can be framed by the theory of social justice, which places at the centre of political and social change the protagonism and direct participation of people affected by different forms of inequality and tends to develop a deeply critical analysis of the existing political. economic and social context⁶.

Baela-Lobedde D., 2019, *La trampa del antirracismo* "white friendly". Available at: https://blogs.publico.es/desenredando/author/desireebela-lobedde/

Reisch M., 2002, "Defining Social Justice in a Socially Unjust World". In Families in Society: The Journal of Contemporary Human Services, Volume 83, Number 4.

The above considerations are very important when studying the 'participation' of racialised and migrant collectives within the actions of traditional and mainstream antiracist NGOs and institutions. The analysis made by these organisations, of the participation of collectives oppressed by racism in political advocacy, often arises from conceptualisations of 'otherness': 'they' participate in 'our' processes. This is where the main bias lies, since it would first be necessary to analyse the context in which the antiracist movement arose, as well as how and where institutions and NGOs have been and are in relation to racialised communities or migrants, in order to understand why often these collectives have to (or prefer to) self-organise rather than involve themselves and work within these entities.

Without this critical analysis, the very concept of 'participation', 'inclusion' and 'integration' can be seen as a discourse instrumentalised and used by traditional NGOs and institutions to legitimise actions that perpetuate unequal power relations, hierarchies and even racist logics. In this line, changing the leading role of the organisations that have traditionally been visible the antiracist struggle, and transforming this struggle into a political movement where migrant and racialized people are protagonists and leaders of movement, is necessary to dismantle the false pretence of social and geopolitical equity. To achieve that, the objective will be for traditional organisations to revise

and discourses, their actions position themselves in a political place that responds to the demands of the affected political subjects and social movements. This is something that has been progressively changing in Europe in recent years, with the introduction of fundamental certain concepts decolonial antiracist theory within the traditional of organisations, such as intersectionality or structural racism, which certainly has made the distance between antiracist collectives and NGOs shrink.

Overall, the debate on effective political participation and leadership of racialised migrants people, and minorities in antiracist advocacy actions mediated by third sector organisations, has always emerged with greater intensity at the stages when the demand for leadership by migrants and racialised movements has been strongest. Indeed, in some political contexts, such as Spain and Italy, this demand has been increasingly present and growing with greater pressure, until the point that nowadays the active participation and leadership of migrant and racialised people and organizations within the antiracist movements is considered a prerequisite for conducting legitimate and more effective advocacy and policy advocacy actions.

Nonetheless, as we will see in the next section, in practice there are still different factors that hinder effective and equal power to determine and influence antiracist political agendas.

1.2. Different participatory paths in Italy, Spain, Greece and Malta

Presenting an overview of the realities that operate in the different areas of work related to migration and the fight against racism in Italy, Spain, Greece, and Malta, is not easy for several reasons that are not only related to the diversity of the different national contexts. The nature of the field differs reference to their historical contexts, legal status, organisational structure, composition of the social base, the social mission, political agendas, fields of intervention, levels and types of organisation, and the participatory multiple approaches undertaken by the different actors, as well as the current social and political structures in which different organisations, movements and campaigns operate.

When considering the different antiracist realities, subject of the study undertaken in the BABI Manual and National reports⁷, and, more concretely, analysing the 'participatory approaches' in antiracist advocacy initiatives in the different countries, we realise that within each context there coexist different forms, levels and participatory paths and practices of the political subjects that concern these initiatives. In that sense, we realise that

while many advocacy actions consider the experiences, needs, and voices of those affected by the policies and structures meant to be changed only in the origin of the advocacy process (i.e. during the problem and context analysis phase), they do not necessarily imply a direct participation in the planning and development of the social and political initiatives promoted by the subjects to whom they turn. On the other hand, there exist other advocacy initiatives, mostly led by associations of the third sector, that already have citizens of foreign origin within their governing bodies and work with the experiences of self-organised movements that involve the directly affected communities throughout the entire advocacy cycle. At the same time, we start to see the rise of some advocacy initiatives that are conceptualised, lead, designed, and developed entirely by the minorities concerned, allowing them to position themselves as central political subjects and catalysers of social and political change without mediators that seek to involve them (at different levels) or talk on their behalf.

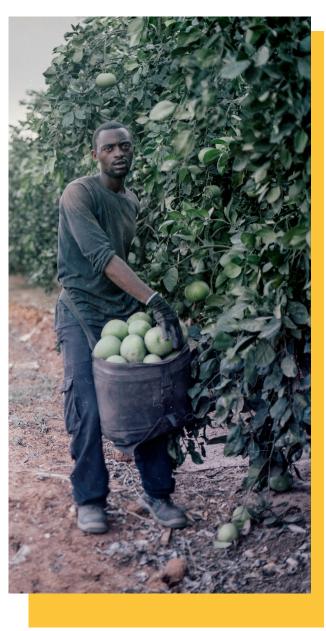
These contrasting approaches represent the different realities in which null, partial or more comprehensive forms of participation coexist in the different contexts of study.

Antigone, Lunaria, SOS Malta, SOS Racisme, 2022, Better Advocacy for Better Inclusion: Acting Against Discrimination for Equality and Citizenship Rights. Available at: https://www.cronachediordinariorazzismo.org/wp-content/uploads/Better-Advocacy-for-Better-InclusionENG_def.pdf; SOS Malta, 2021, Social priorities, participation, advocacv practices. The experience of 15 Maltese antiracist realities http://www.cronachediordinariorazzismo.org/wp-content/uploads/BABI-SOCIAL-PRIORITIES-PARTICIPATION-ADVOCACYPRACTICES-IN-MALTA.pdf; SOS Racisme, 2021, Social priorities, participation, and advocacy practices. The experience of 20 Spanish antiracist realities. http://www.cronachediordinariorazzismo.org/wp-content/uploads/BABI-SOCIAL-PRIORITIESPARTICIPATION-ADVOCACY-PRACTICES-IN-SPAIN.pdf;Lunaria, 2021, Social priorities, participation, and advocacy practices. The experience of 20 Italian antiracist realities Available http://www.cronachediordinariorazzismo.org/wp-content/uploads/BABI-SOCIAL-PRIORITIES-PARTICIPATION-ADVOCACYPRACTICES-IN-ITALY.pdf;Antigone, 2021, Social priorities, participation, and advocacy practices. The experience of 23 Greek antiracist realities. Available http://www.cronachediordinariorazzismo.org/wp-content/uploads/BABI-SOCIAL-PRIORITIES-PARTICIPATION-ADVOCACYPRACTICES-IN-GREECE.pdf

Null or partial forms of participation are represented by a limited or inexistent involvement of excluded, discriminated, and/or racialised people in advocacy processes led by traditional antiracist associations mostly based on assistance-providing services. That means that the people directly affected by the problem intended to be changed are not directly consulted, involved or part taking active in the conceptualisation. design. and implementation of advocacy actions.

This approach is often practised in contexts where the political subjects are newly arrived migrants, asylum seekers and refugees, and where traditional organisations work to give immediate response to an emergency and give services to cover basic necessities of these groups. In these cases, there coexists a multiplicity of subjective, material and structural obstacles to social and political participation of migrants, asylum seekers and refugees. The legal and administrative precariousness of many foreigners induces them not to expose themselves, when, for example, they are affected by institutional discrimination or racist violence, or are in detention centres, which limits their potential for political activism. Furthermore, the uncertainty of daily life, normative limitations, and the many concrete problems to be faced leave little room for getting involved in collective action. Also. the territorial mobility that characterises especially the first phase of the migration experience and the strong

limitations to the autonomy of asylum seekers hosted in governmental reception centres, hinder direct social and political involvement of migrants and asylum seekers in advocacy actions to claim their rights. This is particularly true for migrants who consider Italy, Spain, Greece, or Malta as transit countries.



To address this limited participation in political spaces for newly arrived migrants, asylum seekers and refugees, antiracist associations some have started to facilitate spaces of by consultation and participation, involving the directly affected political subjects in, for example, information campaigns in the media (e.g. through the release of interviews or the practice of storytelling), in public events and mobilisations, or in meetings organised with institutions. The creation of internal discussion groups, the opening socialisation. of spaces for the conduction of participatory social surveys, useful for analysing in depth the external social context and emerging social needs, are some other tools used to facilitate a greater degree involvement and participation. These actions are often used to claim a legitimisation of the agenda setting, discourses and advocacy actions of traditional antiracist associations. However, from a critical stand, these represent top-down approaches to participation seen by minorities' self-organized "white". groups as a instrumental, Eurocentric and paternalistic approach unable to build transformative antiracist politics. 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' or 'structural' and complicates the mainstreaming of the antiracist struggle in the social movements. In the same way, the uncritical occupation of political spaces by organisations made predominantly of white people

represents a further limitation for truly representative antiracist advocacv actions. In the Spanish self-organised movements, but also in some Italian movements, founded by young black foreigners, there is a strong criticism from some civil society actors and antiracist movements of the 'white privilege' and its relationship to politics. which complicates the coexistence of different groups within the antiracist struggle of these contexts. From this perspective, some claims arise for the construction of an autonomous and political independent discourse constructed by the people directly affected by structural discrimination and serious violations of rights. This involves the concentration of energies address. through advocacy, discriminatory institutional practices and power relations, putting into the background construction the proposals and strategies of action 'radically different' and more transformative than those proposed by traditional antiracist associations. The very high demand for participation, but especially for leadership, in constructing autonomous and independent political discourse of young people of foreign origin born and/or raised in Europe and of racialised people is clearly expressed in Spain and Italy, and highlights a complex, in some cases conflicting, relationship with the traditional antiracist associations regarding their antiracist discourse, advocacy strategies, and participatory approaches.

In Spain, antiracism movements and actions led by racialised people have grown stronger and made themselves increasingly visible in recent years, at least in some parts of the country (e.g. etc.). Madrid, Barcelona, These previously considered movements, informal and "anti-systemic" movements, are increasingly recognised legitimate and as necessary

interlocutors by other civil society actors and institutions. This progressively led to the realisation by different political actors of the fact that it is not possible to talk about racism and antiracism without racialised people being at the centre, and has taken root in a relevant space of civil society and political parties.



Self-organised spaces of migrants and racialised people have autonomously promoted political advocacy actions.

This has allowed them to open and lead proactive political spaces, at the local or even national level, to maintain their own antiracist agenda without having to support that of other civil society actors. If anything, they obtain support from outside to design advocacy actions based on the definition of their own goals and narratives, built from the margins of the political system and far from a colonial conception of antiracism; to contribute to the change of the social discourse on immigration transforming the "victims" of racism into actors of social transformation⁸.

A relevant case showing this positioning of antiracist social movements led by racialised people and migrants in Spain is the #RegularizaciónYa movement and its campaign which since 2020 has promoted the creation and coordination of self-organized spaces, collectives and antiracist activists from all over the Spain, and articulated a campaign led by racialised people and migrants to demand to the Spanish government the extraordinary permanent regularization people in irregular for all an administrative situation in the Spanish state, with the presentation of a Non-Legislative Parliamentary Motion to be considered in Parliament. The relevance of this initiative, regarding the structural organization, the discourse

and agenda setting is that altogether was promoted, coordinated and dynamised directly by migrants and racialised antiracist 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."

The promoters of #RegularizacionYa carried out social debate within and outside the communities, to refine their political objectives and organise themselves despite the limitation of material resources. Thanks to a joint effort for political advocacy at the Spanish level, the political support of eight parliamentary groups was obtained in 2020, and the Motion was finally submitted in Congress, despite its rejection due to conservative political parties voting against the proposal. In 2021 a new action was designed based on the proposal of a ILP 'Popular legislative initiative'; a mechanism of direct democracy through which citizens (with a petition accompanied of 500.000 signatures) can propose laws for consideration, debate and approval in the Congress of Deputies, being their approval of mandatory compliance.

Antigone, Lunaria, SOS Malta, SOS Racisme, 2022, Better Advocacy for Better Inclusion: Acting Against Discrimination for Equality and Citizenship Rights. Available at: http://bitly.ws/umd6

Nowadays the campaign is still active, and they have time until September 2022 to collect the signatures.

Within the Spanish context, the #RegularizacionYa movement and its campaign represents a very significant step forward in the visibility and construction of shared advocacy strategies promoted directly by the communities of migrants and racialised people in Spain and it, mostly, counted with the support of traditional antiracist organizations. However, an ongoing debate on how to construct the antiracist agenda with different political actors at play, where power dynamics and racial hierarchy tend to reproduced, continue to create some tensions that characterize the construction of the actual antiracist movement in Spain.

In Italy, the request for a greater listening and the necessity to address the problem of a lack of political recognition of the new antiracist subjectivities founded in recent years by young people of foreign origin, is also clearly emerging. Among these, the associations G2, Questa è Roma and the #italianisenzacittadinanza movement are particularly active. The rejection of forms of involvement perceived as opportunistic or instrumental; the need to take a voice without mediation and to use languages and forms of expression different from those traditionally typical of antiracist activism: the desire to

propose autonomous, independent and alternative narratives to those dominant in the public debate and to clearly denounce the various forms of structural and institutional racism are at the heart of the claims of these movement⁹.

An exemplary case of an organization led by racialised people and migrants in Italy is NoCap, founded as a non-profit association in 2017, which deals with the issue of the fight against caporalato. NoCap was born thanks to experience brought by Yvan Sagnet (at the time a Cameroonian student at the Polytechnic University of Turin who worked in the Salento countryside to pay for his studies), known for having led the revolt of the labourers of Nardò in 2011. The revolt led to a large mass strike of workers that had a great media prominence, brought to light problem of labour exploitation and caporalato in all its facets, pointing the spotlight on the so-called "ghettos".

That strike was the spark that started an investigation, a trial and the first conviction for slavery in Europe. In the meantime, the campaigns of the trade unions found the support of political interlocutors and on July 26, 2011 the bill 2584 ("Measures aimed at penalizing the phenomenon of illicit intermediation of labour based on the exploitation of labour activity") was presented; it provided for the tightening of punishment for anyone who carried out

⁹ Lunaria, 2021, Social priorities, participation, and advocacy practices. The experience of 20 Italian antiracist realities. Available at: http://bitly.ws/umcX

of labour intermediation activities characterized by exploitation, violence. threat or intimidation, taking advantage of the state of need or necessity of the worker (Legislature 16 - Bill N. 2584). Finally, the Law 199 of 2016 was created, which is the main and most complete of all the legislation, because it had the great merit of putting together the responsibilities of the caporale, as an illegal intermediary, with that of the owner of the company, beneficiary of this form of exploitation and black labour. NoCap is following the entire evolution of the legislation.

However, the situation in Italy is somehow more complex and differentiated than in the Spanish context. If the creation of collective spaces is considered central to strengthen the antiracist movement and its political incidence, next to realities that claim autonomous collective spaces and that denounce the need "decolonize" antiracism, there are collective spaces born from their origins as mixed-race spaces, claimed to be managed an equal way. The in importance of having physical places for socializing, sharing and political growth is considered central, but does not necessarily imply the claim of separate self-organized "spaces". Exemplary from this point of view is the experience of Trama di terre, active in Imola since 1997 and founded by a group of 14 women of 5 different nationalities. The association was founded with the aim of welcoming and building relationships between native and migrant women, to

fight for the rights of self-determination of all and to oppose discrimination and male violence in all its forms. To achieve this goal, Trama di terre has opened over time some services, which it does not like to define as such, conceiving them as observatories useful to activate concrete grassroots practices solidarity and equality of women. Trama di terre is first of all a collective space and a hospitable shelter, recognized in the territory, which allows women who approach it to find an emotional closeness, to become aware of the discrimination suffered, to take the floor in the protected space of the association, to experience political participation inside and, thanks to the collective experience, to conquer it outside by conducting important advocacy actions. Trama di terre has promoted many political battles at local and national level. For example, after having requested for a long time to facilitate access to housing for single women with children (migrants and natives), in 2015-2016 the City Council changed the way of calculating the score for access to public housing, recognizing a higher score for women coming out of situations of violence. An even different case is represented by the movement of #italianisenzacittadinanza that, while opting for self-organization, collaborates with many traditional antiracist associations, seeking their for its initiatives. but support maintaining the leadership of its advocacy strategy.

From our research we can conclude that experiences as the ones explained above in Spain and Italy, do not yet seem to be consolidated in Greece and Malta. This is attributed to the fact that in such contexts the antiracist movements have been focusing mostly on the reception, service provision and social inclusion of migrants and refugees, fact determines the need to operate often in emergency, with very intense rhythms of work, and often lack of sufficient resources, which hinder the possibilities of establishing relationships of trust with migrants and asylum seekers for the organisation of joint initiatives of activism, social mobilisation and political actions that effectively advocacy promote the active participation of migrants and refugees¹⁰. Even if in the and Malta effective Greece participation and leadership of the political subjects affected is somehow limited. the debate on active participation and leadership is present and recognizes the importance of the availability of self-organised collective spaces. In Greece, for example, the Greek Forum of Migrants, the Greek Forum of Refugees and Generation 2.0 are organizations composed mainly by migrants or that directly involve refugees/migrants in their advocacy initiatives. In many cases, these realities work as networks for local communities of refugees or migrants and give voice to their needs, through direct contact with

themselves¹¹. the communities Examples of self-organised advocacy mostly focuses on the claim for their social rights and access to services, such as housing projects. In these cases, refugees move from the periphery to the centre of the city, in an attempt to move away from the camps, to integrate into urban fabric, and to themselves independent of the benefits and model of living imposed in the governmental reception system. More recent self-organizing, anti-fascist and anti-racist initiatives led bv anarchist movement have occurred but they do not have the historic importance and political representation that hold the aforementioned firstand second-generation migrant associations. organisations have These been important in Greece in advocacy for political rights for decades and they have been collaborating with white-lead associations for many years. Hence, there is awareness of the importance of migrants and refugees organising their own initiatives and this is translated in the actions of these associations. Nonetheless, the present situation puts some challenges that need to be addressed such as the inclusion of newly arrived migrants and refugees in the organisations to better address their needs which are different than those of previous migrant and refugee generations.

Antigone, 2021, Social priorities, participation, and advocacy practices. The experience of 23 Greek antiracist realities. Available at: http://bitly.ws/ujmV; Antigone, Lunaria, SOS Malta, SOS Racisme, 2022, Better Advocacy for Better Inclusion: Acting Against Discrimination for Equality and Citizenship Rights. Available at: http://bitly.ws/umd6

Antigone, 2021, Social priorities, participation, and advocacy practices. The experience of 23 Greek antiracist realities. Available at: http://bitly.ws/ur2x

In the context of Malta, and drawing from the research conducted, we can conclude that the participation of migrants and racialised people at the civil society level is guite limited at best due to a limited amount of established sustainable and civil organisations, the lack of coordination between informal groups and the NGOs themselves and a null or minimum number of migrants or racialised people participating at an active level in the organisations and their advocacy actions¹². The gate for this seems to also come from the lack of first- and second-generation migrants, since most of the migrants use Malta mostly as a transit country and try to leave Malta as soon as possible. This reverts into a severe lack of effort in terms of integration. The lack of first-generation migrants being active in society is a very important indicator as it shows the lack of stability and the desire to move to somewhere else where they feel they would be far more respected than in Malta.

From the analysis of the different could argue contexts. we that organizations that focus their work on sensitization, social mobilisation and political incidence. rather than service-delivery exclusively in and emergency response, have greater space within their organisational structures to question top-down approaches and limited participatory models. Also, it seems that they take into account more transformative narratives and build a

more critical discourse and antiracist agenda constructed by direct participation, involvement, or even leadership of the political subjects affected by discriminatory practices and structures. In all countries studied, there is evidence of the raising awareness in political spaces that the existence of non-mixed antiracist workspaces are necessity, so that racialised people have their own safe environments where they can share the violence experienced and construct their own narratives and advocacy strategies.

Nonetheless, in all contexts, the rise, consolidation and effectiveness of these spaces and movements, is being challenged by multiple operational obstacles. as well as unresolved relations between old and subjectivities and discourses within the antiracist movement. These challenges are difficult to overcome due to the perpetuation of unequal power relations between different political subjects (racialized vs non-racialised persons, informal groups traditional VS NGOs/associations, etc.), the structural discrimination applied by the state, or social and political resistances to change historical power dynamics. All above, hinder the possibilities reframing consolidated organizational cultures and discourses and limit effective participation and leadership of migrants and racialised political subjects in antiracist advocacy actions in the countries of study.

SOS Malta, 2021, Social priorities, participation, and advocacy practices. The experience of 15 Maltese antiracist realities. Available at: http://bitly.ws/ur2K



These are the obstacles identified in our research:

Material obstacles have been identified in the four countries of study. Those are material problems related to daily survival, lack of time, level of education or civic experience of migrants, which hinder the possibilities to participate in the advocacy work of existing organisations and to create and sustain self-organised spaces.

Further, self-organised spaces mostly depend on unpaid work, which hinders the ability to mobilise material resources and invest sufficient time for activists to carry out their advocacy initiatives. In transit countries, there is also the problem of high mobility of migrants, which leads to a lack of stability of self-organised spaces and the commitment to work on a self-constructed narrative and the investment of time in political advocacy actions.

Organisational obstacles are based on the lack of personnel dedicated to fostering internal cohesion of social movements and networks. concentration of time and resources on service delivery rather than on political and social participation, acting in a competitive environment, maintaining a "user" oriented relationship rather than direct involvement in the life of the group/organisation (Antigone et al., 2022, p. 14). Likewise, the need for antiracist collectives to often work reactively, in the face of serious violations of rights, forces them to focus on advocacy actions for the short-term reform of racist institutional practices. without being able to focus on the construction of long-term, transformative proposals and action strategies.

Lastly, the lack of coordination and dialogue between informal groups and traditional antiracist associations and NGOs has been identified as a key factor that generates tensions and hinders effective forms of participation and the generation of political spaces in which the affected political subjects can themselves lead advocacy actions with (or without) the support of traditional antiracist associations.

Normative obstacles are brought about by European and state immigration legislation and represent in themselves a structural limitation for participatory advocacy actions of antiracist movements. The security and prohibitionist system of migration and asylum adopted in all the countries involved in the research are framed under political discourses based on emergency and state security which aim to legitimise a "containment" approach the to migration problem, thus maintaining a model of citizenship based on the close connection between the guarantee of civil, social, and political rights and nationality. This tends to produce and reproduce discriminatory institutional practices against migrants and racialised people, produce systematic violation on access to basic rights, and limits the ability to participate in political spheres from where to build their own advocacy actions.

Obstacles of institutional origin are mostly based on the lack of recognition of intermediate actors, preference for more structured organizations, selective accreditation systems of and consultation, political positioning that legitimizes inequalities, and in some cases, the instrumentalization of the antiracist discourse by governments and political parties which while building an antiracist discourse have institutionalized concepts and categories developed bv social movements, but not accompanied by coherent policy actions. For example, in Spain some local administrations have antiracist carried out institutional while maintaining campaigns, discriminatory practices (for example, racial profiling). In Italy, some parties have taken the battle for the reform of law citizenship the on at the

programmatic level, but then they did not support the approval of the reform when it was voted in Parliament. The risk of this is that social movement's discourse loses strength, trivializing self-made narratives and claims of antiracist groups, which can invalidate the efforts made by civil society to trigger social change from below and, consequently, discourage participation and social and political activism.

The political interpretation, rather than operational subjective/material and factors, hindering participation focuses on the structural and institutional roots of racism and highlight the existence of a systemic and cultural problem that cuts institutional across and political conditioning the effective systems, participation or leadership of racialized people and migrants in the antiracist movement political action.

The hope is that emerging transformative forms and structures of self-organization led racialised by people will increasingly flourish and consolidate, leading the actual fight for rights, equality and social justice in Europe, taking political and institutional spaces, and structuring effective forms of self-representation. At the same time, it is expected that traditional European civil society organizations will also succeed in involving foreign and racialized workers, activists and political representatives in their associational paths and organizational structures, more than they have managed to do so far.

This will contribute to greater diversity and political representativeness within these entities and in the political spheres where they operate. It will also accelerate the revision of traditional moralistic antiracist discourses and practices to adopt more transformative narratives based on decolonial theories that read racism as a system of structural, systemic and institutional oppressions. At the same time, it is equally important that the antiracist movement in Europe restructures the

hierarchies roles and of these organizations that have traditionally been occupying political spaces for negotiation while acting as interlocutors in the antiracist struggle, so that the antiracist struggle is transformed into a political movement where migrant and racialized people and their organizations are protagonists and leaders of the movement to break with etno-racial hierarchies and hegemonic politics of representation to promote greater social and political equity.





PART2





INDICATORS CAN BE USED TO MEASURE "INCLUSION"?

2.1. Introduction

Measuring social behaviour and social phenomena is always a very difficult task. This holds also true when it comes to assess the integration of immigrants in the host societies, because this means evaluating 2 intertwined socio-political processes. The first is to examine the cluster of measures undertaken by the governmental authorities of a country in (including those question of the European Union), as well as to consider the practices followed in the day-to-day when these policies are implemented. The second is to examine the impact of these measures and the support these receive from people of migrant origin. might Indicators be useful to comprehend these two processes.

When the issue of integration indicators is discussed, one of the difficulties that often arises is the definition of the concerned group. Furthermore, national policies on migration and integration differ from state to state and often are not fully implemented which makes the use of indicators more challenging. On top of these challenges, there is the recurrent problem of the reliability of data on which indicators stand. But perhaps beyond these, the most important challenge is how indicators manage to represent the different dimensions of integration.

Concerning this issue, it is important to bear in mind that indicators are defined following the need that arises in each period regarding the rights and social imperatives of the country concerned in relation to migration and asylum issues. Indicators also follow international conventions and agreements migrants and refugees. Integration is a multidimensional dynamic multilevel process redefined through time which demands a constant data update. Hence. the creation of indicators is a very complex task directly connected to the vicissitudes of the present.

Indicators are the product of an ideological and governmental/bureaucratic context that reacts to a contingent reality at different levels (local, national and international).

Indicators are produced within this socio-political context and according to certain theoretical guidelines. One should recognize those, particularly when they serve as guidelines to design the policy plans of integration. In short, the proper use of indicators is linked to a critical reading of the political context from where these are produced and this means to contrast indicators with other sources and experiences directly retrieved from the field.

As long as they are read critically, indicators can be an important tool for evaluating social development and for assessing the impact of policies.

Firstly, because they allow an immediate identification of the most urgent social, cultural, economic or humanitarian needs for which significant changes in public policy are considered indispensable. At this point, it is important to state that these indicators will not directly "measure" the situation vis-à-vis migrants and refugee's political advocacy.

Generally, governments do not have data on migrants and refugees' civic engagement. However, as it will be explained later, indicators that tell us about contextual aspects crucial to address the question of advocacy such as access to labor, education, citizenship, income, etc. will be of great importance.

Secondly, indicators are "strategically" useful for any campaign since they add authority and strength to advocacy work when this enters in institutional dialogue, in the relations with the media, or in public awareness-raising activities. These are fields of action which are usually more receptive to the tacit appearance that indicators give to knowledge on migration. Following this spirit, the strength of indicators is also supported by the fact that they are also increasingly used to monitor and guide public policies in a given field¹ often social measuring progress well-being using a multidimensional approach.



¹ To propose a definition of "indicator"and "social indicator", we drew on several sources. Among others, see at: Boccuzzo G., 2011, Sistemi Dispense del corso di Informativi Statistici. Available http://homes.stat.unipd.it/mariobolzan/sites/homes.stat.unipd.it.mariobolzan/files/MaterialeBoccuzzoIndicatori2013 14pdf.pdf; 1995, Scale di misura indicatori sociali, Cacucci е https://www.uniba.it/ricerca/dipartimenti/scienze-politiche/docenti/archivio-cartelle-docenti/cardamone-antoniofilippo/scale%20di%20misura%20e%20indicatori%20sociali.pdf/at_download/file; Saraceno C., Indicatori sociali per la competitività o per la qualità sociale?. Available at: https://www.istat.it/it/files/2011/02/saraceno.pdf; ISTAT, Fase ANALISI, https://www4.istat.it/it/strumenti/metodi-e-strumenti-it/analisi: ISTAT, Indici е indicatori. Available https://www.slideshare.net/ascuoladioc/25-indici-e-indicatori-matteo-mazziotta-istat; G. Vecchi, Modulo monitoring and evaluation, 4. Indicators. Available at: http://qualitapa.gov.it/sitoarcheologico/fileadmin/mirror/t-gestperf/Slides MV ud4.pdf.

This is a positive aspect especially when it comes to the multidimensional aspects such as integration or migrant rights².

Thirdly, indicators can be very useful in identifying the legal and policy contradictions and gaps which have a direct impact on migrant and refugees' protection emerging at different governmental levels. Furthermore. these different levels produce indicators and data that can be used to measure the implementation of these very laws policies. thus showing and the contradictions that might emerge.

These contradictions are frequently pivotal in advocacy for political rights since political rights are considered universal rights by international law and, as such, the EU supports their universality in its legal systems. Hence, the protection of rights is conveyed by legally binding agreements for all the governmental levels which means that migrants and refugees, once their status has been recognized, should have on paper almost the same rights as any EU citizen. Nonetheless, often this legally recognized universality clashes with the

concept of the nation-state and pre-modern dynamics built around a citizenship defined by ethnicity, blood and culture and ultimately incarnated formally and/or informally in the bureaucratic order³. This historic force which appears to be represented in most of the policies related to migration or integration is mostly responsible for the circumvention and the direct or indirect suppression of political rights or the dissuasion to use them. This can occur in different forms: bureaucratic nightmares, police brutality, segregation from the locals⁴.

The successful identification of these contradictions offers the ground for the defence of the political rights of refugees in courts of law as well as a cause for political mobilization of the migrant and refugee communities.

In accordance with the multilevel nature of migration policy and indicators production, the following section will present the most important indicators employed both at the international and EU level and, at a national level, in Italy, Greece and Spain.

² Since 2001, the OECD has promoted various initiatives aimed at developing a public debate on the need to measure social progress. In 2009, the Stiglitz Commission, set up by the Presidency of the French Republic, drew up 12 recommendations in this sense, and the European Commission published a communication entitled "Not only GDP - Measuring progress in a changing world" with the aim of soliciting the production and diffusion of information capable of integrating and improving information on quality of life. In Italy, the system of indicators BES - BenessereEquo e Sostenibile (Equal and Sustainable Well-being), created by ISTAT in 2010, goes in this direction. Using a large number of indicators divided into 12 dimensions, it proposes a systematic analysis of the evolution of the quality of life in Italy. Available at: https://www.istat.it/it/benessere-e-sostenibilit%C3%A0/la-misurazione-del-benessere-(bes)/gli-indicatori-del-bes.

 $^{^3}$ Herzfeld M., 1992, The social production of indifference: Exploring the symbolic roots of Western bureaucracy. Chicago: University of Chicago Press; Arendt H., 1973/2004, "The Decline of the Nation-State and the End of the Rights of Man". In The Origins of Totalitarianism. New York: Shocken Books.

Rozakou K., 2017, "Nonrecording the 'European refugee crisis' in Greece: Navigating through irregular bureaucracy". In. Focaal – Journal of Global and Historical Anthropology, 77: 36-49.

2.2. The main indicators and sources used at international level

The social integration of migrants in host societies is a complex process involving a multiplicity of variables (linked both to the demographic, socio-economic cultural and characteristics of people of foreign origin and to contextual factors in the countries of settlement, in particular migration policies). This process is investigated mostly through quantitative approaches, which consider statistical and economic dimensions. and through qualitative analyses, which deepen the knowledge of personal biographies and migration projects,

subjective perceptions, personal strategies and expectations related to inclusion itself. In order to improve the collection of data and their comparability at international level, to promote analyses and studies on the of inclusion and social outcomes cohesion policies and the on effectiveness and impact of migration policies, several organizations have been engaged in designing and developing organized systems to measure the level of integration into society of people with migrant background, and characteristics of migration policies.



Below, we present some recently developed systems for measuring "integration". These are internationally recognized fundamental references as they ensure a higher degree of coverage in terms of the number of countries considered and of data collected. These are mainly indicator systems developed by the OECD and the EU as well as the models implemented by international partnerships. The aim is to illustrate the main features of these models and to reflect upon their origin, basic theoretical grounds and their shortcomings.

The OECD and the EU began to design indicators aimed at measuring the results of "integration policies". These were coupled by comparing data between countries, thanks to the availability of data from harmonized sources due to the need to develop mechanisms to monitor and assess the evolution of social inclusion processes since the first decade of the 21st century. The policy areas considered by the two systems are largely overlapping coinciding: and/or employment, education. social inclusion, citizenship and social cohesion. This is the same for most of the indicators referring to these policy areas, which have increased and have been refined over the years, with some exceptions as

regards active citizenship and social cohesion, for which the European Union offers the possibility of more in-depth analyses, since it has adopted a greater number of indicators and periodic opinion polls.

The difficulties in comparing data are rooted in the differences between the definitions adopted in various countries as well as the different methods of data collection and the non-availability of reliable and harmonized data for some countries (the presence of incomplete administrative sources) or for some policy areas (the absence of ad hoc sample surveys). These are the main obstacles that these measurement systems have encountered over the series of The limitations years. encountered linked to conceptual and linguistic problems, to different legal and political systems and to the different migration histories of the countries led to the preparation of in-depth analyses of the processes of social integration of migrants and the provision of useful information for the monitoring and evaluation of policies.

The first attempts date back to the COMPSTAT (Comparing National Data-Sources in the Field of Migration and Integration)⁵ and PROMINSTAT projects⁶.

The COMPSTAT project, launched in 2001, had three main objectives: to collect and analyse essential technical information on various types of micro-data and statistics produced by public authorities and of interest to the study of immigrant "integration"; to help establish the comparability of these data across Europe and the EU in particular; and to provide information on where to look for data at the national level and the quality of the data. Available at: http://www.prominstat.eu/drupal/?q=system/files/Comparative_aspects_COMPSTAT.pdf.

⁶PROMINSTAT (2007-2009) aimed to address the need of researchers, policymakers, and practitioners for more reliable, more systematic, and more harmonized statistical data on migration, "integration" and discrimination in 29 countries. By improving the comparability of statistical data and the understanding of indicators, PROMINSTAT helped increase transparency in policy decisions and improve the quality of publicly available information on migration, integration, and discrimination. Prominstat built on the previous project "Comparing National Data Sources in the Field of Migration and Integration" (COMPSTAT) carried out under the 5th Framework Program between 2001 and 2002, the FP6 project "Towards Harmonized European Statistics on International Migration" (THESIM) completed in 2005, and ongoing research under the IMISCOE network. Available at: http://www.prominstat.eu/drupal/node/64.

After the 2004 European Union Council in The Hague (which developed the Common Basic Principles on Immigrant Integration Policy⁷) and the 2007 Potsdam Council, during which member states were invited to adopt a common system of statistical indicators measure and assess the type and degree of "integration" of migrants in European with the Stockholm societies. Programme, adopted by the European Council in 2009, the European Union decided to develop a basic system of indicators in a number of areas to monitor social inclusion processes. This process was concretised at the expert conference held in Malmö in 2009. where an articulated proposal for indicators was put forward and then made official the in Zaragoza Declaration, adopted at the European Ministerial Conference on Integration held on 15-16 April 20108. In this Declaration, European Ministers encouraged the Commission to undertake a pilot study to examine proposals for common integration indicators and to report on the availability and quality of data from previously agreed harmonized sources. The Commission, in cooperation with the member states, then defined a set of indicators for monitoring the outcomes of "integration" policies in four areas: employment, education, social inclusion and active citizenship. Subsequently, in 2011⁹, the pilot study conducted by Eurostat¹⁰ considered the availability and quality of data from harmonized sources to calculate 15 indicators for which data could be compared. The proposals of the pilot study were then further examined, developed elaborated in a project that in 2013 produced the report Using EU indicators immigrant integration¹¹ validated the effectiveness of the 21 Zaragoza Indicators and proposed an integration bringing them to 46 and adding a thematic area to those already covered. These are the policy areas considered: Employment, Education, Social Inclusion, Active Citizenship, Reception in Society (social cohesion).

The European Website on Integration, Common Basic Principles for Immigrant Integration Policy in the EU (2004): https://ec.europa.eu/migrant-integration/library-document/common-basic-principles-immigrant-integration-policy-eu_en

Declaration of the European Ministerial Conference on Integration (Zaragoza, 15 & 16 April 2010). Available at:http://bitly.ws/ur50

Also in 2011, the European Commission presented the Communication 'A European Agenda for Integration' (COM (2011)455), in which, taking into account the experience already gained at EU and Member State level, it identifies the challenges that integration poses for Europe and proposes recommendations and areas for action. Then, in 2016 and 2021, the Commission presented a European Action Plan on Integration: http://bitly.ws/ur5x

¹⁰ Indicators of Immigrant Integration - A Pilot Study, EUROSTAT. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/products-statistical-working-papers/-/KS-RA-11-009.

¹¹ European Website on Integration, Using EU Indicators of Immigrant Integration (2013). Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/migrant-integration/library-document/using-eu-indicators-immigrant-integration_en.

Other measurement systems have been developed within the framework of national and international projects with the involvement of institutions and the academic and research world, such as the DEMIG POLICY¹² database, built by the International Migration Institute and the University of Oxford between 2010 and 2014 within the DEMIG (Determinants of International Migration) project, or the IMPALA (International Migration Policy And Law Analysis)¹³ database, produced by an international interdisciplinary partnership. While both aimed to measure "integration" policies, the two indicator systems confronted with the need to measure the impact of migration policies in the economic, social. demographic and political spheres and their effectiveness in directing migration flows, as well as with the attempt to measure their restrictive nature.

The legal and moral backbone of most of the migrant and refugee policies is given by the convention protocols developed by UN agencies covering the rights of refugees and migrants. We see these as critical background conventions indicators since they serve, in principle, as a guiding frame for policy making and in some cases they are the legal binding framework for liberal democratic nation-states since more than 50 years. Below are two of the most relevant indicators to understand the legal and moral backbone of migration refugee policies.

The Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees has been the body of international law that has defined the rights of refugees. Grounded on Article 14th of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, this convention represents the universality of the rights of refugees.

The International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers is a more recent resolution (1990) which defines what is a migrant worker and delimitates his/her universal rights. This indicator has been chosen because the distinction between economic migrants and applicants of international protections is not always effective. In both cases, the protection of their working rights is pivotal since it is likely that an important part of their potential political advocacy will be about the protection of their working rights.

These indicators are very important to comprehend two aspects mentioned in the introductory section. Firstly, the spirit of universality in the protection of the rights of migrants and refugees that characterises all the legal systems of Western liberal democracies. Secondly, indicators are useful for observing the deterioration, by plain illegal actions, that the legal systems suffer from, since national law is bound to international law. In short, states contradict the very laws that they pass against the rights of migrants and refugees.

 $^{{}^{12}} International\ Migration\ Institute,\ DEMIC\ Policy.\ Available\ at:\ https://www.migrationinstitute.org/data/demig-data.}$

Migration Research Hub by IMISCOE, International Migration Policy and Law Analysis (IMPALA). Available at: https://migrationresearch.com/item/international-migration-policy-and-law-analysis-impala/474307.

International sources for social integration

Convention and protocol relating to the Status of Refugees

https://www.unhcr.or g/protection/basic/3b 66c2aa10/convention -protocol-relatingstatus-refugees.html

https://www.ohchr.org/ en/instrumentsmechanisms/instrument s/internationalconvention-protectionrights-all-migrantworkers International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families. Adopted by General Assembly resolution 45/158 of 18 December 1990

OECD

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development https://www.oecd.org /publications/indicator s-of-immigrantintegration-2018-9789264307216en.htm

https://publications.i om.int/system/files/ pdf/global_migratio n_indicators_2018.p df

IOM & GMDAC

International Organisation for Migration and Global Migration Data Analusis

Migration Data Portal

https://www.migratio ndataportal.org/



2.3. The main indicators used at EU and national level

The background indicators at the European level are produced by EU governmental bodies (Council European Union, European Commission, Eurostat, etc.). Like at the international level, these indicators mostly rely on the EU's definition and conception of migration, asylum and integration. This is coupled with some general overview statistics from Eurostat. а highly valuable database to access indicators (socio-economic data covering labor, gender, demographics etc.) which can help to picture the immediate context of any advocacy action. Many of the indicators presented below are fundamental principles produced at the EU level which are the backbone of the migrant and refugee policies and they are directly bound to some of the international conventions presented in the previous section. This shows the legal consistency between the two levels when it comes to ruling principles. This spirit of the law is visible also in the programmatic documents shown in the indicators below. Legal frameworks and programmatic documents are generally respectful with the principles universality at every level. The violation of these principles occurs in the practical implementation of the policies at the national level.

Measurement and indicators of Integration is a long report published in 1997 specifically dedicated to defining the main concepts and methods for the measurement of integration and their

underpinning assumptions. This is a significant report to understand how statistics and reports are produced in the EU.

Common Basic Principles for Immigrant Integration Policy in the EU is a press release from 2004 consisting of 5 pages enumerating the main guiding principles of integration policy in the EU. This is followed by another document entitled "A Common Agenda for Integration" (2005) produced by the Commission of European Communities and published in 2005. It tries to set a common frame for the implementation of these common principles. The Declaration of the European Ministerial Conference on Integration in 2010 in Zaragoza is yet another document to reflect on the evolution of the EU's conception on integration policies.

The Stockholm Programme - An Open and Secure Europe Serving and protecting citizens (2010) is an interesting document since it situated itself at the crossroads between citizen rights and security, two recurrent topics of our present that touch directly upon political rights and advocacy.

Eurostat Migrant Integration Statistics introduced comprises the guidelines necessary to navigate through the complex database of Eurostat. Furthermore, it also explains how the different concepts and indexes that serve as a base of complex statistics are defined.

Eurostat: Distribution by gender, migration status and background, 2008 and 2014 is a glimpse on the variation of gender, migration status and background between the years 2008 -2014. Significant variations occurred during these tumultuous years.

Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the **European Economic and Social Committee** and the committee of the Regions (2015) and (2016). In these two documents we can observe the evolution of the EU perspective on migration when the current question of refugees economic migration became a reality. Many topics are covered: labour exploitation, arrivals and relocation. "frontline" member states, etc. It is also interesting to compare these two documents since the Communication from 2016 came after the EU-Turkey treaty signature in Spring 2016.

Action Plan on Integration and Inclusion 2021–2027. This is the current action plan for integration and inclusion. It is an interesting analysis coupled with data of the past "migration crisis years" to legitimize the present policy direction and the grand lines for integration policy

in the years to come signaling the need for an integral policy making.

New Pact on Migration and Asylum: A fresh start on Migration in Europe, reflects the current position of the EU on migration and asylum. The pact signals the problems that EU has had in the last years but it has the undertone of a programmatic document marking the aims for the future.

Migration and Asylum Policy is Europe's current Migration and Asylum policy. An interesting document delimiting the frame of migration and asylum policy. An essential document to comprehend the "official" limits of political advocacy for refugees and asylum seekers.

Urban Agenda for the EU was launched in May 2016 with the Pact of Amsterdam. It represents a new multi-level working method promoting cooperation between Member States, cities, the Commission, and European stakeholders in order to stimulate growth, livability and innovation in the cities of Europe and to identify and successfully tackle social challenges. One of the categories of the Urban Agenda is "Inclusion of Migrants and Refugees" which deals with the role of the city as a space of socialization between locals and foreigners.

Since 1995, the Council of Europe has tried to prepare a mechanism in order to evaluate the prospects of better "measuring migrants"; integration in Europe by using indicators¹⁴.

 $^{^{14} \, \}text{Council of Europe,} \, \textit{Measurement and indicators of integration}. \, \text{Available at: http://bitly.ws/uz6p}$

European sources for social integration

Zaragoza Declaration https://ec.europa.eu/migrantintegration/librarydocument/declaration-europeanministerial-conference-integrationzaragoza-15-16-april-2010_en

https://migration.gov.gr/wpcontent/uploads/2020/06/%CE%9 421.final_report_on_using_eu_indi cators_of_immigrant_integration.p df

Measurement and indicators of integration

Counsil of Europe

https://www.coe.int/t/dg3/mi gration/archives/documentati on/Series_Community_Relatio ns/Measurement_indicators_i ntegration_en.pdf

Eurostat

Migrant integration statistics 2020

https://ec.europa.eu/euro stat/web/productsstatistical-books/-/ks-06-20-184

MIPEX

Migrant Integration Policy Index

https://www.mipex.eu/

NIEM

National Integration Evaluation Mechanism

http://www.forintegration. eu/

2.3.1. Measuring social inclusion: The Greek experience

Social integration is defined as the process of interaction and mutual adaptation between asylum seekers, beneficiaries of international protection and migrants with the host society with the aim of creating societies with strong cohesion and achieving coexistence under conditions of peace and mutual understanding¹⁵. The 20th century in Greece is characterized by great social. political and economic changes. Migration has emerged as a major issue, especially in the 21st century. The migration policy in Greece has been shaped by Laws and Presidential Decrees, especially after 1990. At the national level, the concept of asylum policy is tangled with that of immigration policy.

Greek migration and asylum policy over the last thirty years has been in a constant state of flux. The first National Strategy for Integration was created in 2013. Characteristically, it was not until 2015 that the Ministry of Migration Policy was created, which later was renamed the Ministry of Immigration and Asylum. All these years, the government is trying to create an institutional framework for migration and asylum in order to cope with the increasing inflows by adapting the Greek legislation to European directives. In this context, however, it is important to take into account the conditions that profoundly affect the policy in Greece. These conditions are related to the history of the country,

economic, social and political circumstances. but also to the limitations created by society and the state. The fundamental problem resides in the fact that although a legal does framework exist. its implementation is problematic. Whatever strategy has been drafted, namely that of 2013, 2019 and of 2022, it does not include objectives and actions that are not monitored and do not include implementation indicators.

integration of refugees migrants faces multiple obstacles. The country's policies in recent years have focused on the issue of borders and the containment of migratory flows and on ways to provide immediate relief to refugees. Emergency relief focuses on housing, or what is called reception of persons in camps and periodically in accommodation projects. The public debate does not address as a key issue the question of integration or inclusion of new population groups. Migrants and refugees face systemic marginalisation. political instrumentalisation, verbal and physical attacks. The literature on the integration of migrants and refugees in Greek society is rich and concerns all areas such as education, employment. health, issues of racist violence, etc. However, only in recent years has the evaluation of integration started to use indicators. The first project was MIPEX and then NIEM. Although there are many articles and reports from civil society organisations and international agencies, there were no indicators of inclusion until lately.

The National Strategy for Integration, Ministry of Immigration and Asylum: Greek Policy for Social Integration. Available at: http://bitly.ws/ujhi



2.3.2. Measuring social inclusion: The Italian experience

In Italy, the first academic contributions addressing the issue of "measuring immigrants' "integration" processes date back to the 1990s¹⁶. However, it was mainly following the approval of the first framework law on immigration (Consolidated Act no. 286/98) that an intense debate developed in Italy on the need to prepare a model of "integration" of foreign citizens in the country and an information system to monitor and evaluate it. The first systematic attempt to develop a system of indicators for Italy was in fact carried out by the demographer Antonio Golini within the framework of the activities of the Commission for Immigrant Integration Policies¹⁷ from the late 1990s onwards¹⁸.

More than a real system of indicators, Golini carried out a critical review of the main available sources, mainly of administrative nature, trying to identify which variables would be best suited to monitor the phenomenon. Golini highlights the importance of four dimensions of analysis: (a) demographic characteristics; (b) relations with the

community of origin and the host community; (c) effective integration into the school and work systems; and (d) living conditions. These four areas are divided into 10 specific dimensions, to which each variable numbers of indicators refer¹⁹.

Most of the first indicator systems developed in Italy used mainly administrative data, given the lack of consolidated statistical data and sample surveys dedicated to specifically investigating the path of integration of foreign citizens into Italian society.

Over the years, the national statistical system has consolidated the production of data that provide relevant information on many aspects concerning the socio- demographic profile, living and working conditions of foreign citizens and citizens of foreign origin. The administrative archives have also refined their data filing methodologies, but there are still serious shortcomings in the transparency and accessibility of data, particularly with regard to data that are the responsibility of the Ministry of the Interior and of the Ministry of Justice.

Birindelli A., 1991, "Gli stranieri in Italia: alcuni problemi di integrazione sociale" . In Polis, 5(2), pp. 300-314; Natale M., Strozza S., 1997, Gli immigrati in Italia. Quanti sono, chi sono, come vivono, Bari, Cacucci; Strozza S., Natale M., et al., 2000, La rilevazione delle migrazioni internazionali e la predisposizione di un sistema informativo sugli stranieri, Roma, COGIS.

¹⁷ The Commission for Integration Policies, with operational headquarters at the Presidency of the Council of Ministers, was established by art. 46 of the Consolidated Act on Immigration 286/98 with the tasks of preparing for the Government, also for the purpose of the obligation to report to Parliament, the annual report on the status of implementation of policies for the "integration" of immigrants, to formulate proposals for interventions to adjust these policies as well as to provide answers to questions posed by the Government concerning immigration policies, intercultural policies and interventions against racism. The Commission has produced two reports on the implementation of integration policies, in 1999 and 2000. In subsequent legislatures, the Commission lost its centrality and was no longer established.

¹⁸ Commissione per le politiche d'integrazione degli immigrati in Italia, 2001, Secondo rapporto sull'integrazione degli immigrati in Italia, Bologna, il Mulino; Golini A. (ed.), 2004, L'immigrazione straniera: indicatori e misure di integrazione. La situazione in Italia e alcuni elementi su Piemonte e Torino; Golini A., 2006, L'immigrazione straniera: indicatori e misure di integrazione, Bologna, il Mulino.

¹⁹ Sciortino G., 2015, "È possibile misurare l'integrazione degli immigrati? Lo stato dell'arte", University of Trento, Department of Sociology and Social Research, Quaderni del Dipartimento di Sociologia e Ricerca Sociale, March, Quaderno n. 63, available here: https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/42902714.pdf.

At the same time, research activities carried out in recent years have highlighted the complexity of measuring a phenomenon in which structural factors interact in multiple areas (inherent to the reception context and public policies adopted at national and local level) and with subjective factors related the individual (more to characteristics of migrants and difficult to detect using only quantitative survey methodologies). The various attempts to build solid indicator systems to monitor the so-called "integration" of migrants have to overcome several obstacles: 1. the adoption of a non-Euro-centric theoretical model of reference; 2. the consideration of all the relevant areas in which migrants' interaction with the

receiving society takes place (or should take place): the important area of civic and political participation of foreign citizens and citizens of foreign origin and the dimension of social relations are still too little considered (and therefore monitored); 3. the ability to identify systems of indicators that are effectively usable (insofar as they are available) at all territorial levels (national, regional, provincial and municipal) comparable at European level. The work recently launched by INAPP (National Institute for the Analysis of Public Policies) in collaboration with the Directorate General for Immigration of the Ministry of Labour and Social Policies seems to address these critical issues.



2.3.3. Measuring social inclusion: The Spanish experience

The publication of literature on social inclusion of migrant populations has been growing in the last two decades coinciding with the increasing migration flows that began in the early 2000s. Thorough demographic, socio-economic indicator-based literature has been produced during these years by public institutions relying on well-grounded studies.

The Observatorio Permanente de la Inmigración (Permanent Observatory of Immigration within the Ministry of Employment and Social Security) has produced some interesting reports on migrations. These studies have well-grounded developed indicators that reflect upon the multidimensional nature of integration touching upon aspects crucial for advocacy action. From these studies, we would like to highlight the following:

Godenau, D., Rinken, S., Martínez de Lizarrondo Artola, A., Moreno Márquez, (2014), La integración inmigrantes España: una propuesta de medición a escala regional. This is a specific proposal accompanied by comparative model (2007-2015)²⁰ of measurement. This offers a model to measure the processes of integration of the foreign population in Spanish society not only at the national level but also at the sub-state level, specifically, with reference to the seven "NUTS-1"

macro-regions discerned by Eurostat as an intermediate step between the national territory and the regional governments. The study highlights that economic specialization occupational structure of each region together with the modulation and implementation of public policies linked to social welfare and the diversity in the immigrant composition of the population in terms of human capital, migration projects, etc. are factors that affect the evolution of integration processes. This variety of factors usually the differences explain between integration processes in the various regions of the country.

This study is based on a system of 24 indicators inspired bv theoretical studies on existing integration and official statistical data. The indicators are grouped in four areas: employment, well-being, relations social and citizenship. In the field of 'employment', the indicators are grouped in access to employment, measured through the activity rate, occupation (employment rate) and unemployment (unemployment contractual rate). relations that are reflected in the contracting modalities (temporary rate), occupational level (rate of elementary occupations and rate over-qualification) and salaries. It does not include measurements that are ambivalent in their interpretation, such as self-employment.

La integración de los inmigrantes en España: fases, patrones, y dinámicas regionales durante el periodo 2007-2015. Available at: https://extranjeros.inclusion.gob.es/ficheros/Observatorio_permanente_inmigracion/publicaciones/fichas/OPI_30.pdf

In the field of 'well-being', and based on data availability, the following facets are included: income (amount, origin), housing conditions (services, characteristics, etc.), health (subjective perception, use of SNS) training level. Regarding 'Social Relations', the authors argue that there are no reliable sources or data regarding the indicators proposed by the Zaragoza Declaration in this area, and therefore they propose alternatives that allow a more accurate measurement of this dimension: indicators of composition of the home (mixed households, cohabitation mode, minors in the home), language skills and acceptance of foreigners by the host society. Finally, in the field of 'citizenship', indicators of the following facets are measured: document regularity (registration to the municipal census and residence permit), nationalization, right to vote, and education (children's schooling and post-compulsory schooling).

Another report from the same institution is the Collection of Annual Reports from 2007 to 2016 dedicated to the analysis of the immigrant population and its relationship with the labour market, based on the exhaustive analysis of official statistics related to work and residence immigrants in Spain. The report structured in seven chapters that begin by analysing the migratory context and the employment situation of the foreign population in Spain²¹ within the framework of the European Union. This is a detailed analysis of the employment and wage situation as well as labour mobility of the

foreign population. The part that is especially interesting is the comparison undertaken in the study between periods of great economic growth (until 2008) and crisis (2008-2014) and of recent recovery. Five general indicators (active population, employment, unemployment, salaries and labour mobility) are used in this study, but in each report these are broken down into 22 sub-indicators for each of the categories mentioned. Other important indicators covering racism and xenophobia have been produced by Observatorio Español del Racismo, la xenofobia y otrasformas de intolerancia España en (Spanish Observatory of Racism, xenophobia and other forms of intolerance) within the governmental Centro de Investigaciones Sociologicas (CIS). Here we would like to refer to the annual reports on the matter that have been developed since 2007²². These reports are based on large samples of surveys and interviews coupled with other indicators that show the trends of racism in the country while covering its different dimensions.

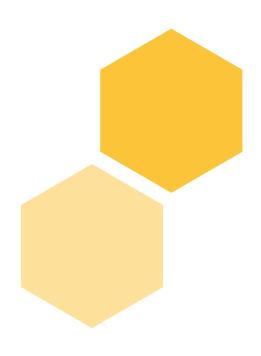
Immigration Portal, "Documents of the Permanent Observatory of Immigration" started in 2004, available at: http://extranjeros.inclusion.gob.es/es/ObservatorioPermanenteInmigracion/Publicaciones/index.html

Spanish Observatory on Racism and Xenophobia (OBERAXE), the Annual Reports are available at: https://www.inclusion.gob.es/oberaxe/es/ejes/analisis/informes/index.html.



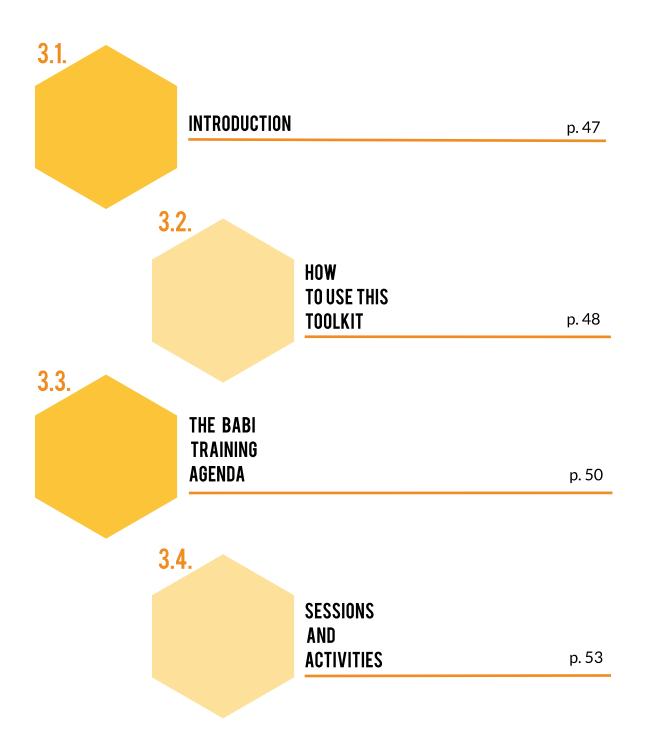


PART3





THE BABI TRAINING MODULE



3.1. INTRODUCTION

WHAT

This part of the toolkit describes a training module dedicated to advocacy, specifically thought for activists and social workers that are engaged in campaigns, activities and projects aimed at promoting the citizenship rights of migrants, asylum seekers, refugees, and racialized minorities. The module is based on a theoretical approach that recognizes the structural nature of discrimination, xenophobia and racism that persist in European society. The training module is the result of the research developed as part of the framework of the BABI project and it has been experimented in a 5-day pilot training that involved 25 activists and staff members of the partners organizations. It took place in Rome from 4th to 8th June 2022. After the training, the module has been revised considering the comments and evaluation of participants, trainers, and facilitators. The revised module presented in the following pages is articulated in 3 days, 21 working hours, 1 introductory and 6 working sessions.

GOAL

 To help fill the lack of theoretical knowledge and technical skills of antiracist activists of civil society necessary to promote sound, coherent and stronger antiracist policy advocacy actions.

DIRECT BENEFICIARIES

- 24-26 antiracist activists,
- CSO's young workers,
- foreign origin activists and workers interested in advocacy.

SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES

- To offer a panoramic of the main strategic advocacy approaches
- To share knowledge and information about the operational steps and technical tools to develop effective and sustainable advocacy initiatives.

METHODOLOGY

Non-formal education to facilitate the active participation and interaction of/between participants.

EXPECTED TRAINING RESULTS

Participants should improve their knowledge and technical skills on advocacy and policy advocacy. They should know:

- what advocacy is;
- the main useful sources to be used to support a robust context analysis;
- the main steps of the advocacy cycle;
- some basic information on communication strategies;
- some exemplary cases promoted by migrants and antiracist movements/organizations against discrimination and racism.

3.2. HOW TO USE THIS TOOLKIT

The training toolkit is addressed to CSO's, immigrants and refugees' associations, informal groups and movements interested in organizing a base training course on advocacy to strengthen the engagement of their members, activists, volunteers and staff in advocacy actions aimed to preventing and countering racist and xenophobic discriminations and to facilitate the participation of migrants, refugees and racialized people in advocacy actions. The training is structured into 1 introductory and 6 working sessions. The description of the training course is articulated by working day, working session and specific activity.

A visual map of the agenda shows in what session of the training you are.



CAPTION

For each session a short overview of the topic and the related learning objectives are provided. The description of the activities contains, when necessary, the following types of contents:

THE TITLE AND THE NUMBER OF THE ACTIVITY

A SHORT DESCRIPTION OF THE ACTIVITY

It briefly describes the specific topic faced during the activity.

TIMING ESTIMATED

The estimated length of the activity

THE MATERIALS REQUIRED

The needed resources required to conduct the activity.

HANDOUTS

Some theoretical/technical contributions that can be shared with participants.

CASE STUDIES

Some examples of case studies that can be used to conduct the activity with an inductive working methodology.

TOOLS

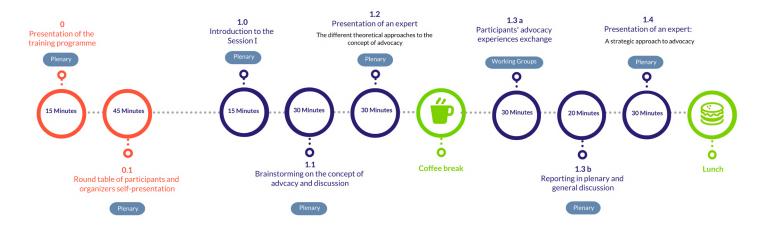
Some examples of practical tools that can be used during the activity.

3.3 THE BABITRAINING AGENDA



Welcome and introductory session

Session 1 What is advocacy?

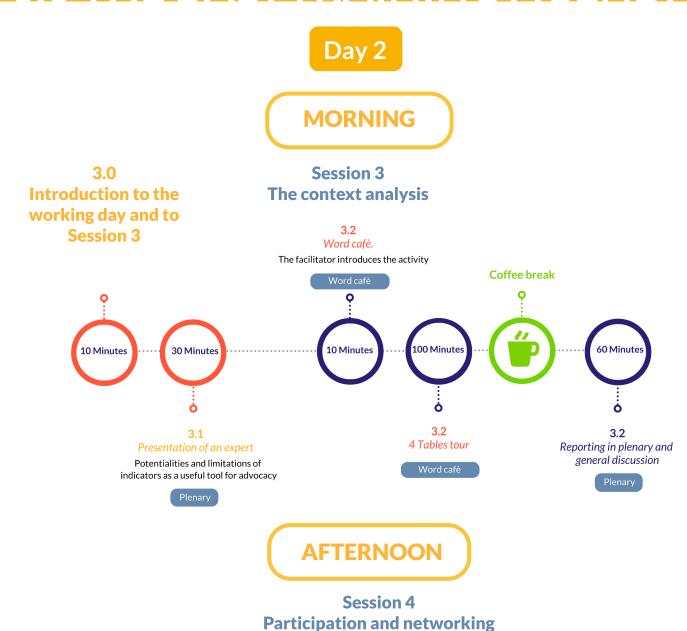


AFTERNOON

Session 2 The advocacy cycle What do we need to design an advocacy initiative?

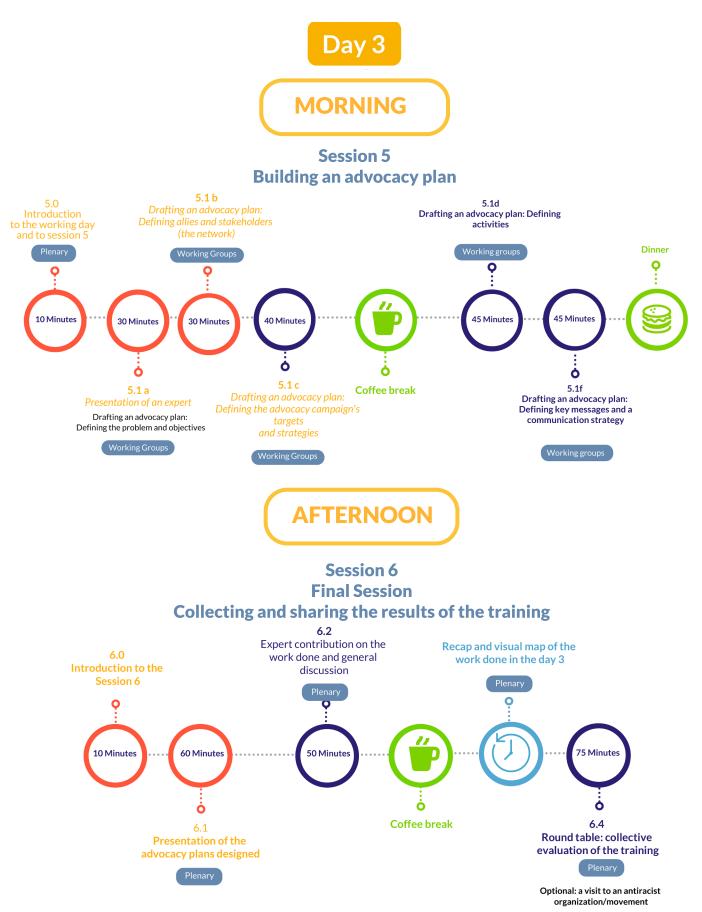


3.3 THE BABITRAINING AGENDA



4.3 Structural racism and participation. 4.0 Introduction to the Session 4 Contributions of two activists Reporting in plenary and general Plenary discussion discussion Optional: a visit to an antiracist organization/movement 10 Minutes 30 Minutes ò ò 4.4 4.1 4.2 Lunch Working for a common goal. Simulation of an exemplary case Recap Discussion in plenary Visual map of the work Policy advocacy and networking done in the day 2 Simulation in Groups

3.3 THE BABITRAINING AGENDA



3.4. SESSIONS AND ACTIVITIES





DAY 1 WELCOME AND INTRODUCTORY SESSION

Learning objectives

To show in detail the training programme and group building.

Working methodologies

Frontal presentation in plenary and round table.

Required resources

- 1 FACILITATOR
- 1 TRAINING ORGANIZER
- 1 ROOM ABLE TO HOST 24 PARTICIPANTS
- 1 flipchart to collect and share the comments of the roundtable
- f 1 Large screen for projecting slides
- 1 VISUAL MAP OF THE PROGRAMME
- 1 DAILY TRAINING AGENDA

PRESENTATION OF THE TRAINING PROGRAMME

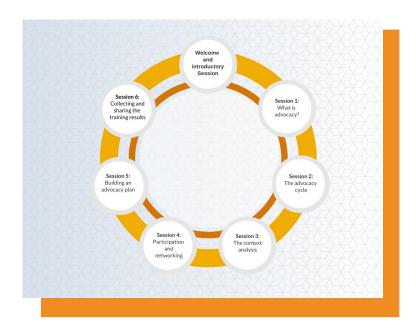
DESCRIPTION OF THE ACTIVITY

The starting session of the training is fundamental. It is the core moment where trainers, facilitators and participants can know each other and share the information about the organizers and trainers, motivations and expectations of participants, the working role of each person involved in the training. Do not assume that participants know or remember the training programme in detail or that they know your association. It's important to open the training presenting yourself, your organization, and the full training programme in detail. To do this quickly, you can use a slide presentation and to prepare a smart and coloured version of the training agenda to be attached on the wall of your training room.

TIMING: 15 MINUTES

HANDOUT 0.1

To guarantee that all participants always know "where they are" (in what phase of the training they are working in a specific moment) it is important to open the training with a visual agenda of the programme. It is important that the agenda can be always visible to all participants. There are different ways to make a visual map of the programme. You can use the traditional form of a daily agenda, or a logic scheme that shows the topics of the main working sessions as follows.



ACTIVITY 0.1 ROUND TABLE OF PARTICIPANTS AND ORGANIZERS SELF-PRESENTATION

DESCRIPTION OF THE ACTIVITY

A round table of all participants is very useful to build the group and to share basic information about the origin (working place), working role, motivations, and expectations of each participant. To shorten the distance between the trainers and participants is useful to avoid a frontal disposition of the chairs and to create a circle. The facilitator can collect the main information shared on a flipchart and save them in order to compare them with the participants comments that will be collected at the end of the training.

TIMING: 40 MINUTES

HANDOUT 0.1ROUND TABLE OF PARTICIPANTS AND ORGANIZERS SELF-PRESENTATION

An example of some comments collected during the climate building session of the BABI pilot training.

Feelings of the moment



What I want from the training for myself

Being able to see the bigger picture The training goes smoothly **Experimentation** Tangible tools Networking Learn and share experiences

Get new resources to work on political advocacy

Being happy with whatever we get

What will help us obtain what we want

Active listening Contextualising the training Active participation
Sharing experiences
Good physical conditions **Active focus**

Introduction to the different organizations

Finding key points Debating





DAY1 SESSION 1

What is advocacy?

Learning objectives

To build up a common definition of advocacy and to share our own experiences of Advocacy.

Working methodologies

Brainstorming, experts' presentations, working groups.

Required resources

- 1 FACILITATOR
- 1 ADVOCACY EXPERT
- 1 ROOM ABLE TO HOST 24 PARTICIPANTS AND 4 SMALL WORKING GROUPS
- $oldsymbol{1}$ flipchart to collect and share the results of discussion in Plenary
- 1 LARGE SCREEN FOR PROJECTING SLIDES
- 1 white poster to collect the results of the working groups
- Some coloured sheets of paper
- Post-it Notes

ACTIVITY 1.0 INTRODUCTION TO THE SESSION 1.0

DESCRIPTION OF THE ACTIVITY

This session is dedicated to build and share a common definition of Advocacy to be used in the context of social and humanitarian work aimed to prevent and countering discrimination and racism and to strengthen the guarantee of migrants, refugees, and racialized people. The working methodology is inductive, participatory and encourages the exchange of experiences among participants thanks to the conduction of four different activities.

TIMING: 10 MINUTES

ACTIVITY 1.1 BRAINSTORMING ON THE CONCEPT OF ADVOCACY AND GENERAL DISCUSSION

Plenary: The facilitator asks the participants to indicate a keyword to define advocacy and writes the key words on a white board. Execution of the activity and discussions in a large group. The discussion should be used to stimulate a comparison of the different interpretations of the concept proposed by the participants and to highlight that advocacy can be used to encourage both positive and negative changes. For instance, it can be used also by extremists and right-wing groups to attack human, civil, social, and political rights.

TIMING: 15 MINUTES

HANDOUT 1.1

List of the words mentioned during the brainstorming on the concept of advocacy carried out in the BABI pilot training in Rome.

BRAINSTORMING ON THE CONCEPT OF ADVOCACY

ADVOCACY -Awareness-raising -Caring -organising responses -Negotiation -Social justice -Transformation -Human rights -Campaigns -Context -Governance -Empowerment -Freedom -Change -The common/public -Improvement -Interest -Changing policies -People's rights -Multiple stakeholders -Dissent -Different perspectives -Power relations -Cooperation -Solutions -Information -Debating -Attention -Community -Lawyers -Representation -Solidarity -Specific actions -Media -Politics -Level/scale -Similarity with lobbying -Means of -Promotion -Networking communication -Identifying -Defence topics/issues -Self-care -Revolution -Listening -Strategy -Conflict

ACTIVITY 1.2 PRESENTATION OF AN EXPERT: THE DIFFERENT THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO THE CONCEPT OF ADVOCACY

DESCRIPTION OF THE ACTIVITY

The expert shows the different theoretical approaches to advocacy based on the academic literature. The BABI definition of advocacy can be shared and discussed with participants. The objective of this activity is to focus the participants' attention on the different links between the concept of social change, the role of the antiracist organizations and movements and the different interpretations of the concept of advocacy.

TIMING: 30 MINUTES

HANDOUT 1.2.A THE CONTROVERSIAL DEFINITION OF ADVOCACY

Source: Lunaria, Sos Racisme, Antigone, Sos Malta (edited by), "Better advocacy for Better Inclusion. Acting against discrimination, for equality and citizenship rights" pp. 6-8, available here:

https://www.cronachediordinariorazzismo.org/wp-content/uploads/Better-Advocacyfor-Better- InclusionENG def.pdf

The etymological origin of the word (from the Latin *advocare*) refers both to the idea of defense and to that of seeking help. In the English language, these meanings are accompanied by those of support, peroration, claim. We could say that since its origins, the word advocacy implies the existence of someone who defends, supports, claims on behalf of someone else. This is perhaps one of the limits to its application by the social realities that place at the center of their struggles for human rights the theme of the protagonism and participation of the subjects directly concerned.

ADVOCACY IS DEFINED AS

"a strategic and creative process to influence policies, practices and attitudes that affect people's lives".

Ruppert A., Wahlgren J., 2018

"the deliberate process of influencing those who make decisions about developing, changing and implementing policies".

Care International, 2014

"a set of organised activities designed to influence the policies and actions of those in power in order to achieve lasting and positive change".

De Toma, 2020

"the strategic and deliberate process to bring about change in policies and practice. It can happen at local, national, regional and international levels, and an advocacy strategy that seeks to achieve comprehensive change should involve coordinated activity at all levels".

Civicus and others, 2015

"social policy advocacy consists of those intentional efforts of NPOs (Non-profit Organizations, ed) to change existing or proposed government policies on behalf of or with groups of marginalized people".

De Santis G., 2010

The above definitions focus on activities designed to directly or indirectly influence the choices of public decision-makers.

Policy advocacy is identified with the complex of "intentional activities initiated by private groups to affect the policy making process".

Gen S., Wright A. C., 2018

"advocacy that is directed at that affect practice or group well-being changing policies or regulations".

or as

"any attempt to influence the decisions of any institutional elite on behalf of a collective interest.".

Mosley J., 2013

A BROADER AND MORE DESCRIPTIVE DEFINITION

"Advocacy activities can include:

- public education and influencing public opinion;
- research for interpreting problems and suggesting preferred solutions;
- constituent action and public mobilizations;
- agenda setting and policy design;
- lobbying;
- policy implementation, monitoring, and feedback;
- election-related activity.

However, there is no agreement on which activities constitute advocacy, and no one source gives a full account of the many kinds of activities and strategies groups use to leverage influence in the policy process."

Reid in Gen, Sheldon and Wright, Conley, 2012

The last definition proposed has the merit of including both initiatives that seek to change public policy through direct interlocution or collaboration with public decision-makers, and initiatives that seek change from below, through public mobilization, media pressure and social conflict.

MacIndoe distinguishes between:

FORMAL ADVOCACY

in which he includes direct lobbying, administrative lobbying, coalition building, judicial advocacy, and expert testimony,

and

GRASSROOTS ADVOCACY

identified with grassroots lobbying, public events, public education, media outreach.

MacIndoe H., 2014

HANDOUT 1.2.6 THE DEFINITION OF ADVOCACY SHARED IN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE BABIPROJECT

To decline an operational definition of advocacy that can be used in the European context, with specific reference to the activities promoted in the field of migration, asylum and the fight against racism, requires further study on at least three types of problems.

- 1. The first is posed by the need to adopt a systemic approach, until now mostly removed, which recognizes the existence of two different connections.
 - A the connection between the evolution of migration policies on the one hand and the entrenchment of xenophobia and racism on the other.
 - B the connection between the diffusion of different forms of discrimination, xenophobia and racism (also institutional), the inadequacy of "social inclusion" and citizenship policies, and the level of direct and proactive participation of people concerned in the design and implementation of these policies.
- 2. A second relevant issue concerns the origin of advocacy initiatives and the process by which they are defined and developed.

Do they or do they not reflect the priorities of the people they claim to represent?

3. The third order of problems relates to the theory or vision of change to be pursued, which is linked to the reading of the current social, economic, and political system. If it is assumed, for example, that xenophobia and racism are structural phenomena and lead to forms of institutional discrimination, a concept of advocacy that includes initiatives aimed solely at public decision-makers and not also forms of mutual aid, self-organization, and social mobilization, could appear obsolete and ineffective.

Considering this complexity and the limitations that any attempt to offer a sufficiently comprehensive definition may encounter, the operational definition of policy advocacy adopted in BABI project is:

"Policy advocacy is the set of activities and initiatives promoted by civil society organizations and by people with a migrant background aimed at influencing and redirecting public policies at the local, national or European level, towards the prevention and combating of discrimination and institutional racism on the one hand and the promotion of civil, social and political citizenship rights on the other, thanks to the direct participation of people with a migrant background, discriminated or "racialized" people and social movements in their definition."

KEY POINTS TO BE CONSIDERED

- A critical approach to the concept of "inclusion" policies (unidirectional approach)
 - A focus on the main dimensions and forms of structural racism.

KEY PRINCIPLES OF REFERENCE

- EQUALITY
- PARTICIPATION
- NETWORKING
- SOCIAL JUSTICE
- UNIVERSAL CITIZENSHIP

HANDOUT 1.2.c USEFUL REFERENCES

Care International, 2014, The Care International Advocacy Handbook.

Civicus and others, 2015, Advocacy toolkit influencing the post-2015 development agenda.

De Santis G., 2010, "Voices from the Margins: Policy Advocacy and Marginalized Communities". In Canadian Journal of Nonprofit and Social Economy Research, Vol. 1, No. 1, Fall/Autumn, pp. 23-45.

De Toma C., 2020, Advocacy Toolkit. Guidance on how to advocate for a more enabling environment for civil society in your context, Open Forum for CSO Development Effectiveness.

Gen, Sheldon and Wright, Amy Conley, 2012, "A framework for policy advocacy". Faculty of Social Sciences Papers, 955, pp. 4-5.

Gen S., Wright A. C., 2018, "Strategies of policy advocacy organizations and their theoretical affinities: Evidence from Q-Methodology". In *Policy Studies Journal*, 46(2), 298-326.

MacIndoe H., 2014, "How Competition and Specialization Shape Nonprofit Engagement in Policy Advocacy". In *Nonprofit Policy Forum*.

Mosley J., 2013, "Recognizing New Opportunities: Reconceptualizing Policy Advocacy in Everyday Organizational Practice". In *Social Work*, Volume 58, Issue 3, 231-239.

REI, 2018, Advocacy Handbook.

Ruppert A., Wahlgren J., 2018, Advocacy Handbook Refugees' access to higher education and beyond.

ACTIVITY 1.3 LET'S GO TO EXCHANGE OUR EXPERIENCES OF ADVOCACY

DESCRIPTION OF THE ACTIVITY

Step a. Participants are divided into 4 working groups. They are invited to describe one or more examples of advocacy initiatives they have participated or have known in their territory and the reason for their selection. The facilitator should facilitate the discussion inviting the participants to discuss together about the strategies they consider effective or ineffective (strength and weaknesses) of the initiatives presented, so they can start to identify important elements that influence whether a campaign is or is not successful.

Step b. Reporting in plenary the results of the working groups.

TIMING: 30 MINUTES

ACTIVITY 1.4 PRESENTATION OF AN EXPERT. A STRATEGIC APPROACH TO ADVOCACY

DESCRIPTION OF THE ACTIVITY

The contribution has the aim to offer some theoretical elements to summarize the different strategic approaches that can be chosen by civil society organizations and movements when they need to promote an advocacy action and should underline the relation between the "vision of social change" of the organization/group and the applicable strategies.

TIMING: 30 MINUTES

HANDOUT 1.4 A STRATEGIC APPROACH TO ADVOCACY

Source: Lunaria, Sos Racisme, Antigone, Sos Malta (edited by), "Better advocacy for Better Inclusion. Acting against discrimination, for equality and citizenship rights, pp. 6-8 available here: https://www.cronachediordinariorazzismo.org/wp-content/uploads/Better-Advocacy-for-Better-InclusionENG_def.pdf

The different interpretation of the relationship between politics and society, between social actors and institutions and a different conception of the way in which a process of change can be triggered, can lead to the adoption of very different advocacy strategies. The literature has identified different models of advocacy developed in social organizations, trying to identify the types of relationships that exist between some of their constituent elements:

- the theories of change on which they are based;
- the advocacy strategies they follow;
- the inputs from which they originate;
- the actors involved:
- the activities in which they are structured;
- the selected interlocutors:
- the objectives pursued and the desired results.

Social change: three main approaches

- Institutionalism identifies the ability to influence and redirect the political choices
 of public decision-makers as the engine of social change. In this case, advocacy is
 addressed directly or indirectly to policy makers.
- Cultural approach identifies the engine of change in the change of the collective imaginary. In this case, advocacy is addressed to the world of culture and media, to opinion makers and/or public opinion, and aim at gaining a broad consensus in support of a specific political agenda.
- Theory of social justice places at the center of political and social change the
 protagonism and direct participation of people affected by different forms of
 inequality and tends to develop a deeply critical analysis of the existing political,
 economic and social context. Participation can take on different forms: conflictual
 protest; self-organization, mutual aid and self-management, which seek to build
 social change from below; the search for a critical confrontation with institutions.

Key points

An accurate definition of the Advocacy Cycle allows for strategic planning of initiatives and early identification of any gaps or obstacles to their effective implementation. The analysis of the external context on the one hand and of the internal situation of the group/organization on the other can highlight strengths and weaknesses.

Some recurrent risks

Too much competitive environment can hinder networking and effective advocacy initiatives.

Too high dependence on institutions can limit CSOs independence in terms of social/political demands. Institutional forums of consultation/cooperation can degenerate in forms of **co-optation** of the movements/csos leaders enlarging the distance with their social reference bases.

The chosen advocacy strategy does not consider the **available human**, **professional** and financial resources.

Formal advocacy strategies, which prioritize public decision-makers and aim at policy change, include lobbying, partnership with institutions, campaign/coalition building, promotion of strategic legal actions.

Grassroots advocacy, includes various forms of public mobilization, awareness and media campaigns, the construction of self-organized social experiences.

Lobbying actions

These primarily target formal policy makers with whom they seek to establish a direct relationship to guide their choices. The emphasis is on the formal process of policy making. Lobbying is by definition an **elitist strategy** (carried out by and aimed at elites) that may involve, but mostly does not involve, the social communities of reference and does not need to intervene on public opinion.

Example of lobbying activities: direct visits with the decision-maker, Invitation of decision-makers to public events.

Institutional partnership

pursues policy changes by collaborating with government institutions. It is a very recurrent strategy that can produce very different results depending on the internal democratic system of the organization, the ability to networking with the other members, the genuine availability of the institution to listen to and consider the social and political demands advanced.

Example of institutional partnership activities working tables, institutional committees, and consultations.

Strategic legal actions

Actions are directed at the administrative apparatus of institutions and attempts to directly bring about policy change without affecting the legislative function. Example of activities: antidiscrimination strategic legal actions; legal action to the European Court of Human Rights.

Education/sensitivity raising

The aim is to influence political decisions indirectly, through the construction of coalitions or campaigns by acting on public opinion, the media, also by promoting knowledge of alternative forms of intervention experimented on the territory. Example of activities: research; workshops; seminars; forums; public events; publications; video; cultural events; education campaigns; home visits; press and social media campaigns.

Social activism

The goal is to influence public opinion to build a broad consensus for political and social change, focusing on the direct participation of individuals and groups affected by inequality/discrimination.

Example of activities: demonstrations, marches, sit-in; strikes; popular law initiatives.

Self-organization and self-management

These promote forms of social mutualism that seek to respond directly, from themselves, to social needs and the fight against the violation of rights brought about by institutional racism the right to housing, self- managed reception, peoples' health clinics, etc.).

Example of activities: squatting; self-managed social, health and legal services and reception.

Exemplary case #DontLetThemDrown Campaign

THECONTEXT

In April 2020, just leading up to Easter, the Maltese government decided to join Italy in closing all ports and refusing entry to all migrant vessels, citing the coronavirus pandemic as the reason. This gesture, particularly around such an important time for a country that seems to often refer to strong Catholic value, was met with strong criticism by many. As a result of this decision, a group of human rights NGOs launched a social media campaign asking the government to reverse its decision to close its ports to migrants, urging ministers to: "Don't let them drown". The NGOs and groups involved in the campaign were: Aditus Foundation, African Media Association Malta, Association for Justice, Equality and Peace, Blue Door English, The Critical Institute, Cross Culture International Foundation, The Daphne Caruana Galizia Foundation, Foundation for Shelter and Support to Migrants, Integra Foundation, Isles of the Left, Jesuit Refugee Service (Malta), KOPIN, Malta Emigrants' Commission, Migrant Women Association Malta, Moviment Graffitti, Office of the Dean - Faculty for Social Wellbeing, University of Malta, People for Change Foundation, SOS Malta, Spark15, Sudanese Migrants Association, the Syrian Solidarity in Malta, Secretariat Assistenza Sociali, Paolo Freire institute, St Jeanne Antide foundation, Fondazioni Sebh, Church homes for the elderly and Malta Association of Social Workers.

THECAMPAIGN

Anyone interested in supporting the message was asked to take a selfie holding the slogans "Don't let them drown"; and "AllLivesMatter", post it on social media and tag Prime Minister Robert Abela and Home Affairs Minister Byron Camilleri. The campaign was kicked off by Aditus, Integra and JRS on behalf of more than 30 others as well as the Faculty for Social Wellbeing in the University of Malta. "We want to show the Prime Minister that people care about the lives of migrants. We want to show that the voices urging him to close the ports to rescued people are not Malta's only voices. That there is still a heart to Malta, open to all lives," said Neil Falzon, director of Aditus when speaking to national newspaper Timed of Malta. According to Prime Minister Robert Abela, the government's priority was to safeguard the health of the Maltese and Gozitans. Human rights NGOS argued that saving the lives of migrants and ensuring their safe disembarkation at a safe place was a fundamental legal obligation and a moral imperative that could not be negotiated or renounced.

Link:

https://aditus.org.mt/our-work/advocacy-initiatives/dontletthemdrown/#.Yx9J4-xBxap



DAY1 SESSION 2

The advocacy cycle

Learning objectives

To identify the different steps of the advocacy cycle and some starting pre-conditions.

Working Methodologies

Working-groups, cards play, simulation.

Required Resources

- 1 FACILITATOR
- 1 ADVOCACY EXPERT
- 1 ROOM ABLE TO HOST 4 SMALL WORKING GROUPS
- 4 FLIPCHARTS OR 4 PIN BOARDS TO SHOW THE POSTERS PRODUCED BY THE GROUPS
- 1 LARGE SCREEN FOR PROJECTING SLIDES
- 4 SETS OF ADVOCACY CARDS
- 4 EXEMPLARY CASES DESCRIPTIONS FOR ACTIVITIES 2.1 AND 2.3
- WHITE BIG POSTER TO COLLECT THE REPORTS OF THE WORKING GROUPS

ACTIVITY 2.0 INTRODUCTION TO THE SESSION 2

This session is aimed to look at advocacy in a systematic way and to identify the main steps of the advocacy process. The Cso's and grassroots groups experience shows that advocacy is rarely a linear process. Some of the most successful advocacy efforts have resulted from rapid responses to needs and/or opportunities emerged during their daily work and activism. The ability to face emergencies or to seize opportunities, however, does not replace the importance of a careful planning. Looking at advocacy in a systematic way helps to plan and implement effective advocacy campaigns.

TIMING: 10 MINUTES

ACTIVITY 2.1THE ADVOCACY CARDS

Step A. Participants are divided in 4 subgroups

Each group receives a written short description of an advocacy experience documented in the BABI research and a set of shuffled Advocacy cards (with the different steps of advocacy). Starting from the experience described in the exemplary case described on the paper they receive participants are invited to select and order the different cards and to hang up them on a poster imagining the correct sequence of the advocacy cycle.

TIMING: 30 MINUTES

Step B. Reporting in plenary

In plenary, each group is invited to show the poster with the Advocacy Cards and to explain for the reasons of the order chosen. An expert stimulates a debate on different selections and orders proposed.

TIMING: 30 MINUTES

The exemplary case of Tanquem el Cies (Spain) Detention centres and protection of human rights

BACKGROUND

There are two types of immigration detention facilities in Spain: Centros de Internamiento de Extranjeros (CIE), and Centros de Estancia Temporal de Inmigrantes (CETI). CETIs are primary points of access for entry into Spain where people can be detained indefinitely until their papers are processed, or deported if their case for migration is declined. CIEs, meanwhile, are where those who have already migrated to Spain are detained, legally for no more than 60 days. There are eight active CIEs in Spain, while there are only two CETIs: one in Melilla and one in Ceuta. Once someone is detained in a CIE, an investigation begins in order to identify them. If a detainee is identified, they are deported to their country of origin. If insufficient identification is found within 60 days, the detainee is released, but left in a legal limbo and not guaranteed the rights that apply to citizens or residents - neither can they be repatriated. Most of those who are subjected to this limbo state are unaccompanied minors, for whom it is often the most difficult to find substantial identification. Regulations on migration detention in Spain leave ample room for injustice. CIEs are essentially black boxes to the public. There is little information or documentation about what actually happens to people once they are detained in a CIE, which leaves huge opportunities for human rights abuses. Detainees have reported regular use of solitary confinement, limited or difficult communication with the outside world, and verbal and fisical abuse from guards.

DESCRIPTION OF THE ADVOCACY CASE

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 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 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.).

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=ErSfNOvDpoI).

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.

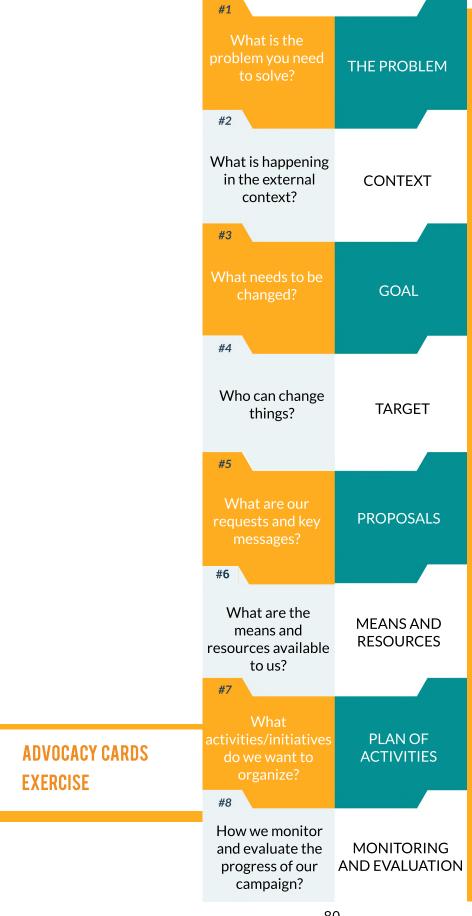
In 2017, the Barcelona City Council, as a result of the social pressure exerted, sent a task force to close off the CIE for reasons of security of the detainees. However, today, the Barcelona CIE is still open and functioning. In any case, the campaign is still active today and continues to organize advocacy and reporting actions at the state and local level.

Link to the website or social network page: http://www.tanguemelscie.cat/

HANDOUT 2.1: THE SET OF CARDS

The set of cards can be prepared by the training facilitator. Each card will represent a phase of the advocacy cycle. You can add the card "Monitoring and evaluation", that is not a step of the advocacy cycle, but transversal activities to stimulate the working groups discussion on transversal activities that need to be developed during the entire cycle. The following template can be used to produce the cards with coloured cardboard.





ACTIVITY 2.2 PRESENTATION OF AN EXPERT. THE ADVOCACY CYCLE

An advocacy expert is called to present different methodological approaches to the advocacy cycle. The presentation should underline that it does not exist a universal model of the Advocacy cycle and that the optimal order of the different stages of the advocacy cycle may change depending on the advocacy strategy chosen.

TIMING: 30 MINUTES

HANDOUT 2.2. HANDOUT ADVOCACY CYCLE. KEY POINTS

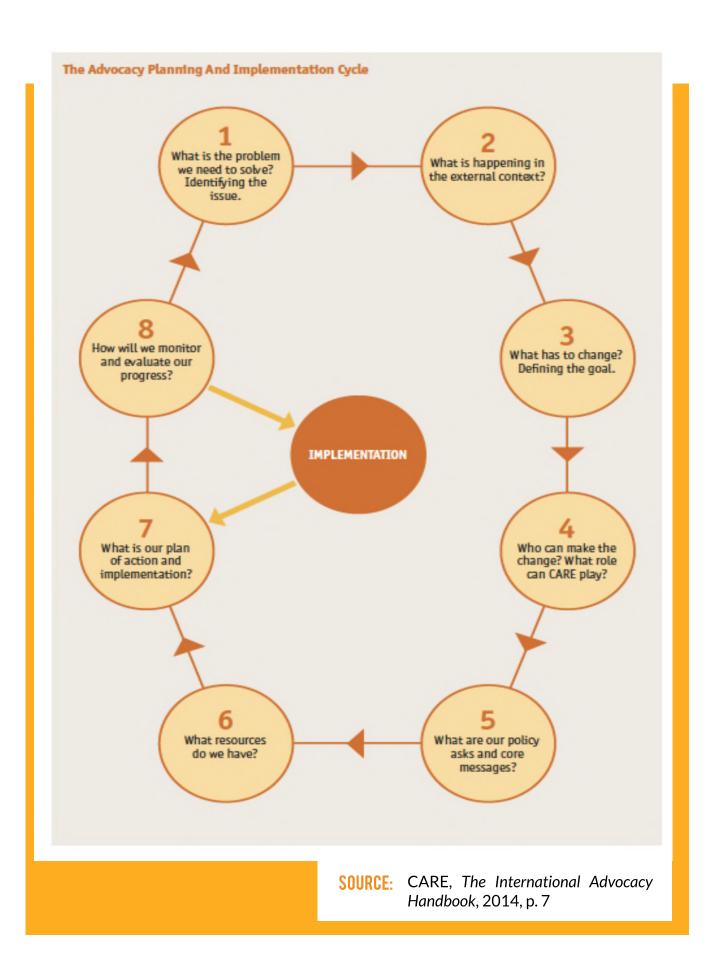
An accurate definition of the Advocacy Cycle allows for strategic planning of initiatives and early identification of any gaps or obstacles to their effective implementation. The analysis of the external context on the one hand and of the internal situation of the group/organization on the other can highlight strengths and weaknesses.

Some recurrent risks:

- Too much competitive environment can hinder networking and effective advocacy initiatives
- Too high dependence on institutions can limit CSOs independence in terms of social/political demands
- Institutional forums of consultation/cooperation can degenerate in forms of co-optation of the movements/csos leaders and to enlarge the distance with their social reference bases
- The chosen advocacy strategy does not consider the available human, professional and financial resources

The conception and development of an advocacy initiative involves several work phases that structure the so-called Advocacy Cycle. Here following a list proposed by Care International (2014).

- 1. Problem definition
- 2. Context analysis
- 3. Definition of the objective
- 4. Identification of actors who can bring about change
- 5. Formulation of policy questions and key messages
- 6. Analysis of available internal and external resources
- 7. Action plan and implementation
- 8. Monitoring and evaluation



ACTIVITY 2.3 SIMULATION. WHAT DO WE NEED TO DESIGN AN ADVOCACY ACTION

Step A. Presentation of an expert through an exemplary case

The advocacy expert introduces the activity with an example with the objective to stimulate a reflection of participants on the importance to check the necessary and available organizational, social, political, and technical resources dedicated to advocacy in their group/organization. It is important that the presentation starts from a concrete example allowing to identify basic elements that can be important to improve advocacy actions.

TIMING: 15 MINUTES

Step B. Play role in working groups

Participants are divided in 4 subgroups. Each group will identify an association/informal group or movement described on a paper distributed to each group. Group participants will be invited to identify some organizational elements, social/political goal and technical skills needed to promote the advocacy action and to list them on a poster.

TIMING: 40 MINUTES

Step C. Reporting in plenary and general discussion

All groups present their case to the other participants specifying the list of some fundamental elements identified to develop the experience described in an effective way and motivating the choice of their group. The expert will help to identify the differences and the similarities among the Posters proposed (10 minutes). At the end we could share a list of the possible elements to be considered.

TIMING: 30 MINUTES

HANDOUT 2.3.B THE EXEMPLARY CASE OF THE NATIONAL CAMPAIGN IOACCOLGO (ITALY)

loaccolgo (Welcome) is a National campaign promoted in Italy by about 42 national organizations in Italy in 2019. The campaign originated by the initiative of some organizations engaged in reception policies but involved many other national and local associations (among them Lunaria).

Objectives:

- Many meetings have been organized to define the main goal and the specific objectives of the campaign.
- Common goal: to promote reception, solidarity, and social inclusion of refugees in the Italian society.

Specific objectives:

- to lobbying for the abolition of two Decree-laws (Decree-law n.113/2018 and Decree-law N.53/2019). These laws had many bad consequences on the daily life of asylum seekers and refugees and on their rights, but also contributed to make the public debate more hostile toward migrants and foreign nationals.
- To promote reception initiatives from below.
- To enlarge the public opinion consensus to reception of refugees and solidarity.



ACTIVITIES:

- A flash mob in Piazza di Spagna that gained a big visibility on media (the Guardian)
- Street events in various cities aimed to show the symbol of the campaign (anti-cold blanket)
- A collection of signatures on an appeal addressed to the Italian Government with the aim to cancel the so- called "Salvini laws".
- A tweet-storm aimed to cancel an agreement signed by Italy and Lybia to counter "illegal migrations".
- Public meetings with members of the Parliament aimed to ask for the reform of the laws.
- A 10 points Manifesto aimed to change the European policies has been elaborated to criticize the European Pact on Migrations.
- Local committees of the campaign were created.
- A website and a FB social media page were created.

Results

Big visibility on national media Contribution to the reform of the Salvini laws

RESOURCES:

- Common vision (negative judgment of the government policy on asylum)
- Very deep knowledge of the concrete consequences of this policy on the daily life of refugees
- Common agreement on changes to be asked
- 42 organizations involved in the network (policy advisors, communication manager, activists)
 - A contribution of a private foundation
 - A fee by all members
 - A media agency involved
 - A coordination group
 - A media relation responsible
 - A social media responsible
- Many experts in the asylum laws
- A spokesman recognized by the coalition
- A system of relationship with the members of the Parliament

Weakness

Difficulty in maintaining cohesion after the government change

HANDOUT 2.3.B: A LIST OF POSSIBLE ELEMENTS TO BE CONSIDERED

Social/Political vision

- Long-term vision for societal transformation
- A clear mission statement
- Willingness to listen to new social demands
- Willingness to search, build and consolidate alliances
- Willingness to interact with the interlocutor

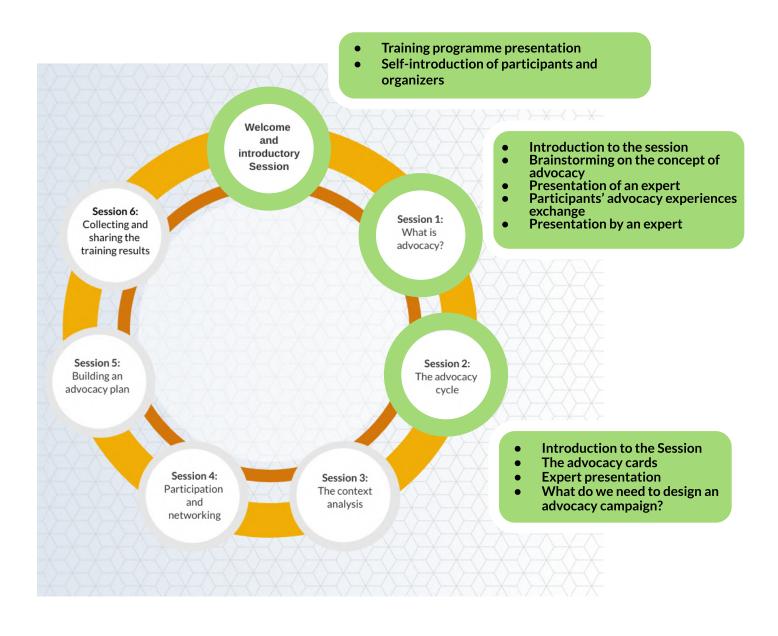
Organizational resources

- Organization
- Unity and cohesion
- Consciousness
- Credibility
- Alliances and networking
- Internal democracy
- Human and economic resources
- Willingness to struggle
- Understanding of the current situation
- Ability to mobilize large numbers of people
- Good leaders
- Ability to bring people together

Technical skills and abilities

- Capacity to monitor public policy
- Research capacity
- Capacity to formulate alternative proposals
- Capacity for negotiation and conflict management
- Information management capacity
- Methodological knowledge about advocacy
- Communication skills, tools and resources

ACTIVITY 2.4 VISUAL MAP OF THE WORK DONE DURING THE FIRST DAY



OPTIONAL ACTIVITY VISIT TO AN ANTIRACIST ORGANIZATION/MOVEMENT

DESCRIPTION

The optional activity aims to foster awareness on a concrete advocacy experience promoted on the ground by an association, movement, or informal anti-racist group. Where the experience does not have a stand-alone venue, the visit may be replaced by a meeting with activists at the training venue or an online meeting.

TIMING: 1.5 HOURS

HANDOUT 2.4 SOME SUGGESTIONS TO ORGANIZE AN EFFECTIVE VISIT TO A GRASSROOT ADVOCACY EXPERIENCE

It is very important to prepare this activity well. A facilitator or training organizer should agree in good time with the activists of the experience you are going to visit on the content of the meeting and how it will be conducted, explaining the training context in which it is set and highlighting the interest in bringing out the main elements that relate to the advocacy cycle. The visit can be divided into 3 main parts.

- A first part is devoted to self-presentation of the experience and exemplification of some (at least 1) advocacy initiatives/campaigns promoted in the area. The following elements should emerge: the social mission of the association, its social base, internal participatory processes an relationship with the territorial community, description of one or more advocacy actions with reference to the following elements: origin/definition of the problem, main objectives and targets, actors and partners involved, strategies chosen, activities carried out, resources available, results obtained.
- A second part is devoted to discussion based on questions and interventions from training participants.
- A third part provides an informal time for socialization and exchange of experiences.



DAY 2 SESSION 3

The context analysis

Learning objectives

Supporting a solid context analysis to describe the problem in a effective way

Working Methodologies

World café, expert presentation

Required Resources

- 1 FACILITATOR
- 1 TRAINING ORGANIZER
- 1 ROOM ABLE TO HOST 24 PARTICIPANTS AND 4 SMALL WORKING GROUPS
- ${f 1}$ flipchart to collect and share the results of discussion in Plenary
- 1 LARGE SCREEN FOR PROJECTING SLIDES
- The descriptions of 4 problematic case studies to be proposed in the world café
- THE THEMATIC EXPERT FOR ACTIVITY 3.1

ACTIVITY 3.0 INTRODUCTION TO THE SESSION 3

This session is dedicated to highlighting the importance of making a solid context analysis in order to define in detail the problem that needs to be resolved by an effective advocacy campaign and to achieve the attention of the interlocutors. The presentation of an expert shows the potentialities and limitations of data and indicators in relation to advocacy. A word café offers the opportunity to reflect on the different tools that can be used to describe the context/problem in an effective way while focusing on the distinction between quantitative and qualitative indicators, data, and information. A special focus is dedicated to the lack of data and indicators useful for monitoring discriminations, racism and the living conditions of migrants and refugees at local level. This activity should show the importance of directly collecting information on the ground and from the people concerned.

TIMING: 10 MINUTES

ACTIVITY 3.1

PRESENTATION OF AN EXPERT. POTENTIALITIES AND LIMITATIONS OF INDICATORS AS A USEFUL TOOL FOR ADVOCACY ACTIONS

Description of the activity

It starts with a short presentation by an expert on some international data/indicators that can be used to analyse the living conditions of migrants, asylum seekers, refugees, and racialized people (30 minutes). The presentation is followed by questions and comments of the participants during a plenary session.

TIMING: 30 MINUTES

HANDOUT 3.1 AINDICATORS & ADVOCACY

The context

EU Member States still face challenges in their efforts to ensure that migrants and refugees are included and participate in society. Intolerance, xenophobia, and racism, hate crime and discrimination against migrants and refugees raise concerns in many Member States. At the same time Member States set limits, strict border policies, restrictions on people living in EU countries.

- Who belongs to the target group of integration policies?
- What exactly is meant by the term "integration"?
- Why do we need indicators?
- What is the role of indicators?

Indicators. A definition

Indicators are an important tool for evaluating social development and for assessing the impact of certain policies. They are variegated measurements that regulate the process of integration at the national level. They derive from European and international normative standards used to assess the degree of "integration". Indicators alone do not mean much since integration is a multidimensional process, and some aspects are more difficult to measure than others.

The main dimensions monitored thanks to the use of indicators are:

- Immigrant skills and labor market integration.
- Living conditions.
- Civic engagement and social integration.
- Gender differences in immigrant integration.
- Integration of young people with a migrant background.
- Legal framework, policy design and implementation.

Some institutional documents define the main priorities of public policies at EU and national level:

- the European Strategy on Integration for Migrants, refugees, and asylum seekers;
- the National Strategies on Integration for migrants;
- the National Strategy on Integration for asylum seekers and refugees.

Indicators and advocacy

A tool to learn about the context of an advocacy strategy

Advocacy is always a complex matter. Linear solutions usually do not work. Despite this, we can still observe some common grounds. Draw a line between European, national and local indicators if possible. It is important to combine indicators with real human experiences.

Advocacy for political empowerment: how to choose the indicators

There are no indicators that "measure" political empowerment, since this concept depends on many related variables and their importance depend on the socio-political context of refugee and migrant populations.

Contextual: demographic data, income, culture of origin, learning about the conflictual past of the refugees and migrants.

Migrant: Access to housing, access to basic public services (health care, education, etc.), employment

Legal: Legal status/access to citizenship will determine the access to the welfare state services and political rights

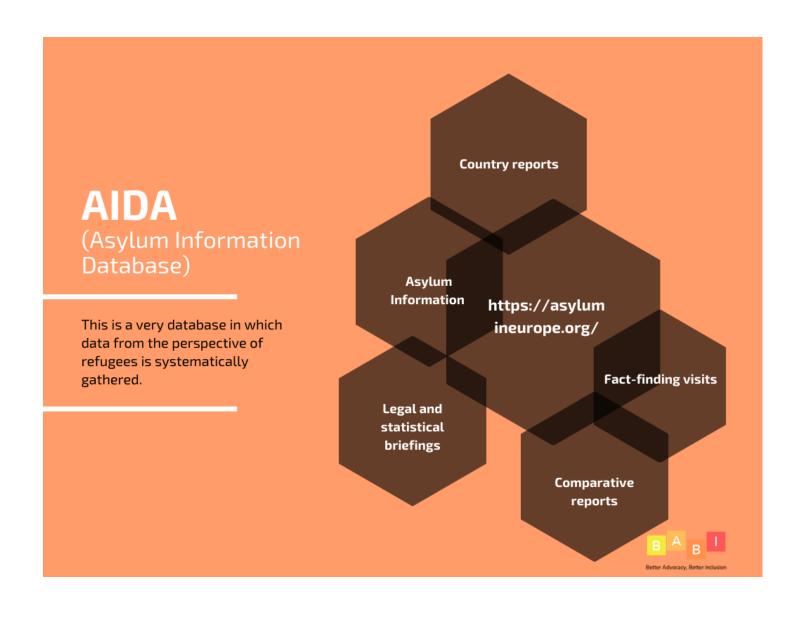
Social: The capacity to join civil society organizations, to have access to solidarity networks and to participate in existing political struggles.

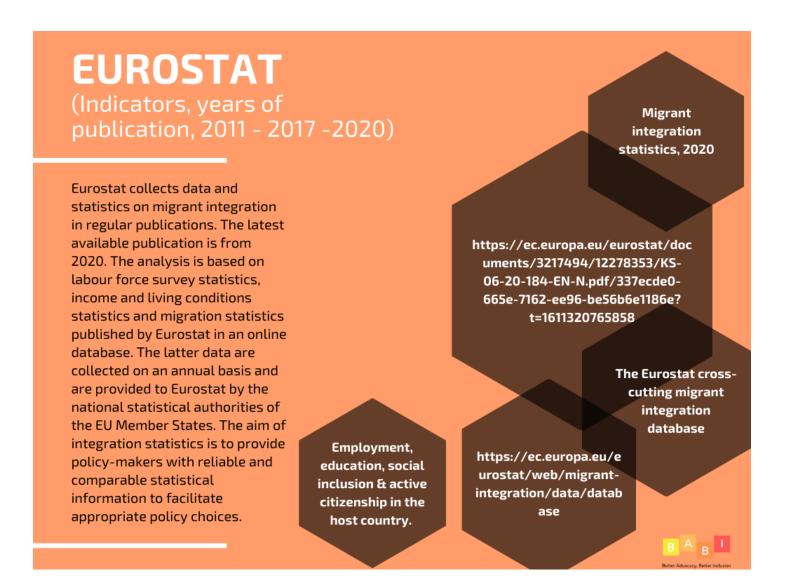
Advocacy promotes equality, social justice, social inclusion, and human rights.

The first way to contribute to the design of appropriate indicators is to participate in mainstream processes.

Some basic dimensions to be monitored to measure the access to welfare

- Welfare benefits.
- Risk of poverty and social exclusion.
- The national welfare system and how it includes non-EU citizens.
- Social benefits and allowances for non-EU citizens.
- The conditions during the Covid-19 pandemic.
- Administrative barriers for non EU citizens in receiving social services.

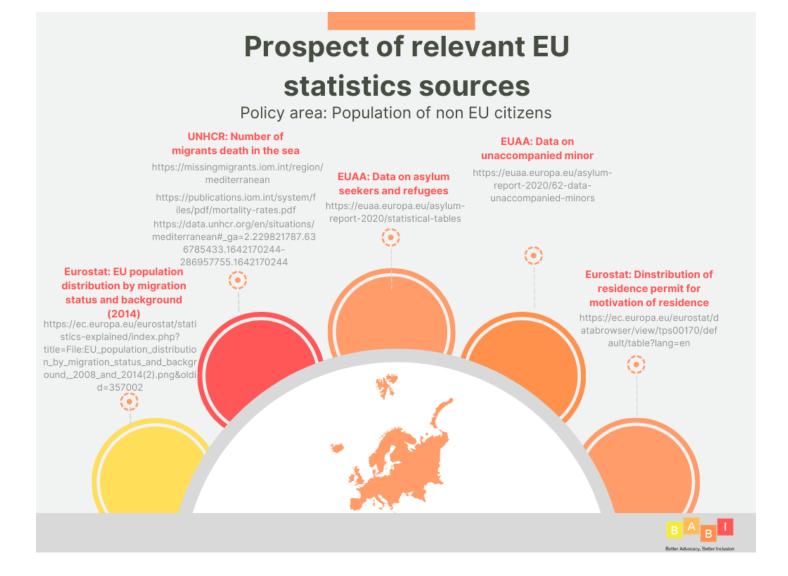


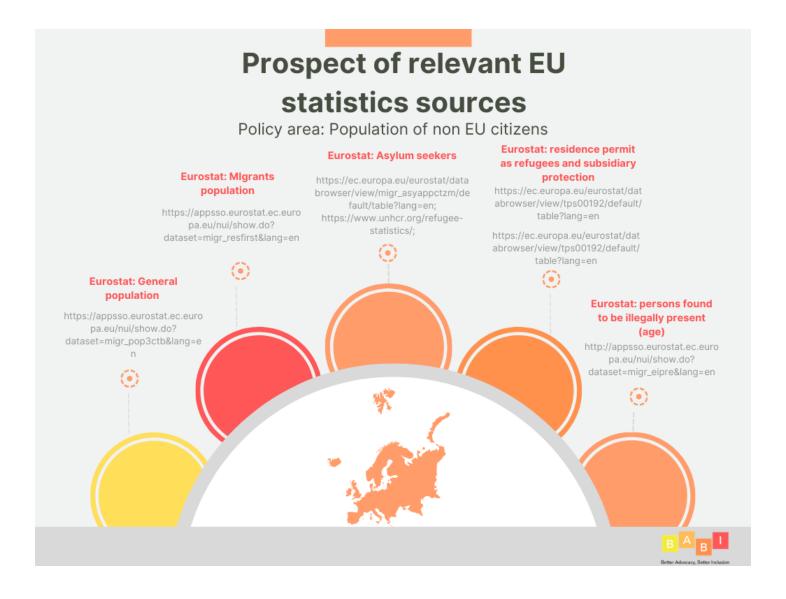


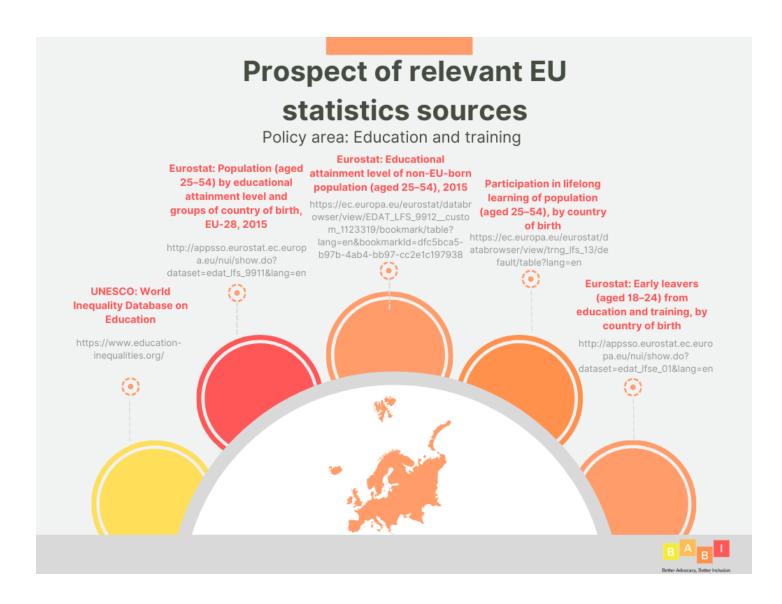
MIPEX (Migrant Integration Policy Years of Index) publication: 2004, 2007, 2011, 2015, 2020 The Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX) is a synthetic index that measures the progress and outcomes of policies adopted to "integrate" migrants in various countries around the world (now 56), including all EU Member https://www. States, with the aim of assessing mipex.eu/ and comparing what The integration policy areas monitored governments are doing to were initially five: 1. Labour Market promote the "integration" of Inclusion (Labour Market Mobility) 2. migrants. Due to the relevance Long Term Residence (Permanent and rigour of its indicators, MIPEX residence) 4. Naturalization (access to is recognised as a common nationality) 5. Anti-Discrimination. To reference guide across Europe these the following were later added: 6. and is now in its fifth edition. Education, 7. Health and 8. Political MIPEX is a project led by the Participation. Migration Policy Group (MPG) and the Barcelona Centre for International Affairs (CIDOB).

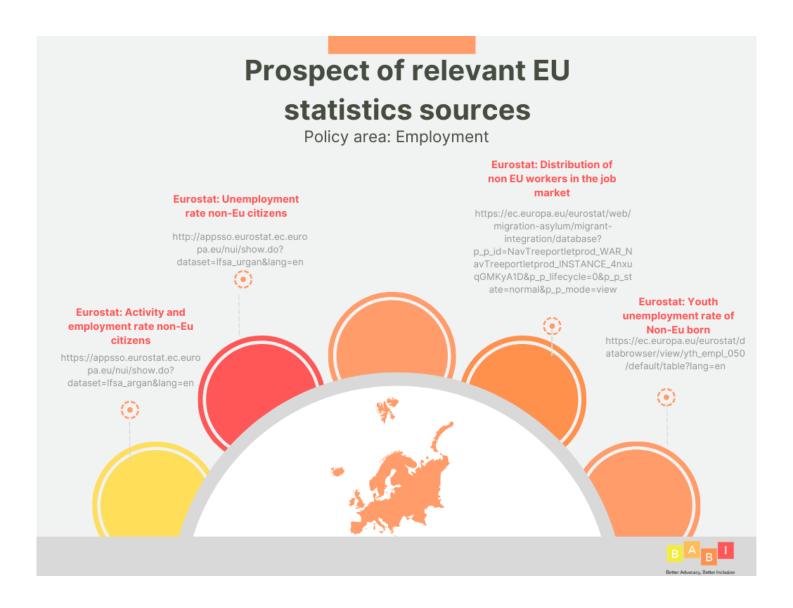


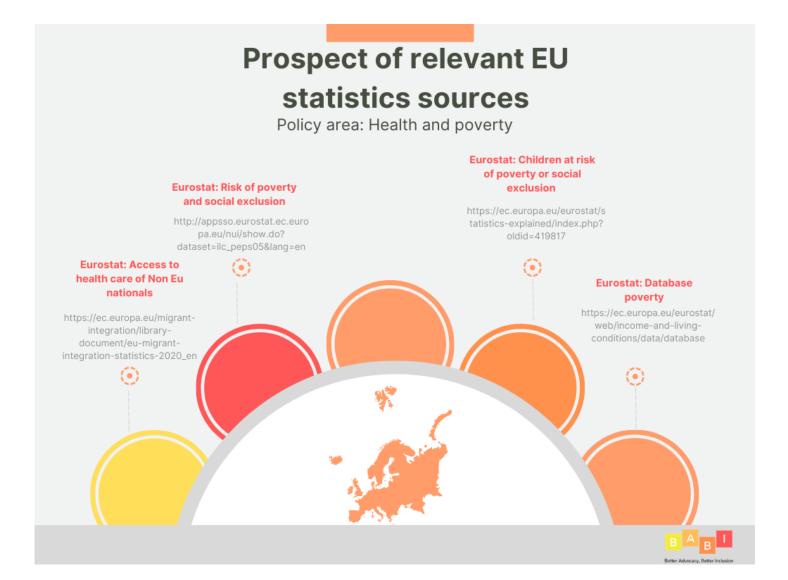






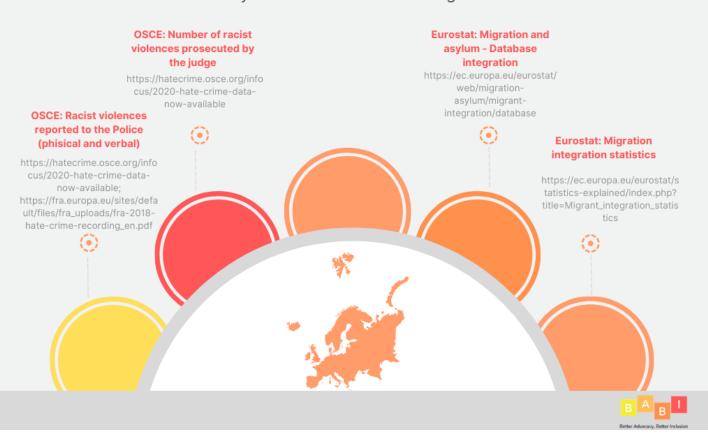






Prospect of relevant EU statistics sources

Policy area: Discrimination - Integration







ACTIVITY 3.2 WORLD CAFE. THE DEFINITION OF THE PROBLEM

Step A. A facilitator introduces the activity (10 minutes)

Step B. Participants are divided in tables. Each table identifies a problematic situation related to one of the following topics:

- 1. Antidiscrimination and institutional racism,
- 2. Welfare,
- 3. Employment,
- 4. Education,
- 5. Migration policies.

Participants move individually from a table to another table every 25 minutes. In each table they are invited to exchange their opinions about the core problem and the means (data and other sources) that could be used to describe it. The main issue and sources are written on a big poster on the table.

(Full table tour: 100 minutes)

Step C. In plenary, the posters filled in are presented by a member of each table.

(60 minutes)

A plenary discussion supported by an expert follows the reports of the working groups.

TIMING: 170 MINUTES

The exemplary case of Medu (Italy) Training Topic: Context analysis Topic Area: Welfare/Health Access

BACKGROUND

Since 2014, the mobile clinic team of the humanitarian organization MEDU (Doctors for Human Rights) has carried out 4,629 medical examinations and provided socio-legal and health care to about 3,625 people. The projects multidisciplinary team operates by means of a mobile outpatient clinic (i.e., an RV adapted as an outpatient clinic with basic medicines and medical equipment), which enables it to reach informal settlements, where foreign workers live during the various stages of harvesting, to provide them with initial health care and socio-legal guidance. The Terragiusta project aims to promote access to care and socio-legal rights for foreign workers employed in agriculture under exploitative conditions in some of the most critical areas of southern Italy.

ADVOCACY CASE DESCRIPTION

Every year, the mobile clinic reaches several regions in southern Italy, where foreign agricultural workers work in exploitative conditions and live in informal settlements in extremely poor sanitary conditions. The mobile clinic provides medical care and socio-legal and health guidance, as well as information on labor rights. During the activities, data are collected on the living and working conditions of the laborers and also some direct testimonies. The data and analyses converge in an annual report published at the end of each harvest season. In addition, individual critical issues identified are the subject of meetings with relevant decision makers at the local and national levels. This annual campaign has identified as complex and interrelated causes of exploitative conditions:

- the inequitable mechanisms of the agribusiness chain (at the level of institutional advocacy, MEDU has asked for and obtained membership in the national Table on Anti-Caporalato (illegal recruitment):
- the legal precariousness of migrants (MEDU introduced a legal worker in the team and in the reports also analyzes the legal conditions of laborers, making specific proposals);
- widespread illegality (at the policy level, MEDU makes a public denunciation through reports and analysis documents).

The reports always contain specific proposals addressed to individual institutions to overcome the problems highlighted (in this case, they involve government, region, ASP, prefecture, police, municipalities). Finally, MEDU constantly participates in institutional coordination and advocacy tables of civil society organizations (e.g., Asylum Table, Immigration and Health Table). What gives strength to their action is their joint work with other organizations and local authorities.

Link to website or social media page

https://mediciperidirittiumani.org/terragiusta-nel-sud-ditalia/

Task of the working group

Considering the experience described above, discuss which will be the main mechanisms to conduct a) Social context analysis, b) Political and legal context analysis, 3) Target analysis and a 4) Stakeholder analysis. In plenary, each group is invited to explain the order chosen and why.

The exemplary case of Housing squats in Athens (Greece) Training Topic: Context analysis

Topic Area: Housing

Case: Squats in Athens and Thessaloniki

BACKGROUND

In October 2014, the increase in refugee flows to Greece started to become visible. During the same period, the number of people crossing the border via the "Balkan route" from the border area of Idomeni-Kilkis increased. People remained for a time hidden in the forests around the river Axios, on the border between Greece and North Macedonia. At the same time, solidarity groups from the local community began to seek help to be able to support people who were victims of violence. Support was requested from solidarity groups from the wider region to cover basic needs such as food, medical assistance and so on. The situation was made public by August 2015 when the number of people arriving in the area was now counted in the thousands. At that time, the short-stay camp was also created in the border area of the settlement of Idomeni in Kilkis. A few months later, restrictions based on the nationalities of people who could cross the border started to be imposed. This treaty increased the need for housing in the cities.

ADVOCACY CASE DESCRIPTION

The accommodation places provided by the state were few and most of them were for people of certain nationalities. Groups in solidarity began to mobilize all their networks for short-term accommodation to give shelter to people with health problems mostly. But this was not enough, the needs were enormous and the response given by people in solidarity was to occupy together with the refugees old buildings to meet the emerging needs. The squats in Athens and Thessaloniki for years covered the great needs of the refugees through participatory processes where they co-determined their management and daily life. The squats tried to be open to the community. They continued to demand, throughout their existence, among other things, the right to social housing, the reduction of discrimination and free movement for all.

Link to website or social media page

Greece: Refugee-Squats in Athens

Greece: The self-organized refugee squat Orfanotrofio in Thessaloniki

Task of the working group

Given the experience described above, discuss which will be the main mechanisms to conduct a) Social context analysis, b) Political and legal context analysis, 3) Target analysis and a 4) Stakeholder analysis. In plenary, each group is invited to explain the order chosen and why.

The exemplary case of "Fruita amb Justicia Social" (Spain) Training topic: Advocacy Cycle Thematic area: Labour Rights

BACKGROUND

The plain of Lleida (in Catalan, Plana de Lleida), which includes the main counties (comarcas) within the province of Lleida, is the leading region of Catalonia in harvesting fruits. 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 is because many agribusiness companies do not comply with ordinances (e.g. Order ISM/1485/2021, which regulates the collective management of contracts at their origin) and the law of agricultural agreements, benefiting from immigration legislation, which leaves many immigrants in a state of invisibility and allows their exploitation in conditions of semi-slavery.

ADVOCACY CASE DESCRIPTION

The "Fruita amb Justicia Social" was a campaign 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, groups from the agrarian and environmental sphere, and some trade unions. The campaign has, among other objectives, the aim of influencing and exerting pressure:

- on the administrations so that they can house in a dignified manner all seasonal workers who travel to the city of Lleida during the fruit collection season;
- on the government sub-delegation so that it initiates work and residence authorization procedures 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;
- on the government branches in charge in order to increase the labor inspections regime of the region's agricultural establishments, and to 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 agribusinesses that do not respect the rights of seasonal workers and the natural environment.

Since its activation, activists from different spaces of political and social struggles in the Lleida territory (including racialized people and workers affected) have lobbied the Lleida City Council and the other competent administrations as a means of guaranteeing 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 the fact that the government wanted to debate the issue and acknowledged that it was a central issue in the local political agenda. It also appreciated that for the first time the local government approached the issue as a "labor" issue, and not as a "homelessness" problem. However, the platform deeply criticized the municipality, considering its motion on the matter as a mere declaration of intent without any 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 (for example in 2022 the Paeria government in the Pardinyes district of Lleida opened a multi-purpose community facility for the temporary and homeless workers), although these initiatives are still far from the standards and structural reforms advocated by the campaign.

Link to website or social media page

https://fruitaambjusticia.wordpress.com/

Task of the working group

Given the experience described above, discuss which will be the main mechanisms to conduct: a) Social context analysis, b) Political and legal context analysis, 3) Target analysis and a 4) Stakeholder analysis. In plenary, each group is invited to explain the order chosen and why.



DAY 2 SESSION 4

Participation and Networking

Learning objectives

to improve networking and participation

Working Methodologies

Simulation, plenary, video

Required Resources

- 1 FACILITATOR
- $1\,\text{ROOM}$ able to host $24\,\text{Participants}$ and $4\,\text{Small}$ working groups
- $oldsymbol{1}$ flipchart to collect and share the results of discussion in plenary
- 1 LARGE SCREEN FOR PROJECTING SLIDES
- The descriptions of 4 problematic case studies to be proposed in the world café
- THE THEMATIC EXPERT FOR ACTIVITY 4.1
- The invitation addressed to working groups in Activity 4.2

ACTIVITY 4.0 INTRODUCTION TO THE SESSION 4

This session is aimed at highlighting the importance of networking in advocacy campaigns. The presentation of an expert focuses on the main elements that need to be considered as a way of building and managing a network in a successful manner and on the main risks/obstacles to be avoided. The simulation of a concrete experience is proposed to accentuate the importance of mediating different viewpoints and potential conflicts in order to define common objectives and to work collectively.

TIMING: 10 MINUTES

ACTIVITY 4.1 PRESENTATION OF AN EXPERT. POLICY ADVOCACY AND NETWORKING

Plenary. The presentation by an expert gives some basic information about the main elements to be considered when building and managing a network (30 minutes).

This is followed by questions and comments from the participants.

TIMING: 60 MINUTES

HANDOUT 4.1 POLICY ADVOCACY NETWORKING

Advocacy Networks are groups of organizations and individuals working together to achieve change of policies, change of practices, change of attitudes and public opinion. Different networks are built according to the different objectives and advocacy strategies envisioned to accomplish such objectives. The planning of a target orientated network has to address some core issues as a basis for initiating this network:

- Overall and specific objective/s
- Members
- Activities
- Results
- Context analysis and Indicators

Steps for setting a network

- 1- Analyse the problems and define the objectives agreed by members of the network
- 2- Decide on the coordinator and the different roles of the partners
- 3- Determine the means to be used and the measures or actions to be taken
- 4- Plan the working model and set rules

Pre-conditions for building a network

- Understand that a network is a means and not an end in itself
- Understand that networks are temporary creations
- Understand that networks are not built over-night
- Networks need to rely on their own resources
- Networks need diversity of membership
- Networks need flexible management and an ability to adapt over time to changing circumstances

Basic rules for good planning

Building a network requires a *democratic attitude*, both at the level of knowledge of the issues at stake and an appropriate expertise. Networks should be planned in a *participatory manner* and not be dictated by the top. Planning should not only concentrate on the implementation of activities, but also on the development of the network itself.

Role and contributions of partners and actors involved in the network

The added value of the network to the partner organisations as well as the complementarity of the competences of each partner are equally important and need to be identified in order to avoid conflict of interest between the network's purpose and that of its members.

Good governance of a network

Setting rules and defining the mode of operation of a network is crucial for its success. The definition of rules should be subject to a broad consultation among the partners.

General guidelines for good governance in networking

- Inform yourself constantly about the needs and expectations of your target group
- Respect the partners' culture and his way of working
- Be attentive and listen to each other
- Create a good and trustful atmosphere
- Make sure that decisions are taken in a democratic manner, everybody should participate
- Communicate regularly with the partners and always convey the aims and the results
- Action has to reflect the added value of the partnership
- Constantly check if the commonly defined objectives are still valid and if all the partners still support them.

Common obstacles and weaknesses in networking

The most common obstacles and reasons for a network's failure:

- Social mismatch between partners and actors
- Social mismatch between problem analysis and network definition
- Lack of resources, mostly in terms of time
- Lack of know-how on the process and functioning of networks
- Lack of common and clear goals
- Lack of confidence regarding the network's influence and power as well as the very feasibility of the network itself.

One example: "PasuCat Plataforma" for a universal healthcare attention in Catalonia

Objective: universal access to healthcare in Catalonia region.

Advocacy strategies: political advocacy, documentation of violation of rights in access to healthcare, social sensitization and mobilization.

Participants: more than 15 entities and many individual personalities; with a high diversity of participants (doctors, NGOs, Civil Society Organizations, trades unions, etc.).

Competence of SOS: Taking and documenting cases based on discrimination regarding access to healthcare, provide and disseminate information to victims.

Attainments: change in regional Catalan law and appliance of local competences over national ones to ensure universal access to healthcare in Catalonia, meetings with regional authorities.

Difficulties: redefining new objectives once the autonomic law for universal healthcare was applied, sustaining activities overtime, internal disagreements to set new objectives of the network.

ACTIVITY 4.2 WORKING FOR A COMMON GOAL. SIMULATION OF AN EXEMPLARY CASE

Step A. The facilitator introduces the activity (10 minutes).

Step B. Participants are divided into 4 subgroups. Each group represents an NGO or an informal group. All working groups receive an invitation (a written invitation will be distributed) from an institution to participate in a consultation aimed to improve a "diversity" approach in public policies. Each group is invited to identify and write down on a poster the main problems and some possible proposals to improve the quality of public policies. Participants should also discuss possible organizational and participatory models of the network during the decision-making processes (30 minutes).

Step C. Reporting in plenary and general discussion. In plenary the selection made by the groups is reported. Similar proposals are removed to reduce the lists. If the two lists (problems and proposals) contain more than 10 criticalities and proposals, the whole group is invited to agree on the final selection. (30 minutes).

TIMING: 70 MINUTES

HANDOUT 4.2

AN EXEMPLARY "INVITATION": SIMULATION. NETWORKING FOR A COMMON GOAL TRAINING TOPIC: NETWORKING THEMATIC AREA: ONLINE HATE SPEECH

THE PROBLEM

Hate speech constitutes denigration of the reputation of a social group, stereotyped by some particular national, racial or religious characteristics, accompanied by incitement to hostility, violence and discrimination against that group. Hate speech contributes to a general climate of intolerance which in turn makes attacks more probable against those given groups. Hate speech online or "Cyber hate" is defined as "any use of electronic communications technology to spread anti-Semitic, racist, bigoted, extremist or terrorist messages or information".

International- and EU-institutions are paying increasing attention to the phenomenon of online hate speech and acknowledge this as a growing problematic across and beyond Europe. However, there is a clear gap between this growing awareness among authorities and institutions, and the actual efforts devoted at EU and national level to gathering empirical data on online hate speech and for the adoption of legislation and policies by national law-makers and governments.

A strategic approach to the problem would ask for a transversal, coordinated and multidimensional commitment capable of involving all the relevant actors in a common goal: migrants, minorities, racialized people and their representative organizations, anti-racist organizations, media and social media companies, national and local institutions, law enforcement and the judiciary, police and security forces, education, culture, research, entertainment, cinema and sport. The transversality and coordination of law enforcement strategies against racist discourses are in fact indispensable conditions for guaranteeing their effectiveness and impact, as well as the leading role of migrants, refugees, Roma and religious minorities in their definition and implementation.

TASK OF THE WORKING GROUP

Imagine that you and the other members of the group are a network of civil society organizations and informal groups: each member represents a different organization. You receive an invitation by the National Equality Body to a consultation meeting aimed to identify the priorities to be faced to strengthening the monitoring of online hate speech and the correct application of law. You are invited to discuss together in the group to define some main problems (max 10) to be faced and some possible actions (max 10) to be improved. Write the two lists on a poster to report them in a plenary. Also discuss possible organizational and participatory models of the network for decision-making processes and report them in the plenary.

ACTIVITY 4.3 STRUCTURAL RACISM AND PARTICIPATION. PRESENTATION OF TWO ANTIRACIST ACTIVISTS

The activity is aimed at developing a plenary debate about the controversial topic of participation and leadership in the antiracist world considering the context of structural racism and the conflictual relationship between the historical antiracist associations and the entities/movements created by racialized (and often black) people. The concepts of structural, institutional, and systemic racism are deepened by the contributions of two activists (30 minutes). The presentations are followed by questions and comments from participants.

Step A. Presentations

Step B. Discussion in plenary

TIMING: 60 MINUTES



HANDOUT 4.3A. THE CHALLENGE: NGOS. SOCIAL MOVEMENTS. AND PARTICIPATION

Regardless of the strategies chosen, **democracy** and **participation** are two reference principles that should guide advocacy and policy advocacy initiatives promoted by organizations and social movements that move in a horizon of greater social justice. In self-organized grassroots realities or in smaller organizations it is easier to practice participation.

To the contrary, in larger and more complex organizations the construction of participatory pathways requires greater care, particularly when the objective is to undertake initiatives and campaigns to combat social inequalities, discrimination and racism. The crux of the matter concerns the level and forms of involvement of groups of people directly affected by inequality and discrimination, regardless of whether they aim for social change, cultural change, or public policy change. While the factors that hinder the participation of those directly affected in advocacy initiatives are well investigated, the study of factors that can contribute to fostering participation has not been so in-depth.

Among the factors that hinder participation are: **subjective obstacles** (material problems related to daily survival, lack of time, level of education or civic experience); organizational obstacles (lack of personnel or activists dedicated to fostering internal cohesion, concentrating time and resources on service delivery rather than on political and social participation, acting in a competitive environment, maintaining a "user" oriented relationship rather than direct involvement in the life of the group/organization); **obstacles of institutional origin** (lack of recognition of intermediate actors, preference for more structured organizations, selective systems of accreditation and consultation, political positioning that legitimizes inequalities).

The forms and levels of participation experimented are multiple and may concern only the origin of the advocacy process, go through it entirely or, again, be completely absent. The social needs or claims to rights expressed directly by the people who turn to the services offered by an organization inspire many advocacy actions, but do not necessarily imply direct participation in the planning and development of the social and political initiatives promoted by the subjects to whom they go to. Partial forms of participation are represented by the involvement of excluded/discriminated/racialized people in information campaigns in the media (e.g., through the release of interviews or the practice of storytelling), in public events and mobilizations or in meetings organized with institutions.

The creation of internal discussion groups, the organization of seminars, the opening of spaces for socialization, and the use of participatory social surveys, useful for an in-depth analysis of the external social context and emerging social needs, are some of the tools tested to facilitate more inclusive participatory processes. The demands that seem to emerge with increasing pressure from discriminated and racialized people are: having autonomous spaces of political expression, greater media visibility and a direct relationship with institutions.

HANDOUT 4.3.B INSTITUTIONAL AND STRUCTURAL RACISM

Source: Lunaria, Sos Racisme, Antigone, Sos Malta (edited by), "Better advocacy for Better Inclusion. Acting against discrimination, for equality and citizenship rights, pp. 23-25, available here:

https://www.cronachediordinariorazzismo.org/wp-content/uploads/Better-Advocacy-for-Better-InclusionENG def.pdf

The distinction between citizens and non-citizens, based on a concept of citizenship centred on nationality and place of birth, runs through the history of liberal democracies. Thanks to this distinction, liberal-democratic nation-states have "legally" deprived entire social groups of fundamental rights within an apparently solid democratic order¹.

The distinction between citizens and non-citizens, between nationals and non-nationals, can be considered as the "mother of discrimination" that permeates not only national legislation on immigration and asylum, but also the norms that regulate the ownership of and the concrete access to certain fundamental civil, social, and political rights. The global economic-financial crisis that began in 2008, together with the subsequent austerity policies, have contributed to deepening the gap that separates EU citizens from non-EU citizens in EU member states.

European and national institutions have so far tended to remove the existing relationship between the models of governance of migration and asylum policies and the spread of forms of discrimination and racism that particularly affect migrants, asylum seekers, refugees, Roma, Afro-descendants, and religious minorities. However, this relationship has become increasingly evident in recent years, when in order to face what have been constantly defined as humanitarian, migrant and refugee "crises", political choices solely inspired by the concept of "emergency" have been adopted. Far from ensuring good "governance" of migration, these decisions have, on the contrary, contributed to the proliferation of forms of discrimination, xenophobia, and racism at social, political, and institutional level.

The humanitarian crisis of 2015, the numerous human rights violations affecting hundreds of refugees along the Balkan Route in 2019 and in 2020, the current crisis on the border between Poland and Belarus, the migrants who lost their lives in the English Channel, and the numerous deaths that continue to stain the Mediterranean highlight the gap between the *formal protection* of fundamental human rights, including the right to seek asylum, enshrined in EU law, and the *effective guarantee* of those rights. Moreover, they make more and more explicit the current inextricable link between immigration, migration policies and the consolidation of structural and institutional forms of xenophobia and racism. So we could say that European institutions today not only exclude "migrants from a particular set of rights but from the very right to have rights" (Urbán 2019, 116).²

 $^{^{1}}$ Arendt H., 1953, "The Decline of the Nation State and the End of Human Rights". In *The Origins of Totalitarianism*.

Urbán M., 2019, La Emergencia de Vox. Apuntes para combatir la extrema derecha española. Barcelona, Sylone/Viento Sur.

The European Commission itself, in the European Union anti-racism action plan 2020-2025, has adopted the concept of structural racism by identifying racist discrimination, ideas and behaviours not only with acts attributable to individuals, but also with the acts and manifestations of a public, institutional, social, and cultural system that contributes in various forms to consolidate and reiterate prejudices, stereotypes, inequalities and discrimination³.

The evaluation of the Community legal framework on discrimination and racism is one of the objectives identified in the Plan, which includes several measures to monitor the application by Member States of Directive 43/2000, which implements the principle of equal treatment between persons irrespective of "racial and ethnic origin", prohibiting discrimination in the areas of employment, working conditions, education and social protection, and of the Framework Decision on Combating Racism and Xenophobia of the Council of 28 November 2008, aimed at sanctioning the manifestations of racism and xenophobia.

The recognition of the structural and systemic character of xenophobia and racism is an indispensable step when attempting to identify the deep roots of discrimination and multiple violations of rights that affect migrants, asylum seekers, refugees, young "children of immigration", religious minorities or those of foreign origin. Special attention should be paid to countering forms of institutional racism defined as the set of acts, behaviours, abuses, harassment, discrimination and violence carried out by persons or entities that play an institutional role at the political or administrative level on the basis of nationality or national or ethnic origin, religious beliefs and practices, somatic features, cultural practices and legal status⁴.

The manifestations of institutional racism can include the norms that may be contained in immigration laws, deportations, administrative detention, etc. and the administrative practices (e.g., unlawful refoulements that prevent the effective exercise of the right to asylum or procedures that hinder access to social rights) that have the purpose or effect of destroying or undermining the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on equal terms, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social and cultural fields and in any other area of public life and/or of violating the dignity of the person, creating an intimidating, hostile, degrading, humiliating and offensive climate. These norms, ideas and practices are today at the center of the public discourse on migration. They contribute to the production and reproduction of racism, and hinder the advocacy action of anti-racist movements.

The Plan is available here: http://bitly.ws/usQa

Rivera A., 2007, "Razzismo", in UTET, Diritti umani. Cultura dei diritti e dignità della persona nell'epoca della globalizzazione, 6 voll.; Naletto G. (edited by), 2009, Rapporto sul razzismo in Italia (Report on racism in Italy), Manifestolibri; Lunaria, Antigone, Sos Racisme, Adice, Kisa (edited by), 2019, WORDS ARE STONES. Hate Speech Analysis in Public Discourse in Six European Countries; Lunaria (edited by), 2020, Chronicle of Ordinary Racism. Fifth white book on racism in Italy; Chima A., 2021, Gli italiani bianchi sono capaci di discutere di razzismo?, 29 January, https://www.vice.com/it/article/y3gebx/italiani-bianchi-capaci-di-discutere-di-razzismo.

Forms of structural racism affect more broadly the socio-economic sphere, the world of information and culture, and society as a whole. In fact, systemic racism does not only have an institutional origin. It is structurally rooted in the economic and social system, thanks to the maintenance of those relations of inequality on which the neoliberal capitalist development model is based. Institutional racism and structural racism overlap, intertwine and feed off each other, and it is not always possible to establish with certainty an order of hierarchy between the role that institutions, economic powers, the media and social behaviour play in the production and reproduction of different forms of discrimination and racism.

Contemporary forms of racism go far beyond biological racism and are constantly changing targets, as, for example, the recent history of racism in Italy shows very clearly. In the 1980s discrimination and racism mainly targeted Maghrebi immigrants, in the 1990s Albanians, in the early years of the millennium Romanians before Romania joined the European Union in 2007. In the last decade, prejudice, stigma, and criminalization have generally involved migrants and asylum seekers arriving in Italy by sea, especially (but not only) from the African continent.

The structural and systemic character of racism therefore makes it essential to develop a very complex, plural, multidimensional and systemic work to prevent and counter it, capable of crossing all dimensions of public life (political, institutional, media, social, cultural, sports, etc.) and to engage, in the most coordinated way possible, all the actors involved: first and foremost the racialized minorities, directly affected by discriminations, but also the members of the majority community or those that perceive themselves as such. The latter have in fact a position of greater power and have direct political, social, economic, and cultural responsibility in the production and reproduction of xenophobia and racism.

The exemplary case of the Italiani Senza Cittadinanza (Italians Without Citizenship) movement (Italy)

PRESENTATION OF THE MOVEMENT

Italiani Senza Cittadinanza (Italians Without Citizenship) is an informal grassroots movement born spontaneously in 2016 on the initiative of a group of young twenty-something foreigners and of foreign origin residing in various Italian cities with a very precise goal: to urge the Senate to definitively approve the reform of Law 91/92 on citizenship¹, already approved in the Chamber on October 13, 2015. Thanks to an intense online and offline mobilization activity, the movement has grown over the years structuring a very participatory collective political path, based on the direct activation of young people of foreign origin born or raised in Italy in the conception and development of the initiatives promoted to obtain the approval of the reform, but also to support young Italians without citizenship in the administrative practices required to apply for Italian citizenship.

PRIORITY SOCIAL NEEDS

The social need that animates the movement is to guarantee the rights of citizenship for thousands of young foreigners born or raised in Italy, who are an integral part of the Italian society to all intents and purposes, but have been excluded for many years from the possibility of applying for Italian citizenship. More precisely, the reform of the legislation requested by the movement aims to facilitate the acquisition of citizenship by foreign minors who were not born, but grew up in Italy; to anticipate the acquisition of citizenship for foreign minors born in Italy; to reduce the minimum period of residence (10 years) required for adults to submit the application; to shorten the time required to complete the procedure and to abolish the rule that provides the possibility to revoke the citizenship obtained by residence.

In the last two years, the need to link the battle over citizenship more closely to other campaigns has become more pressing: the one for the closure of the Holding Facilities for Repatriation (Centri di Permanenza per Rimpatrio) and the one against institutional racism and various forms of intersectional discrimination.

⁵ Children of foreign citizens born in Italy have the right to acquire Italian citizenship by submitting a simple declaration of intent to the Office of Civil Status of their municipality of residence within one year of reaching the age of 18 if they can prove that they were born in Italy and have resided legally and continuously in Italy from birth to the age of 18. Children of foreign parents who were not born but grew up in Italy are entitled to apply for Italian citizenship under the same conditions as foreign adults, i.e., demonstrating legal residence in Italy for at least 10 years and minimum income requirements.

THE POLITICAL AGENDA

Italiani senza cittadinanza has gradually redefined its political agenda taking into account the many changes that have affected the Italian institutional and political structure in the last three years, the legislative evolution and the new social demands that emerged as a result of the pandemic emergency. The failure to approve the reform discussed in the last legislature (when the majority in Parliament was center-left) has had a very strong and painful impact on the movement, leading some activists to resign and even leave the country. Following an intense internal debate, however, the Italianisenzacittadinanza have decided to continue their campaign while reshaping the strategy. The battle for the reform of Law 91/92 has been flanked by specific initiatives to cancel the rules introduced by a center-right government with the L.132/2018 (on immigration and security) that have extended the maximum duration of the procedure from two to four years and introduced the revocation of citizenship in the occurrence of terrorist offenses. Finally, the economic and social crisis caused by the pandemic has drawn the movement's attention to the difficulties faced by many young foreigners in reaching the minimum income level required to apply for citizenship.

PARTICIPATORY PROCESSES

The complex challenge on which the movement is focused on is that of transforming the individual stories of injustice and institutional discrimination experienced by young foreigners interested in acquiring citizenship into a collective heritage and political pathway. The movement has experienced a very peculiar organizational development and internal dynamics. The main "forum" of internal debate initially provided was a chat on Messanger, flanked by some national meetings in presence, generally held in conjunction with the organization of street mobilizations. With the growth of the movement, specific chats dedicated to working groups have been added to the main chat, to which meetings on online platforms have been added in the last year. The decision-making processes are horizontal both in terms of the initiatives to be undertaken (media campaigns, open letters, policy advocacy, public initiatives, etc.), and in terms of the interlocutors to involve (associations and other movements) or with whom to interact (media, political actors). The very dynamic Facebook page is used as a monitoring tool (with an online desk and daily management of private messages and reports received), as a channel of internal information and as a means of external communication aimed at journalists and the world of politics, thanks to the very effective use of the storytelling. With more than 29 thousand followers, the page is in fact the "showcase" of the movement. The TikTok and Instagram pages are addressed to a younger target, young foreigners in their twenties, with the aim of building a real inclusive virtual community able to dialogue with young people who are not already politically active. On the whole, the social profiles and pages of Italianisenzacittadinanza are tools that foster relationships, dialogue, active listening and even self-education of young people who directly experience discrimination, prevarication, arbitrary choices and real barriers created by a citizenship law that is totally inadequate.

Web: https://www.facebook.com/italianisenzacittadinanza/

The exemplary case of African Media Association (Malta)

BACKGROUND

The African Media Association Malta is a media NGO that promotes an African perspective with news, empowerment and advocacy. Their aim is to develop an inclusive multi-media network where all the members can find a place to debate. They broadcast news, stories and information relating to living in Malta and in Europe through their web magazine and online community radio. They empower immigrants by imparting life skills and providing media and digital literacy as well as providing information and support related to integration in the society. AMA identifies special challenges of the African immigrants in Malta and lobbies for positive changes by bringing them to the attention of Governments and other relevant authorities. They belong to and work with numerous advocacy groups active in Malta and abroad.

DESCRIPTION OF THE ADVOCACY CASE

Turning the Tables (TTT) is a migrant-led initiative which aims to tackle integration related matters leading to policy changes. TTT is being funded through the Learning-Exchanging-Integrating Project as part of the implementation of the Migrant Integration Strategy and Action Plan (Vision 2020) issued by the Government of Malta in December 2017. This project is part-financed by the Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund. The project encourages the host country and newcomers to integrate, live and work together to maximise the sense of belonging for migrants residing in Malta and to allow integration in the Maltese society.

THE PARTICIPATORY PATH

Turning the Tables will be organising conferences to discuss different topics chosen by migrant communities which represent challenges in the daily lives of migrants.

- Education
- Employment
- Documentation
- Political Rights
- Detention

Each topic will be discussed and developed through a specific working group during a pre-conference which is held prior to the main conference. The aim of the working groups is to raise and discuss policy proposals which are then presented during the main conference. A researcher will also be documenting such discussions, follow development and document finding which are to be published in short publications, that can be used as an advocacy tool.

Web: https://www.facebook.com/Turning-the-Tables-228329151806765

The exemplary case of the Greek Forum of Refugees (Greece)

HISTORY

The Greek Forum of Refugees is a non-profit association consisting of refugee and migrant communities, individuals and professionals working all together to support and empower asylum seekers, refugees, migrants and stateless persons.

The association was founded in Athens in 2013, to function as a reference organization, both for the refugee communities and for the refugees who wish to address collectively and in an organized manner their requests to the State, but also to the host society.

BACKGROUND

The Greek Forum of Refugees is an association acting as an umbrella for formal and informal refugee communities. It participates in wider advocacy networks both at the national and European level. In 2019, just before the local, national, and EU elections, it formed a Self-Advocacy Team composed of refugees, asylum-seekers, migrants, and second-generation Greeks that were trained and empowered to become able to advocate for their own rights. Its activities are directed at advocating for the rights of refugees and asylum seekers, empowering communities and individuals through self-advocacy and capacity-building, informing them about their rights and obligations, and raising awareness on their major issues.

The main goal of the Greek Forum of Refugees is the incorporation, integration and, above all, the inclusion of asylum seekers, refugees, first and second-generation migrants and stateless people in Greek and European society. Their main activities are advocacy and information and raising awareness. GFR promotes the inclusion of the refugee and asylum-seekers communities in Greek society and empowers them to meaningfully self-advocate for their rights.

THE SELF-ADVOCACY TEAM (SAT)

The Greek Forum of Refugees creates a special team, the Self-Advocacy Team, who express the positions, principles and values on which the association was based since its creation, publicly representing the refugee and migrant communities and strengthening the voice of refugees and migrants in the public sphere.

Through the Self-Advocacy Team, the GFR includes active members of migrant and refugee communities to promote their civic engagement and to empower them to advocate for their rights. They are trained through capacity-building workshops and then participate in events, campaigns, conferences and roundtables of the association. The philosophy behind this initiative is that "there are no better advocates for refugees and migrants than refugees and migrants themselves" (Self-Advocacy Team, 2020).

THE PARTICIPATORY PATH

Planning of each advocacy action starts from the issues presented by the members of the communities participating in the Forum. The advocacy actions start from the issues presented by the members of the communities participating in the Forum. The design of activities and campaigns are derived from the suggestions of members. One exemplary policy advocacy initiative is the one of November 2020, the Self-Advocacy team has conducted an interesting initiative about the issue of undeclared labor, which is a very sensitive issue in Greece. The initiative was supported by PICUM-Platform for International Cooperation on Undocumented Migrant, and it consisted of two seminars, the first with representatives of the communities to gather information on the situation of undocumented labor in Greece, while the second webinar involved state officials, lawyers and advocacy officers from prominent NGOs, to initiate a discussion with the community representatives on the issues arising from the previous webinar.

Other advocacy tools that SAT and GFR use are:

- Podcasts
- Videos
- Demonstrations
- Researches
- Representation Mediation Empowerment
- Informing refugees, asylum seekers, migrants and stateless persons about their rights and obligations
- Networking with other civil society organizations
- Participation in EU level networks etc.

GFR supports and advocates for the rights of asylum-seekers, refugees, migrants and stateless persons in Greece.

Web: Home - Greek Forum of Refugees main - S.A.T. - Self Advocacy Team

The exemplary case of

Comunidad Negra Afrodescendiente y Africana- CNNAE

(Spain)

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 and promote recognition, justice and development for African and Afro-descendant people residing in the country. This space was organized as a result of 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 in Spain.

THE MISSION / POLITICAL AGENDA

The main objectives are, among others:

- Promoting 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.
- Guaranteeing labor rights for black people who live in situations of labor exploitation, substandard housing, etc.
- Obtaining 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*).
- Promoting processes of historical memory from an anti-colonial and anti-slavery perspective that have truth, justice and reparation as the main focus points.
- Promoting educational policies and incorporating 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. Instead, 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 they can lead their own struggles and create collaborative networks and strategic alliances with other anti-racist movements. Internally, the activity is organized by activist work areas and groups (https://cnaae.org/#areas).

Web: https://cnaae.org/

HANDOUT 4.3C PARTICIPATION AND NETWORKING. THE CHALLENGES

Lack of know-how on the process and functioning of networks Lack of confidence regarding the network's influence and power

Media stigmatization Institutional discrimination

From participation to leadership Precarity of working and living conditions

Polarization Lack of professional skills

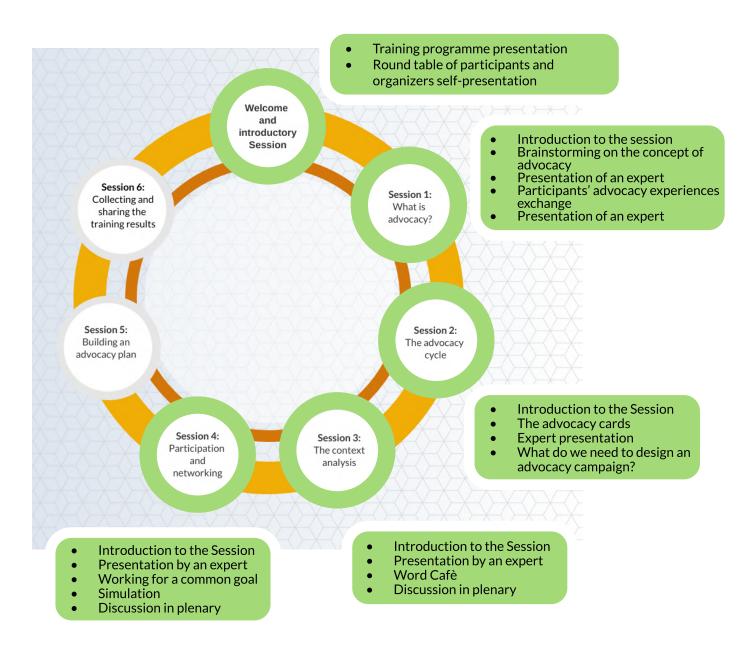
Political instrumentalization Political exclusion Invisibility of racialized people

Lack of common and clear goals

Structural racism **Lack of organization**

Social mismatch between problem analysis and network definition Lack of economic resources Lack of confidence in networking itself Social mismatch between partners and actors

ACTIVITY 4.4 VISUAL MAP OF THE WORK DONE DURING THE FIRST DAY



TIMING: 10 MINUTES

OPTIONAL

VISIT TO THE HEADQUARTERS OF AN ANTIRACIST ORGANIZATION/MOVEMENT

DESCRIPTION

The optional activity aims to foster awareness of a concrete advocacy experience promoted on the ground by an association, movement, or informal anti-racist group. Where the experience does not have a stand-alone venue, the visit may be replaced by a meeting with activists at the training venue or an online meeting.

HANDOUT: SEE HANDOUT 2.4

TIMING: AROUND 1,5 HOURS





DAY 3 SESSION 5

Building an advocacy plan

Learning objectives

To draft an advocacy plan focusing on the following steps: a) definition of the problem and of the objectives; b) networking; c) defining action targets and strategies; d) defining activities; e) defining key messages and a communication strategy

Working Methodologies

Plenary sessions, work in small groups

Required Resources

- 1 FACILITATOR
- $1\,\text{ROOM}$ able to host $24\,\text{Participants}$ and $4\,\text{Small}$ working groups
- $oldsymbol{1}$ flipchart to collect and share the results of discussion in plenary
- 1 LARGE SCREEN FOR PROJECTING SLIDES
- THE DESCRIPTIONS OF SOME GENERAL TOPICS TO BE FACED WITH THE ADVOCACY PLANS
- THE THEMATIC EXPERT FOR ACTIVITY 5.0
- WHITE POSTERS TO BE USED BY THE WORKING GROUPS
- 4 "ADVOCACY PLAN TEMPLATES"

ACTIVITY 5.0 INTRODUCTION TO THE SESSION 5

An expert provides a recap of the main steps of the advocacy cycle as a way of introducing the session, before explaining that participants will be divided into 4 small groups to experiment the drafting of an advocacy plan.

Each group will be invited to choose one of the following (or other) topics for their advocacy plan:

- 1. Discrimination in housing
- 2. Discrimination in work
- 3. Discrimination in sport
- 4. Promoting correct information on migrants, refugees, and racialized people
- 5. Creating an effective system to support the victims of racism
- 6. Deportations and illegal push-back at the borders
- 7. Discriminatory reception between Ukrainian and other asylum seekers
- 8. The right to take part in leisure activities
- 9. Discrimination in granting work permits and residency documentation

TIMING: 15 MINUTES

HANDOUT 5.1 TWO EXAMPLES OF SHORT DESCRIPTIONS OF THE TOPICS THAT CAN BE PROPOSED TO EXPERIMENT THE DRAFTING OF AN ADVOCACY PLAN

TOPIC1. DISCRIMINATION AND RACISM IN THE LABOR MARKET

Discriminatory and racist attitudes are often evident in the barriers that migrants encounter daily in the labor market. The "status" of being a migrant often means that qualifications obtained in other countries are not recognized, and language barriers lead to an employment gap between migrants and natives. Migrants and minorities experience discrimination from the moment they fill in a job application. But even once they find a job, they continue to experience unequal treatment. Lower wages, lack of career prospects, precarious and difficult working conditions, harassment, blackmail, and wrongful firings are just some of the situations they experience. Even today, the sectors of agriculture, domestic and care work, logistics, construction, and catering turn out to be the areas that express a pronounced "ethnicization" of labor.

The FRA (Fundamental Rights Agency) published a report in 2019 based on the testimonies of 237 adult migrant workers demonstrating that there are employers in the EU who take advantage of the vulnerable position of migrant workers, forcing them to work an indefinite number of hours and paying them very poorly or not at all. In these cases, migrants often work in dangerous environments and do not even receive the minimum safety equipment required by law. The workers interviewed lived in informal settlements or on construction sites without running water and sanitation.

One of the few Europe-wide surveys that specifically assesses workers' lived experience of discrimination in the workplace on a variety of grounds is Eurofound's *European Working Conditions Survey* (EWCS). Between 2005 and 2015, the percentage of workers surveyed who said they had experienced discrimination (based on age, "ethnic" origin and skin color, nationality, gender, religion, disability, and sexual orientation) in the workplace increased from 5 percent to 7 percent, with varying levels and trending developments among member states. Among the forms of discrimination, age discrimination was the most common and was most frequently reported by both young and older workers.

Racism and discrimination in employment in Europe. ENAR Shadow Report 2013-17 analyzes racism and discrimination in the world of labor in 23 EU countries over the course of five years, highlighting the lack of enforcement of existing anti-discrimination laws, and the persistence of some laws and policies that restrict migrants' access to the labor market. In Belgium, research has shown that job applicants with "foreign-sounding" names are 30 percent less likely to be invited to a job interview than applicants with a similar profile but with more Flemish names. In Hungary, one in two Roma people reported experiencing discrimination in their job search. Discriminatory hiring practices and structural inequalities mean that migrants and minorities tend to have higher unemployment rates and be over-represented in certain job positions or sectors, particularly agriculture, services and care. In Ireland, most reported incidents of racism occur in the workplace (31 percent). In Germany, the monthly income of people of African descent is almost 25 percent lower than the national average net monthly income.

In Italy and Greece, migrant workers face inhumane and exploitative working conditions, particularly in the agricultural sector. Black women in Europe face multiple obstacles in the labor market: they are particularly vulnerable to discrimination, exploitation, sexual harassment, and mistreatment. Moreover, they suffer high rates of overskilling as well as segregation in specific sectors, particularly in domestic work. In France, women of African descent have the lowest labor market activity rates. In Cyprus, most female migrant domestic workers are subject to multiple discriminations, unjust and abusive treatments, violence and/or sexual abuse. In Belgium, 50 percent of complaints of discrimination by women because of religion (Muslim) received by the equality body in 2014 were related to employment.

Task of the working group

Participants are asked to devise an advocacy campaign to promote equal opportunities in labor and to ensure respect for minorities, promoting the overcoming of the most widespread exploitation and "grey" and undeclared labor.

TOPIC 2. ANTIDISCRIMINATION - RIGHT OF ADMISSION IN LEISURE

BACKGROUND

Barcelona is a main destination for clubbing and nightlife leisure activities. But going on a night out can turn into a nightmare for some people because racism is still present in nightlife. When clubbers are denied entrance to a venue, allegedly because of the club's right to refuse admission, in many cases they are being turned away for racist reasons. The right to refuse admission as enshrined in the Regulations for Public Spectacles and Leisure Activities (Article 50) acknowledge that "enforcing the right to refuse admission must never lead to a discrimination of any member of the public on grounds of their place of birth, ethnicity, gender, religion, opinion, disability, sexual orientation or any other condition, personal or social circumstance". SOS Racisme has received many cases that point to certain clubs that repeatedly deny the right of admission to racialized people. With the reopening of the night life after the Covid pandemic and the restrictions imposed by it, the cases have increased again, meaning that discrimination is still happening regularly in certain clubs. Many local authorities, such as the City of Barcelona and other local governments, have been granted the powers by the Generalitat to determine the penalties that are applicable in such cases. However, they have done nothing. There are instances when an infraction has been well-established, but no penalty (typically, a fine) is set. As a result - and after having mustered the courage to report the incident - the victim that has been discriminated against is rendered defenceless when they realise that the deed will go unpunished.

DESCRIPTION OF THE ADVOCACY CASE

In 2017 SOS Racisme initiated a campaign 'El racisme surt de festa' (Racism is going out) to expose, denounce and raise awareness to eradicate racist discrimination in access to leisure venues in Barcelona. The aim of the campaign is to provide tools for people that are being discriminated against, to raise public awareness so that they join the denunciation of racism, to pressure leisure companies into respecting the law and to convince the administrations to penalize any illegal practice.

Initially, SOS Racisme made public the figures of complaints received in such context in the analysis of the situation of racism in Catalonia in its annual report, and promoted a discourse in social media of the importance of taking action and denouncing such cases. SOS Racisme then created a working group of activists that discussed the problem, shared some common practices in confronting such situations and conceptualized different actions for social advocacy and awareness rising. The actions that arose from this group were:

- The development of a short guide so that a victim will be aware of his/her rights and know what to do when he/she is denied admission.
- The production of five audio-visual testimonial pills with the same narrative thread, which were broadcasted on social media together with an awareness-raising video for the campaign: http://bitly.ws/uzt6. In December 2017, SOS Racisme conducted a "testing night", i.e. a test with a hidden camera to record such practices. This was the third edition of a test that was carried out in 2011 and 2014 and they chose to visit the same premises (the Boulevard Culture Club, the Jamboree Dance Club and Sala Apolo) which accumulated complaints to the Service and Report of SOS Racisme. The results and the video were made public as a means of raising awareness and of denouncing such discriminatory practices: https://sosracisme.org/el-racisme-governa-la-festa

The situation of the COVID pandemic since 2020 and the restrictions on night leisure led to a temporary stop of the activities of the campaign, although in 2022 the reopening of the nightclubs and the reception of some cases of discrimination pointing mostly to a specific club, 'Waka', raised the necessity to continue with the campaign and to work towards actions that contribute to the eradication of these discriminatory practices in access to leisure venues in Barcelona. The advocacy group of activists is now working on a new advocacy plan.

TASK OF THE WORKING GROUP

Considering the context given, and the fact that the advocacy group is rethinking its strategy after having seen that the situation of racist discrimination in the right of admission still represents a problem that undermines the rights of many racialized people in the context of post-pandemic nightlife in Barcelona, draft an advocacy plan that tackles this problem and builds up on the actions that have already been taken.

ACTIVITY 5.2 DRAFTING AN ADVOCACY PLAN

STEP A. PARTICIPANTS SELECT THE TOPIC OF INTEREST AND CREATE THE SMALL GROUPS

STEPB. ALL GROUPS RECEIVE A STANDARD TEMPLATE TO SUMMARIZE THE ADVOCACY PLAN

STEPC. THE SMALL GROUPS ARE INVITED TO DEFINE THE PROBLEM AND THE OBJECTIVES OF THE ADVOCACY ACTION (30 MINUTES).

STEPD. THE SMALL GROUPS ARE INVITED TO IDENTIFY THE MAIN ALLIES AND STAKEHOLDERS OF THEIR ADVOCACY ACTION (30 MINUTES)

STEPE. THE SMALL GROUPS ARE INVITED TO IDENTIFY THE MAIN TARGETS OF THEIR ADVOCACY ACTION AND THE BEST STRATEGY/IES TO BE ADOPTED.

(30 MINUTES)

STEPF. THE SMALL GROUPS ARE INVITED TO DEFINE THE ACTIVITIES TO BE PLANNED AND IMPLEMENTED (45 MINUTES).

STEPG.

THE SMALL GROUPS ARE INVITED TO DEFINE THE KEY
MESSAGES TO BE DISSEMINATED AND THE MAIN
ELEMENTS OF A COMMUNICATION STRATEGY

(45 MINUTES)

TIMING: 2HOURS AND 10 MINUTES

HANDOUT 5.2.A SOME SUGGESTIONS TO FACILITATE THE DISCUSSION IN THE WORKING GROUPS

It is important that a facilitator and an advocacy expert support the discussion of the working groups by encouraging them to focus on each working step. Specific questions can be proposed at each stage of work. Here are some examples of questions that can be proposed during the different phases of the activities.

Definition of the problem: What is the problem? What data/information can be used to show the importance of the issue? What is the main source of information? Are there some people directly affected by the problem that can be involved in the context analysis? It is important to recommend that these questions should be answered in as much detail as possible.

Definition of the objectives. What are the desired changes? Are they measurable? What are the possible changes? What can be the common goal of the advocacy campaign? What are the specific objectives?

Networking. What are the available internal organizational resources (human, structural and financial)? Who are the possible allies and the social actors that can be involved in a network dedicated to the topic/issue to be faced? What are the activities to be planned in order to build the network (mapping, common spaces, meeting times and objectives, exchange of information, ecc.).

Targets and strategies. Who can make the change? How can you reach them? What are the main targets of our campaign? What is/are the best strategy/ies to be adopted to reach them? It can be useful to remember that the strategy selection should consider the available resources of the organization/network.

Activities. What are the specific activities to be planned and implemented? It is important to encourage participants to be as specific as possible and to plan the activities considering the available time and the organizational, human, and financial resources.

Key messages and communication strategy. What are the key messages to be communicated? What is/are the target/s of these messages? What are the best communication channels to reach them? What are the needed professional, social, and economic resources to be activated? What is possible to plan in a given period of time? An example of a template can be proposed to facilitate the drafting of an embryonal communication plan, based on Handout 5.2.B (page 144). The template can be accompanied by the following short notes.

CAPTION

DATE FREQUENCY You can choose different timings (daily, weekly, monthly depending

on the type of the action) or indicate the specific date (for example of

an event).

ACTION What type of action/event are you planning?

GOAL What is the goal of the campaign? Why do you plan it and what is the

expected result?

AUDIENCE What is/are the target/s of your communication campaign? (They can

be specified by age, profession, geographic area...)

MEDIUM/CHANNEL What medium do you use? The medium can be changed according to

the different audiences.

KEYMESSAGES What are the key messages you wish to disseminate? They can be

changed according to the different audiences and should be short,

simple and clear.

PLACE The location of the action/event.

FORMAT Define the format to be used to disseminate the messages (press

release, social network messages, public presentations).

MONITORING Define the indicators that can be used to measure it.

COSTS Do you need money? Try to estimate the required budget.

PERSON/S IN CHARGE Define the person/s in charge of the communication management and

content production. The cooperation between a communication officer and an expert of the campaign topic should be encouraged.

TOOL 5.2. COMMUNICATION PLAN TEMPLATE. AN EXAMPLE	PERSON/SIN CHARGE						
	COSTS						
	MONITORING COSTS PERSON/SIN						
	KEY MESSAGES FORMAT						
	KEY MESSAGES						
	PLACE						
	MEDIUM CHANNEL						
	AUDIENCE						
	GOAL						
	ACTION						
	DATE Frequency						

TOOL 5.2. B SOCIAL MEDIA COMMUNICATION PLAN

100E3.E. DOUGHERIN COMMONICATION I EAN	NOTES											
	HASHTAG/TAG											
	LINK											
	VISUAL											
	TEXT											
	TYPOLOGY											
	GOAL											
	TIME											
	DATE											

TOOL 5.2.C AN EXAMPLE OF TEMPLATE TO BE USED TO SUMMARIZE AN ADVOCACY PLAN

The work of the entire working session can be facilitated by the distribution of a template which can be used by the participants to indicate for each strategy chosen: the goal, the necessary resources, the target/s, the allies and the opponents, the actions planned, the desired outcome, the responsible (professional profile or activists' role), the date/timing, the resources available. It is important to remember that there are many ways to draft an advocacy plan and different formats for formalizing them into a written document. Thus, there is no an ideal template. Each organization, group or network should use the format that best facilitates not only the conception but also the development of the advocacy campaign.



					1						_	
	Timing											
TOOL 5.2. C TEMPLATE TO DESIGN THE ADVOCACY PLAN. AN EXAMPLE	Action Steps	Hold meetings with legal experts	Identify and contact sympathetic media representatives	Identify and contact the members of the Parliament who could support the reform	Organize official meetings with the members of the Parliament	Flash-mob	Press conference	Video campaign	Viral online campaign		lvocacy-plan/main	
	Strategies	Gaining social and political support to the reform										
	Targets / Agents	Possible targets of change:	Young people with a migrant background			Possible agents of change:	Key members of the Parliament	Young people with a migrant background	Public opinion		en/table-of-contents/advoc	
	Support / Opposition	Allies:	Antiracist network	School teachers	Some media operators	Opponents:	Right-wing parties				le here: https://ctb.ku.edu/	
	Resources & Assets	Personnel:	1 coordinator	Managers of the advocacy network	10 volunteers			Budget:		1000 euro	Template inspired by the model available here: https://ctb.ku.edu/en/table-of-contents/advocacy/advocacy-principles/advocacy-plan/main	
	Goal	Reform of the citizenship law								Template ins		



DAY 3 SESSION 6

Final session. Collecting and sharing the training results

Learning objectives

To summarize the main elements of an advocacy campaign proposal in a short advocacy policy brief; to share the main results of the training.

Working Methodologies

Working groups, plenary.

Required Resources

- 1 FACILITATOR
- 1 ROOM ABLE TO HOST 24 PARTICIPANTS AND 4 SMALL WORKING GROUPS
- ${f 1}$ flipchart to collect and share the results of discussion in Plenary
- 1 LARGE SCREEN FOR PROJECTING SLIDES
- THE THEMATIC EXPERT THAT TOOK PART IN ACTIVITY 6.2
- Some white posters to be used by the working groups

ACTIVITY 6.0 INTRODUCTION TO THE SESSION 6

The final session of the training is dedicated to presenting and discussing in a plenary the drafts of the advocacy plans prepared by the working groups during the previous sessions.

TIMING: 10 MINUTES

ACTIVITY 6.1 PRESENTATION IN PLENARY OF THE ADVOCACY PLANS DESIGNED

Each working group will be invited to summarize all steps of the drafted Advocacy Plan on a template prepared by each group and to present it in plenary. The exposition in plenary will demand participants to explain whether the group encountered any challenge during the exercise or if it generated internal debate, thus stimulating them to take a critical stand on the opportunities and limitations of the advocacy plan presented.

TIMING: 50 MINUTES

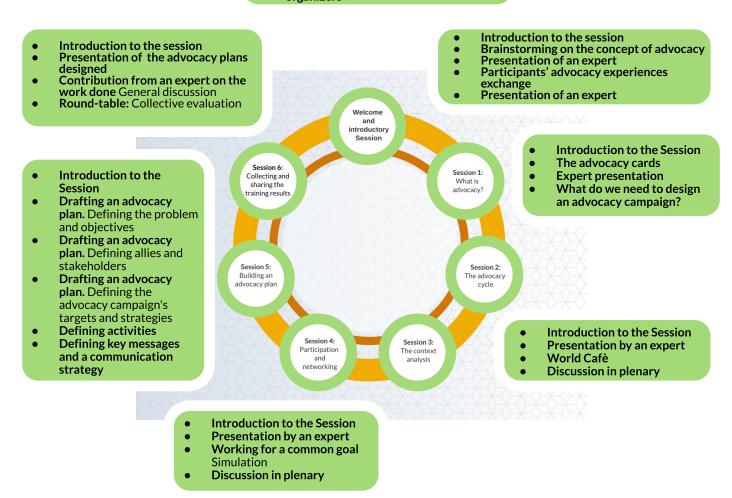
ACTIVITY 6.2 EXPERT CONTRIBUTION ON THE WORK DONE AND GENERAL DISCUSSION

An advocacy expert has the role of facilitating the discussion and of making technical comments to the proposed plans.

TIMING: 50 MINUTES

ACTIVITY 6.3 RECAP AND VISUAL MAP OF THE WORK DONE

- Presentation of the training programme
- Self- introduction of participants and organizers

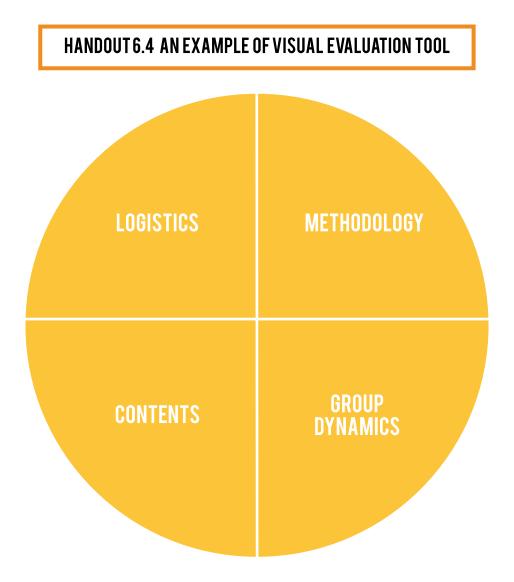


TIMING: 10 MINUTES

ACTIVITY 6.4 ROUND TABLE: COLLECTIVE EVALUATION OF THE TRAINING

The facilitator invites the participants to create a circle and to share their opinions about: the logistics, the training programme and contents, the interaction with the other participants and trainers, the working methodology, and the most important elements they can take home. Alternatively, the facilitator can ask for individual comments written on post-it notes and to put them on a visual map placed on the wall.





OPTIONAL

VISIT TO THE HEADQUARTERS OF AN ANTIRACIST ORGANIZATION/MOVEMENT IN THE LOCAL AREA

The optional activity aims to foster awareness of a concrete advocacy experience promoted on the ground by an association, movement, or informal anti-racist group. Where the experience does not have a stand-alone venue, the visit may be replaced by a meeting with activists at the training venue or an online meeting.

TIMING: 1.5 HOURS

HANDOUT: SEE HANDOUT 2.4

END OF THE TRAINING!

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Part One offers a critical analysis of the issue of direct participation of racialised people in advocacy initiatives that affect them.

Part Two focuses on the limitations of the measurement tools (indicators) used at the international, national and European levels when attempting to measure the "social inclusion" of migrants, asylum seekers and refugees.

Part Three provides a detailed description of a training module specifically addressed to anti-racist activists engaged in advocacy and policy advocacy.









Project webpage