

Better Advocacy for Better Inclusion

**Acting against discrimination,
for equality and citizenship rights**



Antigone

INFORMATION AND DOCUMENTATION CENTRE
on Racism, Xenophobia, Gender and Non-Violence



SOS RACISME
PER LA IGUALTAT DE DRETS



Co-funded by the
Erasmus+ Programme
of the European Union

Credits

Better Advocacy for Better Inclusion. Acting against discrimination, for equality and citizenship rights has been produced within the framework of the project *Better advocacy for Better Inclusion* (BABI) funded with support from the Erasmus+ programme. The project is promoted by *Lunaria* (Italy) in partnership with *Antigone-Information documentation centre on racism, ecology, peace and non violence* (Greece), *Sos Malta* (Malta) and *Sos Racisme Catalunya* (Spain).

This document reflects the views only of the authors, and the European Commission cannot be held responsible for any use which may be made of the information contained therein.

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Introduction

In recent years, migrations, and the presence of citizens of foreign origin in European societies have been at the center of public debate, inspiring interventions by local, national and European institutions. The internal crises that involved some North African countries in 2011, the humanitarian crisis linked to the Syrian conflict in 2015, the growth of migrant arrivals by sea recorded between 2015 and 2017, in the Eastern Mediterranean first and then in the Central Mediterranean, in conjunction with the numerous attacks carried out in Europe by groups traceable to Islamic radicalism, have defined a scenario in which hostility and intolerance towards non-EU citizens and citizens of foreign origin have had an impact in the public debate and conditioned, more or less directly, national and EU migration and asylum policies. The objective of “control” and “containment” of migration has been assumed as a priority. On the one hand, this has increased public intervention on policies aimed at “protecting” the borders and coasts of Europe and, on the other hand, this has reduced the launch of emergency interventions for the reception of newly arrived migrants. Consequently, the implementation of these policies has often led to serious violations of human rights.

It is in this context that the initiatives of migrants, refugees, young children of immigration, and civil society organizations have multiplied in many European countries. These initiatives searched for soliciting a cultural, social, and political change in the ways in which European society confronts the phenomena and processes that, for decades now, have transformed it into a plural and multi-cultural reality.

The launch of missions of search and rescue of migrants at sea by non-governmental organizations, the creation of spaces and projects of widespread reception (often self-organized); the solidarity built from below to ensure the guarantee of social rights starting with those to health and education, the work aimed at changing and reorienting media representations of migrants, of asylum seekers and refugees, up to the promotion of legal actions against forms of institutional racism and campaigns aimed at modifying the legislation on citizenship, immigration and asylum or to demand the ending of diplomatic relations with third countries that do not ensure the guarantee of human rights (such as Turkey and Libya): these are just some of the areas in which associations, informal groups, coalitions, networks and social movements have intervened in recent years by filling the gap left by institutions or to solicit (or prevent) their intervention.

Many of these initiatives could fall into what some of the international literature places in the universe of advocacy actions. In many cases, especially when it came to putting pressure on institutions, the result was not achieved.

Hence, the idea of the manual is to propose a reflection that starts from some basic theoretical notions on advocacy (Part 1). This is followed by the analysis of the results of the retrieved empirical material (Part 2) to provide useful suggestions to better structure advocacy initiatives that aim to promote equality, social justice, a new model of citizenship and migration management as well as to fight discrimination, xenophobia, and racism. The last part presents some concrete examples of advocacy promoted in Spain, Italy, Greece, and Malta (Part 3).

PART 1.

Policy advocacy: some theoretical issues

1.1. The concepts of advocacy and policy advocacy

It is useful to dwell first on the definition of advocacy and policy advocacy.

This is a definition borrowed from Anglo-Saxon culture, especially American, which in recent years is increasingly used to comprehend the more structured realities of European civil society, with very different meanings.

The etymological origin of the word (from the Latin *advocare*) refers both to the idea of defence 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. And herein lies perhaps, as we shall see, one of the limits to its application by the initiatives that place at the centre of the struggles the claim and guarantee of rights as well as providing the participatory means and the protagonism of the subjects directly concerned.

American and Canadian academic literatures have studied the advocacy actions promoted by social organizations with the aim, on the one hand of providing solid theoretical support for the definition of advocacy strategies and, on the other, of analysing their work and the main critical points. A further analytical contribution is offered by the work carried out by some American non-profit organizations. Here below we present a reconnaissance, certainly partial, of some of the definitions of advocacy and policy advocacy.

Advocacy is defined as:

“a strategic and creative process to influence policies, practices and attitudes that affect people’s lives”;¹

“the deliberate process of influencing those who make decisions about developing, changing and implementing policies”;²

“a set of organised activities designed to influence the policies and actions of those in power in order to achieve lasting and positive change”;³

“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.”⁴

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

2 Care International, *The Care International Advocacy handbook*, 2014.

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

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

According to De Santis “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.”⁵

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

Hence the attention devoted by some scholars to the definition of policy advocacy identified with the complex of “intentional activities initiated by private groups to affect the policy making process”;⁶ “advocacy that is directed at changing policies or regulations that affect practice or group well-being” or as “any attempt to influence the decisions of any institutional elite on behalf of a collective interest.”⁷

A broader definition, which attempts to exemplify advocacy initiatives in a more descriptive way, is proposed by Reid: “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; and 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.”⁸

This definition 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.

Similarly, MacIndoe distinguishes between *formal advocacy*, in which she 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.⁹

The elaboration of an operational definition of advocacy applicable in the

5 De Santis G., “Voices from the Margins: Policy Advocacy and Marginalized Communities” in Canadian Journal of Nonprofit and Social Economy Research, Vol. 1, No 1 Fall / Automne 2010 pp. 23 – 45.

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

7 Mosley J., *Recognizing New Opportunities: Reconceptualizing Policy Advocacy in Everyday. Organizational Practice*, 2013 in Social Work, Volume 58, Issue 3, July 2013, Pages 231–239.

8 The definition can be found in Gen, Sheldon and Wright, Amy Conley, “A framework for policy advocacy” (2012). Faculty of Social Sciences - Papers. 955. pp. 4-5.

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

European context, with specific reference to activities promoted in the field of migration, asylum, and the fight against racism, requires an in-depth examination of at least three issues.

The first is posed by the need to adopt a **systemic approach**, until now mostly removed by institutional actors, which recognizes the existence of two different connections. The first is the one existing between the evolutions of migration policies on the one hand and the entrenchment of xenophobia and racism on the other. The second one is the one existing between the diffusion of different forms of discrimination, xenophobia, and racism (also institutional), the inadequacy of “social inclusion” and citizenship policies of migrants and racialized people, adopted at national and local level, and the level of direct and proactive participation of migrants, refugees, and people of foreign origin in the design and implementation of these policies.

A second relevant issue concerns the **origin of advocacy initiatives** and the process by which they are defined and developed. One of the critical issues highlighted in the literature regarding policy advocacy initiatives promoted by non-profit organizations concerns the democratic challenge they entail: do they or do they not reflect the priorities of the people they claim to represent¹⁰? This question is particularly pertinent with reference to advocacy initiatives promoted in the field of migration and the fight against racism, where new self-organized subjectivities seem to be emerging in some European countries, for example in Italy and Spain, that critically evaluate the work of the historical anti-racist movement.

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 definition of advocacy that includes initiatives aimed solely at public decision-makers and not also forms of mutual aid, self-organization, and social mobilization, could prove obsolete and ineffective. And, on the other hand, we must remember that the same systems and mechanisms of open participation (often only “granted”) by institutions, can in turn reproduce, depending on how they are structured, forms of exclusion and discrimination.

10 See in particular: Mosley, J. *Recognizing New Opportunities: Reconceptualizing Policy Advocacy in Everyday. Organizational Practice*, (2013) *Social Work*. 58: 3 231–239 e De Santis G., *Voices from the Margins: Policy Advocacy and Marginalized Communities*, in *Canadian Journal of Nonprofit and Social Economy Research*, Vol. 1, 2010.

Considering this complexity and the limitations of the aforementioned definitions the operational definition of policy advocacy that we propose here is as follows:

“Policy advocacy is the set of activities and initiatives promoted by civil society organizations and those constituted 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.”

1.2. Different theoretical approaches to advocacy

The social actors who promote advocacy initiatives are all interested in producing social change capable of having a positive impact on people’s lives, but the political vision of the context in which they move, and the strategies and activities chosen can be very different. 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 activities in which they are structured,
- the selected interlocutors,
- the objectives pursued and the desired results.¹¹

11 See in particular the contributions of MacIndoe (2002), Gen (2018) and De Santis (2012) mentioned above.

We can succinctly distinguish three main theoretical approaches to social change.

The first is inspired by **institutionalism**, hence it identifies the ability to influence and redirect the political choices of public decision-makers as the engine of social change. In this case, advocacy initiatives are addressed directly or indirectly to European, national, or local **policy makers**, with the aim of changing/redirecting public policies.¹²

A second approach, which we could define as **cultural**, identifies the engine of change in the change of the collective imaginary. In this case, advocacy actions are addressed to the world of culture and media, to opinion makers and public opinion, and aim at gaining a broad consensus in support of a specific political agenda along with the narratives, studies and policy papers aimed at demonstrating the validity of the problem identified and of the solutions eventually proposed to solve it.¹³

A third approach is that inspired by the **theory of social justice**. This approach places at the center of political and social change the protagonism and direct participation of people affected by different forms of inequality.¹⁴ The social subjects who are inspired by this theoretical approach tend to develop a rich critical analysis of the existing political, economic, and social context. They regard racism as a structural phenomenon. Participation can take on different forms: that of conflictual protest; that of self-organization, mutual aid, and self-management, which seek to build social change from below; or that of the search for a critical confrontation with institutions through the initiative and direct participation of subjects who claim rights.¹⁵

Considering these three main reference models, different **advocacy strategies** can be identified. These are **formal advocacy** strategies, which prioritize public

12 This includes initiatives for the reform of the law on citizenship and regulations governing the entry and stay of migrants in European countries; campaigns for the closure of detention centers and Roma camps, for the transparency of public policies, for the correct application of existing rules governing the access of foreign citizens to welfare systems and the labor market, strategic actions against discrimination.

13 This includes communication, self-narration and counter-narratives' initiatives, as well as actions aimed at changing the relationship of mainstream media with migrants and minorities that are most vulnerable to discrimination.

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

15 Among the advocacy initiatives of this type, we can include the various forms of public demonstrations; the creation of self-organized spaces for listening, socializing, welcoming; counters for social and legal assistance and guidance; public denunciation of violations of rights and discrimination; solidarity networks aimed at ensuring access to education, language learning, reception in families; self-organized experiences of alternative economy; petitions, open letters denouncing violations of the right to asylum and human rights along the borders.

decision-makers and aim at policy change, include lobbying, partnership with institutions, campaign/coalition building, and promotion of strategic legal actions. **Grassroots advocacy**, on the other hand, includes various forms of public mobilization, awareness and media campaigns, and the construction of self-organized social experiences.

Lobbying actions 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.

Institutional partnership pursues policy changes by collaborating (e.g. by participating in working tables/committees/meetings) with government institutions.

Indirect pressure on public decision-makers aims to influence their 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.

Strategic judicial actions or actions directed at the administrative apparatus of institutions attempt to directly bring about policy change without affecting the legislative function.

Social activism aims to influence public opinion in order to build a broad consensus for political and social change, focusing on the direct participation of individuals and groups affected by inequality/discrimination.

The practices of self-organization and self-management promote forms of social mutualism that seek to respond directly from themselves, to social needs (the right to housing, self-managed reception, peoples' health clinics, etc.).

At the origin of an advocacy initiative there can be from time to time individual needs and requests emerged in the activities of providing certain services (legal, social, medical); crises or traumatic events that have affected a community (a racist attack, human rights violations in a detention center, the sudden arrival of a large number of asylum seekers in a certain territory and so on) or collective needs, related to the activities of individual organizations or social movements (for example the defence of an occupied space).

Building networks and coalitions, mobilizing public opinion, putting pressure on the media, monitoring policies and public debate, conducting research, legal proceedings, organizing cultural events or public mobilizations, and engaging policymakers are the various **activities** that can be promoted in an advocacy initiative.

The conception and development of an advocacy initiative involves several work phases that structure the so-called **Advocacy Cycle**. Several organizations have developed manuals dedicated to advocacy activities with the aim of making their initiatives more effective, proposing more or less complex articulations and analyses of the advocacy cycle.¹⁶ The essential steps, effectively summarized by Care International in the chart below, are as follows.

- 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

The Advocacy Planning and Implementation Cycle



Source: CARE, *The International Advocacy Handbook*, 2014, p. 7

¹⁶ Among these we point out: Amnesty International, *Body politics. The criminalization of sexuality and reproduction. A campaigning toolkit*, 2018; Canadian Community Economic Development Network (Ccednet), *The Art of Advocacy A Handbook For Non-Profit Organizations And Charities*, 2003; CARE, *The Care International Advocacy Handbook*, 2014; Central European University (Hungary), University of Vienna, University of East London, European Network Against Racism, *Advocacy Handbook. Refugees' access to higher education and beyond*, 2018; Civicus, Stakeholder Forum, *Advocacy Toolkit Influencing the Post-2015 Development Agenda*, 2015; Global protection Cluster, GBV Prevention and Response, *Gender-based Violence in Emergencies, Advocacy Handbook*, 2014; Sprechmann S., Pelton E., *Advocacy Tools and Guidelines Promoting Policy Change*, CARE, 2001; UNICEF, *Advocacy Toolkit. A guide to influencing decisions that improve children's lives*, 2010; Education International, *Promoting integration of migrants and refugees in and through education*, 2018.

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 in fact highlight some elements of weakness.

In general, the moments of economic and financial crisis, dominated by the policies of austerity and containment of public spending and by increasingly selective conceptions of welfare, expose social subjects to certain specific **risks**.¹⁷ The narrowness of available resources tends to create a **competitive environment** among the various organizations that can hinder the construction of strong civil society coalitions endowed with a solid autonomy. The growing involvement of social organizations in the management and in the provision of social services can increase their **dependence on institutions** and, therefore, limit their independence to formulate political demands. Participation in institutional forums for consultation/cooperation can encourage mechanisms of consultation and co-optation that can widen the **distance** between the leadership of organizations/movements and their social reference bases.

Some of the possible **antidotes**, useful to stem these risks, are: the care of internal democratic processes; the creation of physical and virtual, formal and informal spaces for listening, confrontation and participation; a periodic change of positions, assignments and responsibilities; the maintenance of a strong internal cohesion and a collective identity together with a fluid and systematic internal communication, able to make the best use of the tools offered by new technologies.

1.3. 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.¹⁸ In self-organized grassroots realities or in smaller organizations it

17 Mosley J. (2013) cit.

18 Lombardi E., Messina A., Polimanti O., *Lavorare bene. Manuale sull'organizzazione e le forme di lavoro nel terzo settore (Working well. Handbook on organization and forms of work in the third sector, ed)*, Edizioni lavoro, 1999.

is easier to practice participation. 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 has not been so thoroughly explored.¹⁹

Among the factors that hinder participation, **subjective obstacles** have been identified (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, 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/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 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 turn.

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, the conduction of participatory social surveys,

19 See: De Santis, 2010, cit; Lo Schiavo L., *Immigrazione, cittadinanza, partecipazione: le nuove domande di inclusione nello spazio pubblico. Processi di auto-organizzazione e partecipazione degli immigrati (Immigration, citizenship, participation: new demands for inclusion in public space. Processes of self-organization and participation of immigrants, ed)*, p. 25, Department of Cognitive, Psychological, Pedagogical Sciences and Cultural Studies (COSPECS), University of Messina, Quaderni di intercultura I/2009; Mantovan C., *Immigrazione e cittadinanza. Auto-organizzazione e partecipazione dei migranti in Italia (Immigration and Citizenship. Self-organization and participation of migrants in Italy, ed)*, p. 82, FrancoAngeli, Milan, 2007.

useful for analysing in depth the external social context and emerging social needs, are some of the tools tested to facilitate more inclusive participatory processes.

As we will see more clearly in the next chapter, the demand that seems to emerge with increasing pressure from discriminated and racialized people is claiming for autonomous spaces of political expression, greater media visibility and a direct relationship with institutions.

Part 2.

**Policy advocacy in the antiracist world.
The results of a qualitative survey
in four European countries**

2.1 The antiracist world in Italy, Spain, Greece, and Malta. Similarities and differences

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 with reference to the legal status, the organizational structure, the composition of the social base, the social mission, and the political agenda. Alongside the formally structured organizations, there is a great deal of informal subjectivity (spontaneous committees, campaigns, occupied spaces) whose organization is very “fluid” and difficult to pin down. The survey conducted in the universe of civil society, the results of which are presented in this chapter, forced us to make choices and we are aware of the partiality of the overall picture that emerges. We therefore attempt to highlight some of the contextual elements that characterize the antiracist world in the four countries surveyed, focusing on the similarities and differences that characterize them.

Italy, beyond the many points of contact with the Spanish reality, presents some peculiarities that concern above all the associations of migrant communities,²⁰ an important part of the world of civil society organizations (and yet often excluded from the institutional decision-making processes, but also of movement, that concern them), and the networks formed by the new generations of children of immigration (so-called “G2” or “second generations”) or of “Italiani senza Cittadinanza” (“Italians without citizenship”).²¹

Unlike Malta, which, instead, complains about the absence of forms of self-organization of migrants, even of the first generation, considering this factor a very important indicator of the lack of stability and rooting of migrant communities.²²

Among the movements and organizations in Spain, however, the coexistence of an antiracism with a more political character, more typical of grassroots movements, and another type of antiracism that characterizes the *modus operandi* of civil society organizations, and that does not consider the structural and in-

20 See here: Lunaria, “Social priorities, participation, and advocacy practices. The experience of 20 Italian antiracist realities”, p. 10, available at: www.cronachediordinariorazzismo.org.

21 Italy doesn’t have many national statistics on the phenomenon, but Lunaria reports associations of migrants are a part of the third sector world that is in great ferment and evolution and that should be observed carefully in its various phases of growth and change.

22 According to the Maltese report, most of the migrants try to leave Malta as soon as possible as they feel they are considered undesirable by the country and the people here.

stitutional dimension of racist discrimination, is particularly evident. In Spain, therefore, a peculiar dimension emerges of how anti-racist grassroots movements recognize and use the concept of “advocacy”²³ to describe political actions of claiming and denouncing.²⁴

In this regard, it is worth noting that there is, among the various anti-racist organizations, a wide range of actions considered “incisive” at the advocacy level: from demonstrations and protest actions in public space, to meetings with political and/or institutional actors to promote legislative action, modify protocols of action, denounce discriminatory institutional practices, from coordination with other anti-racist realities or with social movements active in specific areas, to the organization of communication actions aimed at the media or campaigns to denounce and make visible racist practices on social networks.

Many of the actors interviewed during the research have carried out more than one of these actions over time: in some cases, in a coherent and coordinated way, even if not always within the framework of an advocacy strategy based on a precise theory of change; in other cases, in an almost entirely unconscious and spontaneous way. A problematic issue shared in all four of the countries investigated.

In this regard, Greece has levels of membership in civil society or voluntary organizations “below the European average”.²⁵ At the same time though, informal networks and organizations that play a similar role to civil society exist. These are organizations of different sizes working on different fronts, often covering the basic needs of migrants and refugees that, in principle, should be covered by institutions. There are organizations with many years of experience, others founded to respond to specific challenges that have emerged in recent years, and foreign organizations from across Europe that have been working in Greece for the last years. But despite this diverse presence, “formal” civil society participation remains low compared to other EU countries.²⁶

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

24 See here: Sos Racisme, “Social priorities, participation, and advocacy practices. The experience of 20 Spanish antiracist realities”, p. 7, available at: www.cronachediordinariorazzismo.org.

25 See here: Antigone, “Social priorities, participation, and advocacy practices. The experience of 23 Greek antiracist realities”, p. 6, available at: www.cronachediordinariorazzismo.org.

26 Antigone tried to get a representative sample of this CSO’s picture, and we could basically identify six types of CSOs working with refugees and migrants since the migratory crisis began. This categorization is permeable since there are networks such as the Advocacy Working Groups in which entities from different categories are part of.

Malta seems to be in a rather unique situation compared to the other 3 countries. Defined as “chaotic”,²⁷ as it complains of several shortcomings and highlighting the efforts are made to support advocacy actions despite of many difficulties. In addition to this and again unlike the other 3 countries, the main feature in the local anti-racist universe is the serious lack of civil society organizations and the lack of coordination between informal groups and the NGOs themselves.²⁸

Beyond the specificities of each country, the first fact that emerges with similarities and differences, is the one related to the difficult “classification” because of countries’ inherent complexity of the different “spaces of antiracism”, the fields of intervention and the levels and types of organization.

From the organizational point of view of the territory, the large national organizations, articulated in local offices, are flanked by associations with a national character, but absent the territory. Spain tells of the presence of self-organized grassroots spaces at the local level, built and articulated thanks to activism.

Hence, there are hybrid realities that have a representation extended over macro-areas, which do not always coincide with the narrow regional boundaries and local level organizations. In addition to these many structured realities, there are many others in the form, structured or unstructured, of association or cooperative which operate both at national and local level. There are protest and awareness campaigns and social movements that in various cases provide tangible services to migrants in need such as accommodation in occupied buildings (in Greece, for example, there are anarchist initiatives that operate outside of any governmental framework dedicated primarily to housing).²⁹ There are as well movements which are formed, while framing an objective and they flow in a fluid way in a community that, however, has no structure of belonging or at least does not show it (the No Borders movements, for example, present in all four countries, or the Spanish networks and self-organized platforms³⁰ very close to the Italian forums). Many groups have formed spontaneously at the local level to provide services to asylum seekers, temporarily received or in transit (Greece mentions more

27 Apart from this, in Malta there is also an element of disorganization that is felt within the civil society sector as a degree of overlap in the aims and objectives of various groups. It seems to cause the duplication of the same work they are doing, the waste of resources due to the lack of coordination and to the small size of Malta.

28 See here: Sos Malta, “Social priorities, participation, and advocacy practices. The experience of 15 Maltese antiracist realities”, p. 8, available at: www.cronachediordinariorazzismo.org.

29 Anarchist initiatives operating outside any governmental framework dedicated mainly to housing but also to political empowerment at the center of their actions. The housing squats for refugees in Athens and Thessaloniki are examples of these initiatives.

30 Platforms created at local level are stable alliances between different activism spaces and civil society organizations, to work on a specific issue.

or less informal initiatives that also involve state workers who have worked in parallel in a voluntary way to cover the needs of refugees and asylum seekers).³¹ Some of these realities also network across national borders, bringing together the common interests of other European countries.

Another interesting fact that helps us to better outline this overall picture is the one concerning the various fronts on which these realities are engaged.

The first, very broad and shared, is the one related to the theme of reception, both in terms of material management and services related to it, and, with a longer look, as a fight for the rights of asylum seekers and for an adequate reform of the right of asylum itself. Another very transversal strand of commitment is that of the “borders”, whether by land or sea, with all the violations of rights that come along with them. Here we have rescue initiatives or the initiatives that deal with migrants passing along the so-called “Balkan Route” (a phenomenon that highly marks Greece for example), or those who guard the mountains of the French border, or those who are present in the ports.

In addition to these collective struggles, there are also those against the Detention Centers for Return (the former CIE, now CPR), places of suspension of the law par excellence, where many violations of rights have occurred and still occur (this issue is particularly addressed in Italy and Spain).

Then, undoubtedly, there is all the commitment that revolves around the rights of citizenship. The latter is a very broad concept, shared across the four countries, which includes all the struggles for the full enjoyment of fundamental rights and the struggles against institutional discrimination.

A central question, which remains open and is thematized differently in the four countries surveyed, is that relating to the participation of migrants, minorities, and young children of immigration in the advocacy campaigns that concern them: to what extent migrants and people affected by racism and discrimination, including institutional discrimination, are effective protagonists and autonomous “builders” of advocacy paths?

And how much, instead, advocacy actions are still led by natives? This is a topic addressed under different perspectives reflecting upon its complexity.

The reasons cited as obstacles (from the emergency aspect of facts to language barriers, to socio-occupational precariousness) to participation deserve to be analysed thoroughly, not only in the light of the individual realities of each country, but also in the light of a shared vision at the European level.

31 See here: Antigone, “Social priorities, participation, and advocacy practices. The experience of 23 Greek antiracist realities”, p. 7, available at: www.cronachediordinariorazzismo.org.

2.2. Methodology

In this chapter we present the main results of a qualitative research, which involved 78 organizations/initiatives/networks (associations of migrants, refugees and citizens of foreign origin, non-governmental associations, informal committees, campaigns, and informal groups) active in Italy, Spain, Greece, and Malta in the fight against discrimination and in the promotion of citizenship rights of migrants, asylum seekers, refugees, citizens of foreign origin, Roma.

The research aimed to analyse the experience of advocacy gained by the organizations interviewed, focusing on three main aspects:

- The priorities of the political agenda, the rights that are being claimed and the social needs that the advocacy initiatives promoted intend to respond to;
- The level of participation and leadership of migrants and racialized people in the definition of the political agenda of the realities interviewed, the systems of internal organization and the main obstacles that can limit the protagonism, leadership and participation of racialized people in the anti-racist struggle;
- Some exemplary actions of political advocacy carried out.

We set ourselves the objective of verifying if and how much the concept of advocacy (in particular policy advocacy) is applicable to the anti-racist world of the countries involved in the survey and, if so, in what strategies and with what practices it is declined.

The survey methodology consisted of three phases.

The review and analysis of the international literature provided basic theoretical support regarding the definition of advocacy, existing advocacy models, the stages of the advocacy cycle, and the main topics covered by the studies that analysed the advocacy initiatives carried out by non-profit organizations. The review of the national literature focused on the topic of foreign citizens' participation in public and associated life and on the public policies experimented at the local level to facilitate the processes of social citizenship. The review was organized into summary survey sheets.

In a second phase, we proceeded to elaborate an interview grid (contained in the Appendix) to carry out semi-structured qualitative interviews with associations/committees/informal movements engaged in the field of guaranteeing the rights of migrants, asylum seekers and refugees and in the fight against xenophobic and racist discrimination. We then proceeded to identify five areas of intervention on which to focus attention: anti-discrimination, welfare, labor, education and training, health.

The criteria that guided the selection of the social realities to be interviewed are the following:

- The performance of some form of advocacy;
- The commitment in at least one of the five chosen thematic areas;
- The representation of self-organized realities by migrants, foreign citizens or people of foreign origin, but also of more formal anti-racist organizations;
- The need to analyse advocacy practices carried out both at local and national level;
- The need to interact with realities that practice different advocacy strategies (with reference to the recipients, the practices, the activation and communication tools used).

The interviews were conducted between March and July 2021 using, depending on the country, online platforms, telephone conversations or in-person interviews, they were recorded and then summarized in some standardized forms. The analysis was then carried out considering the three main dimensions investigated: the social mission and the political agenda; the participatory processes and the advocacy experience gained by the realities interviewed.

The last phase was dedicated to the drafting of the national reports.³²

2.3. Acting in a context of institutional and structural racism

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 order.³³

The distinction between citizens and non-citizens, between nationals and

³² The reports are available here: www.cronachediordinariorazzismo.org

³³ Arendt H., “The Decline of the Nation State and the End of Human Rights”, in *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, 1953.

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 following austerity policies, have contributed to deepening in Europe the distances that separate EU citizens from non-EU citizens.

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 to face what have been constantly defined as humanitarian, migrant and refugee “crises”, the adoption of political choices solely inspired by the category of “emergency”, far from ensuring good “governance” of migration, has on the contrary contributed to fuel 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 2020, the current crisis on the border between Poland and Belarus, the death of migrants 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, provided for in EU law, and the *effective guarantee* of those rights. Moreover, they make more and more explicit the current inextricable link between migration, security 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, ours italics).³⁴

The European Commission itself, in the **European Union anti-racism action plan 2020-2025**, adopts the concept of *structural racism* 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 discrimination.³⁵

The evaluation of the Community legal framework on discrimination and rac-

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

35 The Plan is available here: ec.europa.eu/anti-racism/

ism 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 at the criminal level.

The recognition of the structural and systemic character of xenophobia and racism is an indispensable step in 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.

Here we will focus first on 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 status.³⁶ We include in manifestations of institutional racism 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 produce and reproduce racism, and hinder the advocacy action of anti-racist movements. In the following pages we will try to highlight them starting from the results of interviews carried out with 77 associations and social groups active in anti-racist advocacy initiatives in Italy, Greece, Spain, and Malta.

In the second part, we will focus on the forms of **structural racism** that affect the socio-economic world, the world of information, culture, and society.

³⁶ Please see: A. Rivera, “Razzismo”, in: UTET, *Diritti umani. Cultura dei diritti e dignità della persona nell'epoca della globalizzazione*, 6 voll., 2007; Naletto G. (edited by), *Rapporto sul razzismo in Italia*, Manifestolibri, 2009.

2.3.1 Institutional racism

Migration and asylum policies

The European Union has not adopted a common legislation on the so-called economic migration.³⁷ A Commission proposal made in 2001 was never discussed and was later withdrawn. This seems to be the main shortcoming of the policies adopted so far to contrast “illegal” migration: the absence of legal entry routes for economic migration, in addition to causing serious violations of the human rights of migrants and asylum seekers, feeds on the one hand the illegal trafficking of people and on the other hand the cases of instrumental use of the asylum application; furthermore, it puts pressure on national reception systems and entails increasing human and financial commitments in the policies of “surveillance, control, detention and repatriation”.

The reforms of the national legislations of the Member States carried out in recent years and the administrative practices adopted in Spain, Greece, Italy and Malta show a common trait: the choice to give priority to the fight against migration defined as “illegal”, with the denial of access to a safe port to ships that provide rescue at sea (in Italy, Greece as in Malta) and with rejections made at land borders (in Spain in Ceuta and Melilla, in Italy at the border with Slovenia, in Greece on the shores of Evros at the border with Turkey). And this happens even when it means putting at risk the lives of hundreds of migrants and denying the right to seek asylum, a right formally recognized at European level under the Dublin Regulation.

The Bossi-Fini law³⁸ approved in Italy in 2002 can be considered from this point of view an exemplary case because it has paved the way for a more restrictive policy on entry, stay and expulsion of undocumented migrants, introducing criminal sanctions against “irregular” immigration. The Bossi-Fini law is a significant historical reference point because it represents a moment in which not only Italy, but many European countries began to enact laws that transformed immigration from a social and humanitarian phenomenon to be governed, guaranteeing fundamental human rights, into a *problem of public order*.

This approach is also reflected in the **New European Pact on Migration and Asylum**³⁹ proposed by the European Commission in September 2020, which has

37 Please see: Favilli C., “Il diritto dell’Unione europea e il fenomeno migratorio”, in Zorzella N., Giovannetti M. (a cura di), *Ius Migrandi*, Franco Angeli, 2021.

38 Law n. 189/2002, the so-called Bossi-Fini, takes its name from Umberto Bossi leader of the Northern League and Gianfranco Fini leader of the National Alliance. The two right-wing parties were part of a government coalition headed by Silvio Berlusconi, leader of Forza Italia.

39 See: Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions A New Pact on Migration and Asylum, available here: eur-lex.europa.eu

among its main objectives: the acceleration and “streamlining” of procedures for examining asylum applications; the introduction of a “flexible system” of solidarity between member countries in situations of “migratory crisis”; the development of cooperation with third countries aimed at combating migration and collaboration on readmission; the creation of a system of common governance of migration and return. Once again, the Community’s attention appears to be unbalanced on the side of activities aimed at strengthening the control of external borders, blocking entry and return operations.⁴⁰

These reforms have been accompanied by a public, and specifically political, debate of a predominantly security-oriented nature,⁴¹ which tends to associate from time to time migrations with the phenomena of insecurity/illegality, the risk of invasion, cultural/religious incompatibility, unsustainable economic and social public costs, alleged competition between nationals and non-nationals/minorities in welfare and the labour market or the danger of spreading Islamic terrorism, in order to justify the closure of Fortress Europe.⁴²

This tendency to securitization has characterized the Italian, Greek and Maltese governments’ management of the arrival of migrants and refugees on their shores, with continuous violations of fundamental rights in hot-spot and detention centers. This is still the case today in the Lesbos hotspot,⁴³ in the Spanish *Centros de Internamiento de Extranjeros*, in the Maltese detention centers and in the Italian *Centri di Permanenza per il Rimpatrio*, where undocumented foreign citizens who have received a deportation order, but also many asylum seekers, are detained.

40 See: Asgi, *Le criticità del patto europeo migrazione e asilo alla luce del contesto italiano*, January 2021, available here: www.asgi.it. In Italy there are several advocacy initiatives promoted by civil society aimed at calling for a thorough revision of the European Pact. Among these, in addition to Asgi’s commitment, we point out the one of the former Canapificio di Caserta carried out in collaboration with the *Forum Cambiare l’ordine delle cose* and a manifesto produced by the national campaign *Io accolgo* joined also by Lunaria.

41 European Commission President Ursula Von Der Leyen’s “shield” (ασπίδα in Greek) speech, delivered in March 2020 in the midst of the Greek-Turkish Evros River border crisis, embodies this idea of securitization that characterizes the European Union’s borders (fortress).

42 For an analysis of the European public debate on migration see: Lunaria, Adice, Antigone-Information and documentation center on racism, ecology, peace and non-violence, Grenzenlos, Kisa and SOS Racisme, (eds.), *Words are stones. Analysis of public hate speech in six European countries*, 2019, available here: www.cronachediordinariorazzismo.org

43 Securitization policies and their narratives lead to the normalization of flagrant illegal actions such as border rejections. The existence of a camp like Moria on Lesbos and the very idea of a “hot spot” are in themselves a monument to the violation of fundamental rights and an example of what securitization and fortress discourses produce. The Lesbos Solidarity initiative (see the fact sheet below and the national report on Greece available here: www.cronachediordinariorazzismo.org), promoted to give voice to the demands of migrants and asylum seekers in Moria and to make up for the absence of state intervention for the most basic needs such as housing, schools, psychological support, etc., revealed the human suffering hidden behind the discourses and policies of securitization.

Finally, as denounced by many advocacy actions in the four countries analyzed, even though asylum procedures are shared throughout the EU, each member state applies them differently, often undermining the fairness of the procedures of reception and examination of applications for international protection and the standards of reception of asylum seekers.⁴⁴

Changing policies related to the entry, transit and reception of migrants is essential to ensure respect for fundamental human rights and the right to mobility. Civil society and NGOs are called upon to expose the existence of all spaces of rights violations, to bring to the surface the discrimination these create, and to identify the policies that cause them.

⁴⁴ Particularly committed to calling for the closure of detention centers are in Spain the *Comunidad Negra Afrodescendiente y Africana - CNNAE* and the campaign *Tanquem els CIEs/CIEs NO*; in Italy the *LasCIEEntrare* campaign is fighting with the same goal (see the in-depth information in the national reports).

Migration and asylum policies. The social agenda

- Launch European public missions of search and rescue of migrants at sea;
- Abandon at EU level the prohibition of the so-called economic migration;
- Reform the Dublin Regulation, with particular reference to the obligation to apply for asylum in the country of first entry;
- Open humanitarian corridors for asylum seekers;
- Introduce a mandatory principle of solidarity in reception interventions at the European level;
- Promote international cooperation that excludes any form of economic support to governments of countries that do not guarantee human rights;
- Respect international norms that prohibit the violation of the principle of *non-refoulement* of asylum seekers and refugees by guaranteeing the right to seek asylum and cancelling the use of the definition of “safe third country”;
- Adapt national policies to the norms that protect the right to asylum contained in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the European Convention on Human Rights, the Geneva Convention on Refugees and the various European directives on the subject;
- Abolish the hot-spot system and the administrative detention regime;
- Promote independent human rights monitoring initiatives along EU borders and within the territories of member states;
- Introduce ordinary regularization mechanisms that allow foreigners who are permanently living in Europe to obtain a permit to stay.

Ethnic or racial profiling

The prohibitionist management of migration generates multiple violations of rights by the police operating at the borders (as in Greece), but also within individual countries, where abuses are often recorded during targeted document checks that also involve permanently resident migrants and citizens of foreign origin giving rise to the phenomena of ethnic/racial profiling. This definition refers to stop-and-search operations, surveillance and investigations carried out by law enforcement agencies because of prejudices based on somatic features, ethnicity, language, religion, origins, nationality. Law enforcement interventions are among the areas with the highest rates of perceived discrimination, associated with racially motivated stereotypes.

Numerous reports published by civil society organizations indicate that people who are racialized and/or have foreign nationality are stopped by police more often than people who are “white” and/or have nationality from the four project countries.⁴⁵ Moreover, police discrimination tends to affect people with lower incomes more frequently.

Many cases of discrimination experienced by minority or immigrant groups are not reported to the police because of fear of retaliation or the lack of trust in the authorities and the possibility to obtain justice. The constant sense of insecurity and vulnerability in which they live triggers a vicious circle that contributes to the perpetuation and reproduction of unequal treatment and complicates the social inclusion of newcomers into European society and their relations with local communities.

45 In Spain, several initiatives have been promoted to prevent this phenomenon mainly through monitoring and denouncing arbitrary document controls and human rights violations. *SOS Racisme*, one of the organizations co-authoring this manual, has a long experience in documenting this phenomenon. See also the fact sheets dedicated to the *Colectivo Jardins de Santa Pau*, the *Sindicato Popular de Vendedores Ambulantes*, the *Parad de Pararme* campaign, the *Espacio Antirracista de Salt-Girona* contained in the Spanish National Report. In Italy, in Ferrara, the collective *Occhio ai Media* has promoted a similar initiative by monitoring and denouncing the recurrence of police operations in particular areas of the city, on the eve of local elections, through the production of a video-documentary. The collective has highlighted how these operations, with the complicity of the local press, have helped to fuel and spread in public opinion the association of the foreign presence with the growth of insecurity. See the fact sheet contained in the Italian National Report.

Ethnic/racial profiling. The social agenda

- Recognize the real dimension of ethnic/racial profiling and publicly condemn it.
- Take steps to prevent and prohibit identification based on skin colour or physical, cultural, and religious characteristics.
- Collect data on every identification operation carried out and regularly publish statistics on the subject.
- Introduce measures to monitor the work of law enforcement agencies and penalize officers who conduct police checks in a discriminatory and unjustified manner.
- Facilitate reporting and complaint mechanisms for populations subject to arbitrary identifications and searches.
- Disseminate information about people's rights and guarantees and respond to their reports and complaints of unlawful behaviour.
- Train law enforcement professionals to prevent ethnic/racial profiling.
- Cease targeted concentration of law enforcement presence in areas with the highest density of foreign populations.

From norms to administrative practices: the reception that excludes

Discrimination, violation of rights and forms of institutional racism are generated not only by unfair laws, but also by the modalities and administrative procedures with which the laws are (or are not) applied, and by the management models adopted in the various member states, both in the field of reception of asylum seekers and refugees, and in that of citizenship policies and social inclusion of migrants and minorities.

In the area of reception, four critical issues of a structural nature have emerged relating to: 1. The reception model chosen; 2. The lack of coordination between the various competent authorities; 3. The insufficiency or misuse of available public resources; 4. The lack of transparency in the work of institutions.

The need to structure a public, coordinated, and efficient **model of reception** of asylum seekers and refugees in the various member countries, spread throughout the territory, is one of the priorities identified. Although Spain, Malta, Greece and Italy have different reception systems, what is common to all of them is an assessment of the substantial inadequacy of the interventions adopted to date, compared to the existing “demand for reception”, and the persistent tendency to concentrate asylum seekers in large structures, often isolated.

At the outset, it is important to recall the need to clearly distinguish the public programs, projects, and reception centers for asylum seekers and refugees from the administrative detention systems, which have a completely different function, aimed at the repatriation of migrants subject to an expulsion order. The latter are in fact closed structures that intervene to limit the freedom of movement of persons, even if they are often and improperly assimilated to the reception system.

Secondly, various experiences from civil society highlight the need to abandon a purely charitable conception of reception and solidarity, and to deeply rethink the governmental reception systems that tend to dehumanize asylum seekers and refugees and keep them in a passive condition of dependence on public intervention. For example, some experiences of self-managed reception experimented in Greece, have tried to restore dignity to asylum seekers and refugees and to promote their autonomy through horizontal forms of self-organization and self-management, aimed at giving direct responsibility to the people involved. Exemplary from this point of view are the experiences (unfortunately forcibly closed by the police) carried out at the City Plaza in Athens and at the Orphanage in Thessaloniki. Many similar experiences are also present in large Italian cities, in occupied spaces, and in Catalonia.

The Italian situation is even more complex due to the existence of a *binary* in-

stitutional reception system, structured in the so-called extraordinary reception centers (CAS), managed by the Prefectures (territorial offices dependent on the Ministry of Interior), and in the SAI (Reception and Integration System), which sees the collaboration of municipalities and third sector organizations in small and medium-sized reception projects, spread throughout the country. While the CAS are limited to providing a mere material reception and are mostly large and structurally unsuitable to ensure a personalized and qualified assistance to the people hosted, the SAI projects, although presenting some limitations in their concrete implementation, are the institutional model considered most suitable by civil society, because they are designed to promote the autonomy and the progressive inclusion of people hosted in the local communities. In Italy, therefore, the theme posed by many of the social organizations interviewed is that of the progressive cancellation of the governmental “emergency” reception system and the expansion of the number of reception projects managed at the municipal level. Similar characteristics and problems exist in the Spanish system, where it seems particularly difficult to coordinate the interventions guaranteed in the first phase of reception with those of the second phase of reception, which should promote work and social inclusion of refugees.⁴⁶

The **fragmentation of institutional competencies** in the field of reception and social inclusion of migrants, asylum seekers and refugees is in fact another significant critical issue, both at the central level (due to the distribution of competencies among the different Ministries), and in the relationship between the different levels of government (national, regional, and municipal). This seems to derive from an unbalanced distribution of competencies among the various authorities (which, for example, in Greece severely limits the scope and autonomy of intervention of local authorities), from the lack of adequate national planning, but also from the political competition that can pit institutions led by political forces of different persuasions against each other.⁴⁷

This significantly hinders efficient coordination of interventions. A rationalization of the management system should instead attribute to the municipalities a central role in the planning and management of interventions for reception and social inclusion, as they are the bodies closest to the territory and therefore po-

46 Please see: Ribera Almandoz, O. Delclós, C. Garcés Mascareñas. B. 2020. *Casa nostra, casa vostra? Condicions i trajectòries d'accés a l'habitatge de sol·licitants d'asil i refugiats a Catalunya*. Barcelona: CIDOB.

47 This is the case of the mayor of Chalkida (Greece) who refused to provide school buses to the children of a camp to access school, failing to guarantee the fundamental rights of children protected by Greek law. Only after the teacher in charge of the educational camp made the case public with an article in the press, taking the case to the ombudsman and after it became known nationwide, the judicial authorities put pressure on the mayor who finally gave in to the demands.

tentially more capable of identifying and addressing the daily needs of asylum seekers and refugees.⁴⁸

The shortage and/or misuse of public resources allocated to reception (and social inclusion) policies, on the one hand, favors an emergency management of interventions, on the other hand determines in many cases a quality of services not in line with the minimum standards of reception defined at European level. The decision to privilege the concentration of many asylum seekers in large governmental centers also responds to the desire to apply “economies of scale” in the management of services, and numerous violations of human rights have been documented precisely in the large governmental centers for asylum seekers in Italy and in Greece, according to many investigations conducted by civil society and the media.⁴⁹

In some cases, cuts in available public funds have led to the sudden interruption of reception and housing programs that were considered effective. This is the case of ESTIA, a housing program that, despite being underfunded and not representing a comprehensive housing plan, managed to accommodate a significant portion of asylum seekers in Greece. The program was cancelled in early summer 2020, when it was announced that a more comprehensive housing policy program would be launched. Still, as of fall 2021, no national plan appears to have been submitted.⁵⁰

The problem of lack of resources seems to be evoked by institutions to justify more restrictive policies that undermine the rights of migrants and refugees and their inclusion in local labour markets. Trapped in bureaucratic labyrinths and waiting periods that hinder their access to tax codes, migrants are left in a vulnerable position, often ending up working illegally, in very precarious conditions.

The lack of coherent planning of reception, social and labour insertion policies, coordinated between different levels of government, generates Kafkaesque situations that undermine any real process of building autonomy of people.

The **lack of transparency of the public policies** adopted and the resources allocated to them certainly opens ample space for these serious violations of rights. Precisely on the issue of transparency in Italy, several civic monitoring in-

48 This request was highlighted by many of the organizations interviewed in Greece (Arsis, Lesvos Solidarity, Greek Forum for Refugees), and in Italy (Arci, Ex Canapificio di Caserta, No cap, Naga, Refugees welcome, Tempi moderni). For details, please refer to the relevant national reports.

49 See for example: Refugees Support Aegean, *The “hotspot” experiment: removing human rights from the equation*, 2018, available here: rsaegean.org; Asgi, *Moria: EU policy is to blame, not refugees*, 2020, here: www.asgi.it; periodic reports published in Italy by the LasciateCIEntrare campaign, here: www.lasciatecientrare.it.

50 Please see the Greek national report.

initiatives have been developed to request to the various competent institutions the systematic publication of data on asylum seekers and refugees hosted in governmental centers, mapping of existing projects and reception centers, public tenders for the assignment of services, conventions stipulated for their management, but also to obtain access to the various centers by civil society and the media.⁵¹ The problem of transparency is particularly relevant in all the countries examined with reference to the system of hot-spots and detention centers. Once again, the case of the “hot spots” in the Greek islands, represented by the infamous camp of Moria on the island of Lesbos, where numerous violations of Greek legislation and EU directives have been found, is exemplary in the negative. Non-governmental organizations present in the camp, such as Lesvos Solidarity, have tried to fill in the absence of the state to meet the most basic needs of the people hosted (such as housing, schools, psychological support, etc.).

51 See in this regard the fact sheets dedicated to ActionAid Italy, which has been conducting a systematic monitoring of the Cas, and the one dedicated to *LasciateCIEntrare*, a campaign active both in the Cpr and in the Cas, presented in the Italian national report.

Reception. The social agenda

- Attribute national competencies for reception and social inclusion of asylum seekers and refugees to Ministries of Social Policy and/or Labour, abolishing any competence in this area on the part of Ministries of the Interior.
- Strengthen planning capacity through the recruitment by public administrations of appropriate qualified personnel (including people with a migratory background) and with the active involvement of migrants, refugees, and anti-racist associations in the entire cycle of conception, monitoring and evaluation of interventions.
- Prepare, within a certain and appropriate timeframe, multi-year national reception plans that involve the participation of the various levels of government involved (ministries, representatives of local authorities, especially municipalities).
- Increase EU and national resources allocated to reception policies, social inclusion and citizenship of migrants and refugees.
- Modify service management models. Calls for tenders should reward not the low cost of services, but rather the quality of the staff employed, and the services provided, small-scale projects, widespread reception and family-based reception, networking in the territory and the ability to build pathways for asylum seekers and refugees to leave the reception system.
- Deinstitutionalize reception of asylum seekers and refugees in all possible forms, including recognizing the social value of self-organized experiences. Cease forced evictions operated with public order operations, with a purely security intent.
- Place at the center of the management of the reception system the role of municipalities, giving them autonomy in planning and spending.
- Increase the transparency of public policies adopted by providing for the systematic publication of various official data regarding the reception system (existing centers, managing bodies, amounts of agreements, information on persons received, results of monitoring and evaluation activities).
- Strengthen services for unaccompanied foreign minors and the most vulnerable categories of asylum seekers and refugees, avoiding in any way their placement in detention centers.

Citizenship that perpetuates exclusion

The difficulty of access to citizenship is another shared problem.

The definition of European citizenship, as provided for in the Lisbon Treaty, does not identify a status of European citizen distinct from that of citizen of a member state: in fact, anyone who holds the citizenship of a member state is a citizen of the Union. “Union citizenship is in addition to national citizenship and does not replace it.” European citizenship, as well as citizenship defined in the individual member states, remains linked to nationality, and based on the right of blood (*ius sanguinis*) and implies *a priori* the distinction and the opposition between the rights of “national” citizens and the rights of foreign citizens.

For some time now, a reflection has been developed in the world of European movements that tends to propose an idea of citizenship based on the universality of the rights of the person and on his residence in the territory, rather than on the exclusionary principle of nationality. In this sense, citizenship is identifiable in the set of human, social and institutional relations that constitute the experience of people living in a given territory. In an increasingly interconnected world, in which goods, capital and consumers circulate freely, it is impossible to deny those who have been forced to leave their own country, either by a highly unequal world economic and social system or by conflict or personal persecution, the right to move and build a life project elsewhere.

Those who manage to settle permanently in European countries become to all intents and purposes an integral part of European society. This is even more true for the children of immigration who are born or grow up in Europe: excluding them or keeping them as far away as possible from citizenship and the political community means tearing apart a society already deeply marked by serious forms of inequality and discrimination, undermining its cohesion.

Obstructing the acquisition of citizenship concretely means denying the exercise of political rights, first and foremost the right to vote. Secondly, a restrictive regulation of citizenship has the consequence of unfairly prolonging the exposure of foreign citizens, migrants, and refugees to the risk of differential treatment in the social, health, labour, even civil and recreational spheres.

For these reasons, many campaigns, associations, and informal groups are engaged in advocacy actions that aim, on the one hand, to reform national laws on citizenship and, on the other, to support foreign citizens during the complex legal procedures currently required to apply for it. In the case of Greece or Italy, many associations and movements have been dedicated exclusively to these issues for many years, since access to Greek or Italian citizenship, both for minors and

adults born or raised in these countries, is not simple.⁵² Self-organization, public mobilization and the creative use of new communication channels are some of the most used tools in these advocacy campaigns that see the leadership of the so-called “second-generation migrants”⁵³ in the promotion of actions addressed to both policy makers and public opinion.

Citizenship. The social agenda

- Unbinding the ownership of citizenship from nationality
- Reforming national legislation on citizenship by modifying the minimum period of presence on the territory required and adopting *ius soli* (right of residence) as a reference principle for minors born or raised in the country
- Guaranteeing the correct application of the legislation, simplifying the procedures for submitting the application, and respecting the timeframe for their conclusion
- Recognize the right to vote, at least at local level, to foreign citizens of third countries permanently living in the territory.

52 Generation 2.0 in Greece and ASGI - Association for Legal Studies on Immigration (Anti-Discrimination Group), Italians Without Citizenship in Italy (see national reports) have been fighting for many years at different levels to facilitate the procedures for acquiring citizenship with political and legal advocacy actions aimed at reforming the legislation, but also with monitoring activities in the field to understand closely where the bureaucratic problems resulting from these restrictive laws reside. Despite the concentration on different issues, the reform of the citizenship law is a shared goal in many of the initiatives and organizations interviewed, as it emerges as an insurmountable obstacle to any initiative (from the protection of rights to work). In Italy, 8 of the 20 organizations and initiatives interviewed have among their main objectives the reform of the law on citizenship.

53 This is the case with Generation 2.0 RED in Greece (see below in selected initiatives). One of the organizations interviewed, led by second generation immigrants, who have years of experience going well before the current humanitarian crisis, in legal lobbying. Their acquired knowledge and experience is proving very useful in advocating for the rights of migrants and refugees now arriving in Greece.

2.3.2. Structural racism

The principle of equality is one of the pillars of the Charter of Fundamental Human Rights of the European Union, which prohibits “all forms of discrimination based, in particular, on sex, “race”, colour, or ethnic or social origin, genetic features, language, religion or belief, political or any other opinion, membership of a national minority, property, birth, disability, age or sexual orientation.” (Art. 21). Directives 43 and 78 of 2000 also provided a legal framework of reference for the effective guarantee of equal treatment in member countries in the various spheres of economic and social life: in the world of vocational training and employment, in the sphere of social protection, health, education, housing and access to public and private services. These directives have been transposed into the legal systems of EU member states, but the effective guarantee of equal treatment in these areas is far from being achieved. The European Commission itself seems to be aware of this when it identifies education, work, health care and housing as priority areas for intervention in the new “**Action Plan for Integration and Inclusion 2021-2027**”.⁵⁴

Precisely in these areas, migrants, associations and some self-organized experiences in Greece, Italy, Spain, and Malta have found the persistence of important critical issues that cause serious violations of rights and discrimination. 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 each other and it is not always possible to establish with certainty an order of hierarchy between the role that institutions, economic powers, media, and social behaviour play in the production and reproduction of different forms of discrimination and racism.

The Labour Market

One of the paradigmatic examples of this intertwining is represented by the placement of migrants in the labour market. The history of migration, ever since the great transoceanic migrations of the 1800s, tells us in fact how foreign workers tend to be relegated to the least protected, least qualified, and most onerous segments of the labour market, characterized by a high level of precariousness, ex-

54 The Plan is available here: ec.europa.eu

ploitation, and undeclared work. Even today, in the four countries examined, the sectors of agriculture, domestic and care work, logistics, construction and catering are the areas that express an accentuated “ethnicization” of work.⁵⁵

Structural elements within the current economic system are at the origin of this phenomenon: in fact, it is the market, interested in keeping labour costs low, that regulates the demand and supply of employment. However, institutional policies also play a role when, for example: they hinder migration for work reasons; do not effectively combat forms of exploitation and undeclared work; provide complex procedures for the recognition of qualifications or structure vocational training programs for foreign citizens in such a way as to reproduce the model of job segregation shaped by the market. Taking action to correct this model is not easy, but some of the advocacy experiences analyzed offer useful food for thought.

In Spain and Italy, numerous campaigns and initiatives have been promoted to solicit the regularization of undocumented foreign citizens.⁵⁶ The regularization of residence and work relations should prioritize the protection of workers’ rights over the needs of the market and punish labour exploitation, which in some areas borders on semi-slavery. The introduction in the legislation of all member countries of norms favoring the emersion of undeclared work (national and foreign) and collective bargaining is one way forward.⁵⁷

Migrant or refugee workers’ membership in local unions can strengthen the struggle of migrants for labour rights, provide opportunities for political growth and struggle on equal terms with local workers.⁵⁸

Unsustainable housing conditions accompany the labour exploitation of sea-

55 See Pugliese E., “Gli immigrati nel mercato del lavoro e i modelli regionali di inserimento”, in Carchedi F. (edited by), *La risorsa inaspettata*, Ediesse, 1999 and Pugliese E., (edited by), *Rapporto immigrazione*, Rome, Ires - Ediesse, 2000.

56 Asgi, ActionAid, the ex-Canapificio of Caserta, Naga, the Coordinamento immigrati of Bologna and the *Ero straniero* in Italia campaign are very committed on this front. In Spain, the #RegularizaciónYa campaign, the Comunidad Negra Afrodescendiente y Africana and the Sindicato Popular de Vendedores Ambulantes are fighting for the introduction of unconditional and permanent regularization mechanisms for all undocumented migrants.

57 In Italy, the experience of NoCap is exemplary from this point of view. This association was created following a strike by farm workers in Nardò and has fought for the approval of a new law against “caporalato” (forced labour) and continues to work to facilitate the escape from the “ghettos” of many immigrants and their work and social inclusion in the communities where they live.

58 For example, in Malta, the General Workers Union has led an interesting initiative to ask companies to adapt health services to take into account the culture of migrant workers. Another significant experience is that of the aforementioned Sindicato Popular de Vendedores Ambulantes which, in a self-organized form, has promoted public initiatives and meetings with institutions to stop the abuse of undocumented street vendors by the police and has also created experiences of mutual aid.

sonal workers in agricultural areas. The activation of local governments can be decisive in guaranteeing suitable housing solutions, as shown by the *Fruita amb Justícia Social* campaign promoted by seasonal workers in Catalonia during the fruit harvest.⁵⁹

Labour. The social agenda

- Strengthen national legislation against illegal work and illegal employment.
- Encourage the emergence of undeclared work by introducing permanent and structural mechanisms for regularizing workers who are undocumented.
- Facilitate the acquisition of a residence permit for reasons of self-employment by street vendors.
- Simplify the procedures necessary for the recognition of qualifications.
- Incentivize vocational training programs aimed at migrants, asylum seekers and refugees that open qualified pathways to enter the labour market.

Housing

The right to decent housing is a pillar of the social inclusion process. However, this right is denied to many migrants at all stages of their migration project. Precarious housing conditions and discrimination affect asylum seekers and refugees both inside and outside of institutional reception programs and contribute to exacerbate their conditions of vulnerability.

Criticalities are found with reference to unaccompanied foreign minors, women victims of violence, families with children and persons in vulnerable conditions.

⁵⁹ *Fruita amb Justícia Social* (Fruit with Social Justice, see Selected Initiatives section) addressed a recurring problem experienced by agricultural workers, that of the housing and contractual conditions of seasonal fruit pickers who move from region to region. This migrant workforce often lives on the streets and contractors take advantage of their irregular situation. The campaign has successfully engaged municipalities to address this issue.

In all these cases, reception should be ensured by providing dedicated facilities, without forcing people to undergo lengthy evaluation processes just to ascertain their right to housing. The temporary nature that characterizes institutional reception hinders the construction of alternative paths to housing integration and often causes a return to homelessness.

The four countries considered have in common also the difficulty of migrants in obtaining registration in the municipality of residence.

Cases of discrimination in access to the private rental market by foreign citizens or citizens of foreign origin based on national, “ethnic” or “racial” grounds are still recurrent in all the countries examined. This occurs in a context in which, partly due to the progressive cuts made in public and social spending in recent years, increasingly large segments of the “national” population find themselves in conditions of hardship or housing poverty: in all the countries examined, public housing policies are insufficient to meet the existing demand. This situation contributes to fostering the phenomena of ghettoization and housing segregation that affect especially the large urban peripheries.

In the absence of government intervention, NGOs and other informal groups seek to promote self-managed initiatives. In Greece, for example, during the so-called “refugee crisis” due to the lack of housing facilities, many groups from the anti-authoritarian, leftist and anarchist space supported occupations of housing where refugees were housed and helped.⁶⁰ In Spain, instead, in the Catalan region of La Garrotxa, the platform *Stop Racisme Lloguers* has been activated to publicly denounce racist discrimination in access to housing, support those affected with administrative and legal actions and ask the Government to introduce simple and effective reporting and denunciation mechanisms. In Italy, *Refugees Welcome* has been experimenting for some time with homestay as an alternative form of housing inclusion to institutional housing.⁶¹

60 Examples of these anarchist initiatives in Greece include support for refugee housing in Thessaloniki (Orphanage) or Athens (City Plaza).

61 Please see national reports for more details.

Housing. The social agenda

- Launch new public housing plans, allocating the necessary resources, to cope with the growing housing discomfort that involves large segments of the “national” population, together with many refugees, migrants, and citizens of foreign origin.
- Differentiate housing programs for asylum seekers and refugees, considering the needs and requirements of different types of users.
- Avoid public housing policies that lead to ghettoization and housing segregation on a national, ethnic, and social basis.
- Facilitate the registration of foreign citizens with the municipality of residence.

Education

Education is a fundamental human right and one of the main pillars for the inclusion of refugees and migrants in the host society; failure to guarantee it constitutes discrimination and increases the risk of social exclusion. Although the fundamental right of all children to basic education is recognized in international and European human rights law, the quality and duration of education offered to asylum-seekers, refugee and migrant children depends on the country of migration/asylum rather than on their educational needs.

Again, in all countries considered, there is a persistent gap between the formal guarantee of the right to education and the substantive one.

In the first place, the school insertion phase of newly arrived migrant and asylum-seekers children and students still shows many criticalities: insertion often occurs after the school year has begun and this leads to the accumulation of a delay not always recovered with the appropriate interventions. Such integration is particularly difficult for children housed in large camps or reception centers and for Roma children living in informal settlements, mostly located in peripheral areas of cities.

Second, school systems are still very Eurocentric and not very inclusive. There is still a very limited number of schools that seek to promote intercultural education policies and include in the school curriculum elements of knowledge about

the history and culture of the countries of origin of foreign children and students. This Eurocentric approach is, moreover, accentuated by the substantial absence of teachers and professors of foreign origin in schools and universities.⁶²

Among the priorities that require special attention there are: the teaching of the language of the country of residence and that of origin; procedures for the recognition of education, training and qualifications acquired in the country of origin; the higher rate of delay and school dropout of foreign pupils and students compared to their national peers;; phenomena of school and training segregation or concentration of foreign pupils and students in certain schools and technical and professional institutes.

Various initiatives of civil society organizations⁶³ operate specifically in the field of education to guarantee the education of foreign children, combat the phenomenon of school dropout, and broaden educational methodologies by drawing also on non-formal education, art, and culture. In other cases, they work to restore violated rights.⁶⁴

62 This limitation is highlighted above all by the associations and movements of young people of foreign origin in Spain and Italy who claim the need to decolonize the education and training system. See the fact sheets dedicated to *Questa è Roma* (Italy) and *CNNAE* (Spain).

63 Initiatives generally operate on two fronts: ensuring access to the education system and combating migrant and refugee school dropouts. For example, *Trama di Terre* (Italy) or *RefugEduCare* in Greece are both engaged in after-school activities with migrant and refugee students, to combat school dropout.

64 This is for example the case of *ASGI* that in Italy has promoted many antidiscrimination appeals to protect the rights of foreign students, often victims of institutional discriminatory acts tending to exclude them from access to certain school services such as transport or canteen.

Education. The social agenda

- Promote refresher and training courses for teachers to strengthen the capacity of schools to offer proper school inclusion to pupils and students of foreign origin.
- Review school curricula from an intercultural perspective.
- Counteract phenomena of scholastic and educational concentration through targeted scholastic orientation that considers the abilities and desires of students and that involves, when necessary, families as well.
- Developing extracurricular educational activities, also thanks to collaboration and interaction with families and social realities in the area
- Provide educational institutions with cultural mediation services, doctors and psychologists who can offer personalized interventions to children from an interdisciplinary point of view
- Create special observatories to monitor the forms of discrimination and racism that daily occur within the world of school.

Health

Recognition of health as a human right, binds states to guarantee access to health facilities and services for all, ensuring quality, timeliness, and appropriateness from both a cultural and gender perspective, without discrimination, and paying specific attention to the most vulnerable people.⁶⁵

The pandemic phase has dramatically highlighted how effective respect for the principles of equality and non-discrimination in access to health care is crucial to stopping the spread of the virus and ensuring the health of all. But the interviews conducted in the countries surveyed reported the following critical issues.

In the first phase of the pandemic, a deficit of information and health prevention emerged with reference to migrants hosted in reception projects, hotspot, and detention centers. The preparation of specific health protocols to be adopted in the different types of facilities was belated.

65 Please see: OMS, *Human rights and health* (who.int)

In a second phase, the problem was to guarantee access to the vaccination campaign to all foreign citizens present on the territory, regardless of their administrative status.

For example, in Italy vaccination was made effectively accessible to foreigners not registered with the national health service only as a result of agreements born through the collaboration between migrant associations, trade unions and local committees with some regions. These difficulties have been added to the structural ones that, albeit in different ways from country to country, undermine full access to public health services for foreigners who do not have a permit to stay. Specific critical issues concern the guarantee of the right to health of vulnerable foreigners: seasonal agricultural workers, the homeless, the chronically ill and those with mental disabilities.

Numerous violations of the right to health continue to be found in detention centers, where cases of late assistance, which have led to serious consequences on patients, are accompanied by excessive use of psychotropic drugs.

A cross-cultural approach to the organization, management and delivery of health services is lacking. The presence of physicians, health workers of foreign origin and cultural mediators in public health systems is still very limited. Access to the profession by foreign citizens from third countries is hindered on the one hand by difficulties in the recognition of their qualifications, and on the other by regulations, administrative practices, and public calls for health personnel. In addition, there remains a disparity in treatment in terms of remuneration, which on average is lower than that guaranteed to native personnel.

Various associations and social movements interviewed are trying to intervene to overcome these inequalities in the health sector at least partially.

Information campaigns on the right to health in general and on anti-Covid health prevention standards have been promoted, for example, in Italy.⁶⁶

The direct provision of medical assistance to undocumented migrants not enrolled in the national health service and to vulnerable people is a second area of activity that, as in the case of MEDU, can also open the eyes on forms of labour exploitation, poor housing conditions and other forms of discrimination.⁶⁷

66 Particularly active in this area are *Naga* of Milan and the *Ex-Canapificio* of Caserta in Italy and *Fruita amb Justicia Social*, in the territory of Leyda, and *Espacio del Migrante of Barcelona*, in Spain (see the national report).

67 MEDU-Doctors for Human rights (see selected initiatives section) is an organization that began by providing healthcare to the most vulnerable people. They realized that by providing this assistance they had a privileged position to understand other social problems that these vulnerable groups were facing overlapping one another, such as labour, exploitation, housing, etc. As a result, this organization collected information to address these issues and launched migrant-led advocacy initiatives. MEDU is a good example for understanding and countering discriminatory initiatives.

Legal assistance and promotion of advocacy actions against discriminatory requirements that characterize access to health professions is another area of activity.⁶⁸

Health. The Social Agenda

- Ensure treatment and access to health services to all, without discrimination, including foreign nationals without a residence permit.
- Strengthen psychological assistance services for victims of torture and women victims of violence.
- Provide services with linguistic and cultural mediators to facilitate correct information for users and understanding of their health needs.
- Allocate greater resources to territorial medical facilities, including mobile units, to ensure timely and appropriate health assistance, close to patient needs.
- Facilitate the recognition of educational and professional qualifications acquired in the country of origin and eliminate the citizenship requirement from public health personnel recruitment notices.

Media and culture

Traditional media and new online mass communication systems play a decisive role in shaping the ways in which migrants and minorities tend to be represented in public debate.

The available data and studies show very clearly that these representations have two main characteristics: on the one hand, they are strongly conditioned by the close relationship that the traditional media system has with the world of politics; on the other hand, the media rarely give a direct voice to migrants, refugees and minorities who are affected by discrimination. The recurrence of these two elements means that the dominant media narratives related to migration and foreign minorities tend to re-propose, often uncritically, the arguments proposed by politics and, in this way, to feed the polarization of public debate. This happens

⁶⁸ Also in Italy, Asgi and AMSI have been particularly active in this field during the first pandemic phase.

thanks to a selection of news that emphasize the problematic nature of the foreign presence and to the frequent use of a stigmatizing vocabulary.

The recurring association of migration with the concept of crisis and emergency, produced and reproduced in political debate and in the media, bounces off social networks and acquires the consent of a significant part of public opinion.

The appropriation, by some institutional actors and representatives of political parties, of some slogans and political objectives developed by anti-racist movements, has the effect of institutionalizing, instrumentalizing and therefore depowering some ideas and categories of political struggle. Such political instrumentalization contributes to trivializing and normalizing racism, also resorting to the liquid strategies of modern political communication.

The interviews conducted in the countries examined show a plurality of campaigns and initiatives promoted by self-organized migrant movements and civil society organizations with the aim of deconstructing dominant media narratives about migrations and minorities. A shared starting point is the conviction that accurate information requires the production of alternative autonomous narratives, directly produced by migrants, refugees and people who experience racism on their skin.

The rejection of a relationship with the world of information mediated by third parties (political and institutional actors, but also anti-racist associations formed mainly by “nationals”) emerges with great evidence especially where, as in Spain and Italy, the activism of young children of immigration shows a strong dynamism and identifies in the underestimation/removal of the structural mechanisms of racism by the historical anti-racist associations, one of the causes of misinformation. The challenge posed by these realities is therefore to tell their story not as “victims” of discrimination, but as new actors of social transformation, also thanks to the conscious and wise use of the tools offered by new technologies.

The self-production of videos, blogs, maps, and online reporting platforms supports campaigns aimed to denounce institutional discrimination and structural racism.⁶⁹

In other cases, storytelling, and activism on social networks are used to decon-

69 For example, in Spain, the *El Racismo Sale de Fiesta* Campaign in 2018 produced five short videos to denounce the problem of racist discrimination in leisure, which fostered an increase in reports, the recognition of the problem by the Catalan government, and the drafting of a specific intervention protocol aimed at the Catalan police. On the other hand, the campaign *(Re)Acciona*, conducted on Instagram in 2020, aimed to witness cases of daily racism reported online. The *Las Kellys* campaign has self-produced a documentary video on the labour exploitation in hotels, using it in policy advocacy initiatives addressed to the Spanish Parliament and European institutions with the aim of regularizing employment contracts in this sector.

struct and expose misinformation and to demand direct visibility for the voices of racialized people in main-stream media (daily press and TV).⁷⁰

Groups of foreign-born journalists and writers promote advocacy actions specifically aimed at transforming the media system from within, demanding greater openness of the journalistic profession to the entry of foreign and foreign-born professionals into the newsroom workforce.⁷¹

Finally, art, theatre, music, and literature are expressive languages used to build a new polycultural imaginary, among different audiences, far from the anti-racist world.

Media and Culture. The social agenda

- Eliminate, where present, discriminatory requirements that hinder access to the journalistic profession and promote a greater presence of foreign and foreign-born professionals in the editorial offices of newspapers and public television.
- Increase the visibility of the views and stories of migrants, refugees, and racialized people in the media, while protecting their safety.
- Intensify training initiatives for journalists and journalism school students dedicated to promoting accurate information on migrants, refugees, Roma, and people of foreign origin, involving professionals from these groups as teachers.
- Encourage and support autonomous initiatives of self-reporting, communication, and denunciation of institutional and structural forms of racism promoted by migrant, refugees, and foreign-born activists.

70 In Italy, the *Italianisenza cittadinanza* movement, engaged in a campaign aimed to reform the citizenship law, works a lot on self-representation through storytelling, both on social networks and with traditional media. The young people of the *No hate speech movement* Italy are active with thematic online information and awareness campaigns against the spread of hate online. Not interviewed, but very active in the training of journalists and schools of journalism is also the second level association *Carta di Roma* (of which Lunaria is member).

71 The network of Afro-descendant journalists and writers that collaborates with the association *Razzismo brutta storia* and the association *Questa è Roma* have promoted very effective initiatives with the aim of decolonizing the world of culture and the media language and to promote the presence of authors of foreign origin, especially Afro-descendants, on some mainstream media.

2.4. From participation to leadership

The problem of a political participation of foreign citizens predominantly *mediated* by third sector organizations has been widely debated in the European anti-racist movement and investigated by many studies in the field. It has almost always emerged with greater intensity precisely at the stages when the demand for leadership by immigrant or foreign-born citizen movements and associations has been strongest. Indeed, the active participation of migrant and racialized people in anti-racist movements is a prerequisite for conducting stronger and more effective advocacy and policy advocacy actions.

During the research, we tried to understand how much and how the theme of participation and leadership of migrants and racialized people crosses the internal debate and practices of the social realities interviewed; what are the obstacles that prevent full and equal participation in public space and the growth of leadership of racialized people in the anti-racist movement; whether there are modes of organization and relationships that facilitate them.

Very different points of view and approaches emerged, ascribable to the specificity of national social contexts and to the heterogeneity of organizational forms, history, “national” and generational composition of the social base, and of the leadership groups of the realities interviewed. The theme of social and political participation seems to take on different connotations depending on whether we are talking about first-generation migrants or young children of immigration, who have not known the experience of migration and in many cases are European citizens. The issue of participation is also declined in different ways in self-organized social realities on the one hand and in more structured third sector organizations, generally founded by native activists, on the other.

The very high demand for participation, but especially for leadership, of **young people of foreign origin born and/or raised in Europe and of racialized people** is clearly expressed in Spain and Italy, highlighting a complex, in some cases conflicting, relationship with historical anti-racist associations.

In Spain, for example, antiracism led by racialized people has grown in recent years, at least in some parts of the country (Madrid, Barcelona, etc.). These movements, previously considered informal and “anti-system” movements, are increasingly recognized as necessary and legitimate interlocutors by other civil society actors and institutions. The realization that it is not possible to talk about

racism and anti-racism without racialized people has taken root in a relevant part of civil society and political parties.⁷²

The request for a greater listening and the problem of a lack of political recognition of the new anti-racist subjectivities founded in recent years by young people of foreign origin, of the knowledge and talents of the so-called second-generation young people, are clearly emerging in Italy too. Among these, the associations G2, Questa è Roma and the movement #italianisenzacittadinanza 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 movements.⁷³ However, experiences of this kind do not yet seem to be consolidated in Greece and Malta.

For newly arrived migrants, asylum seekers and refugees, the theme is that of the presence of a **multiplicity of subjective and structural obstacles** to social and political participation that are common to the four countries involved in the research.

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 centers and limits their political activism. The uncertainty of daily life, bureaucracy, and the many concrete problems to be faced leave little room for collective action.

The high territorial mobility that characterizes especially the first phase of the migration experience and the strong limitations to the autonomy of asylum seekers hosted in governmental reception centers, hinder a direct social and political commitment of migrants and asylum seekers for their rights. This is particularly true for migrants who consider Italy, Greece and Malta as transit countries.

The precariousness of housing and working conditions keeps material problems in the foreground. In particular, in Italy the exploitation that characterizes some segments of migrant labour, especially in the countryside, in care work and in logistics, characterized by a large presence of undeclared work, make foreign workers very liable to blackmail by employers and strongly limit the possibility of their political participation.

72 Sos Racisme, "Social priorities, participation, and advocacy practices. The experience of 20 Spanish antiracist realities", mentioned before, p. 11.

73 Lunaria, "Social priorities, participation, and advocacy practices. The experience of 20 Italian antiracist realities", mentioned above, p. 40-45 and 57-59.

The obstacles mentioned above actually originate in a structural limitation that resides in the *security and prohibitionist system of migration and asylum policies* adopted in all the countries involved in the research. It is the legislation itself that, assuming as a priority the “containment” of migration and maintaining a model of citizenship based on the close connection between the guarantee of civil, social, and political rights and nationality, tends to produce and reproduce discriminatory institutional practices.

From the point of view of **traditional anti-racist associations** engaged in the reception and social insertion of migrants and refugees, the need to operate often in emergency, involves very intense rhythms of work, the difficulty of establishing relationships of trust with migrants and asylum seekers, the lack of staff and resources that can be dedicated to the care of the associative life and the organization of initiatives of activism, social mobilization and political advocacy.⁷⁴

A more political interpretation of the causes that hinder participation and leadership in the anti-racist movement emerges from activists of foreign origin and/or racialized people who are part of self-organized associations and movements, particularly in Spain and Italy. These realities tend to focus attention on the structural and institutional roots of racism and highlight the existence of a systemic and cultural problem that cuts across institutional and political systems, but also conditions the political action of the historical anti-racist movement.⁷⁵

Institutional racism. Institutional racist practices are legitimized in many cases at the normative level by immigration legislation and represent in themselves a structural limitation for the advocacy action of anti-racist movements. As explained in the previous subsection, racism is a constitutive axis of the nation state and as such, “reforming” racist practices is extremely complex and small victories require large efforts.

The construction of an autonomous and independent political discourse. The need for antiracist collectives to work, in the face of serious violations of rights, from the emergency and in the short term, involves the concentration of energies to stop or at least put a stop to discriminatory institutional practices, putting in the background the construction of proposals and strategies of action “radically different” and transformative.

The instrumentalization of the antiracist discourse. In recent years, in parallel

74 This kind of obstacles has been reported by Medu, Naga and Refugees Welcome in Italy; Terres des Hommes and Arsis in Greece and by most interviewees in Malta.

75 The campaign #RegularizaciónYa, the Comunidad Negra Afrodescendiente y Africana – CNNAE, the Sindicato Popular de Vendedores Ambulantes in Spain and Questa è Roma, Razzismo brutta storia and the movement #italianisenzacittadinanza in Italy have underlined the problematic relationship with the oldest antiracist organizations.

to the social and institutional legitimization of the anti-racist discourse, some governments and political parties have made their own part of this discourse, institutionalizing concepts and categories developed by movements that, in this way, lose strength and ability to produce political change. For example, in Spain some local administrations have carried out institutional anti-racist campaigns, while maintaining discriminatory practices (for example, racial profiling). In Italy, some parties have taken the battle for the reform of the law on citizenship at the programmatic level, but then they did not support the approval of the reform when it was voted in Parliament. The risk is that of a trivialization of anti-racism that can invalidate the efforts made by civil society to trigger social change and, consequently, discourage participation and social and political activism.

“White”, Eurocentric and paternalistic anti-racism. In the Spanish self-organized movements, but also in some Italian movements founded by young black foreigners, there is a strong criticism of the “white privilege” of civil society actors and anti-racist movements. A paternalistic and Eurocentric interpretation of racism and its relationship to politics complicates the integration of the anti-racist struggle into social movements. Similarly, the uncritical occupation of political spaces by movements and organizations predominantly composed of anti-racist organizations founded by indigenous activists is a further limitation of anti-racist advocacy initiatives.

Resources and participation. Self-organized spaces depend on the work of activists to carry out their initiatives. The availability of time and resources for activist political action can vary over time, depending on the personal circumstances of those involved.

Segregation of political engagement. Second-generation activists of foreign origin demand political recognition that is not limited to the field of migration policies or the fight against racism. In Italy, for example, the claim of an active political role in all areas of collective interest has clearly emerged: from struggles against social and economic inequalities, to those of gender, to struggles at work and for universal welfare.

The careful and differentiated analysis of the causes that hinder the development and consolidation of a national and European anti-racist movement led by migrants, refugees, and racialized people generates equally heterogeneous responses about the solutions to facilitate them.

Participation seems to be facilitated by listening, building social relationships and self-organization, which can only be fully realized within well-identified collective spaces, both physical and virtual, and following methodologies and times that are not heterodirected.

The direct or indirect management of basic services or collective spaces is essential to build the struggles for the promotion of rights. These collective spaces will serve to identify through listening the priority social needs on which to open disputes or advocacy campaigns and to start processes of real participation and political leadership.

Services alone (even when they are self-organized) do not automatically generate direct involvement in political activism. It is necessary to accompany them with an internal process of ongoing relationships (periodic meetings set at times that can be reconciled with work, group discussions, participation in recreational moments, opening of chats for the daily sharing of information, social surveys) and with moments of public political activism to encourage the structuring of a collective belonging and identity. In self-organized movement realities this seems to happen more spontaneously.

The importance of the availability of **self-organized collective spaces** emerged in all the countries involved in the research. If in Malta the theme is essentially declined in terms of a shortage that has yet to find answers, in Italy, Spain and to a different extent in Greece, there is no lack of experiences already experimented.

In **Greece**, the Greek Forum of Migrants, the Greek Forum of Refugees and Generation 2.0 are realities 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 the communities themselves. Examples of self-organized advocacy are housing projects, mostly coming from the anarchist space. In these cases, refugees move from the periphery to the center of the city, in an attempt to move away from the camps, to integrate into the urban fabric, and to make themselves independent of the benefits and model of living imposed in the governmental reception system. Self-organizing, anti-fascist and anti-racist ideals frame these initiatives.⁷⁶

In **Spain**, self-organized spaces of migrants and racialized people have autonomously promoted political advocacy actions. This has allowed them to open proactive political spaces, at the local or even national level, led only by migrants and racialized people; to maintain their own anti-racist agenda, without having to support that of other civil society actors, if anything obtaining 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

76 Antigone, "Social priorities, participation, and advocacy practices. The experience of 20 Greek antiracist realities", mentioned above, p.23-25.

conception of anti-racism; to contribute to the change of the social discourse on immigration by transforming the “victims” of racism into actors of social transformation.

The research distinguished spaces and networks of self-organized activism at the local regional and/or national level; platforms at the local level and campaigns. The majority of these spaces function thanks to the activist work of members and the self-financing of political action. In general, these spaces make their decisions in an assembly way and organize themselves into groups or work areas to carry out their initiatives. Only in a few cases have advocacy campaigns been carried out using technical and financial resources of civil society organizations. The experiences considered refer primarily to non-mixed workspaces (self-organized, constructed and led by migrants and racialized people) and only in a few cases to mixed spaces (where both racialized people and indigenous activists participate) where, however, racialized people have or have had an active role in the design or implementation of political actions.

The existence of non-mixed anti-racist workspaces is seen as a necessity, so that racialized people have safe environments where they can share the violence they have experienced and construct their own narratives and strategies. The belief prevails that in “mixed” workspaces, power dynamics and racial hierarchy tend to be reproduced and the struggles of racialized people are not fully understood, which generates discomfort and challenges the functioning of those spaces.

The situation in **Italy** is more complex and differentiated. 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 to “decolonize” antiracism, such as Razzismo brutta storia and Questa è Roma, there are collective spaces born from their origins as mixed-race spaces, managed in an equal way. The 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, an association of women committed to gender issues that brings together Italian, foreign and foreign-born women in the management of some services and in the conduct of political battles. The experience of the Ex Canapificio of Caserta offers another example. An even different case is represented by the movement of #italianisenzacittadinanza that, while opting for self-organization, collaborates with many traditional anti-racist associations, seeking their support for its initiatives, but maintaining the leadership of its advocacy strategy.

Traditional anti-racist associations seem to be aware of the need to change their advocacy strategies and systems of democracy and internal representation, but the diagnosis of the problem does not seem to be accompanied, at least so far, by a sufficiently mature reflection on possible solutions. The organization of focus groups, round tables, self-defense groups, information workshops on rights, public events with migrant or refugee speakers, visits to the camps where asylum seekers are hosted as well as the inclusion of migrants, asylum seekers and refugees in the staff are the main tools identified to facilitate the participation of migrants and refugees in the advocacy initiatives promoted by Greek anti-racist associations. The support of associations to the initiatives promoted by migrants and refugees is another relevant mode of intervention experimented in Spain, Italy and Greece.

Among all, we recall the support of Italian associations to the new campaigns on citizenship promoted by G2, by #italiansenzacittadinanza and by Conngi; the support of Spanish antiracist associations to the campaign #RegularizaciónYa and that of Greek organizations to the protest of Moria, which broke out because of the miserable living conditions in the camp. Organizations, such as Lesvos Solidarity, support these spontaneous initiatives by spreading their voices to the media.

Finally, it should be noted that the relevance of the **formal dimension of participation** (which involves the issue of representation and internal democracy) emerged only in a few cases, which coincide, moreover, with the associations of the third sector that already have citizens of foreign origin within their governing bodies or with the experiences of self-organized movements. This seems to confirm the existence of a problem of unresolved relations between the old and new subjectivities of the movement, which may derive from the difficulty of questioning consolidated organizational cultures, but also from the lack of professional skills and innovative work methodologies. From this point of view, some Italian organizations such as 21luglio and ActionAid seem to find a theoretical reference (explicit in the first case, not declared in the second) in Saul Alinsky's⁷⁷ methodology of community organizing, which invites to promote processes of active listening and leadership building to trigger social change.

77 Saul Alinsky, *Radicali, all'azione! Organizzare i senza-potere (Reveille for Radicals)*, Edizioni dell'Asino, 2020.

PART 3.

The advocacy experiences promoted by migrants, refugees, NGOs and social movements in four European countries. Some examples.

SPAIN

#RegularizaciónYa [#RegularizationNow]

Field of intervention: immigration law

Place: Spain

Website: regularizacionya.com

The campaign

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

The main social needs

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

Mission and political agenda

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

- The extraordinary permanent regularization for all people in an irregular administrative situation in the Spanish state, placing on center stage the legal rights that migrants must be guaranteed.
- The favourable and immediate resolution of all applications for asylum and international protection in the process of review.

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- The favourable resolution of all residence and work authorizations submitted to the immigration offices still pending resolution or going through administrative appeals.
 - The favourable resolution of all applications for the renewal of residence and work permits, regardless of minimum time requirements and without the need to present a valid employment contract.
 - The prioritization of the right to family life for the procedures of family reunification and residence of minors born in Spain and outside of it.
 - The immediate release of all persons interned in Detention Centers for Migrants [Centros de Internamiento de Extranjeros] (CIEs).
 - The transfer of people who are in the Temporary Stay Centers for Immigrants [Centros de Estancia Temporal para Inmigrantes] (CETI) in Ceuta and Melilla to guarantee their health, as well as their rights.
 - The end of “push backs over the fence” and of express deportations of migrant people arriving in Ceuta and Melilla.

The participatory path

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

The advocacy experience

The campaign promoted the presentation of a Non-Legislative Parliamentary Motion (Proposición No de Ley por la regularización) for the urgent, unconditional and permanent regularization of people in an irregular situation, in the Spanish Congress of Deputies. Thanks to a joint effort for political advocacy at the Spanish level, in a very short period of time the political support of eight parliamentary groups was obtained, and the Motion was finally submitted in Congress. The connection with a migrant congresswoman who spent several years without papers in Spain was a key factor in this regard. These advocacy actions made it possible

to place #RegularizacionYa and full title structural racism in the political debate. Unfortunately, in September 2020 the Congress rejected the proposal, with PSOE, PNV, Ciudadanos, VOX and the Popular Party voting against the proposal. In any case, this action represented a very significant step forward in the visibility and construction of shared advocacy strategies promoted directly by the communities of migrants and racialized people in Spain.

Comunidad Negra Afrodescendiente y Africana - CNAE

[Afro-descendant and African Black Community]

Field of intervention: police racism

Place: Spain

Website: cnae.org

The association

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

The main social needs

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

Mission and political agenda

The main objectives are, among others:

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

The participatory path

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

The advocacy experience

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

Sindicato Popular de Vendedores Ambulantes

[People's Union of Street Vendors]

Field of intervention: work

Place: Barcelona, Madrid, Zaragoza

Website: manteros.org

The movement

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

The main social needs

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

Mission and political agenda

The main objectives of the union are:

- Advocate for the regularization of migrants, in collaboration with other anti-racist movements.
- Offer mutual help between street vendors and establish alliances with other groups of migrants and/or non-white people.
- Promote the Union's own clothing brand (Top Manta) with the aim of impro-

ving the living conditions of the street vendors and making the harassment they experience visible.

- Raise awareness about institutional racism and racist immigration policies.

The participatory path

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

The advocacy experience

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

Parad de Pararme

[Stop Stopping me]

Field of intervention: police racism

Place: Spain (Catalonia-Madrid)

Website: www.paraddepararme.org

The campaign

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

The main social needs

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

Mission and political agenda

The main objective of the campaign is that the administrations:

- Recognize the real dimension of police controls guided by ethnic profiling and condemn them.
- Take measures aimed at preventing and prohibiting identification based on skin colour or physical, cultural, and religious characteristics.
- Collect data on each identification and registration action they carry out (including motive, ethnic profiling and result) and regularly publish statistics on the matter.

- Introduce internal and external control measures and apply sanctions against agents that carry out police controls in a discriminatory and unjustified manner.
- Facilitate complaint mechanisms for the population subject to arbitrary identifications and searches and favour an external control system of these processes.
- Actively disseminate the rights and guarantees of people and respond to their concerns about the criteria for police identifications.

The participatory path

The identification of the problem was made from the cases of racial profiling reported to the SOS Racisme Catalunya Attention and Reporting Service [Servicio de Atención y Denuncia], and from the analysis of the discriminatory dynamics of the police forces. In this sense, some of the complainants have actively participated in the design of the campaign actions and its materials (such as, for example, the advocacy videos: www.paraddepararme.org). Furthermore, the technical and activist team behind the campaign (linked to SOS Racisme) created a network of alliances with organizations and social movements in Catalonia, to disseminate the content of the campaign, and in particular a guide for victims of racial profiling, as well as witnesses to racial profiling: www.paraddepararme.org.

The advocacy experience

Within the framework of the campaign, the report *Appearance is no motive* (“La apariencia no es motivo”) was prepared, which presents an analysis of the experiences gathered through observation work and the collection of public data from the Catalan police and the local police from different municipalities about police identifications. The study confirmed the systematic, racist, and criminalizing practice of this type of identification, since people of foreign nationality are stopped 7 times more than people of Spanish nationality. According to data from the Catalan police, 54.1% of police identifications have been carried out on people of foreign national origin. Considering that the foreign population represents 13.7% of the total population, the ratio shows a high index of disproportionality. The report was publicly presented in 2019; the information contained in the report made it possible to carry out political advocacy actions that resulted in the preparation of the document “Proposals for non-discriminatory police identifications” (“Propuestas para unas identificaciones policiales no discriminatorias”), by the Office for Civil Rights of the Government of Catalonia [la Oficina por los De-

rechos Civiles del Gobierno de Cataluña] (centredocumentacioap.diba.cat): it is the first institutional document in Catalonia that openly addresses the problem of racial bias in identifications, published by an administration in charge of managing police forces. In October 2020 the document was presented to the Civil Rights Commission of the Generalitat of Catalonia [Comisión de Derechos Civiles de la Generalitat de Cataluña].

Fruita amb Justicia Social

[Fruit with Social Justice]

Field of intervention: work

Place: Lleida

Website: fruitaambjusticia.wordpress.com

The campaign

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

The main social needs

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

Mission and political agenda

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

- For the administrations to house in a dignified manner all seasonal workers who travel to the city of Lleida during the fruit collection season;
- For the government sub-delegation to initiate work and residence authorization procedures on account of being job holders for all workers who are in an irregular administrative situation;
- To guarantee universal access to healthcare for all workers involved in the fruit collection campaign;
- For the government branches in charge to increase the labour inspections regime of the region’s agricultural establishments, and impose sanctions for the breach of labour agreements and regulations, especially for the failure to provide lodging for temporary workers as mandated by law;

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- To promote local agriculture and eliminate institutional support for agribusiness that does not respect the rights of seasonal workers and the natural environment.

The participatory path

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

The advocacy experience

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

Stop Racisme Lloguers

[Stop Racism in Housing Rentals]

Field of intervention: housing

Place: Olot, Catalonia.

Website (if available): www.racismelloguers.cat

The platform

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

The main social needs

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

Mission and political agenda

The main lines of action of the campaign are:

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

The participatory path

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

The advocacy experience

Since its creation, the campaign has put pressure on the Olot City Council, holding monthly meetings so that the administration can implement effective measures to eradicate racism in access to housing: in this regard, it is worth mentioning that in 2020 the Municipality's Housing Office [Oficina de Vivienda del Municipio] prepared a legal report on the violation of this right and the responsibilities of the local administration (www.racismelloguers.cat). The data collection made by the campaign, which has created a map of cases of racial discrimination in housing reported by citizens, can be consulted on its website (www.racismelloguers.cat).

ITALY

ItalianiSenzaCittadinanza

[Italians without Citizenship]

Field of intervention: citizenship law

Place: Rome

Website: www.italianisenzacittadinanza.org,
www.facebook.com/italianisenzacittadinanza

The movement

ItalianiSenzaCittadinanza (Italians without Citizenship) is an informal movement born spontaneously from below in 2016, on the initiative of a group of young twenty-something foreigners and people of foreign origin residing in various Italian cities. This movement was born with a very precise objective: to urge the Senate to definitively approve the reform of Law 91/92 on citizenship, already approved by the Chamber of Deputies on 13 October 2015. Thanks to an intense online and offline mobilisation activity, the movement has grown over the years, structuring a highly participatory collective political path. This was 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 procedures required to apply for Italian citizenship.

The main social needs

The social need that drives the movement is to guarantee citizenship rights to thousands of young foreigners born or raised in Italy, who are 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. It aims also 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 apply; to shorten the time required to complete the procedure and to abolish the rule that provides for the possibility of revoking citizenship obtained by residence.

In the last two years, the need to link the citizenship battle more closely to other campaigns aimed to close detention centers, to fight against institutional racism and to countering various forms of intersectional discrimination.

Mission and political agenda

ItalianiSenzaCittadinanza has gradually redefined its political agenda, considering the many changes that have affected the Italian institutional and political set-up in the last three years. The battle for the reform of Law 91/92 has been flanked by specific initiatives to cancel the rules introduced by Law 132/2018 (on immigration and security), which extended the maximum duration of the procedure from two to four years and introduced the revocation of citizenship in the event of terrorist offences.

The participatory path

The complex challenge on which the movement has focused is to transform the individual stories of injustice and institutional discrimination experienced by young foreigners interested in acquiring citizenship into an asset and a collective political pathway. The movement has experienced very specific organisational development and internal dynamics. The main ‘forum’ for internal debate initially provided was a chat room on Messenger, flanked by a few national meetings in person, generally held in conjunction with the organisation of street mobilisations. With the growth of the movement, specific chats dedicated to working groups were added to the main chat. 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 either in terms of the interlocutors to be involved (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 an internal information channel and as a means of external communication aimed at journalists and the world of politics, thanks to the very effective use of storytelling.

The advocacy experience

The movement’s advocacy activity is multidimensional, involving policy advocacy initiatives (directly addressed to political decision-makers), public mobilisations in the streets, an intense media relations activity and, especially after the pandemic emergency, initiatives aimed at improving the administrative practices that

regulate the procedure for applying for Italian citizenship. In the first phase of the movement's life (2016-2017), the unblocking of the legislative reform was a priority. This was pursued with the organisation of dozens of highly attended public initiatives in front of the Parliament, with strong media visibility, with close collaboration with civil society and the world of education engaged in the battle over citizenship, including the promoters of the campaign *L'Italia sono anch'io*, promoter of the reform text discussed in Parliament.

The beginning of the pandemic emergency focused the movement's attention on the need to support young foreigners who, due to new economic difficulties, found the income requirement an obstacle to accessing Italian citizenship. Hence, a strategy that sought alliances with other organisations (Save the Children, Tavolo Minori) to request a moratorium on the income requirement has been implemented.

The movement has also decided (together with another association of young foreigners, COONGI) the establishment of a table with some associations working on citizenship, and to differentiate the advocacy strategy by identifying short-term objectives (the improvement of some administrative practices) and long-term objectives (the drafting of a new proposal for the reform of the law on citizenship). The movement maintains a strong commitment to communication, aimed at broadening public support for reform as much as possible. For example, the online campaign *Obiettivo Cittadinanza* (Objective Citizenship), promoted in collaboration with the association *Cittadinanzattiva*, which tells the personal stories of some of the movement's activists and communicates their concrete status as Italian citizens in an empathetic and immediate way, goes in this direction.

ASGI - Association for Legal Studies on Immigration

[Anti-Discrimination Group]

Place: Turin (Italy)

Field of intervention: antidiscrimination

Website: www.asgi.it

The association

ASGI is a social promotion association founded in 1990 by a group of lawyers, jurists and scholars committed to guaranteeing the rights of migrants, asylum seekers, refugees, foreign citizens permanently residing in Italy and the Roma. ASGI is a point of reference at national level for lawyers, jurists, social workers, antiracist associations and public bodies. Thanks to a wide network of collaboration with the legal desks of local associations, ASGI is active in the legal protection of foreign citizens, in the drafting of state and EU legislation and in the promotion of anti-discrimination actions in civil and criminal law. ASGI has made an essential contribution to the removal of institutional discriminations both at local and national level.

The main social needs

The principle of equality in access to rights, services and work guides the anti-discrimination initiatives of the association, which is active against discrimination carried out by private individuals (e.g. housing, banking services), in guaranteeing access to social security benefits (maternity support, access to public housing, childcare, citizenship income) and work, with a particular focus on the civil service.

Mission and political agenda

ASGI intends to guarantee:

- The principle of equality for the successful integration of foreign citizens into Italian society and that all people can work on the basis of their abilities, rather than on the basis of the type of residence permit they hold;
- The access of foreign citizens to public employment, combating the phenomenon of 'ethnic' and ghettoising segmentation of the labour market, whereby foreign citizens tend to be placed in the weakest, least protected and most labour-intensive sectors
- The recognition of equal opportunities in the world of work and enhancement the knowledge and skills of foreign workers.

The participatory path

To date, the association has a limited number of foreign members, but the daily relationship and the social relations and trust with foreign citizens that lawyer members establish in the exercise of their professional activity, facilitate the identification of priority and strategic areas in which to intervene. The greater involvement of foreign citizens in advocacy actions and in the association activities is a present need, there is an awareness of the fact that the denunciation and reporting of discrimination could have a stronger impact, if the foreign persons directly affected were involved. At the same time, ASGI points out that many people affected by discrimination wish not to expose themselves publicly, especially in the media, and not to risk double victimisation.

The advocacy experience

ASGI's advocacy activity is mainly expressed at judicial level, with the promotion of anti-discrimination appeals and strategic cases. The association does not have any professional figure dedicated to advocacy nor does it act based on advocacy strategies elaborated at the desk. Normally, the simultaneous emergence in many areas of the country of the same type of claim/discrimination inspires nationally coordinated advocacy action. The choice of action is preceded by a careful assessment of the reasonableness of the demands, the actual possibility of obtaining justice and the collective value of the action. The successful judicial initiatives promoted by Asgi are many, but among the most significant ones in recent years, two stand out.

The first one was the promotion of several anti-discrimination appeals, related to the request to foreign citizens of third countries (provided for in some municipal and regional resolutions) to prove the lack of property in their countries of origin. They had to prove it through the presentation of original documents produced by them to have access to public housing or to contributions in support of rent.

Another initiative concerned the requirements for access to certain subsidised social services in school canteens and for school buses (which were modified following the approval of a resolution by the Lodi Municipality in October 2017). In this case, following the changes, to obtain the benefits of the law and not pay the full tariff for the school canteen service and school transport, the families of foreign children had to present, in addition to the ISEE required of Italian families, a certificate attesting to the absence of income in their country of origin. Together with the extraordinary mobilisation of civil society, first of the families of foreign children and their Italian peers, a very effective advocacy campaign acted in parallel on the social, media and legal levels of solidarity, leading to the removal of institutional discrimination.

Trama di Terre

[Plot of lands]

Field of intervention: antidiscrimination

City: Imola (Italy)

Web site: www.tramaditerre.it

The association

Trama di Terre is an intercultural association of women from all over the world. It is active in Imola since 1997 and founded by a group of 14 women of five different nationalities, with the aim of welcoming and building relationships between native and migrant women, fighting for the rights of self-determination of all and opposing discrimination and male violence in all its forms. An intercultural centre, a shelter for women in economic and housing difficulties, a refuge centre for women victims of forced marriages and honour-related violence, an anti-violence centre, extraordinary shelters for women asylum seekers, a Sprar reception centre (later Si-proimi-Sai) are the main activities carried out over the years.

The main social needs

The members of Trama di Terre consider fundamental to create collective spaces where native and foreign women can meet, exchange ideas, support each other, fight together for the recognition of their rights, prevent and combat gender-based violence, social exclusion, discrimination and racism. The group's cultural, national and social plurality and collective action are considered the founding axes of the organisation's political identity and social mission. Among the priorities identified in the current phase, there is first the need to overcome the lack of an overall political approach to gender, equal opportunities of gender and origin (geographical, cultural, social, and economic). Cultural and educational work is considered a priority to prevent and combat everyday social racism, which is not only identified with the most recognisable forms of racism and sanctioned by law. A multicultural and intercultural educational policy is needed, but also training for teachers and acknowledging the cultural plurality of Italian society with facts. The way in which institutions tend to relate to foreign women should change, as should the institutional concept of reception, which retains a welfare bias.

Mission and political agenda

The activities on the agenda are:

- The promotion of spaces of autonomy and participation aimed at the full implementation of the principles of equality, equal social dignity and citizenship of native and migrant women.
- Combating different forms of discrimination, recognising their intersectionality, which particularly affects migrant women and those who are economically weaker.
- Pursuing women's self-determination and empowerment in private as well as public spaces.
- Fighting against fundamentalism of all kinds through the activities of the association, which combats any patriarchal culture, whether Italian or foreign, by focusing on a gender approach and women's rights.

The participatory path

The association has developed thanks to the weaving of relationships between women. Trama di Terre is primarily a hospitable refuge, recognised in the area, which allows women who approach it to find emotional closeness, to become aware of the discrimination they have suffered, to speak out in the protected space of the association, to experience political participation inside and, thanks to the collective experience, to win it outside. The relationship is built up, above all, thanks to the various services offered, the cultural and training activities, the political initiatives promoted by the intercultural centre and word of mouth. The teaching of the Italian language, the hostels, the anti-violence centre, the political initiatives, training, but also cooking and music, are the channels through which women meet and become an active part of the association.

The advocacy experience

The advocacy initiatives mentioned by the association are three. The first concerns the protection of women who are victims of forced marriages. Trama di Terre, after having carried out a research in 2011, opened a reception centre with the support of the Vodafone foundation and ActionAid. When the project ended, the association tried to convince the municipality to support the maintenance of the centre, unfortunately without success. A second battle was successful. After having requested for a long time to facilitate access to housing for single women with children (migrants and natives), in 2015-2016 the Municipality changed the way of calculating the score for access to public housing, recognising a higher sco-

re for women coming out of situations of violence. Not a real campaign, but an initiative that nevertheless appears interesting is the meeting organised with the Mayor on 19 June 2021, on World Refugee Day. Some asylum seekers handed the Mayor a letter in which they explained very clearly the real barriers they face in building a path out of the reception system that will guarantee them social and economic independence and autonomy from social services.

MEDU- Doctors for Human Rights

Field of intervention: health and work

Place: Rome

Website: mediciperidirittiumani.org

The association

Medici per i Diritti Umani (MEDU) is an independent, non-profit humanitarian organisation that was set up by a group of doctors, midwives and other volunteers involved in a health mission with the Kichwa indigenous communities of the Ecuadorian Andes. MEDU was formally established in 2004 in Rome with the aim of healing and witnessing, bringing health assistance to the most vulnerable populations, and - starting from medical practice - denouncing human rights violations and in particular exclusion from access to treatment. Within MEDU, there are no figures dedicated exclusively to the advocacy strategy.

The main social needs

The political priorities are the promotion of human rights in general and of the right to health of the most vulnerable population groups.

Mission and political agenda

The issues the association deals with today are:

- Countering labour exploitation in agriculture;
- Promoting access to primary healthcare and mental health for all;
- Combating torture and cruel, inhuman, and degrading treatment.

The participatory path

Migrants and refugees reached by MEDU projects participate in the advocacy action through the direct testimonies they provide to the operators. These testimonies converge in public reports, press releases and documents addressed to the institutions. Migrants/refugees are informed about the institutional advocacy and public opinion information activities carried out and provide their socio-demographic data and testimonies by signing an informed consent, aware that they will be included in reports and advocacy documents. In rare cases, migrants and refugees reached by the mobile clinic in precarious settlements participated in institutional meetings and round tables with local institutions. Involvement is difficult because both MEDU does not have dedicated figures and because the people

encountered live in extremely precarious socio-housing conditions and have little political representation. Participation and leadership require information, awareness-raising and organisational work that requires time and specific skills, as well as the creation of a common feeling, legal and political recognition and the identification of shared issues and problems. The first obstacle encountered by MEDU in encouraging the direct participation of migrants/refugees in the design and implementation of advocacy strategies is the absence of a long-term strategy. Advocacy initiatives are designed on a case-by-case basis, based on evidence gathered on the ground during project implementation. The second obstacle is the absence of a dedicated figure within MEDU. The third obstacle is the precariousness of migrants' legal and living conditions, the lack of organised groups and the weak political representation of migrants and refugees (due to the low socio-legal recognition).

The advocacy experience

Advocacy initiatives are built from time to time based on what is found during the care and information activities carried out on the ground. The coordinators of each project share themes and issues of interest with the staff and then, with the support of the general coordinator and, depending on the case, the coordinators of the national and international desks, the strategy is drawn up. An action usually involves a first level of data collection, systematisation, and processing, followed by the identification of political interlocutors at national and local level, to whom analysis documents are submitted. In parallel, the data is fed into public reports, which are also directly forwarded to the policy makers relevant to the individual issues. MEDU reports as an example the project Terragiusta, a campaign against the exploitation of foreign workers in agriculture, which started in 2014. This annual campaign identified some complex and correlated causes of exploitation conditions.

First: the unfair mechanisms of the agro-food chain (institutional advocacy level: MEDU asked and obtained to be part of the Caporalato Table).

Second: the legal precariousness of migrants (MEDU introduced a legal worker and in the reports it analyses the legal conditions, putting forward also specific proposals).

Finally: the widespread illegality (political level: interlocution and participation to institutional Tables, public denunciation through reports, posts, analysis documents transmitted to relevant institutions and then made public). The reports always contain specific proposals addressed to individual institutions to overcome the problems highlighted (in this case: Government, Region, ASP, Prefecture, Police, and Municipalities).

Csa Ex Canapificio

Field of intervention: work and immigration law

Place: Caserta

Website: www.csaexcanapificio.it

The association

The voluntary association “Comitato per il centro sociale” (Committee for the social centre) was founded in 1995, initially based in the municipal building of the Ex-Macello, in Caserta. Over the years, the association has carried out prolonged social action in the area, whose incisiveness and social and civil utility, is now unanimously recognised by citizens and institutions. In the same place, there is the Movement of Migrants and Refugees of Caserta, which counts thousands of foreign citizens and fights for the implementation of the right to asylum and exploitation at work of non-regularised migrants, against the Camorra and all forms of racism, for the regularisation of foreign citizens, the right to vote and citizenship.

The main social needs

The association, with the help and full participation of migrants, has set up numerous cultural, social, and recreational initiatives to meet the needs of the territory and its citizens, both locals and foreigners. The basic objectives are to foster the growth of critical consciousness and active citizenship, to protect the rights of the weakest, to promote inclusion policies and to spread the values of peace and solidarity and multiculturalism.

Mission and political agenda

At national level, the association:

- fights for the overcoming of the Law n.189/2002 so-called “Bossi-Fini”. The Ex Canapificio has also given a substantial contribution to the collection of signatures and the drafting of the popular initiative law of the “Ero straniero” (I was a foreigner) Campaign, aimed at reforming the legislation on migration and asylum, and considers it an excellent starting point that fully encompasses the association’s mission:
- fighting for the overcoming of the so-called “security decrees” and for the introduction and proper functioning of the new legal institution of protection for special cases.

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- fighting for the promotion of a series of actions for equal access to anti-Covid 19 vaccines for migrants with and without residence permits, some of whom do not have a health card, do not have a tax code or have a numerical tax code.

The Ex Canapificio is part of the Forum Per Cambiare l'Ordine delle Cose (Forum to Change the Order of Things), with which it promotes joint action and networking.

Regarding European policies, the association considers the reform of the Dublin Regulation and the criticism of the current structure of the European Pact on Migration to be central.

The participatory path

In the organisational structure of the Social Centre, there are both volunteer activists and paid operators within the former Sprar project (now SAI-Siproimi), both foreign citizens and Italians, with equal levels of roles and responsibilities. There are people who deal with reception, others with the legal desk, others with social integration activities, such as the income support desk, and they always work in mixed teams (Italians and foreigners). For the association, this is an important factor of active and inclusive participation. The priorities in the advocacy actions to be carried out are decided with a simple methodology that starts with the investigation in the field, above all through the requests brought to the desk, which is configured as a desk for assistance, orientation, taking charge, legal protection, but above all for struggle and dispute. Proposing the transformation of individual claims into collective disputes encourages participation paths. The biggest obstacle to the full involvement of migrants is undoubtedly the interruption and discontinuity of participatory paths due to priority needs linked to private life, such as moving elsewhere for work, constant precariousness, or loss of the residence permit.

The advocacy experience

The Ex Canapificio has carried out numerous advocacy initiatives over the years. First, in 2010, the association recalled the 'roundabout strike' against undeclared work, to publicly denounce labour exploitation. After the strike, a process was initiated that led to the conclusion of a protocol with the Public Prosecutor's Office in 2011, which, in addition to protecting the victims of sexual exploitation, finally included those of labour exploitation.

Another important campaign is the SVI Plan (Plan for Vulnerable and Exploit-

ed Persons). The Ex Canapificio constructed both a communication campaign and a plan of proposals addressed to the local and national government. The plan envisaged taking a census of the people and supporting them in a process that would make them emerge from their condition of “irregularity”, thanks to an agreement directly stipulated with the Ministry of the Interior and the Territorial Commissions that examine asylum requests. The plan also provided for a sort of pact, which, after regularisation, offered the possibility of starting a training course and a work grant. It was an institutional path, that brought its benefits both on the territory and at national level, often taken as an important example of collaboration, inclusion, and integrated conflict resolution.

Association 21 July

Field of intervention: housing and antidiscrimination

Place: Rome (Italy)

Website: www.21luglio.org

The association

The 21 July Association was founded in Rome on 6 April 2010. It is a non-profit organisation supporting groups and individuals in conditions of extreme segregation and discrimination, protecting their rights and promoting the wellbeing of girls and boys.

The main social needs

The association deals with communities and groups living in conditions of extreme housing segregation at urban level, protects children's rights and works trying to intervene on what generates and produces rights violations in the field of extreme segregation at systemic level. It works first on the outskirts of Rome. While at the national level, having identified the 'Roma camp' as a place of institutional discrimination par excellence, from which other rights violations derive (from the right to education to the right to health and work), it promotes advocacy actions aimed at overcoming these places of discrimination in general, in which approximately 18,000 people live segregated on an 'ethnic' basis. Over the years, the 21 July Association has developed a method that - without any "ethnic" connotation - stems from a rights-based approach and moves along two axes. The first one concerns the actions "in context" of communities exposed to discrimination, with the aim of involving political decision-makers, the media and society in a change of approach both in the management of public discourse and in political actions that impact on the living conditions of these communities. The second one, concerns actions "in context", involving members of communities living in situations of segregation and exclusion.

Mission and political agenda

The association:

- At local level, it operates in the Tor Bella Monaca neighbourhood of Rome, in the Ex Fienile educational and cultural development centre, a building managed by the Municipality of Rome to an ATS of which the 21 July Association is the leader. It has also published Agenda Roma 2021, a research

paper addressed to the political decision-makers of the future municipal administration, with the precise objective of overcoming the city's Roma camps by proposing a precise timetable.

- At the national level, the main advocacy action is to encourage a shift from mere denunciation and legal action to accompanying administrators towards processes of overcoming Roma camps.
- At European level, the strategy aims to “de-ethnicise” the Roma issue.
- In June 2021, the association defined its advocacy strategy for the next seven years, until 2028.

The participatory path

The Board of Directors, elected by the General Assembly, has the task of implementing the general guidelines set by the Assembly and of promoting all initiatives aimed at achieving the social goals. Among the members of the Board of Directors, there are three Roma people. The association promotes the direct involvement of Roma people and tries to achieve the success of its initiatives by taking a back seat. The association, in its advocacy actions, is inspired by the methodology of Community Organizing of Saul Alinsky of the School of Chicago, which involves a listening campaign, the identification of community leaders and process of analysis, study and discussion on how to carry out an advocacy action.

The advocacy experience

In 2014, in Rome, the association sided with the inhabitants of a camp of about forty Romanian Roma living in extreme poverty in the political battle against the forced eviction and supported these people in a process of claiming an alternative housing solution to the camp itself. A more recent advocacy action is that relating to Area F, which is much longer and more structured because it lasted several months, during which the association managed meetings and gatherings, there were three demonstrations in Rome, with many participants, an open letter to the mayor of Rome, and much press coverage. In the end, the ninety people, who were to be evacuated in early September 2020, were all placed in municipal housing, thanks also to the identification of community leaders who mediated and supported the process.

GREECE

Squat – Housing support for refugees in Athens

Field of intervention: Housing

The movement

Charalampos Tsavdaroglou wrote a series of academic articles analysing and theorizing the housing initiatives for refugees promoted by anarchist groups in Athens. His work brings to light many elements that can be very interesting for our project: the interaction with the refugees, their empowerment in a successful quest for an alternative model of integration that was met with hostility by the governmental authorities.

The main social needs

The main social needs that the housing initiatives led by anarchist groups in Athens targeted were twofold. On the one hand, they wanted to provide housing, food and a place in which human dignity could be protected in contrast to the situation in the camps around Athens. On the other hand, the project aimed at bringing to the city of Athens the refugees to facilitate their integration and their life within the city.

The mission/political agenda

The move to the city within a squat shelter is *per se* political since it opens a new life horizon for the refugees. This is what steers the idea of empowering them through a horizontal model of organization that can construct a new space in which dignity, solidarity and inclusion can occur far from the oppressive limitations that these human beings have faced in the governmental camps. In short, the idea is to work beyond the limits of the nation-state.

The participatory path

The practice of autonomy was very clear in this squat. Self-organization is practiced from the beginning. The daily needs, (cooking, guarding the doors of the squat, shopping etc.), are organized by themselves following a horizontal fra-

mework in which the roles are shifting all the time to avoid the accumulation of power.

The advocacy experience City Plaza in Athens put in practice this participatory path. The synergies that this path created among the different groups of people facilitated the structuring of a heterogeneous group that created linkages of solidarity through the daily work in the kitchens, cleaning, etc., but also it helped to overcome language barriers by an interesting melting of languages that each group was learning from the other just to communicate. But most importantly, City Plaza in Athens became a space of freedom and dignity far from the institutional dehumanization and atomization of the camps in which migrants and refugees could again think about the meanings of their existence.

Lesvos Solidarity

Field of intervention: Migration policies and access to asylum

Place: Mytilene (Lesvos)

Website: lesvossolidarity.org

The association

Lesvos Solidarity is a Greek NGO officially registered in 2016 and born from the solidarity network “The Village of Altogether”, which since 2012 had started hosting refugees in the Pikpa camp on Lesvos. Pikpa was an abandoned children’s summer camp of the State that was handed over by the municipal authorities to the solidarity network. Pikpa was a unique initiative and represented an alternative model to the camp system run by the State. This was a place of inclusion, and active participation, the first open Greek refugee camp that created strong solidarity linkages. Unfortunately, Pikpa was evicted in October 2020 by the State authorities.

After the enforcement of the EU-Turkey statement in March 2016, the number of refugees in Lesvos sharply increased. Therefore, to better respond to these challenges and better manage the donations, Lesvos Solidarity was founded as an official NGO. Since then, Lesvos Solidarity has been leading actions to support refugees and locals, such as the Mosaik Support Centre, a social center in Mytilene that offers activities and educational trainings, or the Asklepios medical center, a clinic that offers services both to refugees and locals, connecting them with public services and offering psychosocial and health support. The organization holds workshops to create job opportunities for refugees and develop their skills; it has opened a new housing program for women and for women with children. Finally, Lesvos solidarity organizes activities for refugees to connect them in the local society, and it advocates for their human rights.

The main social needs

Lesvos Solidarity strives to secure access to documentation, protection, and dignified reception conditions, which have been progressively cut by the Greek government after recognition of the refugee status: public services, health, and social security. The organization also fights for their access to the most basic rights, such as food, shelter, and sanitary facilities, which in many RICs and mainland camps are still a big issue. In short, they try to fill integrally the huge gaps of the reception policy to improve the reception of migrants and refugees in a very hostile context.

The mission/political agenda

To provide community-based solidarity spaces, give dignified reception and support to people in need, promote integration, and advocate for human rights and an inclusive society.

The participatory path

Already in the Pikpa camp, the solidarity network worked to build a community inside the camp so that refugees and asylum-seekers could take collective decisions on the use of space, express their needs, and resolve their conflicts by themselves. Many actions in which Lesvos Solidarity participated came spontaneously from refugees, such as the protests in the Moria camp protests in 2017, to which the organization provided its support. Lesvos Solidarity supports and empowers these spontaneous initiatives by informing people on their rights and on the risks they may face, by spreading their voice to the media and sometimes giving practical support. The organization has also hired refugees in its staff as interpreters and cultural mediators.

The advocacy experience

In 2017, the Moria camp had serious problems with food, electricity, wash facilities, and in general, with the most basic services. A strong movement of residents of the camp started to organize themselves and to protest for these problems, as well as to ask for the ability to travel. In this way, the movement of protest “#open-theislands” was created, which was a very strong and meaningful initiative. The protest was very well organized. It originated from the grassroots movements of asylum-seekers and not from local organizations pretending to speak for them. Lesvos Solidarity provided them with a space to meet and to discuss their actions by opening the Mosaik center. Furthermore, it also helped them in brainstorming, in reporting, in spreading the voice through the media and to other organizations and to participate in the protests. The refugees asked them to be present as much as possible in their activities since they believed that the presence of “white people” could lead the authorities to react differently to their actions.

Generation 2.0

Field of intervention: Citizenship law & Labor Law

Place: Athens

Website: g2red.org

The association

Generation 2.0 RED is a non-profit organization composed of people of different origins, mostly “2nd generation young migrants”. It was founded in 2013 with the primary aim of promoting the establishment of a legal framework on citizenship for 2nd generation migrants. Now that this goal has been mostly achieved in Greece, the main target has evolved to comprehend the right to citizenship of migrants in general and the lawful residence of migrants, overcoming the problems that arise during their path to integration. It does all this through actions involving, for example, research on the new bills concerning citizenship and residence that are discussed in the parliament. They make comments on these laws and suggest proposals in order to make sure that the law is not threatening the rights of migrants, as they did regarding the law 45/47, which aimed at establishing, inter alia, strict financial criteria for awarding Greek citizenship. Moreover, it raises awareness about the problems and obstacles faced every day by migrant communities through press releases, and it tries to bring locals and migrants together through social events. It also provides services such as job counselling, legal counselling, intercultural mediation, and non-formal education.

The main social needs

Generation 2.0 works to promote the right to citizenship for migrants, as well as to help them overcome the obstacles in their path towards residency and integration.

The mission/political agenda

The mission of Generation 2.0 is to promote equal participation in a diverse society and empower the communities, promoting human rights, equality, and diversity, fighting racism, xenophobia, and discrimination.

The participatory path

The staff of Generation 2.0 involves many 2nd generation migrants, but also refugees that work as translators. In their everyday work, they empower migrants and the migrant society through seminars and workshops, providing them with

the tools to be aware of their rights and to advocate for them autonomously. In this way, it encourages them to be an active part of society and participate in the political debate. They also collect stories and information about the current issues through their legal counselling services, which then serves as a basis for the advocacy campaigns it puts in place.

The advocacy experience

Due to the Covid19 pandemic, many of the challenges faced by the migrant and refugee community were brought to light, especially regarding the procedures for obtaining residence permits. Therefore, Generation 2.0 has collected several real stories coming from people to which they were providing their legal counselling services, and they created an interactive map on their website that gathers together all these problems, synthesizing and explaining them to the general public in a simplified way. They also publicized the initiative through the media and showed the map to the Ministry of Migration. The ultimate goal was to raise awareness among the general public on the issues faced by migrants in their path towards residency in Greece. The map is available at the following link: g2red.org

Intercultural High School of Evosmos

Field of intervention: education

Place: Thessaloniki

Website: dge.mysch.gr

The movement

The intercultural high school of Evosmos is part of the formal intercultural education of the Greek public school system. The school has refugee reception classes, where mainly Greek language is taught after school hours on the initiative of the teachers. The students participate in joint artistic activities, with the aim of an effective inclusion of refugee students in the Greek school system.

The main social needs

The inclusion of refugee children in the school environment and the wider local community constitutes the main social need. Through the education and socialization offered by the school community, the main aim is that refugee students learn Greek and become familiar with the new reality. The systemic approach of difficulties, getting refugee parents to know the school environment and their frequent visits to the school, are part of the school's policy.

The mission/political agenda

The school teachers have understood that the inclusion of refugee students in the school environment is a complex process that goes beyond language learning and other school subjects. Many of them, coming from war, with the trauma of loss and living in the uncertainty of camps or temporary shelters, have needs that are not covered by the provisions of the Greek state mechanism. The priority of the school is to address these multiple needs.

The participatory path

The school includes refugee students in all its parallel activities, such as celebrations and artistic performances. Refugee students are particularly happy to take part in the events because it is usually easier to participate without the language restriction. These are events of an intercultural nature or dance performances, where the expression and participation of refugee students becomes easier.

The advocacy experience

Participation in artistic events and performances, is not provided for by the Greek Ministry of Education but is an additional initiative of the school itself. School festivals always become an opportunity for cultural exchange, even at Christmas or the celebration of national anniversaries.

Examples of such events:

- the Greek pupils danced Kurdish dances and sang Kurdish songs together with the refugee pupils.
- Every Christmas they all dance a tango together.
- Everyone participates in the dance performances, they are all influenced by each other, and they actually coexist, laugh and become friends.

MALTA

GWU [General Workers' Union]

Field of intervention: work

Place: Valletta (Malta)

Website: gwu.org.mt

The union

The General Workers' Union is the largest trade union in Malta dedicated to the protection of workers' rights. Its main mission is to try to enforce rights at work and protect workers from the abuses often carried out by employers.

Main social needs

The GWU believes in social diversity and promoting inclusive processes to keep everyone's participation active. Cultural diversity is a very interesting challenge because it calls for improved services for all members. GWU's main objective has always been to treat all members equally, without distinction. As a workers' organisation, the aim is to welcome anyone who needs help, regardless of their sector of work.

Mission and political agenda

Since its foundation before the end of the Second World War, the GWU and its leaders have worked to continuously improve the working conditions of the people of Malta and their quality of life and to ensure a fair future for workers.

The advocacy experience

The union was approached to try to solve some problems that arose in factories and companies with migrants arriving in Malta irregularly, mainly from Saharan Africa. The problem in question was related to the hygiene of migrants and the poor use of communal bathrooms. The union realised that there was little involvement of the migrants themselves, who were never asked about the problem. After a series of discussions, it was concluded that there were cultural differences in hygiene management. With a simple repair, costing about 40 euros, the toilets

were refurbished to include a small hygienic shower, allowing the migrants to maintain their habits. A similar case occurred regarding food. Since most of the workers in the factories in question were Muslims, there were problems caused by the introduction of pork ham and cheese in the canteen. The union intervened to ensure that the workers were provided with proper meals, without causing problems and new expenses. The Union is currently urging standardisation and simplification of the procedure for obtaining residence permits not only for undocumented migrants, but also for all those moving to Malta.

St Jeanne Antide

Field of intervention: support to vulnerable people and victims of domestic violence

Place: Malta

Website: www.antidemalta.org

The Foundation

The St Jeanne Antide Foundation (SJAF) is a registered non-profit social organisation. It actively supports the social welfare services of the Sisters of Charity of St Jeanne Antide Thouret. Its main purpose is to provide professional support services to vulnerable individuals and families and to those living in poverty and socially excluded. The Foundation's mission is to offer a point of reference, listening, support and guidance for individuals and families who need help to facilitate the recovery of their dignity and guide them towards self-sufficiency, resilience, and the realisation of their possibilities.

Main social needs

- Family support work: family crisis and difficulties; financial problems and poverty; unemployment and underemployment; emotional distress; inherited culture of benefit dependency; undeclared work; inadequate housing and eviction; loneliness; illiteracy.
- Mental health support: support for family carers of mentally ill people - family counselling; mutual aid groups; social work; advocacy; emotional distress.
- Support for victims of domestic violence: victims of domestic violence supporting other victims; non-formal activities based on group support, educational opportunities and self-expressive arts; advocacy; risk assessment; peer mentoring; establishment of a national centre for victim support initiatives; literature; research and publications.
- Education field: non-formal educational opportunities for vulnerable families - courses, learning support groups for children, emotional freedom workshops, self-esteem groups.

Mission and policy agenda

By taking a holistic view of people in need, the Foundation's mission is to provide all-round support, cultivating a space to also support families in difficulty,

extreme poverty, or precariousness. The Foundation works in partnership with community associations, as well as state agencies and national NGOs. Since 2007, it has carried out outreach work on the streets as a means of identifying and extending support to hard-to-reach vulnerable families, assisting them as close as possible to where they live.

The advocacy experience

The Foundation was the first in Malta to initiate a process of organising and accommodating victims of domestic violence by setting up a shelter more than eight years ago which is still functioning today, promoted through a brochure sent to all social workers and the creation of an online platform.

The foundation also acted on a political level, obtaining 35 recommendations that were used to revise the Domestic Violence Act. Currently, the project has signed a partnership with the government that allows full funding for two full-time employees who provide peer mentoring. SOAR is a victim-led service of domestic violence that works to enable victims to rebuild their lives with resilience, dignity, and well-being. The service prioritises authentic inclusion, peer support, valuing lived experience and social justice. Prior to Covid, for example, a Saturday Club was set up where 30 women and their children took turns helping and assisting each other, teaching each other skills, and creating community events. Many of them were migrants.

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Better Advocacy for Better Inclusion

Acting against discrimination, for equality and citizenship rights

Better Advocacy for Better Inclusion. Acting against discrimination, for equality and citizenship rights has been produced within the framework of the project *Better advocacy for Better Inclusion* (BABI) funded with support from the Erasmus + programme. The project aims to give a contribution in strengthening the capacities of foreign-born and native-born activists to orientate public policies for social inclusion of migrants, refugees, and racialized people.

This manual collects the main results of a qualitative research, which involved 78 organizations/initiatives/networks (associations of migrants, refugees and citizens of foreign origin, non-governmental associations, informal committees, campaigns, and informal groups) active in Italy, Spain, Greece, and Malta in the fight against discrimination and in the promotion of citizenship rights of migrants, asylum seekers, refugees, citizens of foreign origin, Roma.

Part 1 offers some basic theoretical notions on advocacy.

Part 2 presents the results of the empirical study to provide useful suggestions to better structure advocacy initiatives that aim to promote equality, social justice, a new model of citizenship and migration management as well as to fight discrimination, xenophobia, and racism.

Part 3 presents some concrete examples of advocacy promoted in Spain, Italy, Greece, and Malta.

Project webpage:

www.cronachediordinariorazzismo.org/babi-better-advocacy-better-inclusion-eng

