

Innovative strategies against exclusionary narratives

The case of Spain

Berta Güell

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Author

Berta Güell is a Researcher in the area of Migrations at CIDOB and Assistant Coordinator within the BRIDGES project, as well as research collaborator at CER-Migracions. She has a PhD in sociology with an extraordinary award from the Autonomous University of Barcelona (UAB), and she wrote her thesis on ethnic entrepreneurship and the Pakistani community in Barcelona. Her main lines of research are migrations and the labour market, and migrations from a gender perspective. At CIDOB she has worked specifically on LGTBI refugees, agricultural seasonal workers and circular migration, and currently with narratives and migration. Previously, she has worked for eight years at the European Social Research Unit of the University of Barcelona (UB) on various projects on discrimination, migration and social exclusion, and two years at CER-Migracions on a project on arranged and forced marriages. She has also received the Josep Irla Postdoctoral Scholarship, researching the educational and employment trajectories of descendants of Asian immigrants in Catalonia, and has collaborated with the Barcelona City Council on a study on the economic empowerment of Pakistani women. As for teaching, she is coordinator of the Labour Market and Immigration Module of the Interuniversity Master in Contemporary Migration of CER-Migracions.

Reviewers

Blanca Garcés-Mascareñas and Bastian Vollmer

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Abstract

Political discourses of exclusion have become prominent in the public and political agendas across all Europe. Spain is no exception, especially since the rise of the extreme right-wing party VOX in the last few years. Against such discourses, several actors of the civil society have organised to claim changes in the narratives and in the policy and legal frameworks to guarantee migrants' rights and reduce structural inequalities. After a first mapping of fifteen recent initiatives that stand out for their innovative strategies and their success in spreading inclusive narratives across all Spain, two of them have been selected for an in-depth analysis. Stop Mare Mortum (SMM) is a citizens' platform which was born in 2015 to advocate for the arrival of migrants and refugees to Europe through legal and safe pathways, and RegularizaciónYa (RY) is a movement born in 2020 to claim an extraordinary regularisation of undocumented migrants through a state level campaign.

Drawing on a qualitative methodological approach based on interviews and desk-research, this report examines the data along five key dimensions: the nature of the narratives (alternative versus counter-narratives), the audience (wide society or sensitised public), the composition of the actors (autochthonous or migrant people), the ambition (tackling structural inequalities or aiming for concrete goals), and the media, political and social impact. These findings are, in turn, analysed through the lens of the concept of 'migration narrative success' (Garcés-Mascareñas and Pastore 2022) by pointing out which factors explain the salience of these initiatives. The main conclusion is that while both initiatives have achieved to be influential in terms of transformativity for inducing actions like different forms of advocacy and mobilisation, the degree of pervasiveness of their narratives especially in the media arena has been higher in the case of SMM. The closer position to power structures among autochthonous activists of SMM appears as a relevant explanatory factor *vis a vis* the non-hegemonic position of migrant and racialised activists of RY.

Keywords: migration narratives, narrative success, inclusive narratives, Spain, civil society, Stop Mare Mortum, RegularizaciónYa

1. Introduction

Political discourses of exclusion have become prominent in the public and political agendas across all Europe. Spain is no exception, especially since the rise of the extreme right-wing party VOX in the last years, which has fostered a greater polarisation of migration issues by appealing to emotions and disinformation. Against such discourses, several actors of the civil society have organised to claim changes in the narratives and in the policy and legal frameworks to guarantee migrants' rights and social justice. However, not all the initiatives succeed in going through the public debates and becoming a recognised actor with an own voice. In line with the research questions of the BRIDGES project, this report intends to examine precisely why and how some initiatives manage to succeed in challenging exclusionary accounts and produce alternative migration narratives. Drawing on the concept of 'migration narrative success' (Garcés-Mascareñas and Pastore 2022), we ask ourselves to what extent these initiatives are able to pervade in the societal, policy and media arenas and induce transformative actions within the Spanish and Catalan contexts.

This report elaborates a mapping of fifteen recent initiatives that are distinguished for their innovative character in both their discourses and actions, and then selects two of them for a more in-depth analysis. Stop Mare Mortum (SMM) is a citizens' platform which was born in 2015 to advocate for the arrival of migrants and refugees to Europe through legal and safe pathways, and RegularizaciónYa (RY) is a movement born in 2020 to claim an extraordinary regularisation of undocumented migrants through a state level campaign. Both of them are examples of political agency performed by non-hegemonic actors (though with some nuances) and belong to new social movements with common goals of social transformation and a high capacity to mobilise heterogeneous groups of activists. However, RegularizaciónYa is framed as a new wave of migrants' struggles and makes more emphasis on an antiracist agenda, while SMM counts with little involvement of migrants and is more focused on EU and national migration politics especially conspicuous since the last 'refugee crisis'.

The report is structured as follows: after this introduction and a methodological note, there is a section devoted to describing the most relevant features of the mapping of innovative initiatives which is fully included in the Appendix A. Then there are two sections which correspond to the in-depth analysis of the two case studies of the two selected initiatives (Stop Mare Mortum and RegularizaciónYa). The analysis follows key items such as the context, actors, narratives, innovative aspects, impact and success factors, making use of empirical material of the fieldwork to illustrate the findings. Finally, some conclusions are drawn which contain comparative notes between the two cases, as well as a deeper analysis of the factors that explain the narrative success of both initiatives.

2. Specific empirical approach

Following the objectives of the Work Package 4 (WP4) of the BRIDGES project, the research has employed a qualitative methodological approach with two main phases. The first one consisted of a mapping of initiatives and practices led by different civil society actors that intend to challenge political discourses of exclusion. The selection of the initiatives has followed

several criteria. First, they all relate to the three sub-genres identified in Work Package 3¹, with some adjustments in line with the WP4 rationale. In this sense, the initiatives associated with the first sub-genre have to do with arrivals and the management of national/EU borders, including associations that are located either in the frontier or inland. In relation to the second sub-genre, several initiatives have to do with issues of integration, citizenship, and regularisation once migrants are already settled in the host countries, by also including initiatives led by children of migrants and racialised people. Finally, as regards the third sub-genre, there are initiatives that have to do with the terrorist attack in Barcelona that took place last August 2017, and more generally with the fight against islamophobia. Other important criteria for the selection of the initiatives have to do with their relevance in the current context, their innovativeness especially in terms of narratives' production, and their success 'measured' a priori as the ability to shape dominant narratives and achieve resonance in the public sphere.

The mapping has been undertaken through the desk-research technique by reviewing texts on websites, press releases, flyers, social media posts and videos. On some occasions, short conversations have been kept with some actors involved in the initiatives to complement the documents' review. This information has been systematised following a common template and the results can be found in the Appendix A of this report. Besides the description of each initiative along items such as date of founding, key actors, aims and strategies, a more analytical exercise has allowed the identification of several narratives that represent core topics related to migration emerging from the ground in the current context of exclusionary debates.

Once the mapping was finished, the second phase consisted of an in-depth study of the discursive strategies and practices, as well as of the narratives' success factors, of two initiatives arising from the mapping. In the case of Spain, these are related to the two first subgenres: Stop Mare Mortum (SMM) representing the topic on arrivals and RegularizaciónYa (RY) as an illustration of the topic on integration and regularisation. The criteria to select them revolve around evidence of success and innovation, as well as being recent initiatives – active since 2015, following the same time frame of the mapping. In both cases, success has been assessed especially in terms of social and political impact, having the capacity to influence migration policies and debates. As for innovation, SMM stands out for its strategy around political advocacy with concrete proposals to facilitate the safe arrival of migrants and refugees to Europe, whereas RegularizaciónYa is prominent since it is the first time that a movement to claim the regularisation of migrants is led by migrants at a state level, showing the construction of a strengthened political subject in Spain. In short, SMM stands out more for the what (content) and the how (strategy), and RY for the who (actors).

For both case studies 15 in-depth interviews were conducted with different members of the initiatives, as well as with a couple of external agents who were familiar with them (including an expert in communication), using the snowball sampling technique (see list of interviewees in Appendix B). The interviews followed an interview guide to allow the comparative analysis across the three national cases, yet with some adaptations to better tailor the conversation according to each individual's background. Some of the interviews were undertaken face-to-face in the cities of Barcelona and Madrid, whilst others were online due to logistical issues.

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¹ For more information on Work Package 3 results in Spain, see Bourekba, B., Garcés-Mascareñas, B., Güell, B. and Marín, M. 2023. "Migration narratives in media and social media. The case of Spain." *BRIDGES Working Papers* 9. Doi: https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.7656960.

between June and July 2022. Finally, all interviews were recorded and transcribed following the pseudo-anonymisation agreements of the BRIDGES project and analysed considering the key items of this report, where the assessment of migration narrative success has been especially relevant.

3. Mapping of initiatives that challenge political discourses of exclusion

The mapping has included a total of fifteen initiatives, six of them related to arrivals and borders, eight to issues of integration and regularisation and one to the terrorist attack in Barcelona. Most of them are organisations (NGOs and a couple of trade unions), whereas others constitute different forms of mobilisations (campaigns, demonstrations, platforms, etc.). As it can be observed in the table below, they are all recent initiatives, founded after 2015, especially the ones related to arrivals. This must be interpreted in light of the last events and episodes at EU borders such as repeated shipwrecks with hundreds of deaths in the coasts of Italy, the image of the drowned Syrian child Aylan Kurdi on a Turkish beach, or the increasing pressure at the southern border of Spain (Canary Islands, Ceuta, Melilla) due to the arrivals of hundreds of undocumented migrants, including the notable presence of unaccompanied minors. These episodes have caused much outrage and frustration, additionally fuelled by restrictive migration policies focused on securing the borders instead of assisting people on the move contributing to the appearance of several initiatives and narratives from nonhegemonic actors.

Table 1: Summary of initiatives in Spain

Sub-genre	Name of initiative	Year of founding	Primary objectives	Territorial scope	Main topics of narratives
Arrivals and management of borders	Open Arms	October 2015	Rescuing migrants in the sea	Catalonia, rescues in Mediterran ean sea	Border necropoliticsCriminalisation of human right defenders
	Stop Mare Mortum	April 2015	Advocacy for legal and safe pathways to Europe	Catalonia	Legal and safe pathwaysBorder necropolitics
	Casa Nostra, Casa Vostra	Novembe r 2016	Organisation of massive demonstration to welcome refugees	Catalonia	Refugees' reception
	Solidary Wheels	June 2019	Supporting migrants at the border	Melilla (border)	Border necropolitics
	Caminando Fronteras	2002	Advocacy against border necropolitics	Spanish- Moroccan border	Border necropolitics Criminalisation of human right defenders
	Maakum Ceuta	Autumn 2018	Supporting unaccompanied minors	Ceuta (border)	Reception of unaccompanied minors

Citizenship, integration and regularisation	#Regulariz aciónYa campaign	March 2020	Regularisation for all undocumented migrants through a Popular Legislative Initiative	Spain	Regularisation of undocumented migrants Institutional racism
	Sindicato Popular Vendedore s Ambulantes	October 2015	Stopping the criminalisation of street vending and promoting alternative jobs in the formal economy	Barcelona and beyond	Migrants' rights and labour market
	Jornaleras de Huelva en Lucha	2018	Advocacy for improved working and living conditions of agricultural workers	Huelva (Andalusia)	Migrants' rights and labour market
	Sindillar	2011	Advocacy for improved working conditions of domestic and care workers	Catalonia	Migrants' rights and labour market
	Votar es un derecho	2019	Facilitating the right to vote for people without Spanish citizenship	Spain	 Citizenship and migrants' right to vote
	Poder Migrante	2016	Collective self- organisation and leadership of migrant and racialised people	Madrid	Institutional and structural racism
	Baynana ("among us")	2017	Digital media platform by and for the Arab community in Spain (and other migrant population)	Madrid	Xenophobia, racism and islamophobia
	Salam Plan	2017	Journalism against hate speech	Spain	Hate speech and islamophobia
Terrorist and violent attacks	Not in my name	19 and 21 August 2017	Demonstration to show wide rejection against terrorism and prevent the rise of islamophobia	Barcelona	Islamophobia

In relation to arrivals, the NGO Open Arms dedicated their work towards rescuing vessels carrying people in the Mediterranean channel and on providing emotional and basic medical support. Solidary Wheels, Caminando Fronteras and Maakum Ceuta are NGOs dedicated to also supporting migrants at the border (Melilla and Ceuta), yet with some differences. While the latter is specialised in unaccompanied minors by promoting their rights, autonomy, and well-being, the two first are more generic in terms of their target audience. Caminando Fronteras stands out for being the only one paying attention to the right to memory, by gathering pictures and stories of disappeared and dead migrants as a way to honour them. This memory is accompanied by a thorough monitoring of all deaths in the southern border and the provision of a 24/7 hotline where those in danger in the sea can call to seek help. Since 2002, being the oldest initiative registered in this mapping, the NGO has contributed to rescue more than 100,000 lives in the Western Euro-African maritime route by alerting maritime authorities. Solidary Wheels, based in Melilla, offers assistance in several fields (medical, psychological, legal, basic needs) in reception centres and in the street. It also distinguishes

from the rest for having women's groups aimed at creating human networks of trust with young women.

In Catalonia, there are two other initiatives that stand out: Stop Mare Mortum, a citizen platform mainly dedicated to advocate for legal and safe pathways to the EU born in 2015, and Casa Nostra Casa Vostra (Our Home, Your Home), a group of independent and voluntary people, who managed to organise the biggest demonstration in Europe in favour of welcoming refugees in 2017 with the participation of around 500,000 people taking advantage of the work done by Stop Mare Mortum. While Stop Mare Mortum has persisted until today (as we will explain in the next section), Casa Nostra Casa Vostra was born with this specific objective and then it (quite) disappeared. Yet, it is worth mentioning the extensive communication campaign that allowed to mobilise a wide spectrum of citizens by segmenting the target audiences, accompanied by a multitudinous concert which raised more than €211,000 for organisations working on migrants' reception.

Within the second sub-genre we can identify several types of initiatives. Two are more clearly concerned with issues of regularisation and citizenship. The first one is the #RegularizaciónYa Campaign aimed at regularising all undocumented migrants in Spain (about 600,000), born in March 2020 during the Covid-19 lockdown, when the work of undocumented migrants was especially made visible. It stands out for being the first time that migrants organise themselves as a political subject to claim a regularisation in such a big scale. The second one is Votar es un Derecho (Voting is a right) campaign to claim the right to vote for people without Spanish citizenship, by allowing the transfer of votes from Spanish citizens in the national elections in April 2019. The campaign went viral and around 2,000 people managed to vote through it. Poder Migrante is also distinguished as a recent network of activists and organisations in Madrid where the construction of migrants and racialised people as a political subject is very strong, with the aim of combatting structural racism, hate speech and the criminalisation of migration. In this sense, it has some parallels with the rationale behind the #RegularizaciónYa campaign.

More concerned with migrants' labour rights, there are also two trade unions included in the mapping. Sindillar defends the rights of domestic and care workers, being the only union focused on the reality of migrant women and led by migrant women, whereas the Sindicato Popular de Vendedores Ambulantes was born to advocate for the dignification of street vendors, representing the reality of many Sub-Saharan undocumented migrants. In a similar line, Jornaleras de Huelva en Lucha is an organisation located in Andalusia that advocates for the working and living conditions of agricultural workers in the world's second biggest enclave of red berries that hosts over 100,000 workers every year. Finally, within this sub-genre there are two initiatives that are related to digital media platforms led by racialized people. Baynana is run by journalists with a migratory background from the Arab community and aims at promoting social journalism oriented mainly at Arab and migrant groups touching upon politics, society, culture and history. Salam plan is a pilot project that pretends to foster journalism against hate speech and favour the mutual understanding between people of different religions and backgrounds, with a special focus on breaking stereotypes against Muslims (Islamophobia), Jews (anti-Semitism) and migrants and refugees.

In the last sub-genre, given the specific nature of it, there is only one registered initiative that has to do with the mobilisations organised by the Catalan Muslim community after the terrorist

attacks in Barcelona in August 2017. These mobilisations crystallised in two demonstrations which overall counted with the support of about 40 Muslim organisations of Catalonia under the motto "not in our name" and "stop terrorism", where they expressed their explicit rejection to violent extremism. A few days after, on 26 August, these organisations also joined the big demonstration convened by the Barcelona City Council and the Catalan regional government, where "stop islamophobia" was one of the key slogans. Behind this claim, Catalan Muslims also wanted to make clear that they are also victims of global terrorism and erose the boundaries between 'us' and 'them' by creating empathy with the victims of the attack. The connection between stop terrorism and stop islamophobia also intended to shift away from the exclusionary narratives of Muslims as criminals and violent people and focus on terrorism as a common problem.

4. The case study of Stop Mare Mortum

4.1 Contextualisation and evolution of the initiative until today

Stop Mare Mortum (SMM) is a citizen platform born in April 2015 after the death of more than 900 people in a shipwreck that was heading to the Sicilian coast. This event caused much outrage among a group of citizens who did not feel represented by the governmental responses to the increasing arrival of migrants and refugees to Europe and wanted to express their discontent and propose alternatives. The following weeks several other shipwrecks followed at the Italian coast in what it turned to be a 'humanitarian crisis'. The lack of a more proactive stance to ensure the safeguard of people on the move was perceived to be a form of 'genocide by omission' that needed a collective response.

'There is a lack of public reaction to a genocide. Some people question this term from the beginning, but this is a genocide by omission. The institutional negligence is on purpose. They [migrants] come and risk their lives and we don't do anything to save them'. SP_I_SMM2

Departing from this feeling of indignation, several organisations' representatives and individual members joined together to discuss the latest events and came up with the idea to build a platform with the goal to promote a change in European and national migration policies in favour of human rights. This goal is one of the characteristics that makes this initiative unique, since in April 2015 there was not any other organisation that put so much emphasis on the need to claim responsibilities for massive deaths in the Mediterranean through political advocacy.

'From that [foundational] meeting it came out the core idea of political advocacy: someone has responsibilities, and someone is not doing what needs to be done. And this needed being told. We must raise awareness and politically advocate. We will not only mobilise, but also openly say who is responsible'. SP_I_SMM2

2015 was the year of the 'refugee crisis' or, as some have put it (e.g., Pries 2018), of the 'reception crisis' or 'solidarity crisis'. Unlike other European countries, Spain stood out for receiving a small number of refugees and both the public opinion and the regional and local

governments adopted a quite favourable stance towards their reception. In this sense, as some authors point out (e.g., Amat and Garcés-Mascareñas 2018), immigration in 2015 was not a highly politicised topic in Spain yet. The political tensions around the domestic territorial organisation, namely around the Catalonia's independence, occupied much space on the political and media agenda, especially after 2012. This prevented debates not only about other topics in general, but also (and particularly) about the national identity, which indirectly touched upon migration issues. In short, to discuss about 'the others' (migrants and refugees) meant to discuss about 'us'.

However, as Amat and Garcés-Mascareñas (2018) highlight, between May and October 2015 there was an 'episode of contention' which put migration in the centre of the debate: the relocation quota of refugees among EU member states. In particular, the debate revolved around who should be responsible for hosting refugees, how responsibility should be distributed, and what role Spain played in receiving refugees from other member states. The initial position of the national government was against the relocation quota fostered by the EU, but in early September this changed its position after internal and external pressures to commit to the principle of solidarity. As we will see, Stop Mare Mortum became quite engaged in this debate and contributed to advocate for the Spain's compliance with the agreed quota through a legal claim.

Since the organisation was born until today, SMM has gone through four big phases. First, from April 2015 to January 2016 the platform was initiated. As one of the founders explains, 'it was the phase of creation, falling in love, with a group of people who understands each other and works very well together' (SP_I_SMM4). From 2016 to 2018 it was the most intense period. They organised several mobilisations, went to Idomeini and other Greek refugee camps, engaged in a working group with Catalan MP members, created the juridical project, etc. This period coincided with the peak years in which the topic of migration and refuge was highly contested in many European countries, including the ban of disembarkment of rescue boats in the Italian coast during the summer 2018 which SMM publicly criticised.

After three years of very intense work, in 2018 the project of SMM started to destabilise. Fatigue caused by unpaid voluntary work and the lack of turnover within the organisation brought about a decline in their activities. The exception was the juridical project, which due to its relative autonomy, managed to keep on track a couple of years more. The fourth phase was marked by the pandemic which accelerated the process of dismemberment. During the lockdown, the members still joined monthly to do the online assemblies, but the lack of face-to-face meetings and social contact jeopardised the motivation to organise events, apart from the limitations that the pandemic imposed on the whole society. Today, there are debates on whether the organisation should continue or finish. The local branches of Sants, Badalona, Tarragona and Garraf are still active because of their autonomy and focus on daily problems of migrants' incorporation and awareness-raising activities especially at schools. However, it is unknown what will happen with the work done by the core group in the next future.

4.2 Main aims and activities

Following the goal of fostering a change in European and national migration and asylum policies, Stop Mare Mortum has three main aims which in practice are operationalised by three large working committees. First, under advocacy, SMM is aimed at influencing public policies

to allow legal and safe pathways to reach Europe through lobbying strategies at different governmental levels. While the advocacy actions were first more policy-oriented, in the last years they have become eminently legally oriented.

Second, SMM aims at promoting the mobilisation of citizens by organising rallies and concentrations, and by participating in joint demonstrations with other allied entities. Of special importance was the collaboration with Casa Nostra, Casa Vostra (Our House, Your House) in 2016 and 2017, where SMM provided guidance on the contents of the campaign 'we want to host'. This campaign culminated with the world's largest demonstration with around 500,000 people, according to the organisers, to claim the reception of refugees fleeing mainly from Middle East and North Africa. The third aim of SMM is awareness-raising and this is pursued through various actions: regular collaboration with the media and civil society actors to expand the concept of 'legal and safe pathways' to a wider audience; didactic activities and materials in schools and other spaces, including workshops, conferences and guides from the perspective of peace building and social transformation; itinerant art exhibitions like the #MedFaces which represented different portrays of people who died in the Mediterranean (following the principle of 'dead people are not numbers')²; merchandising material produced in local manufactories; and networking with a wide array of organisations with similar goals.

Looking more specifically into the political and legal advocacy, which has embraced the most influential actions led by SMM, several elements must be highlighted. Under political advocacy, in 2016 SMM was called by the Catalan Parliament to participate in the Foreign Affairs Commission together with other organisations to explore what could be made to pursue the reception of refugees and facilitate legal and safe pathways. After several appearances, this process culminated with a resolution on support of the legal and safe access to asylum. At the local level (in Barcelona), several attempts were made to establish safe seaports by granting stowaways the possibility to seek asylum, yet without success. At the national level, there has also been work with the Ministries of Interior and Foreign Affairs, and the Office of Asylum and Refuge (OAR) in relation to the relocation and resettlement programs, or the Global Compacts of Asylum and Migration. At a less institutional level, they participate in networks like the Coordinadora Obrim Fronteres and have implemented actions like distributing flyers with the political program on migration of each political party in the last two national elections in April and November 2019. However, the scenario of political instability within Spain has made it very difficult to set objectives and build stable alliances with representatives.

'The political context has been a disaster. Since 2017 there has been a permanent instability at the national level. It was impossible to make a plan of political advocacy, it was all so volatile with the constant calling of elections. In the end we didn't know whether we should get prepared for elections, or the minister would be changed or to wait until the new cabinet was established' SP_I_SMM4

As for legal advocacy, in 2015 a group of lawyers proposed a couple of organisations including SMM to meet and explore potential actions to pursue legal and safe pathways. That meeting was the birth of the juridical project of SMM, which was organised in a three-way partnership with a few activists who belonged to the juridical committee of SMM, legal experts who had a deep knowledge of the law and professional lawyers who counted with the experience of the

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² For more information on Medfaces, visit: https://www.instagram.com/medfaces/?hl=es

daily practice. Quite from the very beginning, this project gained autonomy from the core group's activities, mainly due to operational needs.

One of the first actions of the project was to provide legal assistance to people that wanted to enter the EU relocation program. By forcing the art. 38 of the Spanish Asylum Law, they wanted to ask for the asylum seekers' transfer to Spanish embassies and consulates and set up the possibility to apply for asylum there instead of having to move to Spain. To this aim, several trips to the refugee camp of Idomeini were organised and potential profiles of people (often in a situation of extreme vulnerability like single-parent families with children) that could fit more easily in this program were identified. SMM accompanied them until the legal process was settled. In the course of one year, they managed to represent around 160 or 170 cases. This project was possible thanks to the financial support of Catalan public funds of cooperation and global justice, the flexibility of activists who struggled to do all this hard work in their free time besides their jobs, and the alliance with a Greek organisation which provided legal and psychological support to asylum seekers.

Thanks to this experience and accumulated knowledge from the ground and seeing that they did not have enough resources to maintain the individual legal assistance, they decided to start strategic litigation. The first step was to initiate a lawsuit against the Spanish government for not complying with the relocation and resettlement quota, which ended up positively. In July 2018, the Supreme Court condemned Spain for not fulfilling the binding commitment of hosting over 19,000 refugees. Until then the government of Mariano Rajoy (right-wing People's Party) had only offered 2,500 of reception places (12.8%).

The second step of strategic litigation focused on the art. 38 of the Spanish Asylum Law. Again, drawing on their previous experience, they identified the profiles that had been granted asylum (successful cases) to create jurisprudence and force embassies to accept asylum requests. Since forcing the art. 38 in Greece was an anomaly due to its location within the Schengen area, SMM decided to start working in Morocco in 2018, which appeared more reasonable sharing borders with Spain. All the cases taken to court or to the Office of Asylum and Refuge (OAR) since then have ended up with positive resolutions. Nonetheless, by the end of 2022, the juridical project, like the whole organisation, is in the doldrums. The fatigue of voluntary work, the lack of digital and physical security for those who travel, the lack of financial and human resources, and the conflicts of interest of professional lawyers with their daily jobs are signposts that the project, as it is now, is not sustainable in the long run.

Nevertheless, the political and juridical advocacy has enabled SMM to develop an expertise on legal and safe pathways and pin down what they consist of. Legal and safe pathways are defined as 'all those mechanisms that guarantee people access to free movement and the right to asylum, in the presence of the violation of access to asylum and international protection; they are mechanisms to guarantee the right to life'3. In practice, they include: effective relocation and resettlement programs, issuing humanitarian visas, speeding up family reunification and extending the criteria of who is considered as 'family', establishing humanitarian corridors, facilitating the requests for protection in embassies and consulates in countries of origin and transit, the disembarking in safe seaports, and issuing student visas.

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³ Source: https://stopmaremortum.org/politiques-de-vida-al-10n/

In terms of funding, this has been mainly through the organisation of fund-raising activities (concerts, awareness-raising events, merchandising, etc.) and private donations. The juridical project has counted with direct funding from public administrations, but only for approx. one year. SMM has always expressed their reluctance to participate in public tenders as not to be assimilated to an NGO and compete with other associations, considering that the competition for public resources is already very high.

Finally, the organisation has tried to include the gender perspective both internally through the creation of a commission (in 2019) which observes the dynamics of members' participation and decision-making to ensure a safe climate for women's intervention, and externally through their communications and actions. This commission created a Gender Plan (2020) with several axes of action and scheduled activities. The objectives of this plan have been to raise awareness of existing oppressions especially suffered by migrant women, children and LGBTIQ+ people from an intersectional perspective; to ensure that gender equality prevails in the internal distribution of tasks; and to build a feminist participatory and organisational culture.

In terms of communication, SMM's announcements and textual outputs (e.g., press releases, campaigns) are generally written in gender-neutral terms and the feminine plural is only used on some occasions as it is perceived to bring in potential linguistic misunderstandings (for instance rejecting the use of 'las colectivas' to refer to the entities/groups). Although SMM is composed mainly of women, at some point it came out the issue of men having a greater public visibility, especially when talking to the media. In hindsight, this is assessed as a weakness, though some members admit that the lack of women in the media has to do also with a general feeling of reluctance to appear in the media. On the other hand, SMM has received training in specific issues affecting migrant women like trafficking for sexual exploitation and has actively participated with other migrant women's associations in several demonstrations. All in all, while interviewees point out that the actions undertaken have been worthwhile, some believe that more efforts could be done to incorporate the gender perspective to a larger extent.

4.3 Main actors and networks of the initiative

Stop Mare Mortum is composed of a core group of young autochthonous people, who live in Barcelona and nearby, many of them with tertiary education and a previous experience in activism. In Varela's words (2005) they would belong to the category of 'moral activists', since they support the migrants' cause without obtaining direct benefits. Basically, they have been able to develop an expertise in issues of asylum and more specifically in the different legal and safe pathways at a time when very few people knew about them. The members of SMM received extensive training sessions and worked closely with asylum organisations, which gave SMM a good basis to claim political demands. Moreover, they got to know the reality of what was happening on the ground in the refugee camps and with the processes of asylum and relocation – in their own words – 'much better than the public administrations'. All this was possible thanks to their personal engagement, but also to their privileged social position in terms of educational background, social (and financial) capitals and flexibility in their jobs.

Aside from the core group, there are some branches with a more local ambition that initiated their work one or two years after the foundation of SMM and have always had a certain autonomy in relation to the core group. These are mainly in Sants (a neighbourhood of Barcelona which has a rich social fabric), Badalona (an adjacent city to Barcelona), Garraf (a

county in the south of Barcelona), and the city of Tarragona. These branches have focused more on issues of reception and integration such as problems with the municipal register $(padrón)^4$ or with access to housing or the health system, and not so much on political advocacy. Within these groups, there is some diversity in terms of age (e.g., in Sants there is a considerable number of retired people who also participate in other associative spaces) and educational background.

In contrast, the diversity within the core group of activists can be deemed as quite residual. The lack of involvement of people with a migrant background is precisely one of the self-criticisms of the platform and it is perceived as a weakness. Several attempts were made to engage with representatives of migrants' associations, but they all quite failed in achieving their permanence in the mid or long term. As the quotes below show, it seems that the language barriers and the internal dynamics in terms of ways of working, the language used, codes of communication, timings, etc. did not match with the modus operandi of migrants' associations. The fact that after some time (in 2018) SMM turned to be more an organisation of individual members than a platform of organisations also caused the disengagement of representatives of migrants' associations who did not want to participate on an individual basis. The hectic rhythm and informal character of the association did not facilitate to stop their daily activities and think about strategies to capture them either. Finally, the main focus of SMM on advocacy did not meet the priorities and needs of many migrants who are generally more concerned with daily issues linked to regularisation and integration.

'Our way of working has not been attractive to migrant people. Would we have been able to work in a different way? My feeling is that we wouldn't. If we had to work like other migrants' organisations many people wouldn't have continued. In terms of timings, material conditions (when we met), work dynamics, decision-making processes... [...] It is not a mistake, but it is a clear weakness not having known how to work with migrant people permanently.' SP I SMM4

'The majority of us were people with a university degree, some with a Master and a PhD. There was such a level that made it difficult not only for migrant people, but also for people who didn't have a good command of Catalan... We were not aware enough, or yes, but everything was as we go along. This is happening and we must communicate it, we go to the Parliament, and it was go, go, go, and other dynamics were left aside [...] We were unable to capture what was happening from the lived experience and this is a weakness. I remember the sentence of where are the Africans? We had a distant discourse'. SP_I_SMM1

'The concern of whether our work was legitimate was higher than the impact we achieved. One of the reasons I give to this lack of involvement is that it is very hard for people who are here and face tremendous daily difficulties to be concerned with this exterior dimension [what happens in transit]. Issues like the *padrón*, universal health or school segregation are more tangible topics'. SP_I_SMM5

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⁴ The *padrón* is a compulsory municipal register that gives access to main public goods and services, such as the health system. It is also necessary to ask for a regularisation through the 'social rooting' (*arraigo social*) and prove the period of residence in Spain.

If the organisation started again in the current context, the lack of involvement of migrants would probably be perceived with even more concern. As an interviewee affirms, this has to do with the increasing empowerment of migrant communities and racialised people, and with the questioning of the white privilege and structural racism, also within social movements. In this sense, the following quote reflects the need to adopt an intercultural perspective to truly develop joint dynamics and ways of cooperating together.

'The debate is how to include racialised people or what do you do to participate in their spaces? Did you go to any meeting in their spaces and movements? Did you ever ask "I am here, do you need anything?" With Stop Mare Mortum we participated with Papeles para Todos in the demonstration of the migrants' day and it was not my way of doing at all, but I shut up and that's it. They probably feel uncomfortable with us, same as we do, their priorities sometimes are different, but this is a mutual learning process that must be done from an own deconstruction.' SP_I_SMM3

However, this concern around legitimacy should not be perceived as a mistake or a limitation to pursue SMM's objectives. As the same interviewee affirms:

'we have never pretended to speak for them. We accept that we are white Europeans that want to vindicate that we don't feel represented by European and state migration policies and as European citizens, these do not represent our values' SP I SMM3

From the perspective of one of the few members with a migration background, the language register within the organisation was not quite adapted to migrant or racialised people with language barriers or little knowledge of the political and legal contexts. This mismatch was perceived to be associated with a bias of social class by the same member.

'Some of the people in Stop talked in a high level [nivelazo] that the undocumented migrant people or racialised people who came didn't understand. We were doing meetings and I had to say: "can we please listen to our companion?" And this companion maybe did not understand anything about laws, but it was Stop in itself. And this happened several times and I got disappointed' SP_I_RY6

Nonetheless, SMM has devoted many efforts to build alliances with migrants' and non-migrants' associations, which have contributed to reach their objectives. In fact, this is one of the successes especially at the very beginning: acting as a hinge and a meeting point between many organisations and activists that used to be in separate spaces. Today, they work closely with entities dedicated to human rights (e.g., Lafede.Cat, the Andalusian Association for Human Rights (APDHA), Irídia), migration and asylum (e.g., SOS Racism, the Spanish Commission for Refugee Aid (CEAR), Girona Acull, Top Manta, the Kellys), and to assisting migrants specifically at the border (e.g., Caravana Migrante, Agencia Frontera Sur, Caminando Fronteras, Border Line, Solidary Wheels).

4.4 Main narratives

The actions undertaken by SMM have been coupled with several narratives that have been spread in the public and political arenas, due to the strong characterisation of the organisation around advocacy issues. One of the first narratives that came out already in the foundational meeting is that a genocide was being committed for letting thousands of people die in the

Mediterranean and both the EU and the national governments were responsible for it. Even if some members disliked the concept because it presented legal doubts, the organisation used it to make a strong statement against migration politics.

'When you don't facilitate the journey, you are putting them in a situation of life or death. It is a states' responsibility that avoids that someone can go to a consulate or an embassy to ask for a visa. Since these pathways do not exist, you can refer to a genocide by omission' SP I SMM2

'When you don't save a dinghy, you are killing people; you would never let people on a Greek cruise die in the sea' SP I SMM3

Right after this, the main narrative that forged the identity of SMM revolves around legal and safe pathways. They stood against 'policies that kill' (necropolitics) and advocated for 'politics that save lives', by defending that 'legal and safe pathways already exist, they are acceptable and needed'. However, several interviewees admit that it was not easy to communicate the concept of 'legal and safe pathways.' As one member affirms, sometimes people got confused and associated it with traffic on the road. Similarly, when SMM won cases by forcing the art. 38 of the Spanish Asylum Law, it was very hard to explain it to the wider audience. As another member explains, 'it was very complex to sell the narrative of "the Spanish asylum policy allows to avoid deaths in the Mediterranean and open legal and safe pathways" (SP_I_SMM5). This is coupled with the feeling that 'we have made incredible things and we haven't had the communicative capacity to disseminate them' (SP_I_SMM4).

In contrast, with regard to the relocation quota, SMM managed to change the official narrative among the civil society in their joint efforts with the campaign of Casa Nostra, Casa Vostra in 2017. According to an interviewee, the official narrative was that 'people [asylum seekers] do not want to come to Spain, they want to go to Germany; Greece is a chaos and there is no way to coordinate with them'. Thanks to this big campaign, which was widely broadcasted in the media, the narrative that filtered the public opinion was 'the Spanish government does not comply with its obligations'. Although this message was framed more as a counter-narrative (with a negative story) than as an alternative narrative (with a positive story out of the usual frames used by the mainstream media), it achieved a wide impact. In addition, this narrative was backed by the slogan 'we want to host' which was a successful way to frame reception not in terms of charity, but from a human rights' perspective and appealing to the coresponsibility of European citizens.

Another relevant narrative embraced in the advocacy for policies that save lives is the non-distinction between migrants and refugees, as a way to discourage the use of first- and second-class migrants. This is also within the understanding that the causes of forced mobility are very intertwined between each other, and everybody deserves social protection. In this sense, SMM's claim was that the legal umbrella of asylum could be the way to grant the right to move to everyone, regardless of whether the person flees from poverty or from a war. This narrative already came out in 2015 with the Syrian conflict and the distinction between Syrian and Sub-Saharan refugees, and it has come out again with the current Ukrainian war. As an interviewee affirms, 'it is all about political will'.

'In a boat there were people dying because they fled from a war, gender-based violence, religious and ideological persecutions... Do you have to choose? No, you must protect an then we will see how we organise it' SP I SMM2

However, this narrative clashed with the actions led by the juridical commission. As a member points out, 'when providing legal assistance or making strategic litigation, this distinction has to be done because it is explicit in the law'. This different approach was not uncontroversial within SMM, but according to her, 'putting them in the same box will not incur in all of them being protected, it will rather provoke that those who need more get less'. From this interviewee's perspective, both migrants and refugees have the same rights, but belong to different administrative and juridical categories, so the battle is to widen the criteria for asylum seekers and grant opportunities for migrants who need to work so that they do not feel 'obliged' to seek asylum due to the restrictive Foreigners' Law. In this regard, 'you must choose the narrative according to your audience; in a conference I don't need to explain what the juridical difference in terms of protection is, but if I am making advocacy and I cannot ask UNHCR to force the relocation quota for certain profiles'. This reflection brings in an interesting nuance, which is the complementarity of narratives within the same organisation and their different use according to the target audience. This also applies to the use of different strategies depending on the objective that is to be achieved.

Regarding the 'us' and 'them', it is quite clear that SMM uses the 'we' without making any distinction when this refers to the society they want to build, but they accept that the boundaries between 'us' and 'them' exist in practice. Going back to the concept of 'moral activists' of Varela (2005), SMM works to dissipate these boundaries from a non-paternalistic perspective and with the common goal of fighting against the global borders' regime.

'The us and them exists at the legal level and in terms of opportunities. Another thing is that the society we want to build here is a 'we'. But it needs to be distinguished when we refer to racism and discrimination, I don't suffer from racism'. SP_I_SMM2

Finally, a remark on visual narratives: According to a couple of members, SMM has not achieved to create alternative narratives through images. This has to do with a lack of expertise and resources within the working committee of communication, the lack of references, and the difficulties that generally all organisations face to find non-stereotyped images.

'It is very difficult to find the time to discuss the use of images [...] we don't have the capacity to discuss well how to do each thing every moment' SP_I_SMM6

'Since in issues of communication we act more from the emergency than from a strategic point of view, there are things that cannot be left on a spontaneous basis. There needs to be a work behind, you need to have a photo in the drawer ready to use. And there is also the issue of resources and professionalism. If most organisations that can talk to photojournalists and work with media don't achieve a new visual narrative, one would expect that we don't achieve it either'. SP_I_SMM5

4.5 Innovativeness

SMM stands out for having innovated in several aspects. First, there was a deliberate choice to focus the organisation on issues of transit at a time when no other organisation was doing it. While there were many associations working on the reception of migrants and on cooperation projects in home countries, there was not any organisation looking at the dangers incurred in the journey to Europe.

'We saw three differentiated phases in the migration process, and we said "what is Stop Mare Mortum? Stop is the journey, the transit. We cannot have an impact on everything. We will focus on the transit, on the legal and safe pathways that the governments are hindering." SP I SMM1

Secondly, in terms of strategies SMM has been exceptional for concentrating on advocacy and for creating a solid interconnection between their four main working committees of advocacy, mobilisation, awareness-raising, and communication. This is especially relevant when it comes to the juridical project and their actions on strategic litigation. They have been the first ones in forcing the implementation of the art. 38 of the Spanish Asylum Law. Before them it had been applied only once during the Iraq war, but never again. The fact that SMM has done it systematically through an alliance with experts and professional lawyers is highly innovative. Moreover, they have set a precedent for other asylum organisations and the Spanish government which, during the crisis of Afghanistan in summer of 2022, made use of this article for the first time without the intervention of SMM. As mentioned before, these strategies have been possible partly thanks to the privileged social position of many of the activists belonging to the core group.

Thirdly, in terms of narratives, SMM has been the actor that has almost coined the concept of legal and safe pathways in Catalonia. There is no memory of where this was taken from, but SMM made it popular. The strong proactive stance in their narratives and actions by proposing a roadmap to allow specific legal and safe pathways is also innovative in a climate where criticism often prevails. On the other hand, the narrative on 'problems and responsibilities' is also innovative as it allows to change the focus of the source of problems from migrants to migration policies and to those European citizens that endorse them within the current context of global capitalism. This narrative is in turn connected to human rights and the right to live, under the assumption that if the rights of some people (migrants) are violated today, the rights of other people (non-migrant) may be violated tomorrow.

'Has the Catalan society any responsibility in this? Maybe yes. We change our mobile phones continuously and this implies more spoliation of natural resources from the Global South which boosts the expulsion of communities. Capitalism, trade policies, the use of cooperation as a tool to put pressure on the states, the externalisation of borders... There is a systemic situation for which our society is responsible for, so we also need to be coherent in the responsibility of reception'. SP I SMM4

4.6 Media, social and political impact

SMM has become a model and a key source of information for media and political actors, especially between 2015 and 2018 when the topic was more intensively setting political agendas, and SMM was more active. Their expertise on legal and safe pathways and their strong criticism against migration and asylum policies implemented by the EU and national governments made them gain status and recognition. Since the foundation they have widely collaborated with mainstream and alternative media. As an interviewee of the working committee of communication states (SP_I_SMM3), 'going out in the media has always been a priority when we make announcements or street actions.' However, as mentioned earlier, the lack of a proper strategy and resources within this working committee has shadowed many achievements of the organisation. This affects especially the actions of strategic litigation and political advocacy except for the successful legal claim against the Spanish government for not complying the relocation quota, which had an echo in the mainstream media⁵.

At the social level, SMM has also become a legitimate actor, especially among Third Sector organisations related to migration and asylum issues. However, outside this circle and since the decline of the topic in the public agenda, they may have not managed to reach the wider society. According to an expert in communication involved in the campaign of Casa Nostra, Casa Vostra which turned completely mainstream, 'SMM's activities reach a sensitised audience, not a general one, although they aim to do so'. In her opinion, while they contribute to change policies and pave the way for others behind them, they fail to reach a wider audience due to their lack of training on communication and their little adaptation of their codes (e.g., language, design, aesthetics of campaigns) to the general public.

'One of the insights we found when we created the Volem Acollir [we want to host] campaign is a graphic issue and I think Stop represents this space very well. People said, "I don't go to these places because they are all punks and hippies". When you look at it, it's a purely aesthetic issue. Always black and red signs, always all crossed out, an anarchist aesthetic of protesting, all handwritten... this appeals only to a set of people with whom they feel identified which is not the society as a whole.' SP_I_SMM9

A member of SMM affirms that the Casa Nostra, Casa Vostra campaign succeeded in involving many citizens in the demonstration and together with SMM's input, they managed to spread a positive narrative where 'being in favour of reception became what was understood as politically correct in the public discourse'. This narrative 'leaked' into the media and the general society. However, the campaign failed in its ultimate objective to pursue a process of political advocacy thereafter. There was a meeting with Catalan politicians to explore potential actions, but nobody followed up the process (SMM declined to lead it had no capacities left) and it ended up wastepaper. Similarly, the resolution approved in the Catalan Parliament to support

https://elpais.com/politica/2018/07/11/actualidad/1531315081_116672.html?event_log=oklogin, https://www.elmundo.es/espana/2018/07/11/5b4602bf468aeb65648b4593.html,

https://www.ara.cat/societat/suprem-condemna-espanyol-acollir-refugiats 1 2700319.html.

or

⁵ See for instance these news in the leading newspapers: https://www.elperiodico.cat/ca/internacional/20180711/suprem-condemna-espanya-incomplir-compromisos-refugiats-6937244,

legal and safe pathways in July 2017⁶ was a big success of the work done by the SMM's working committee of advocacy, but this was not translated into concrete actions afterwards.

In this sense, looking at substantial policy changes as a result of SMM's (and other organisations') work, there is very little done in effective terms. Their value has been to propose a roadmap of very detailed legal and safe pathways that could be implemented if there was political will, but as the following quotes show, so far this has not been enough (with the exception of Ukraine, acknowledged by several interviewees). And, as mentioned earlier, the climate of political instability with constant changes in the multi-level governments of Spain did not facilitate it either. An interviewee of the legal project explains the current state of the several legal and safe pathways:

'Humanitarian visas could have made progress at the European Parliament, but they didn't. The relocation [of refugees] from Greece for the majority of states cannot be reproduced again because it went too well and created a calling effect, when for us it was an example of bad management [considering] the bad conditions in the refugee camps of Idomeini, Moria... But the government's discourse is that it went well. When you meet with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (not the Ministry of the Interior, that's another story) they tell you that "we see it the same way, it's what needs to be done, but there are strong states that draw the line and Germany is the referee". In the proposal for the European Pact on Migration and Asylum relocation is not mandatory but optional: you can choose either to pay the deportation of someone or keep him/her. And this is called "mechanism of solidarity" in the text. So what progress has been made in terms of relocation these years? Nothing. When there is a disembarkment [of a rescue boat], what happened with Aquarius, that can't find a safe port and they [the governments] don't assign any port, it's always the same, Germany, France... Spain hasn't participated beyond Aquarius. Resettlement is an epic fail because I could say "go to a UNHCR refugee camp and in a year you will have arrived in the country", but it doesn't work. Budgets are not executed, and countries have so little political will that the money is not even spent. Humanitarian corridors do not exist. There was the exception of Sant Egidi in Italy because the idiosyncrasy of the Church is unique. Spain has not succeeded, Andorra has, with a legislative change via parliament to be able to create a small humanitarian corridor with the same community of Sant Egidi here in BCN, therefore, almost nothing. Humanitarian visas at the European level, even though there is a socialist parliamentarian (López Aguilar) who defends them, they are buried, and the national resettlement programs do not exist. In the last Carmen Calvo said as a big migration proposal that she would move 1200 people from Lebanon and in the end only 400 were moved [...].' SP I SMM5

And continues:

'The configuration of the family extension is very restrictive in family reunion [policies], children, minors and parents on whom you demonstrate economic dependence, your older sister... Two single women with children are two families even if they are sisters, so if one arrives and wants to bring the other, she can't. One of our proposals is to revise this concept of family. On the subject of student visas [...] Most universities that

⁶ See full reference of the file here: https://www.parlament.cat/conssiapinternet/detallExpedient.do?criteri=250-01127/11&ad=1

have student and asylum programs, when they have everything set up: one foundation provides the flat, the other the medical insurance, the Catalan courses... Then the government says no to the visa. So if you go through all legal and safe pathways, they are all closed.' SP I SMM5

4.7 Success

SMM has stood out mainly for setting the agenda on legal and safe pathways with specific proposals beyond the criticism against EU and national migration policies deemed to be border necropolitics. At a time when a small minority spoke about these pathways, they developed an expertise and undertook interrelated actions of advocacy, mobilisation and awareness raising to spread it to the media, political and societal arenas. Although they admit that it was not easy to communicate the concept of legal and safe pathways to the wider public, several media (including mainstream ones) echoed their messages and SMM became a recognised and legitimate partner among the civil society organisations to discuss alternative narratives and strategies against exclusionary stances. In this regard and drawing on the analytical concept of 'migration narrative success' (Garcés-Mascareñas and Pastore 2022), we can observe a moderate degree of pervasiveness in terms of diffusion in the media. If the organisation counted with more expertise, time and resources for communication, their visibility (pervasiveness) would be greater.

Thanks to the alliance with the campaign Casa Nostra, Casa Vostra, in 2017 SMM was able to spread a positive narrative around the need to host refugees when the Spanish government was reluctant to accept the relocation quotas from the EC. In this sense, they were able to make a moral assessment, where receiving refugees was the good thing to do, and resonate with core principles of public life. This normative dimension of pervasiveness is what contributed to trigger social mobilisation, especially in the massive demonstration held in Barcelona on 18 February 2017. Whilst it is true that this was thanks to the leadership of the campaign 'we want to host' by experts in communication, the alliance of these experts with SMM was fundamental for the definition of the contents of the campaign⁷.

In contrast, many of the achievements related to political and (especially) legal advocacy did not catch media attention, but their contribution was fundamental in several respects: they managed to approve a favourable resolution to foster legal and safe pathways in the Catalan parliament, the Supreme Court agreed with SMM that the Spanish government did not comply with the relocation quota assigned by the EC, and generated strategic litigation around the implementation of the article 38 of the Spanish Asylum Law to grant the right to asylum outside Spain (mainly through Spanish embassies and consulates abroad). While it is true that the two first resolutions were not followed by policy outputs because the Catalan government failed to actually advocate for legal and safe pathways (despite their little margin of action in terms of competences) and the Spanish government did not host the over 19,000 relocated refugees, they stand out as symbolic triumphs that have granted recognition to SMM.

In this sense, looking at the second key parameter of transformativity to assess migration narrative success, the achievements linked to strategic litigation and other actions of political advocacy (e.g., several meetings with the ministries of interior and foreign affairs) indicate

⁷ For more information about the Casa Nostra, Casa Vostra campaign, please look at the Appendix A.

certain changes at the policy and juridical level, which are not futile considering that these come from a citizens' platform. In addition, at the societal level, SMM has been able to induce actions to some extent. During the first years (2015-2018) SMM became a hinge of several actors from the civil society that were previously disconnected, they triggered several episodes of social mobilisation, and undertook multiple awareness-raising activities in different venues. However, as an outside expert of communication affirmed, SMM did not go mainstream or tried to convince those with an ambivalent position. Their activities and narratives were rather generally oriented to a public who was (is) already quite sensitised.

All in all, these findings show that success cannot only be interpreted in terms of narratives, but also in terms of strategies. In this sense, the choice of focusing the organisation on what happens in the transit to the EU, seek potential solutions to make less dangerous pathways and favour the reception of people on the move has proved to be reasonably effective. This has been coupled with an efficient logistical and internal organisation along three interconnected commissions (advocacy, awareness-raising and mobilisation) formed by a core group of rather privileged activists and several formal and informal mechanisms of decision-making processes that have allowed to accomplish their objectives. Summing up, taking the typology of migration narrative success by combining the two analytical dimensions, SMM could be named as 'influential' or 'hegemonic' with a medium degree of pervasiveness and a high degree of transformativity.

5. The case study of the RegularizaciónYa campaign

5.1 Contextualisation and evolution of the initiative until today

RegularizaciónYa (RY) is a state movement led by migrant and racialised people to claim an urgent, permanent, and unconditional extraordinary regularisation for all undocumented migrants in Spain (between 500,000 and 600,000). This was born in the context of the Covid-19 pandemic, where migrants feared for their legal security and economic uncertainty at the individual and family level, not only in Spain, but also in their home countries. To the aim of protecting those at risk of social exclusion, in March 2020 the president of the government Pedro Sánchez affirmed that 'no one would be left behind' and approved an extraordinary budget which represented 20% of the Gross Domestic Product to rescue citizens and companies affected by the crisis that was just about to start (*El País*, 18 March 2020). This situation of insecurity and the positive declarations of the government became a key driving force to start the mobilisation of RegularizaciónYa. This was nurtured by previous structures of political mobilisation through the work of multiple migrants' organisations like the Network of Latin American and Caribbean Women, which produced one of the first public announcements to claim the regularisation and access to basic rights⁸.

The essential role of migrants in supporting life and Western societies was also made especially visible during the strict lockdown (particularly in the sectors of agriculture, care, and transport) and was positively assessed by the society, even if this was from an instrumentalist

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https://amecopress.net/La-Red-de-Mujeres-Latinoamericanas-y-del-Caribe-exigen-medidas-al-Gobierno-ante-la-crisis-sanitaria

lens. Such a positive assessment was coupled with favourable narratives around migrants' contribution to the economy and the social protection system of the country, taking care of the eldest. As an expert in communication outside the organisation points out, this context became ideal to claim the regularisation of undocumented migrants since many autochthonous people could better empathise with some of the limitations faced by migrant people in their daily lives (e.g., not being able to visit family members, being stopped by the police for not complying with the norms, in this case related to the state of emergency). In terms of communication strategies, this created an insight that could be successfully used to break up the boundaries between the social constructs of 'us' (autochthonous) and 'them' (migrants).

Moreover, in early spring 2020, it was the time when other European countries like Italy and Portugal started procedures to regularise undocumented migrants in order to ensure their access to health systems. Even if the conditions to achieve regularisations were not easy to comply, this political move inspired migrants' organisations in Spain to claim such procedures. Although in Spain universal access to health is (in theory) granted by law, migrants in RY identified this context as a window of opportunities to claim social, political, and economic rights, assuming that the regularisation is the first step to exercise them.

Besides this more immediate context, from a historical perspective it needs to be acknowledged that this movement is not new but rather the continuation of previous mobilisations during the 1990s and 2000s. As a matter of fact, between 1985 and 2005 six extraordinary regularisations were approved within the legal framework of the Foreigners' Law (in 1985, 1991, 1996, 2000, 2001 and 2005) under both the right-wing People's Party (PP) and the Socialist Party (PSOE) (Santi 2018). The role of migrants' mobilisations in these regularisations became especially important in 2001 and 2005, when migrants held sit-ins in churches and organised rallies under the motto 'papers for all' (*papeles para todos*). Such mobilisations were highly influenced by other migrants' movements in Europe like the *sans-papiers* in France (prominent since the 1970s), the international network No One Is Illegal (born in Germany in 1997) and the European NoBorder Network funded in 1999 (Santi 2018). The transnational exchanges within these spaces facilitated the organisation of the movement in Spain, fuelled by a context of economic growth and high labour demand.

In this sense, the current campaign of RY needs to be understood as a new wave or expression of migrants' struggle, rather than as an isolated episode. As Suárez et al (2007) point out, although undocumented migrants are represented as actors without agency to justify their exclusion, their presence cannot be framed as a conjunctural episode or as something exogenous and separated from our society, but as a structural issue which is inherent to the internal contradictions of our national model of citizenship. The academic literature on the undocumented migrants' struggle points out that in the mobilisations of 2000s migrants already played a key role as political subjects (Santi 2018). Besides their will to achieve the regularisation of undocumented migrants they also fought to gain recognition as a valid interlocutor. However, as we will see throughout the report, current activists point out the special prominence of migrants in organisational and representative terms as well as the national scale of the campaign as the most distinctive features from previous mobilisations.

Going back to the origins of the campaign, this started with a letter sent to the government in April 2020 to claim the regularisation of all undocumented migrants, with the support of 1,200 signatures of mostly antiracist and human rights organisations. In this letter, there were already

mentions to other claims like the closing down of the detention centres (*Centros de Internamiento para Extranjeros*, CIEs), the end of deportations, the speeding up of immigration and asylum procedures, rights for unaccompanied minors and migrant youth, and the urgent transfer of foreigners from the temporary residency centres in Ceuta and Melilla (*Centros de Estancia Temporal de Inmigrantes*, CETIs) to the peninsula. There was no answer to this letter. However, this was the start of an arduous legal and political work of advocacy.

The second step came in May 2020, where some members of migrants' organisations reached the Commission of Political and Economic Reconstruction of the national parliament to transfer their demand of including undocumented migrants as potential beneficiaries of the recently approved 'minimum living wage' (*ingreso mínimo vital*), following Pedro Sánchez's declarations of 'not leaving anyone behind'. One of the key persons that allowed to bridge activists and politicians was Maria Dantas, a Member of Parliament (MP) belonging to the leftwing Republican Party of Catalonia (*Esquerra Republicana per Catalunya*, ERC), who is also an activist of migrant origin involved in several social movements. Although the demand related to the minimum living wage was not included, the discussion with MPs of different groups was useful to create (or strengthen) alliances with several political parties and make their requests visible.

Following this initiative, in June 2020, a motion (*proposición no de ley*) for regularisation was presented together with the Coordinadora Obrim Fronteres (Open Borders Coordinating Committee). It contained 12 demands related to the regularisation and other topics in line with the previous letter of April 2020. This motion counted with the support of eight parliamentary groups, mostly regional and left-wing oriented, excluding the Socialist Party which was (and still is) in the government in coalition with the left-wing party Unidas Podemos which did express its support. As María Dantas reveals, it was not easy to get the support of politicians, she had to go from one office to another to make sure they would sign, but in the end, she managed to get a wide support including from two MPs of the right-wing People's Party. In July 2020, several migrants' organisations across Spain organised a rally in front of the national Parliament in Madrid to require a debate related to the motion. This finally took place in September 2020, accompanied by another rally in front of the Parliament.

The debate failed in approving a resolution for the regularisation, as the motion was rejected by the Socialist Party and all right-wing parties. The argument held by the Socialist Party was that Spain could not regularise undocumented migrants as this was forbidden by the European Pact on Immigration and Asylum of 2008. In fact, as an interviewee explains (SP_I_RY1), the idea of the Socialist Party was to name the New Pact on Migration and Asylum that was about to be approved and was more restrictive, but the valid document was still that of 2008. In views of the scepticism that this argument aroused, members of RY decided to present a request in the European Parliament through a direct question posed by the European MP Sira Rego to the Interior Commissioner Ylva Johansson. Her answer was that the European Pact of 2008 did not forbid member states to regularise migrants, which revealed the falseness of the arguments of the Socialist Party.

Following the strategy of advocacy at the EU and international level, in November 2020, several organisations within RY met with the UN Special Rapporteur of extreme poverty and human rights Felipe Gonzalez Morales to express their demands and concerns about the effects of the pandemic on migrant populations in Spain. In February 2021, RY scaled up the

answer of Ylva Johansson to the UN High Commissioner of Human Rights Michelle Bachellet to ask the Spanish government to undertake an extraordinary regularisation in a context of global crisis caused by the pandemic.

A few months later, in June 2021, the foundation Ciudadanía Global and the political party Por un Mundo Más Justo (For a Fairer World) contacted RegularizaciónYa to put forward a Popular Legislative Initiative (*Iniciativa Legislativa Popular*, ILP) about a bill to extraordinarily regularise foreign undocumented people in Spain. Despite the initial reluctances of RY to collaborate with a political party and after some discussions around the terms and conditions, they agreed to work on the initiative together with other organisations dealing with human rights and migrants' rights. This alliance gave rise to the Plataforma Esenciales (Essentials Platform), which was created *ad hoc* to pursue the RegularizaciónYa campaign, and gathered six organisations:

- #RegularizacionYa Movement: network of migrant and racialised individuals and groups, which are self-organised across all the Spanish territory
- Fundación para la Ciudadanía Global (Foundation for Global Citizenship): a human rights organisation specialised on the right to the free movement of people at a local and global scale
- Fundación Por Causa: an organisation that advocates for changes in Spanish and European migration policies through journalism, research, and communication
- REDES: a group of more than fifty entities dedicated to Development Cooperation focused on advocacy
- Alianza para la Solidaridad (Alliance for Solidarity): Development Cooperation NGO
 member of the International Federation of Action Aid, and coming from the integration
 of three organizations (CIPADE, Habitáfrica, and International Solidarity)
- Por un Mundo Más Justo (For a Fairer World): political party dedicated to defend the idea of global citizenship, the respect for human rights and environmental sustainability

The Popular Legislative Initiative (PLI) revolves around two main phases: the gathering of 500,000 signatures of people over 18 years old with Spanish citizenship, and a debate at the parliament that is to culminate in the voting of the bill with binding results. At the end of the campaign, in December 2022, RY managed to gather 611,821 signatures and presented them to the Electoral Census Board in Madrid. While the results of the PLI and the parliamentary debate are still unknown (this should take place in the next months), it is clear that the people involved in the movement have put many efforts to achieve their goal and affirm being at risk of burning out. The scarce human and economic resources, the voluntary work and the conciliation with their private lives makes it difficult to sustain the same degree of involvement in the long run if there is not internal rotation among the representatives.

5.2 Main aims and activities

According to the position statement of RegularizaciónYa, this movement is aimed at mobilising migrant communities and the wider public to achieve access to basic rights for all people living in Spain, by focusing on the permanent and unconditional regularisation of all undocumented

migrants as a first step. This is coupled with equally important objectives in the mid and long term: to develop an antiracist struggle; to become a leading actor in the agenda setting process of new migration policies (while the role of other actors of the wider public would be more secondary as supporters); and participate in the design of further social policies that affect migrant communities, by putting life and care at the centre.

At the beginning of the joint work with Esenciales to pursue the Popular Legislative Initiative (PLI), many discussions took place to find a common ground. RY made very clear that they had to be the limelight of the initiative, especially in relation to the definition of the contents of the campaign, the leadership in the decision-making processes, and to the public representation, having only migrant and racialised people as spokespersons. In terms of contents, RY showed their scepticism towards the concept of 'essentials' since it was perceived to be 'too instrumentalist', and 'it did not recognise the knowledge and skills of qualified migrants' (SP_I_RY1). They also found it difficult to build a discourse against whiteness if white people were involved in the initiative. As it is explained further on, this is linked to the internal discussions around the nature of the campaign as a mixed or non-mixed space, that is with or without the implication of autochthonous people.

'We didn't see it clear because it seems that we are those who clean the arses and pick the fruit. We come here with other skills. At first, we doubted, it was the first time that we worked again with white people, and it was difficult to build a common discourse that challenged whiteness. Then we lowered a bit, they went up, it was very hard in terms of communication, but we managed to move forward.' SP I RY1

The perception of Esenciales as a platform that may treat migrants from a too instrumentalist perspective is also shared by a non-migrant member of Stop Mare Mortum, assuming that tensions around leadership within social movements are also quite common.

'The Esenciales campaign sends out a message with the intention of reaching a predominantly white public, which is who wants to sign the PLI, but at the same time it makes them look like a child and presents migrants as utilitarian people (because they work, etc.). So I think there is a clash in that regard. But as in any movement, there are always tensions and people who want to lead more than others.' SP I SMM3

Before the final PLI was approved two previous versions were presented. However, they were rejected by the Parliament since the text could not contradict the core principles of the Organic Foreigners' Law 4/2000. In the end the solution was to amend just the First Transitional Provision (*Disposición Transitoria Primera*) of this law with the following text:

'First Transitional Provision. Regularisation of foreigners. Regularisation of foreigners who are in Spain. The Government, through Royal Decree, will establish within a period of 6 months a procedure for the regularisation of foreigners who are in Spanish territory before 1 November 2021.'

This means that if the bill is passed, all undocumented migrants who arrived in Spain before 1 November 2021 should be regularised. Once the text was approved in the Chamber of Deputies, it followed the regular legislative process going to the Chamber of Senators and then back to the Chamber of Deputies. After the final approval in December 2021, the sheets of paper to gather the signatures were collected. During Christmas, the first online meetings were

held to start articulating the campaign across the whole country. The first autonomous communities that got involved were Andalusia, the Bask Country, Catalonia, and Madrid, drawing on the previous experiences of activism, with multiple organisations with their own structures of communication and advocacy strategies. Today there are eighteen territorial committees and several thematic committees or working groups comprising issues of communication, political advocacy, legal issues, social media, and general diffusion.

The decision-making processes within RY are made in assemblies and organised in a horizontal manner, holding regular meetings between the different committees every two weeks. Yet, there is a core group of around 10 people who have a higher degree of involvement and act as spokesperson in different territories. At the same time, spokespersons represent various social groups which are part of the movement: street vendors, domestic and care workers, agricultural workers, and sex workers. There was an attempt to include Moroccan agricultural workers from the red berries sector in Andalusia, but the core group considered that they were in a too vulnerable situation, and their temporary stay in Spain made their inclusion also complicated.

The activities of RY consist basically of mobilisations across the whole country to get signatures. This is accompanied by communication actions to foster their visibility in the social media, awareness-raising activities to explain their cause to several audiences, and advocacy meetings with several political representatives at the regional, national and European level, as explained in the chronology of the first section. As for the mobilisations, RY has counted with Esenciales and multiple organisations that comprise the movement to put stands in the street and get signatures. In this sense, RY stresses the need of getting the involvement of autochthonous people, which is framed as a matter of sharing their privileges with migrant people. The involvement can take several forms: investing time and financial resources, or mobilising contacts to gather signatures, assuming that 'white people' (in their own words) have it easier to get signatures. The same happens with communication: when the diffuser is a 'white organisation' the message gets to a white audience much more easily than when the diffuser is a racialised person. This has to do with the more hegemonic position of white activists over migrant ones who depart from a less privileged position and with fewer access to power structures, as also underlined by the interviewees.

'This is our petition: we do the talks, you stay behind the table. We need commitment, that you invest your time and privilege and go to the streets to gather signatures [...] we don't want alliances, we want real involvement, that people risk and share their privileges'. SP_I_RY1

'We are used to hierarchising communications and [we think that] these have to be made from large organisations while a small and migrants' entity is not credible, right? My companions were not credible. However, the white group was credible.' SP_I_RY3

In terms of communication, during the first year RY undertook several short advocacy campaigns focused, for instance, on the political stances of different politicians on migration issues or the minimum living wage to show the reality of specific social groups like agricultural or domestic workers. However, they reached a point in which there was a saturation of campaigns and they stopped them until they started with the PLI. Besides the campaigns, they

have also produced a podcast and a videoclip with renown artists and musicians (mostly racialised people) who have contributed on a voluntary basis⁹.

As regards the channels of communication, RY deliberately decided to keep its independence from the channels of Esenciales in order to have more power to decide what narratives to spread and how. As a member of RY points out, 'communication is fundamental to create a political subject' (SP_I_RY2). Moreover, they reach different audiences: while RY gets to a more sensitized audience along with migrant groups and activists, Esenciales gets to a wider audience, including less sensitized and non-migrant population. However, RegularizaciónYa, as one of the key members of the platform, does intercede in the communication of Esenciales, which is more structured and counts with a detailed plan. Although sometimes there are discrepancies on how to approach the communication, they discuss it until they reach an agreement. As for social networks, RY uses Twitter for advocacy issues, while Instagram is useful to raise awareness and reach a wide audience through visual narratives. The stories of Instagram have been especially inspiring to show street actions related to the gathering of signatures. Finally, Telegram is also widely used for internal communication issues.

Besides the campaigns led by RY, it must be acknowledged that other actors which belong to the usual allies of the movement have also contributed to spread the campaign with their own resources. For instance, activists from Casa Nostra, Casa Vostra undertook a short campaign on Instagram between May and June 2020 called 'papers for all' (papeles para todos), using the same motto of previous mobilisations (the term 'regularisation' was assessed to be too complicated and far away from the common language) and taking advantage of the insight that the pandemic had created to better connect with the wider public. In this sense, the campaign targeted a less sensitised audience (in line with previous campaigns led by this organisation) and sought the involvement of public figures like actors, musicians, or football players, through informal conversations with journalists, instagramers and spokespersons of RY. An interviewee of Casa Nostra, Casa Vostra makes the same reflection as with Stop Mare Mortum pointing to the scarcity of communication skills to capture the attention of the general public beyond those circles of activists and sensitised people who already follow the activity of social movements.

'If you look at the target audience of RegularizaciónYa, it is aimed at a very sensitised audience, that is all activists and it also reaches the sensitised and non-active people because the level of involvement is very basic, signing.' SP I SMM9

The costs of the campaign have been covered by the foundation Ciudadanía Global and the political party Por un Mundo Más Justo, which have also covered the expenses of three part time contracts of three people dedicated to the campaign from January to September 2022 (the ending contract may have been extended until December considering the prolongation of the campaign). Besides this funding, which has been fundamental to develop the campaign, RY has also undertaken autonomous fundraising activities such as merchandising. However, there is still the perception that greater funding would have contributed to better meet the objectives of the campaign. In this regard, the lack of funding is seen as a consequence of the oppression of the white privilege over racialised people and organisations, which has caused tensions with Esenciales and other 'white organisations'.

⁹ Link to the videoclip: https://orcd.co/regulariza

'It sucks that we can't have a website like real people. That would be complicity! And that's what whiteness is, how much money do you have left over? How many social projects do political parties have? How many organisations profit from studying us as an object of study and not as political subjects? We notice that a white person always has to intervene so that we can have a space.' SP I RY1

5.3 Main actors and networks of the initiative

RegularizaciónYa is comprised by a network of racialised and migrant people and organisations from different regions across Spain which count with a previous experience in activism not only here, but also in the home countries. In this regard, the movement has not been inspired by movements from other countries, but rather from the experiences and knowledge gained along their life trajectories. As a member points out 'we haven't replicated anything, on the contrary, we have been replicated elsewhere'. It is precisely this previous knowledge what has empowered them and allowed them to identify the context of the pandemic as a window of opportunities to undertake an extraordinary regularisation. There have been some attempts to involve activists from past mobilisations for migrants' regularisation, but after 20 years very few people remain active.

'Spain already has a tradition of migrant struggle, so we recovered the struggles of 2000, but there is no one left from that era. It is far away and with the crisis [of 2008], many people returned in 2008 or 2010 and it was difficult to contact them, and with the pandemic it was difficult, but we did try.' SP I RY2

In sociodemographic terms, there is a clear prominence of Latin American women both within the core group of spokespersons and inside the movement. They mostly represent domestic and care workers (some of which with tertiary education), as a reflection of the ethnosegmentation of the labour market and of the proportion of Latin American women within undocumented migrant populations¹⁰. The strong presence of domestic and care workers in the movement contributes to develop a strong discourse to support migrant women's rights from an intersectional perspective. On the other hand, there are also individuals (mostly men) from sub-Saharan countries like Gambia and Senegal, who are especially related to the street vending (affiliated in the union Sindicato Popular de Vendedores Ambulantes¹¹ in Barcelona) and agricultural work in the provinces of Huelva (in Andalusia) and Lleida (in Catalonia) which represent the two biggest enclaves of intensive agriculture in Spain with a high demand of migrant labourers¹². Moreover, there are migrant women who are sex workers represented by the association Prostitutas de Sevilla.

In terms of age and generations, the majority of core members belong to the generation of migrants who arrived in Spain as young adults and there is little presence of their descendants, that is Spanish-born people with a migrant background. However, it is true that as part of their

¹⁰ As a report of Fanjul, G. and Gálvez-Iniesta, I. (2020) reveals, 77% of undocumented workers come from Central and South America, whereas only 9.2% comes from Africa. Moreover, 55% of undocumented migrants are women, a somewhat higher percentage than the proportion of regular migrant women (50%).

¹¹ See description in the mapping (Appendix A).

¹² For more information on the situation of agricultural workers in these two enclaves, please look at Güell and Garcés-Mascareñas (2020).

allies, RY counts with several recent spaces created by Afro-descendants who are connected to antiracism from fields such as culture and journalism.

One of the first debates was in relation to who would be the spokespersons of RY. At first, the idea was to put undocumented migrants in the front, but then they realised that this could endanger them. Therefore, they decided to opt for migrant people with a legal status, but it had to be always migrant and racialised people. This is also linked to the discussion about the convenience of defining RY as mixed or non-mixed movement. While some members believe that they do not always feel comfortable working with 'white people' and at the beginning of the PLI there were tough discussions (particularly within the platform Esenciales), these were 'solved' with the compromise of being a mixed space yet with a clear prominence of migrants and racialised people.

This compromise reflects the alignment of RY with an identity approach, where the legitimation of a voice is given by the lived experience of oppression in first person. Similar as with feminism, where women are at the front, clear parallels can be drawn with antiracism arguing that migrant and racialised people need to lead the antiracist struggle. In this regard, activists of RY reveal that they often need to make pedagogy as part of their raising-awareness activities to explain autochthonous people what their right place is: not in the front or behind, but by migrants' side. This, however, does not mean to exclude autochthonous people from antiracism.

'in RegularizaciónYa the job of building a political subject is done by migrants and racialised people. This does not mean that we don't make alliances with white people, but migrants are at the centre. Just as in feminism, practically no one would argue that they have to be women, in antiracism the people who build the narrative and are in the decision-making are migrants and racialised people'. SP_I_RY4

'White people need to understand that they need to stand by our side, not in front of us or behind us. They are our allies really, if they understand their rightful place. You have to work on empathy [and explain] why you are making this speech, this is our voice and our fight and we want you by our side, not in front of us, not speaking for us. I have my own voice and I want you to listen to me and in any case raise your fist saying: "it's true".' SP_I_RY2

On the other hand, having own spaces for migrants (or spaces where migrants have a prominent role) is also a means to ensure safety within social movements, where they can express themselves without fearing the prejudices or attacks of non-migrant people. In this regard, a member of RY reveals that she cannot always express her opinion in certain feminist spaces dominated by white and autochthonous people. Moreover, the strategies of mobilisation do not always coincide (e.g., organising a demonstration on a Saturday instead of on a Friday in order to facilitate the participation of live-in domestic workers). In this sense, the sole fact of giving a talk for a mixed or predominantly white audience and put their bodies is a way of addressing racism and feminism from an intersectional perspective.

'RY is the platform where we can express the fears that we cannot express in other platforms, including feminist ones, because it is clear that the language is not the same. [...] Since we work with volunteers, we try to take great care of the people who go [to give a talk] because they have to put up with a lot of things, hate speech... It's very

complex because, as I said, it's not the same to talk about a Latin American feminism than a European one. [...] We meet with organisations where we are accepted, but they continue to see us with that paternalism, and this is when we have to make the speech that [in these spaces] it is still being thought in a European and white way'. SP I RY3

Having said this, the alliances have been fundamental in RY to reach wider goals and audiences. These have taken place with institutions (including the eight political parties that have supported them in the motion and the PLI), civil society organisations (e.g., Esenciales) and social movements, reflecting the intersection of struggles affected by several axes of oppression (e.g., feminism, LGTBI+) at several territorial levels.

'We are convinced that networks are essential, doing something just for ourselves is a wrong idea. What we propose is that there has to be a confluence because we cannot do anything without allies, but it is difficult to understand that those who lead certain actions are the *migras* [migrant people]'. SP I RY3

5.4 Main narratives

The first and strongest narrative of RY revolves around the need for a wide, permanent, and unconditional regularization of all undocumented migrants as the first step to access basic rights. As it has been shown with previous extraordinary regularisations and with the crisis of Ukraine, regularising migrants and providing residence permits is a matter of political will. In this sense, according to the narrative's definition of Jones and McBeth (2010), the morale of the story is that undocumented migrants are the victims of the Spanish government and EU institutions (represented as the villains) who discriminate and relegate them to a position of exclusion, the 'solution' to which is in the first place a massive regularisation.

This narrative is linked to another one which is on the need to acknowledge migrants and racialised people as key agents in society, transiting from passive objects who are spoken of, to active subjects who have a say. This does not only refer to their role in the design of migration policies, but also in all the social policies that affect them individually and collectively.

'We stop being passive subjects without the ability to change things to become active subjects, protagonists who are capable of changing things, no longer from the perspective of the white saviour of the poor. We are not poor things, it is true that we suffer from institutional racism, but we are here to change history. And this means changing the narratives, stopping paternalism, [things like] "they are going to save us", etc. And we also speak clearly of racism, which is not easy.' SP_I_RY4

As a result of having been passive objects for decades, RY has built a strong narrative against institutional racism, as well as against whiteness and white privilege. The Foreigners' Law and migration policies are seen as the main source of institutional racism. At the same time, RY criticises the fact of having to resort to white people to achieve their goals, for instance, when they needed permission for putting a table to gather signatures in a music festival. The terms of 'us' and 'them' are very explicit in their language, referring to 'white people' and 'white organisations' versus 'migras' (migrant people) and 'migrant organisations'. In fact, they are used in their favour to point out the privileges of white people over migrant and racialised people.

'Now we question all the white organisations that previously led these movements, and we also question the rescue industry that makes us political objects, but not political subjects when it comes to making claims. We got a little tired of being the colour note within those movements and we began to have our own discourse and a non-white and anti-racist narrative.' SP I RY1

While it is clear that the boundaries between 'us' and 'them' exist and should be countered, the way it is done can be a determining factor to join or deter forces to the movement. As an expert in communication who does not belong to RY points out, using a 'too aggressive' language or a 'too combative aesthetic' may go against the objective of adding people who are not so sensitised or informed about the topic. Moreover, the identity approach of certain narratives (following the principle of 'you cannot talk about migrants if you are not a migrant') may pose the risk of essentialising certain categories like 'race' or 'culture' under too static conceptualisations of social groups. As some authors have pointed out (e.g., Fraser 1998) the discourses aligned with identity politics may overemphasise inter-group differences (i.e., between white people and migrant people) and ignore intra-group differences (i.e., within migrant groups and within white people).

As a consequence, the internal heterogeneity within the majority group may be not well captured and non-identity-based structures of oppression (e.g., related to economic redistribution) would be undervalued, failing to create more alliances. In this regard, some factions of antiracism have collided with social movements led by white working-class people, since from an intersectional point of view migrant and racialised people cannot accept suffering from the same oppression as them. This affects the production of narratives and the way to communicate. Yet, as an interviewee points out, nowadays class movements have taken antiracist struggles more into account thanks to the advances of antiracism.

'There was a form of political communication in the 80s [when] anti-fascism and the left did not have a concept of anti-racism, which we have been building for a few years. They could go so far as to say "from here or from abroad, the same working class", which we question a lot because we say, not only are we not the same working class, but even if we are regularised we will never reach the positions or jobs of access to power or the same participation in votes, because many people do not end up voting and always keep the NIE [Foreign Resident Identification Number]. This part of becoming aware of the social status of a racialised person was perhaps not so systematised before. Today it is. And there is also the need to build anti-racism here, not only in the US with blacks, but here, on a day-to-day basis, that a domestic and care female worker cannot register in the place where she works 24/7 is slavery [...] now a political account is created more in line with anti-racism than with the class issue that was not contemplated before'. SP_I_RY1

As a reflection of the internal heterogeneity within the movement, there are also members who actually break with the dichotomy of 'us' and 'them' by saying that 'we are all migrants' and 'we are all racist', far from an identity approach. This narrative reveals that racism should not be understood as a moral issue, but as a structural one pointing to the society's responsibility, which should allow to create more empathy with migrant people. However, following Diangelo's thesis of white fragility (2020), many white people find it hard to recognise themselves as racist, as it is commonly associated with a moral and personal issue.

'I think I'm a good person, so I'm not racist. It is not a moral fact! Even if you don't want to, you are a racist, but you are a racist in deconstruction and maybe not a militant racist. It is not a moral fact, it is structural. [...] It is not about blaming someone for all the damages created by colonists, it is a matter of social responsibility.' SP I RY6

Countering institutional racism and fighting for migrants' rights is thus seen as a matter of social justice, human rights, and responsibility.

'This sometimes becomes a matter of marketing, but you have to talk about social justice, responsibility, that they [white people] do their part, I think it's not something that you have to ask for a favour. We are talking about rights and rights cannot be requested as a favour. We must appeal to awareness, to social justice'. SP I RY4

On the other hand, the platform Esenciales has developed materials with five key arguments to justify why an extraordinary regularisation is needed and possible (see porCausa 2022): a) undocumented migrants are too many to be ignored (representing about 14% out of all non-EU migrants); b) irregularity brings in vulnerability and limitations to accessing basic rights like justice, health or education (one out of three foreign people are at risk of severe social exclusion); c) regularisations produce benefits for the whole society because those who were in the informal economy can pay more taxes (beyond those linked to consumption) and contribute to the social security system; d) remaining in the irregularity poses more epidemiological risks due to the fear of being identified and deported; and e) there have been previous regularisations by left-wing and right-wing governments (just in the EU 43 processes of regularisation in 17 member states were undertaken between 1996 and 2008, Spain being one of the leading countries with more regularisations). As confirmed by members of porCausa, these arguments are more oriented to convincing a wider public and hold a more positive and propositional approach than those used by RY which tend to be more combative and oriented to a sensitised audience.

5.5 Innovativeness

The main difference between this movement and previous ones is the capacity of migrant people to coordinate among a wide diversity of groups from many national/ethnic origins and lead a campaign claiming for the regularisation of all of them. In 2001, the different migrant communities were not so coordinated and did not count with so many resources. Many people that participated in the lock-ins in the churches were newly arrived migrants with no language skills or ties with the host society. Today, the generation of migrants who arrived in Spain during the decade of 2000s (at least some of them) is more settled in terms of getting to know the country and the language, and has acquired more social capital, partly thanks to their participation in several activist and associative spaces. This long trajectory of settlement has empowered migrants and provided them with more resources to lead movements like RY in a strengthened antiracist struggle.

'It is the first time that this type of campaign is promoted by migrants as protagonists and that they work from anti-racism.' SP_I_RY5

'At that moment when we arrived, getting a job and eating was what mattered to us. It was later when we began to build associative projects and we already had papers, etc.

Great leaders have emerged from all this [process] and we have taken away all our fears.' SP_I_RY3

'The whole Afro community in the last few years has made an incredible step forward, they've grown exponentially in terms of self-representation. There are a lot of books made by activists, a lot of community has been created, many projects of Afrodescendant groups.' SP_I_SMM9

The novelty of this movement has also been the capacity to articulate the movement at the state level and still keep its horizontality in the decision-making processes. This has been possible thanks to the previous engagement in activism and associative spaces, as mentioned before, but also to the digitalisation prompted by the Covid-19 pandemic, which has eased the communication and organisation between the eighteen territorial committees.

5.6 Media, social and political impact

According to various members of RY, the media coverage of RY has been quite scarce except for when the motion was presented and during the launch of the PLI and its presentation in the parliament. According to several interviewees, the mainstream media has ignored several press releases sent by them and the coverage has been biased towards a too sensationalist approach.

'It has been difficult, sometimes impossible, always with a very classist connotation, in many cases racist, and with pure and hard paternalism at the service of their large employers. It is a very tabloid communication. We have seen that many communications have been taken out of context or they ignore many of our communications. Neither have they wanted to invite us in the radio, press or TV, nor are they going to invite us.' SP I RY2

'Many media remained silent when the PLI was created and did not say anything. When Escrivà [Ministry of Inclusion, Social Security and Migrations] came out with the change in the regulations [of the Foreigners' Law], everyone put it on their website. We have sent many press releases and they have not been made public.' SP_I_RY5

The media impact may also have been influenced by the scarce resources to design a proper communication strategy. While there have been attempts to create one, the fact that it all relies on voluntary work and on a horizontal organisational structure with eighteen territorial committees also makes it difficult. As they explain, there is no time to reach an agreement on how to report every event (e.g., when there is a fire in a slum or when a sex worker has been fired from a club). However, as one member reveals, 'people have relied on our criteria to select and report events. What is clear is that the approach will always be that of human rights' (SP I RY2).

From an outside perspective, an expert in communication involved in the campaign of Casa Nostra, Casa Vostra points out that RY usually reaches sensitised people who are already interested in migration issues. Moreover, many of their followers are migrants and racialised people without Spanish citizenship unable to sign the petition, for which they need strong networks with non-migrant people and organisations. Judging by the high volume of signatures they have achieved, the interviewee acknowledges the capacity of RY to capture the attention

of other people, mainly thanks to the networks and channels of their allies (i.e. Esenciales) which tend to create more empathy with the general public. The paradigmatic example, according to the expert, is the communication and marketing strategy of Top Manta created by street vendors (*manteros*) since it uses a friendly language and the T-shirt prints go along with the Western fashion codes.

'RegularizaciónYa reaches very few people through their networks. You will not find anyone who is not interested in the subject of migration, they have very few followers on Instagram considering what they want to achieve. Where do they get them? On the street face-to-face, through the networks of other groups, who use a kinder language and mobilise people. Then there are other groups such as the street vendors, who I think are the ones who have more recognition, and who do not use such an aggressive language. In general, people associate it with something that is very cool because it is clothing, it enters the capitalist game, easy for everyone to assume. A clothing brand on a T-shirt is not aggressive. RegularizaciónYa has gone well thanks to these organisations within it. And the network they have created from below is very important, the knowledge they have is very important because they have paved the way, but it is also true that they have lost people along the way.' SP I SMM9

As for the social impact, RY has been able to raise awareness among the wider public of what regularisation means across a wide territory, including rural and urban areas, and actors with different ideological orientations, from the Episcopal Conference to anticapitalist groups. In addition, several events have been organised at the universities, so they have also reached many students and young people.

'We did political advocacy with the political parties that joined us: the motion for regularisation was a bridge to work with political actors and try to reach the majority party. This is the greatest incidence that RegularizaciónYa has had, putting on the table that this word exists, and make clear what it means. That people now can say it without problems, there was a debate to choose such a complicated word and now everyone understands that you are talking about regularization at the state level.' SP_I_RY2

In Catalonia it has been easier to get signatures, since apart from the existence of a powerful Third Sector and a sensitised society (proved by its participation in demonstrations like the one in 2017 to welcome refugees), there are left-wing political parties such as Candidatures d'Unitat Popular (CUP) or Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya (ERC) which devote specific resources to support social movements. Very recently, on 17 December 2022 on the occasion of the international migrants' day, the Municipal Council of Immigration of Barcelona (Consell Municipal d'Immigració de Barcelona) awarded RY for their project around the PLI as the most outstanding initiative of the year in relation to the political participation of migrants.

In contrast, in other regions like Galicia or inland areas the gathering of signatures has been much more difficult due to the limitations to organise themselves, the weak previous structures of activism, the ageing of the population and the presence of more xenophobic discourses among autochthonous people. On the other hand, although interviewees did not provide many details, RY seems to have inspired similar movements in other countries like Portugal (especially during the first year of the pandemic), Germany or Ireland, reaching a transnational impact.

Finally, in terms of political impact, RY stands out for having undertaken several advocacy actions like the first letter presented at the national Congress, the motion for regularisation and several meetings with politicians at different territorial levels, the instances at the European Parliament and with the UN Rapporteur of extreme poverty and human rights, plus the current PLI. They have also forced and speeded up the modification of the regulations (*reglamento*) of the Foreigners' Law 4/2000 which was approved last July 2022. According to several members of RY, the government is trying to 'sell' these new regulations as a kind of regularisation due to the incorporation of new mechanisms to ease it (e.g., with new forms of 'rooting' through training programmes (*arraigo por formación*), the 'normalisation' of the labour rooting (*arraigo laboral*) and new measures to regularise unaccompanied young migrants). However, it is not the same, since this regularisation would be an extraordinary procedure in which all undocumented migrants – without any conditions – would benefit from it.

'They want to sell an *ad hoc* change of the LOEX [Foreginers' Law] as a regularisation, but we have to end this narrative.' SP I RY6

'We knew at the end of 2020 that this [regulations of the Foreigners' Law] was going to come out, so we also had the doubt of whether to launch a PLI knowing that this was being plot. I think the PLI has made them speed up the regulations, even though we don't have media coverage.' SP_I_RY1

In terms of non-institutional politics, RY has become a political subject with powerful alliances with a large network of activists and sensitised people across the whole country which will serve as a basis for future mobilisations. This is actually perceived to be the biggest legacy of the movement both by members within RY, who live it with a sense of pride, and by outside collaborators.

'Reaching to Congress means showing that migrants are organised, we are not going to shut up and this is the beginning of everything that is to come.' SP I RY4

'It is unprecedented that there is an organisation led by migrants and with this level of organisation, of state coordination... It is incredible to generate this whole coalition because Volem Acollir [campaign organised by Casa Nostra, Casa Vostra] happened in Catalonia and it was an odyssey. It is true that they only network with activists and we did with everybody, but it is a great success. And for the migrant and Afrodescendant community there is a pride of leadership, of feeling like real political agents who can bring about changes which no one will pursue if they don't lead them. Just like feminism, we need all these people who have experienced it in first-hand to explain us what racism is. The network, the pride... Even if they don't get the signatures, this is the biggest legacy they'll leave. The network of points to get signatures is much more important than Instagram or Twitter channels that don't add anyone new. That's why it's not so bad that they have such an aggressive speech.' SP_I_SMM9

The biggest political impact would be to get a positive voting of the PLI that ends with the regularisation of all undocumented migrants, but the negative stance of the Socialist Party together with the votes of right-wing parties make it quite difficult. Moreover, some members criticise the lack of involvement of political parties which have given their support to the PLI but have not contributed much to the gathering of signatures.

'They [political parties] give support, but there is no active participation of the affiliates and their voters. They alone could already reach 500,000 signatures.' SP | RY5

5.7 Success

The success of RY can be interpreted mainly in terms of the social position of the actors that have promoted it, i.e., considering the underprivileged position of migrant and racialised people living in Spain, who have been able to organise a state level campaign without precedents. Taking the concept of 'migration narrative success' and its key parameters (Garcés-Mascareñas and Pastore 2022) we can observe a low degree of pervasiveness of their narratives and activities in the mainstream media; the scarce expertise and resources for communication issues, as well as their (more or less intended) orientation towards a more sensitised public has not reached the mainstream. However, thanks to their alliances with many organisations and social movements (with a prominent role of the Esenciales platform, which was born to support the PLI) they have been able reach more people through the social media channels of these actors.

As for transformativity, the second parameter to assess narrative success, RY has been especially salient in policy terms, being able to interact with several policymakers at all territorial levels and have an impact on some migration policy procedures. At the national level, of special importance has been the pursue of a motion for regularisation and the Popular Legislative Initiative (PLI) with the mobilisation of several political parties, whereas at the European and international levels, a few advocacy actions have also been undertaken in the framework of the European Parliament and the United Nations. Although it is still to be seen if the PLI is approved and all undocumented migrants are regularised, a certain influence in the policy sphere has already taken place, with the backing of left-wing political parties and the speeding up of the regulations of the Foreigners' Law.

At the societal level, RY has acquired a notable impact when gathering signatures in the street. Getting half a million signatures means that at least half a million people of Spanish citizens have known the campaign, what regularisation means, and have gained awareness about the reality of (undocumented) migrants. This has been possible thanks to a very wide network of points across the whole country and to the collaboration of many voluntary people who have invested their time to stay behind a stand and ask for participation. Whether these actions have changed ideas, attitudes or behaviours of some people should be assessed with further research, but the sole fact of having become visible to such a high number of people is positive to induce social change.

From a discursive point of view, it is not clear that the narratives have permeated the mainstream public who is not aware of the antiracist cause, but the actions and strategies undertaken by RY have, without doubt, contributed to echo their messages with the praxis. Considering that this campaign has been led by a non-hegemonic actor, reaching the point they have already reached (regardless of the results of the PLI) is a success in itself. RY is the seed of mobilisations which will continue in the near future, since they touch upon core principles of citizenship and identity that will become more frequent as the society becomes more diverse. Summing up, taking the typology of migration narrative success by combining the two analytical dimensions (Garcés-Mascareñas and Pastore 2022), RY could be named as 'influential' with a low degree of pervasiveness and a high degree of transformativity.

6. Conclusions

This report has mapped several initiatives that are distinguished for their innovative strategies against exclusionary narratives around migration issues, and in a second part examined the two most outstanding initiatives making use of qualitative data from fifteen in-depth interviews and key documents. Both Stop Mare Mortum (SMM) and RegularizaciónYa (RY) were born in a context when migration issues were dominant in the public arena and political agendas. In 2015, the refugee crisis triggered discussions around solidarity both among member states (linked to the relocation/resettlement quota) and among some sectors of the civil society who expressed their willingness to host refugees. Beyond this wish of solidarity, platforms like SMM advocated to claim changes in migration policies from a human rights perspective and to save lives instead of letting people die in the Mediterranean Sea. In 2020, the Covid-19 pandemic also put migration issues back on the table. The need to ensure universal access to the health system and adopt epidemiological measures for everyone (including undocumented migrants) was accompanied with positive (though also instrumentalist) narratives acknowledging the essential role of migrants to sustain live and the economy of Western societies. In this scenario, taking the previous experience in activism and advocacy, several migrant organisations joined to launch a campaign for the regularisation of all undocumented migrants.

Making one step forward in the analysis, we can examine these initiatives along five key dimensions and draw some comparisons between the two. First, in relation to the nature of the narratives, SMM stands out for being more propositional towards the definition of a roadmap of several legal and safe pathways to facilitate the right to asylum and the access to Europe for people on the move. In contrast, RY adopts a more combative discourse with the use of the labels 'us' and 'them' to criticise institutional racism and white privilege and claim the recognition of migrants and racialised people as a political subject who participates in public life. In this sense, RY tends to use more counter-narratives against the *status quo* (although the aim of the campaign is in itself a proposal to reduce social exclusion) and SMM mixes their criticism with alternatives. Yet, they have commonalities in the content of some narratives around co-responsibility, trying to involve the wider public to become more aware of the effects of border necropolitics and migration policies, and of the need to frame migrants' rights as a matter of social justice and human rights.

Second, both initiatives coincide in being oriented towards the wide society as a principle, but in their praxis, they manage to reach only a sensitised public who is already aware of migration issues. It is thanks to their allies and networks with other actors of the political and societal arenas that their actions and narratives end up having some impact on a non-sensitised public too. Third, the composition of the actors behind both initiatives is probably the dimension in which there are more divergences between SMM and RY. Whereas SMM is led by a core group of autochthonous and highly educated activists in which migrants are little involved, RY is steered by groups of migrants and racialised people. However, both movements have managed to build a strong network of allies and become a hinge of several organisations for a common cause.

Fourth, in terms of ambition, both initiatives aim to transform structural inequalities fostered by exclusionary migration policies and legal frameworks, but SMM has put their major efforts in concrete actions to implement legal and safe pathways and RY has focused (at least at this stage) on a specific campaign to achieve a very concrete goal. In the long term, the structure

of migrant organisations created for the campaign shall be used to pursue wider goals centred on institutional racism. Finally, regarding the impact of both initiatives, both coincide for having achieved a political impact, by interfering in policy procedures (e.g., relocation quota, regulations of the Foreigners' Law), undertaking advocacy actions at several territorial levels (e.g., regular contact with MPs, presentation of a motion and a Popular Legislative Initiative, participation in parliamentary commissions), and in the case of SMM by developing a remarkable strategic litigation with evident results (e.g., forcing the implementation of the art. 38 of the Spanish Asylum Law to allow refugees to seek asylum outside Spain).

In addition, both movements have managed to become recognised political subjects with an own voice. Yet, SMM has gained more audience in the media arena than RY, especially during the refugee crisis in Europe and its subsequent years (2015-2018), and has been closer to institutional politics in a favourable opportunity structure where Catalan institutions (including the municipality of Barcelona) were also mobilising in the same direction. As mentioned in the analysis, the privileged position of activists in SMM, though still being non-hegemonic, may have facilitated their greater recognition and power of advocacy in the media and political arenas. In contrast, RY's media coverage has been lower and more biased. However, RY's political achievements are equally outstanding considering their point of departure, being in a less privileged position. As for the social impact, both SMM and RY have also gained recognition within other new social movements and among the wider society, spreading a positive narrative around the need to host and proposing policy changes (SMM) and raising awareness of the need to regularise undocumented migrants through street actions (RY). This has also been possible thanks to their capacity to join forces with a wide array of actors. However, while in the case of SMM this process seems to have been little problematic, in the case of RY it has caused more tensions to fine-tune the content of the narratives, as well as the terms and conditions of collaboration, especially within the Esenciales Platform.

Finally, in terms of narrative success (following the concept note of Garcés-Mascareñas and Pastore 2022), several conclusions can be drawn. As it has been indicated above, SMM's narratives could be assessed to be either influential or hegemonic, having a moderate-high degree of pervasiveness (for setting the agenda on legal and safe pathways in several spheres) and a moderate-high degree of transformativity (for inducing actions like strategic litigation or – together with Casa Nostra, Casa Vostra – a massive mobilisation to welcome refugees). RY's narratives could be labelled as influential, considering the low degree of pervasiveness (especially in the mass media) and the moderate-high degree of transformativity, thanks to the mobilisation of more than half a million signatures and for leading advocacy actions as a political subject at a state level for the first time.

Besides these two dimensions, we may find further explanatory factors to account for the narrative success of both initiatives. Regarding the content of the narratives (what), both initiatives have found certain difficulties to spread their two core concepts (legal and safe pathways, and regularisation of undocumented migrants) which are not easily accessible for a mainstream public. However, thanks to their actions, they have been able to normalise their use appealing to rational explanations (defending the right to migrate, to seek asylum and to become regularised to access basic rights) and to emotions of awe and anger against current migration policies and laws, and of excitement towards possible changes. As for the narratives' framing (how), one peculiarity can be observed: the morale of the story ends up taking the form of a slogan with proposals of changes. This format is coherent with the environment in which

narratives are produced, i.e., social movements and organisations of the civil society. Combative messages resonate with a sensitised public concerned with the violation of human rights; however, as mentioned earlier, a too disputatious language could go against the objective of adding new people to the movement.

In regard with the narrative producers (who), SMM managed to gain recognition and become a trustworthy actor thanks to the expertise they developed in legal and safe pathways when hardly anyone was tackling this concept and they were able to challenge official narratives such as the inexistence of refugees willing to seek asylum in Spain. Activists of RY have not gained such level of recognition yet, but they have made great steps to build themselves as a political subject who interferes with the policy sphere. Should the PLI meet its objective, the narrative on the need to regularise migrants would become more persuasive counting on a massive support of the civil society through their signatures. This is linked to the next explaining factor of narrative success around the purpose of the narrative (why). In this sense, it is clear that both initiatives produce stories to induce changes in the policy and societal arenas. Having achieved more than half a million of signatures means that a PLI matches with the interests of at least 1% of the Spanish population. On the other hand, SMM's narratives have been clearly oriented to shape public and policy debates by outlining problems and specific solutions, while RY's narratives have been produced to also create an identity of migrant and racialised people as an empowered actor.

In relation to the venues in which narratives circulate (where), in both cases narratives were started in the societal sphere and managed to circulate in the media (especially in the case of SMM) and social media sphere (taking advantage of their allies' channels too). Narratives also travelled to the political and legal spheres (again, especially in the case of SMM), thanks to the legal claims, their participation in parliamentary commissions, or to their interaction with MPs. The influence in the policy sphere has been more limited in terms of generating specific and direct outputs related to their performance. However, the influence has been remarkable in the implementation of some laws like the art. 38 of the Spanish Asylum Law and in putting some migration policy procedures under pressure. Finally, in regard with the time in which narratives are produced (when), the refugee crisis and the pandemic appeared as good scenarios to present claims. In the case of SMM the massive arrival of refugees offered a critical juncture to offer positive narratives with proposals to let people on the move come to Europe, while the pandemic crisis allowed to claim for rights 'in exchange of' migrants' contribution to the society and as a matter of social justice at a time when emotions were running high. Now that the pandemic is less virulent, the feeling of empathy towards vulnerable groups has probably decreased. This is why RY has been reluctant to use utilitarian arguments and been more prone to talk about rights, justice and responsibility.

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Appendix A: Mapping data

Country code and number	SP_SG1_I1
Name or title	Open Arms
Form of organization (legal form, self-labelling etc.)	Non-profit non-governmental organisation that counts with international recognition, being the only Spanish member of the International Maritime Rescue Federation, a "supporting entity" of Human Rights at Sea, which is an independent international platform for the preservation of human rights at sea, and an entity
	associated to the Department of Public Information of the United Nations.
Date of founding	September 2015 with the 'migration crisis'
Founding reason/event to which the founding was a response (if applicable)	To protect those who try to reach Europe by sea, fleeing from armed conflict, persecution or poverty by monitoring and rescuing vessels carrying people who need help in the Mediterranean channel.
People and entities involved at founding	It all started with some photographs of drowned children on a beach. Voluntary safeguards decided to take action and went to the north coast of Lesbos without any equipment in September 2015. In October 2015 they were able to buy jet skis, in June 2016 the first boat (Astral), in December 2016 a fishing boat (Golfo Azzurro) and in July 2017 an old tugboat (Open Arms), being able to save thousands of lives. In November 2021, the NGO acquired a new tugboat called Open Arms Uno, designed to perform mass rescue tasks (embracing 300 people) and with a capacity of 31 places for the crew and a hospital with 26 beds.
People and entities involved at today	Oscar Camps is the founding person of the organisation and still works in it today.
Primary target audience(s)	Migrants in the sea, vulnerable groups affected by Covid, potential migrants in Africa, students (through programs at schools)
Primary aims, topics or issues	To monitor and rescue vessels carrying people who need help in the Mediterranean channel and by providing emotional support; to protect the lives of the most vulnerable in emergency situations on land (since the Covid-19 pandemic); to build alternatives to irregular migration in countries such as Senegal, providing people with resources through community awareness and information so that those who migrate can make decisions with complete freedom and knowledge; and to carry out educational work in schools that seek to generate empathy and critical thought among the youngest generation.
Secondary audience(s)	Policymakers and civil society
Secondary aims, topics or issues	To denounce injustices through advocacy actions and to raise awareness for the general society through communication campaigns.
Strategies, practices and means (e.g. press releases, social media campaigns, art installations, protests)	Several projects (at schools, in countries of origin, with City Councils), media and social media campaigns, awareness-raising actions (like giving free admission to the Open Arms tugboat at the port of Barcelona during

last Christmas), participation in films about their NGO and missions, collaboration with artists (e.g. the photographer Santi Palacios) and with media, and cooperation with other NGOs with the same purpose (e.g. MSF, SOS Mediterranee). It has been involved as a private prosecutor in a legal case with Italian justice, when the former Italian interior minister Salvini refused to let a rescue ship of Open Arms carrying dozens of migrants dock into Lampedusa in 2019. It has implemented the project "From the Sea to the City", an international conference for and with committed Mayors of City Councils of different countries to foster the adoption of reception policies respectful with human rights. In 2018 the documentary film "Cartas Mojadas" was released and won the award of the audience in the Festival of Malaga. Last year, the film "Mediterraneo" was made based on the story of the NGO's birth and it was nominated to Oscar awards, although in the end it was not selected. The website is connected to social media platforms and offers several options to help: with donations, buying lifesaving gifts, spreading their message and being a volunteer. Through social media they denounce violations of human rights, inform about news related to vessels and migrants trying to reach Europe, migration policies, returned migrants to Africa, It has received several awards like the gold medal for civic merit for its work in defence of human rights and its humanitarian rescue mission in the Mediterranean in 2018 by the City Council of Barcelona, or the Hero Award by the International Maritime Rescue Federation in 2016. Size and resources (budget, It is not public how many people work in the people and networks involved, organisation, but it counts with many volunteers. etc.) From 1 January 2019 to 31 December 2019, the contributions reached €3.2 million. Open Arms enjoys complete economic independence thanks to the collection of small private donations. From all of the income, 80% pertains to private donations from over 40,000 people with small contributions. The remaining 20% is aid from official organisations or local administrations. From 1 January 2019 to 31 December 2019. the direct expenses of all missions reached €2.8 million. Of all the expenses, 92% was used for direct action in the Mediterranean Mission. Regarding structure, 3% was spent on expenses, including communication. The remaining 5% was used for the Origin Mission in Africa. Reach (area of activity, Awareness-raising and social intervention linked to the geographically) pandemic in Spain, saving lives in the Mediterranean sea, development projects in several countries of origin (Ghana, Senegal), flights with humanitarian aid (India, Mozambique).

Communications (channels, media, genres, degree of professionalism) including activities/events/campaigns (comm. with institutions/politicians as well as outreach to public)	Website and Social Media (Facebook, Instagram, Twitter), merchandising products with the logo and images of the NGO. The templates provided by Open Arms have been designed by PR professionals.
Narratives they produce (especially successes) – brief summaries	
-Narrative 1	Border necropolitics and NGOs: We want our Mediterranean to stop being a mass grave; We want the human rights of every one of us to be respected; We want international conventions and the Law of the Sea to be observed; We want protection of the most vulnerable to be a priority. Every life counts; protecting life is not a crime, it is a duty.
-Narrative 2	Border necropolitics and the EU: The EU is responsible for a deadly migration policy, which has caused and continues to cause thousands of innocent victims in the Mediterranean. The agreements with non-EU countries blows against human rights, the law and democratic principles.
-Narrative 3	Humanity at the centre, migration is not a crime: It is important to put faces to abandoned lives and give back the humanity to a sea turned into an enormous graveyard.
Documents/ information used for this mapping (including website URLs)	https://www.openarms.es/en https://twitter.com/openarms https://www.facebook.com/proactivaservice/ https://www.instagram.com/proactivaopenarms/

Country code and	SP_SG1_I2
number	
Name or title	Stop Mare Mortum
Form of organization	Citizen platform that counts with the support of 180
(legal form, self-labelling etc.)	associations and 1100 individuals
Date of founding	April 2015 with the 'refugee crisis'
Founding reason/event	To foster a change in EU and national migration and asylum
to which the founding	policies towards the full respect of human rights. Its major
was a response (if	claim is to set up 'legal and safe pathways' to access Europe
applicable)	and avoid deaths in the Mediterranean Sea.
People and entities	A group of citizens gathered after the death of around 1,000
involved at founding	people in a shipwreck that was heading to the Sicilian coast.
	The first action was in front of the office of the European
	Commission in Barcelona. The following months several
	shipwrecks followed. This was perceived to be a 'humanitarian
	crisis', to which the national and European institutions did not
	respond adequately.
People and entities	The platform is organised through an assembly of several
involved at today	people from which decisions are taken (e.g., strategic lines of

Primary target	action), four working committees (awareness-raising, legal advice, advocacy, communication, and secretary) and through working groups including one on gender. Stop Mare Mortum also counts with territorial representation in several Catalan locations (Barcelona, Tarragona, Garraf, Badalona and Blanes). Policy-makers, civil society
audience(s)	
Primary aims, topics or issues	 Advocacy: influence public policies to allow legal and safe pathways to the EU by fostering lobbying strategies to change the political agenda at the local, regional, national, European and international level. The advocacy committee also includes legal actions, basically through strategic litigation by forcing the art. 38 of the Spanish Asylum Law to allow the asylum legal procedures in the EU border areas of Greece and Morocco and through legal complaints to ensure that Spain complies with the reception commitments approved by the EU Communication: become a media interlocutor in asylum issues, contribute to spread clear information and generate inclusive narratives Mobilisations: organisation of rallies to claim justice against the violation of human rights Networking with other local and global organisations to raise awareness towards a more sensitised society (e.g., Casa Nostra, Casa vostra, Coordinadora Obrim Fronteres, Caravana Obrim Fronteres, Xarxa Educativa Obrim
	Fronteres).
Secondary audience(s)	Asylum seekers and migrants
Secondary aims, topics or issues	Making use of individual cases for strategic litigation
Strategies, practices and means (e.g. press releases, social media campaigns, art installations, protests)	 Itinerant artistic exhibitions: #MedFaces (with several faces representing migrants from different places) and "A peu de tanca" (photographs about the Southern border). These exhibitions are combined with pedagogic activities for pupils of different ages. Didactic activities: workshops and conferences for children and youth to reflect around the phenomenon of migration and foster critical thinking among them. Didactic guides and games have been elaborated from the perspective of peace building and social transformation (e.g. Guia Entreterres, Joc dels Avatars, Refumigra). Merchandising: material produced in local manufactories (T-shirts, bags, badges, postcards, calendars). Rallies and mobilisations Strategic litigation Influence in media and social media
Size and resources (budget, people and	The funding comes mainly from contributions of individuals or groups, and merchandising. The few public funds are linked to
networks involved, etc.)	implement legal actions.
Reach (area of activity, geographically)	Stop Mare Mortum counts with territorial representation in several Catalan locations (Barcelona, Tarragona, Garraf, Badalona and Blanes). Yet, their scope of action goes beyond Catalonia, with some achievements at the national level (e.g.,

	legal procedure in the Supreme Court that punishes Spain for not complying with the reception quotes approved by the EU in 2015).
Communications (channels, media, genres, degree of professionalism) including activities/events/campaig ns (comm. with institutions/politicians as well as outreach to public)	Website and Social Media (Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, YouTube), merchandising products with the logo. The templates provided by Stop Mare Mortum have been designed by PR professionals.
Narratives they produce (especially successes) – brief summaries	
-Narrative 1	Legal and safe pathways : There is the need to allow legal and safe pathways to access Europe for those people who find themselves in a situation of extreme vulnerability and danger.
-Narrative 2	Border necropolitics: The current European and state policies on outsourcing and border control, detention and expulsion of people, and on military intervention respond more to far-right discourses and electoral interests rather than to the universal values of solidarity, equal treatment and respect for human rights. This is a form of genocide that the EU legitimises.
-Narrative 3	Common European Asylum system: Unified proceedings should be applied in all EU countries through a Common European Asylum system in order to ensure the same rights to asylum seekers.
Narrative 4	Refugees and migrants as a continuum of forced mobility: We make no distinction between refugees and migrants, since they all flee from a situation of forced mobility where the economic grounds may be mixed with other forms of structural violence. Therefore, they should all be granted with the same rights and reception facilities.
Documents/ information used for this mapping (including website URLs)	https://stopmaremortum.org/ https://twitter.com/stopmaremortum/ https://www.facebook.com/StopMareMortum/ https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCwZl0nRx7tNKp2Gk_PCd_87g https://www.instagram.com/stopmaremortum/?hl=es

Country code and number	SP_SG1_I3
Name or title	Casa Nostra, Casa Vostra ("Our House, Your
	House")
Form of organization (legal	Group of independent and voluntary people concerned
form, self-labelling etc.)	with the reception of migrants and refugees in Catalonia
,	and in Spain
Date of founding	End of 2016

Founding reason/event to which the founding was a response (if applicable)	Big campaign to claim political responses to facilitate the reception of migrants and refugees, after the 'migration crisis' of 2015 and the lack of commitment of the Spanish government with the EU agreements related to the refugees quotas. In 2015 Spain pledged to take in 17,000 refugees within 2 years and in February 2017 it had only accepted 1,100, whereas Catalonia pledged 4,500 refugees and it had only taken 41, having only until September 2017 to accept all. The campaign was born after the gathering of several activists and artists who joined in Greece (Idomeneus) to get to know the
	situation of the refugee camps and undertake some actions (workshops for children and families, concerts). After their return, they decided to start a campaign with several aims: provision of information, awareness-raising, mobilisation and lobbying so that the 'migration crisis' was fed by personal stories and claim political responses to guarantee human rights (e.g. through legal and safe pathways).
People and entities involved at founding	The campaign started in 2016 with 300 people structured around 16 departments (working groups), involving hundreds of associations. The main coordinators were the activists Ruben Wagensberg and Lara Costafreda. The campaign was launched in Teatre Lliure with the participation of four main spokespersons. In 2017, they launched the #VolemAcollir (#WelcomeRefugees) campaign to demand that the Catalan and Spanish governments fulfilled their pledges to take in refugees. The campaign included more than 3,000 events throughout the territory and ended with a large solidarity concert at Palau Sant Jordi and with the world's biggest demonstration in favour of welcoming refugees.
People and entities involved at today	The campaign was reactivated at the beginning of the pandemic (March-April 2020) and it claimed amnesty for all, with an extraordinary legal process for undocumented migrants to become regular (related to the SP-SG2_I1 #RegularizaciónYa campaign). However, today it is quite inactive.
Primary target audience(s)	Policy-makers and politicians of Catalan and Spanish
Primary aims, topics or issues	Provision of information, awareness-raising, mobilisation and advocacy (political pressure to the governments so that they fulfilled their pledges to take in refugees). The claims to the Catalan government were in terms of reception policies, whereas those to the Spanish government were formulated to provide legal and safe pathways to reach Europe and the compliance with EU agreements (refugees quotas), following the competences of each administration. Catalonia was committed to receive 4500 asylum seekers, but to the date it only received a few.
Secondary audience(s)	Civil society

Secondary aims, topics or	Involve civil society in this political and social claim of
issues	reception and in awareness-raising actions.
Strategies, practices and means (e.g. press releases, social media campaigns, art installations, protests)	 Organisation of a big concert at Palau Sant Jordi (Barcelona) with more than 50 well-known musicians and music bands and thousands of attendants (11.02.17), which was broadcasted live in the Catalan television. The raised money (211,562eur) was given to several organisations working on migrants' reception. Big demonstration with the participation of 500,000 people (18.02.17), which was possible thanks to the strategy in involving many well-known artists, journalists, professionals, etc. encouraging citizens to join. This mobilisation had an international echo for the next demonstrations in other European cities the following weeks. Gathering of 121,000 signatures taken to the Catalan Parliament to claim actions to welcome refugees and comply with the agreed quotas. About 3,000 actions of mobilisation and awarenessraising across Catalonia (e.g. acts during the International Migrants' Day) Social media campaigns: "Papeles para todos" (Amnesty for all) so that no one is left behind (2020), #VolemAcollir (#WelcomeRefugees) (2017), videos of "experts against rumours/doubts/stereotypes" linked to migration, and videos with stories of asylum seekers trying to reach Europe. Merchandising and materials for mobilisation (T-shirts, flags, banners) Elaboration of a document of 148 recommendations (3 months after the demonstration), which included the creation of a 'permission card' so that asylum seekers could access public services (e.g. health, education), the labour market and housing, measures against racism and discrimination.
Size and resources (budget, people and networks involved, etc.) Reach (area of activity,	The funding came mainly from contributions from individuals or groups, the concert at Palau Sant Jordi and merchandising. Catalonia
geographically)	
Communications (channels, media, genres, degree of professionalism) including activities/events/campaigns (comm. with institutions/politicians as well as outreach to public)	Website and Social Media (Facebook, Instagram, YouTube), merchandising products with the logo. The Facebook page was created in October 2016 and has been the main source of information and advocacy. They created the "Commission of study of migratory movements and reception" as an instrument to dialogue with the Catalan government and try to implement the recommendations out of the campaign.
Narratives they produce (especially successes) – brief summaries	

-Narrative 1	Welcome Refugees in reception crises: Welcome
	Refugees; our house is your house; enough excuses,
	welcome them now
-Narrative 2	Border necropolitics: No more deaths in the
	Mediterranean sea, #UErgonya
-Narrative 3	Welcome Refugees and terrorist attacks: We are not
	afraid, welcome them now (after the 17-A terrorist
	attacks in Barcelona, CasaNostra CasaVostra joined the
	demonstration and mobilisations against islamophobia)
Narrative 4	Regularisation for all undocumented migrants: In an
	extraordinary context like the Covid-19 pandemic,
	undocumented migrants need to be regularised with a
	residence permit so that access to rights, goods and
	services can be guaranteed (Casa Nostra, Casa Vostra
	joined the #RegularizaciónYa campaign)
Documents/ information used	https://casanostracasavostra.com/amnistyforall/ (the
for this mapping (including	original website is out of order)
website URLs)	https://www.facebook.com/volemacollir (main source of
	information)
	https://www.youtube.com/c/CasaNostraCasaVostra

Country code and number	SP SG1 I4
Name or title	Solidary Wheels
Form of organization (legal form, self-labelling etc.)	Non-profit organisation made up of a group of independent volunteers in Melilla (southern border of Spain) who share a common resolve: to challenge European border policies and the constant violation of fundamental human rights that these entail. It is predominantly a women's group working from a feminist perspective, with the firm principle of promoting the empowerment through teamwork and the fostering of personal relations.
Date of founding	June 2019
Founding reason/event to which the founding was a response (if applicable)	To defend and advocate for the human rights of people-on-the-move (migrants, asylum seekers, refugees) who are caught between European borders, regardless of their gender, race, religion, nationality, sexual orientation, membership of a particular social group or political opinion; exert pressure on policymakers to ensure the compliance of human rights; and create local and international support networks together with the organisation No Name Kitchen.
People and entities involved at founding	Group of independent volunteers (around 6-8 people)
People and entities involved at today	Group of independent volunteers (very recent creation)
Primary target audience(s)	Migrants in the southern border of Melilla
Primary aims, topics or issues	Assistance-based support (hygiene products, food, clothes), psycho-emotional support (creation of spaces for social and community development, where bonds of trust are generated), legal support, medical support

	(basic health care and medical follow-ups with voluntary health professionals), and women's groups (human networks of trust with young women in the
Secondary audience(s)	same situation). Civil society
Secondary aims, topics or issues	Social awareness about human rights' violation in border areas, and advocacy by reporting human rights violations carried out along the Spanish/Moroccan border as well as unhealthy and insecure living conditions faced by people-on-the-move living in the streets or in reception centres across Melilla.
Strategies, practices and means (e.g. press releases, social media campaigns, art installations, protests)	 Reporting: denouncing human rights violations carried out along the Spanish/Moroccan border and the deficiencies of reception in Melilla Assistance in several fields (medical, psychological, basic needs, legal) in reception centres and in the street Women's groups: human networks of trust with young women in the same situation Social criticism in social media Merchandising: calendars
Size and resources (budget, people and networks involved, etc.)	All the projects carried out by the association have been supported by the active participation of volunteers and the financial support of individuals and other groups, associations and organizations, who have trusted in their mission and share their code of ethics.
Reach (area of activity, geographically)	Melilla and Ceuta
Communications (channels, media, genres, degree of professionalism) including activities/events/campaigns (comm. with institutions/politicians as well as outreach to public)	Website and Social Media (Facebook, Instagram, Twitter). They also have a blog with the activities they undertake, the outputs they produce (e.g. reports) and related news to the situation in the Southern border (e.g. remembering of the 15 deaths in the border of Tarajal, Ceuta last 2014). Their actions and messages are also quite related to the precarious situation of unaccompanied minors.
Narratives they produce (especially successes) – brief summaries	
-Narrative 1	Border necropolitics and fortress Europe: border violence, pushbacks and containment in Ceuta and Melilla endure systematic violations of human rights. The borders of Ceuta and Melilla represent an embedded violence against people-on-the-move (demonstrated, for instance, by the events in Ceuta in May 2021 due to the diplomacy conflict between Morocco and Spain) and act as a colonial port of strategic importance on the Mediterranean and Atlantic. Spain and Morocco have signed a series of treaties on border control and migratory flows, demonstrating the clear policy of externalising borders that the EU is implementing to limit migratory flows from third countries. Such policy and its associated practice of

	preventing the free movement of people violates human rights.
-Narrative 2	Legal and safe pathways: Legal and safe pathways for all who cross seas, lands and fences in search of a better future need to be in place. Islands and border territories of this country cannot become prisons or points of detention, containment and isolation for people on the move.
-Narrative 3	Decent reception for unaccompanied minors: The institutional abandonment in Melilla is very much reflected in the reality of the minors, most of them of Maghrebi origin, and who are under the legal guardianship of the autonomous city. The centres for minors are in overcrowded and indecent conditions, whereas those in the street remain excluded from the system.
Documents/ information used for this mapping (including website URLs)	https://en.solidarywheels.org/ https://twitter.com/SolidaryW https://www.facebook.com/solidarywheels/ https://www.instagram.com/solidarywheels/

Country code and number	SP_SG1_I5
Name or title	Caminando Fronteras / Walking Borders
Form of organization (legal form,	Organisation in defence of the rights of the people and
self-labelling etc.)	communities on-the-move.
Date of founding	2002
Founding reason/event to which the founding was a response (if applicable)	It was born as a result of the gathering of several human rights' activists in several territories of the Western Euro-African border. They work from a transnational, transcultural, antiracist and feminist perspective to restore the rights of people-on-themove as human beings.
People and entities involved at founding	The founder and spokesperson is Helena Maleno, who has received several national and international awards for protecting human rights and the rights of migrants, migrant women, and victims of trafficking. She is the main public figure behind this organisation.
People and entities involved at today	Helena Maleno is accompanied by several human rights activists (e.g. Kosta Sampou, Fabier Didier, Victoria Columba, Sylvie Agnes Sambou). She was prosecuted for human trafficking because she alerted maritime rescue services when she received distress calls from migrant boats. She was violently deported from Morocco, where she had lived with her family for 15 years, as a result of a joint operation of the Spanish National Police and the Moroccan government. This fact represented the best-known case of criminalisation of solidarity in Spain, according to the World Organisation against Torture (OMCT).

Primary target audience(s)	Migrants in the Western Euro-African border
Primary aims, topics or issues Secondary audience(s)	Their work is organised through several axes: • the right to life through independent tools of protection, with a 24/7 hotline for all those who are in danger in the sea. Since 2002, they have rescued more than 100,000 lives in the Western Euro-African maritime route by altering maritime authorities; • the right to information through the elaboration of annual monitoring reports since 2015 and the fostering of critical thinking through the elaboration of news and influence in social media; • the right to justice through strategic litigation and the collaborative work with several human rights' activists, and the accompaniment of families and communities in juridical processes against those responsible for migrants' deaths; • the right to memory: victims and assassins. Pictures and stories of disappeared and dead migrants in the web of Caminando Fronteras as a way to remember and honour them; public information about the companies involved in the control of borders which benefit from the "death and the war"; and a list of references that report about the 'migration industry' and the different forms and representations of necropolitics; • the right to defend rights, by demanding the right to be able to mourn, to receive psychosocial support, to be able to clarify the facts of the death and to access the justice systems.
Secondary aims, topics or issues	To raise awareness of the different forms of necropolitics and institutional racism involved in the management and control of the Western Euro-African border; to create networks of support and solidarity among migrant communities and migrants in transit countries like Morocco; and to advocate for the defence of human rights and the guarantee of the international and legal frameworks towards the protection of migrants.
Strategies, practices and means (e.g. press releases, social media campaigns, art installations, protests)	 Actions at the border to support migrants (e.g. by alerting maritime authorities about the locations of migrant boats in distress) Regular reporting about the number of deaths and dates in the Western border in their website (called "search of tragedies") and in the social media, and annual monitoring reports, and other reports that denounce the violation of human rights in the border (e.g. the tragedy of Tarajal, Ceuta in 2014) Website and social media campaign (e.g. video targeted at families who are looking for

Size and resources (budget, people and networks involved, etc.)	disappeared family members in their journey to Europe) Guide for families of victims at the border in Spanish, English, French and Arabic (what to do, most frequent problems and strategies to solve them, list of rights) Helena Maleno is the author of the book "Mujer de frontera: defender el derecho a la vida no es delito" (Women at the border: defending the right to life is not a crime) about her life as human rights defender There is no public information regarding budget and funding. The organisation fosters the networks with other human rights defenders and organisations as a measure of self-protection and collaborative work (e.g. Seebrücke) through social media and joint actions.
Reach (area of activity, geographically)	Organisation based in Morocco (Tanger) and working in the Western Euro-African border including several
Communications (channels, media, genres, degree of professionalism) including activities/events/campaigns (comm. with institutions/politicians as well as outreach to public) Narratives they produce	territories in the south of Spain and Morocco Website and Social Media (Facebook, Twitter, Telegram, WhatsApp). The hotline for migrants in danger is a key channel of communication to save lives. Use of social media to denounce the lack of efficiency, coordination and political will in the tasks of maritime rescue.
(especially successes) – brief summaries	
-Narrative 1	Border necropolitics and reparation: Tragedy is inherent in the border. It is a fear that runs through communities, families and people on the move. It is the panic of a death not recognised by the authorities or of a definitive disappearance. If communities on the move refer to a "war on the border", every tragedy is a losing battle. The deaths and disappearances of people at the borders open a deep wound in their families and communities. There is the need for truth, reparation and non-repetition to transform the deep pain into justice. We continue to dignify life. We fight to make it visible, work with the survivors to reconstruct the story, count victims, identify bodies and accompany the families in the search for reparation. This narrative has gained traction since the public revelation of the last statistics related to the deaths and disappearances in the sea: more than 4,400 migrants in 2021 (the Canary Islands being the most lethal route), which represents an increase of 103% since 2020.
-Narrative 2	Criminalisation of human right defenders: Defending human rights is a human right. This narrative emerges out of the criminalisation that

	human rights defenders receive from the state apparatus and the police, after her personal experience.
Documents/ information used for this mapping (including website	https://caminandofronteras.org/ (since December 2020)
URLs)	https://twitter.com/walkingborders https://es-es.facebook.com/caminandofronteras/

Country code and	SP_SG1_I6
number	
Name or title	Maakum Ceuta (Maakum means "we are with you" in Moroccan Arabic)
Form of organization (legal form, self-labelling etc.) Date of founding Founding reason/event to which the founding was a response (if applicable)	Self-labelling: group of people that works on an independent, horizontal and volunteer basis to support unaccompanied minors in Ceuta Autumn 2018 The recent increase of arrivals of unaccompanied minors in Ceuta (especially since the diplomacy conflict with Morocco last May 2021) has caused multiple challenges that range from reception to coexistence with autochthonous neighbours and integration policies. This context poses unaccompanied minors in a situation of extreme vulnerability and sometimes end up living in the streets. Maakum Ceuta was born to support minors (especially those out of the system) and provide some alternatives to promote their rights, autonomy and well-being in views of the few public or private resources
People and entities involved at founding People and entities	dedicated to them. The team is composed of 3-6 volunteers of diverse social and health disciplines Same
involved at today	
Primary target audience(s)	Unaccompanied minors
Primary aims, topics or issues	 Individual support to unaccompanied minors including psycho-emotional support, coverage of basic needs, legal advice and health assistance Social, family and intercultural mediation Socio-educative actions through the creation of spaces of cohesion and trust Defence and promotion of human rights of unaccompanied minors Networking and cooperation with other organisation working in the field
Secondary audience(s)	Policymakers and civil society
Secondary aims, topics or issues	 Advocacy for an improvement of resources dedicated to reception and the defence of human rights of unaccompanied minors Awareness-raising of the precarious situation of unaccompanied minors among the civil society
Strategies, practices and means (e.g. press releases, social media	 Opening of a hairdresser in Getafe (Madrid) managed by and for youth who have migrated alone: way to promote employment and empowerment, and fight against racism

campaigns art	• Individual and social support (as described above)
campaigns, art installations, protests) Size and resources	 Individual and social support (as described above) Reporting of news in their blog and social media (media influence) Photography project by unaccompanied minors (artistic creations at the border) Participation in protests and mobilisation for migrants' rights Crowd-funding campaign and merchandising: T-shirts of Maakum (produced by Top Manta) Crowd-funding campaign through Goteo and private
(budget, people and networks involved, etc.)	donations from individuals and NGOs (e.g. Oxfam), especially for the launching of the hairdresser. They collaborate with other NGOs dedicated to unaccompanied minors and migrants, such as No Name Kitchen, ELIN, Solidary Wheels, Coordinadora de Barrios, Fundación Raíces or APDHA.
Reach (area of activity,	Ceuta
geographically) Communications (channels, media, genres, degree of professionalism) including activities/events/campaig ns (comm. with institutions/politicians as well as outreach to public)	Website and Social Media (Facebook, Instagram, Twitter). Blog in which they publish news related to the situation of unaccompanied minors, and to the actions they undertake. They have the intention to create a section in their website called "Tell me a story" in which they want to explain the day-to-day at the border through the accounts of unaccompanied minors (not ready yet). Posts in the social media to raise awareness among minors about their rights in Arabic, to denounce the violation of their rights and to advocate for a decent reception.
Narratives they produce (especially successes) – brief summaries	
-Narrative 1	Decent reception for unaccompanied minors: The institutional abandonment in Ceuta is reflected in the reality of the minors, most of them of Maghrebi origin, and who are under the legal guardianship of the autonomous city. The centres for minors are in overcrowded and indecent conditions, whereas those in the street remain excluded from the system, especially when they become overage and in the current context of pandemic.
-Narrative 2	Border necropolitics + violation of human rights: #TarajalNoOlvidamos → several actions to remember the tragedy of Tarajal, Ceuta, in 2014. The return of migrants against their will after the diplomacy conflict with Morocco last May 2021, where hundreds of unaccompanied minors entered Spain through Ceuta, violates human rights. These returns are being undertaken without any guarantee and without respecting the superior interest of minors. They also contradict national and international laws about minors' protection and have been qualified as illegal by several institutions. Minors have not been granted with the right to seek asylum in Spain. Maakum claims for the adoption

	of a political response to this conflict from the perspective of human rights.
Documents/ information used for this mapping (including website URLs)	https://maakumceuta.org/ https://twitter.com/Maakumceuta https://www.facebook.com/Maakum-Ceuta https://www.instagram.com/accounts/login/?next=/maakumce uta/

Country code and number	SP_SG2_I1
Name or title	RegularizaciónYa
Form of organization (legal form, self-labelling etc.)	State movement to claim the regularisation of all undocumented migrants in Spain (between 500,000 and 600,000) through the campaign #RegularizaciónYa
Date of founding	March 2021
Founding reason/event to which the founding was a response (if applicable)	Several days after the start of the lockdown, Portugal regularised hundreds of thousands of migrants. By then, different migrant groups in Spain had been preparing proposals of regularisation, in some cases with initiatives at the regional or sectoral level. A few weeks later about 100 groups managed to write a letter for the government with the support of more than 1500 organisations across Spain with a clear demand: an urgent, permanent and unconditional extraordinary regularisation for all undocumented migrants. From there, an arduous legal and political work was launched. They defined political strategies, fostered alliances, positioned the campaign in the social debate and refined their proposals, considering the limited material resources. The second step was to advocate for the inclusion of undocumented migrants, who had been doing essential works during the lockdown, as potential beneficiaries of the recently approved 'minimum living wage' (<i>ingreso mínimo vital</i>). This was discussed within a commission of the Parliament, which allowed to visibilise the demands of this group, despite not being included. This political move and the previous letter became the seed of a motion for regularisation (<i>proposición no de ley por la regularización</i>). Thanks to the joint work with the Coordinadora Obrim Fonteres, which had previously been working on very similar demands, they managed to write the motion and get the support of 8 parliamentary groups (mostly regional and leftwing oriented). This motion was put forward in a context, where the president of the government (Pedro Sánchez) said that "no one would be left behind". In September 2020, the motion was discussed in the parliament and in November there was a meeting with

	the Secretary of State and Migration in which the platform presented several proposals for a reform of the regulations of the Foreigners' Law. After several advocacy actions, in June 2021, Ciudadanía Global and the political party Por un Mundo Más Justo contacted RegularizaciónYa to put forward a Popular Legislative Initiative (<i>Iniciativa Legislativa Popular</i> , ILP) about a bill to extraordinarily regularise foreign undocumented people in Spain. After an arduous work, in December 2022, RY has finally achieved more than half million signatures and has presented them at the national parliament. The next step will be a parliamentary debate to vote the PLI with binding results.
People and entities involved at founding	The novelty of this massive mobilisation is that for the first time migrant people have coordinated among a wide diversity of groups from many national/ethnic origins at the state level to lead a national campaign and claim for the regularisation of all undocumented migrants.
People and entities involved at today	Core group of around 10-15 people (including spokespersons) with the support of more than 1500 organisations
Primary target audience(s)	Policymakers and the Spanish national government
Primary aims, topics or issues	Regularisation for all undocumented migrants, including domestic and care workers, agricultural temporary workers, unattended asylum seekers, unaccompanied minors, migrants stuck in Temporary Immigrant Reception Centres (Centros de Estancia Temporal de Inmigrantes) under indecent conditions, migrants at risk of being taken to Detention Centres for migrants (Centros de Internamiento de Extranjeros) and potentially deported to their home countries, sexual workers, and street vendors (manteros).
Secondary audience(s)	Civil society and migrants
Secondary aims, topics or issues	To raise awareness of the precarious situation of undocumented workers and create networks of support and solidarity among migrant communities.
Strategies, practices and means (e.g. press releases, social media campaigns, art installations, protests)	 Elaboration of a motion and a Popular Legislative Initiative for the regularisation of undocumented migrants Protests together with various organisations and social movements against racism and for migrants' rights, especially since July 2020 after the presentation of the motion for regularisation Website and social media campaign Several conferences and talks across the territory to bring the topic in the social and political agenda
Size and resources (budget, people and networks involved, etc.)	Joint work within the Esenciales platform, created for the aim of the campaign and composed of six organisations including RegularizaciónYa (making

	clear that the latter is the leader of the campaign in terms of decision-making and public representation).
Reach (area of activity, geographically)	Whole Spain
Communications (channels, media, genres, degree of professionalism) including activities/events/campaigns (comm. with institutions/politicians as well as outreach to public)	Website and Social Media (Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, YouTube). Their communications are oriented towards the civil society and institutions, trying to influence the political debate around the situation of undocumented migrants. The motion for regularisation and the Popular Legislative Initiative have been political instruments through which they have communicated with politicians.
Narratives they produce (especially successes) – brief summaries	
-Narrative 1	Regularisation for all undocumented migrants: to get out of this health crisis, we must do it altogether under equal conditions. It is not charity; it is social justice; we are essential. This narrative (especially prominent within the Esenciales platform) is related to the claim for recognition and full rights for essential workers who during the pandemic proved to be quite often undocumented workers. 'Regularising migrants and providing residence permits is a matter of political will.'
-Narrative 2	Migration policies and discrimination: The Foreigners' Law, detention centres (CIEs), fences, deportations, racist raids and the administrative irregularity of migrants are the basis of migration policies of Spain and the EU.
-Narrative 3	Institutional and structural racism: The government puts all technology at the service of structural racism on the border. Deaths under police custody in detention centres (CIEs) are the responsibility of the State and institutional racism in Spain. Structural poverty, substandard housing and racial capitalism are part of the institutional racism. Countering institutional racism and fighting for migrants' rights is a matter of social justice, human rights, and responsibility. 'We don't want to be passive objects, but rather political subjects.'
-Narrative 4	Border necropolitics: Immigration control policies exponentially increase mortality in our borders. Deaths of people trying to reach Spain (4404 in 2021) are a genocide, which cannot be normalised. The borders kill through their states and their laws, and the conspirational silence of the media normalises the deaths. #Righttolive (#Derecho a la vida)

Documents/ information used for	https://regularizacionya.com/
this mapping (including website	https://twitter.com/RegularizacionY
URLs)	
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Country code and	SP_SG2_I2
number Name or title	Sindicato Popular Vendedores Ambulantes
Form of organization (legal form, self-labelling etc.)	Non-profit association that has created a social enterprise linked to fashion and antiracism (Top Manta)
Date of founding	October 2015
Founding reason/event to which the founding was a response (if applicable)	This initiative was born thanks to the self-organisation of (mostly undocumented) street vendors (<i>manteros</i>) seeking social legitimacy of their job and disassociating themselves from any mafia. They also wanted to denounce practices of persecution, discrimination and racism in a context of increasing tensions between street vendors and the police (summer 2015), highly amplified by the media. At the beginning, the association called "Espacio del Inmigrante", based in the city centre of Barcelona, offered its premises for them and they have used this space for training in dressmaking and sewing, to offer Spanish lessons, and as a housing emergency. In the context of these tensions, they opened a dialogue with the City Council to seek alternatives other than through the police repression. Two years later, they managed to launch a sewing workshop and manufacture a fashion brand called "Top Manta" (<i>manta</i> is the blanket with which they sell products in the street). Today, the association (and its enterprise) has become a renown social and political agent in Barcelona (and beyond) with many complicities with social movements. So far they have been able to help about 120 undocumented migrants in their regularisation process and provide jobs for about 15 people.
People and entities involved at founding	About 80 street vendors mainly from Sub-Saharan countries joined in the foundation of the association.
People and entities involved at today	The association counts with about 45 members.
Primary target audience(s)	Policymakers at different levels
Primary aims, topics or issues	 To stop the criminalisation of street vending and fight for the dignification of this job. This is linked to the fact that if they are stopped by the police and get criminal records, it can be a problem for their regularisation through the 'social rooting' (arraigo social), besides the risk of being potentially deported. To advocate for the regularisation of undocumented migrants who work as street vendors. To promote alternative and legal jobs for migrants other than street vending (through the social enterprise of Top

	Manta), not only to regularise their situation if needed, but also to foster decent working conditions.
Secondary audience(s)	Civil society and migrants
Secondary aims, topics or issues	 To fight against racial profiling and institutional racism To raise awareness of the precarious situation of undocumented workers and create networks of support and solidarity among migrant and non-migrant communities.
Strategies, practices and means (e.g. press releases, social media campaigns, art installations, protests)	 Crowdfunding campaign to launch the fashion brand of clothing "Top Manta: Legal clothing by illegal people" through the platform Goteo in 2017. They managed to get 67,184€. The clothes narrate the journey from Senegal to Spain and the struggle for migrants' rights, using self-made designs, which they print in the clothes (T-shirts, shirts, jumpers, sneakers, pants, tote bags) Shop from where they sell the clothes (and initially from where they printed in the clothes). All the products are manufactured in Spain or in Portugal and promote fare trade. The shop also offers its products online (solidarity e-shop). Raffle ("lotería mantera") as a crowdfunding strategy, in which they raffled 20 vintage denim jackets designed by 20 world-renowned artists (January 2020) Production of fashion products upon request using their own designs and printings Several conferences and talks across the territory to bring the topic in the social and political agenda Participation in several international events (e.g. screening of the documentary "The Mantero Union" in the Nordic Labour Film Festival which reveals what they do; participation in the #berlinfashionweek with independent and sustainable fashion designers
Size and resources (budget, people and networks involved, etc.)	Self-financed organisation through the Top Manta products. It remains unknown if they receive public aids. They collaborate with other migrants' organisations and they are especially
Reach (area of activity, geographically)	active now as part of the #RegularizaciónYa campaign. They are based in Barcelona, but are connected to another group of street vendors in Madrid ("Pantera"), which also counts with their own shop.
Communications (channels, media, genres, degree of professionalism) including activities/events/campai gns (comm. with institutions/politicians as well as outreach to public)	Website and Social Media (Facebook, Instagram, Twitter). Their communications are oriented towards the civil society and institutions, trying to influence the political debate around the situation of street venders and undocumented migrants. The products they manufacture aim to denounce "the racist and colonial system". Especially noteworthy in terms of impact in the media and social media has been the professional advertising of the sneakers "Ande Dem" (walking together in Wolof), which represent all the hardships that undocumented migrants face to get into Europe. The ad has used the same language as the big brands, but with a strong political message around collectivity, no exploitation, diversity, antiracism, and social justice. The campaign was launched at the Digital Arts Centre IDEAL, with an echo beyond the national borders (e.g. The Guardian).

	They also use models to publicise their clothes and rest of the products, of whom professional pictures are taken. Regular advertising of their products in the social media. The association received an employment promotion award (Premio al Fomento del Empleo Josep M. Pinyol) last December 2021.
Narratives they produce (especially successes) –	
brief summaries	
-Narrative 1	Global inequalities + migration policies and discrimination: Their story: "Our journey begins in Senegal, a country punished by hundreds of years of slavery and plunder. Many of our families are engaged in trades related to fishing, but the agreements between Senegal other countries and foreign fishing multinationals, including Spanish companies, have left our sea without fish and eliminated any possibility of subsistence. The canoe that served us to fish is now the one that takes us to the place where the fish and resources are taken. Those of us who can tell this story are those of us who managed to reach Europe, many brothers and sisters lost their lives in the sea, the desert or in the fence of Ceuta and Melilla. Our arrival in Spain is marked by institutional racism and the Foreigners' Law. Many of us are deported as soon as we set foot on European soil, others spend weeks in a CIE (Spanish prisons exclusively for migrants) until they decide whether they are going to deport us or leave us on the streets. Those of us who were finally released ran into the poverty and exclusion to which the Foreigners' Law condemns us. According to this law we must remain in Spain for three years before being able to access a work and residence permit. During these years we are forced to survive as we can, with the ever-present fear of being arrested, mistreated, locked up or deported. The "blanket" (manta) is our alternative to survive while they do not give us the permits."
-Narrative 2	Humanity at the centre, migration is not a crime + political art: Top Manta as a path to dignity putting people at the centre of priorities. Design and fashion as a political tool → Messages of their products: "Legal clothing by illegal people"; "fake system, true clothes"; "migration is not a crime"; "we didn't come here in search of a dignified life for us and for our loved ones, we came here to change the rules of the game and make them fairer to everyone, because it's not just about doing it, but about doing it right"
-Narrative 3	Institutional and structural racism + migration policies and discrimination: Detention Centres for Foreigners (CIEs) are prisons that belong to a system of institutional and structural racism which reproduce different types of violence; Nobody is illegal; the Foreigners' Law must be abolished
Documents/ information used for this mapping (including website URLs)	https://manteros.org/ https://www.topmanta.store/ https://www.facebook.com/SindicatoPopulardeVendedoresAmbulantes https://twitter.com/sindicatomanter

Country code and number	SP_SG2_I3
Name or title	Jornaleras de Huelva en Lucha ("Female
	Agricultural Workers in Struggle")
Form of organization (legal	Non-profit association composed of female agricultural
form, self-labelling etc.)	workers based in Huelva, south of Spain
Date of founding	2018
Founding reason/event to which the founding was a response (if applicable)	Need for dignifying the working and living conditions of agricultural workers in Huelva from a feminist, antiracist, and ecologist perspective. Huelva hosts the secondworld leading enclave of red berries after California, USA. The campaign employs around 100,000 workers every year in the fields and the plants, among which there are many migrant women from Morocco and Eastern Europe. Their precarious working and living conditions became especially relevant to the public eye during the pandemic, where despite being called 'essential workers', their conditions remained equal. In 2018 a couple of legal complaints lodged by Moroccan women made visible cases of sexual harassment and labour abuse, which were highly reported in the media. This meant a turning point and mobilised the civil society to claim for rights in agricultural work, including the foundation of Jornaleras en Lucha.
People and entities involved at founding People and entities involved at	Ana Pinto is one of the founders and leading member of the association.
rimary target audience(s)	Employers' associations, farmers, policymakers, and
Primary aims, topics or issues	 To advocate for an improvement of working and living conditions of agricultural workers, including the provision of decent housing so that they are not confined to slums or substandard housing, and the improvement and correct implementation of the agriculture's collective bargaining of Huelva To provide legal assistance and union mediation to inform workers about their rights, gather claims from workers and file complaints against labour abuse, using resources of their own and of other organisations with which they cooperate To guarantee access to health, especially for undocumented migrants and Moroccan women who come under a recruitment in origin program Establishment of humanitarian corridors to provide direct assistance to those workers in extreme vulnerability (food, clothes, hygienic products, face masks), especially during the pandemic To denounce the intensive productive model of the red berries sector, which fosters precarity, emigration from local workers, and an exhaustion of natural resources (e.g. draining of swamp of

	Doñana), and advocate for a more sustainable, fair and decent model of agriculture
Secondary audience(s)	Civil society and employers
Secondary aims, topics or issues	To eradicate hate speech against migrant population
Strategies, practices and means (e.g. press releases, social media campaigns, art installations, protests)	 Crowdfunding campaign through the platform Goteo last May 2021. They managed to get 29,895€. The money has been used to hire two people (Ana Pinto and Najat Bassit) to undertake assistance, mediation, and awareness-raising tasks in the association for one year. Crowdfunding campaign with the collaboration of the artists Clara Peya and Anna Tijoux in the recording of an album called "Mujer Frontera" (Border Women) Reporting about the situation of agricultural workers in Huelva (e.g. Juridical Report "¡Abramos las cancelas!" denouncing the labour and living conditions of workers, especially the situations of violence against women. This report was taken to the Ministries of Work and Equality and to the delegation of the ILO in Madrid, and was accompanied by a social media campaign with the collaboration of lawyers, journalists and media producers. In the meeting with the ministries, they committed to set a common agenda to approach institutions to the fields to get to know the situation from first hand. Social media campaigns (e.g. "¡Abramos las cancelas!"; #ComeConDerechos) to raise awareness of the situation of agricultural workers and the responsibility of consumers in selecting the origin of the products they eat Gathering of signatures through Change.org to claim the creation of a monitoring plan to overview the compliance of rights of agricultural workers Protests and activism as a tool of lobbying and of gathering more members Several conferences and talks across the territory to bring the topic into the social and political agenda
Size and resources (budget, people and networks involved, etc.)	Self-financed organisation (through Goeto). They collaborate with other organisations, such as the Kellys (representing the interests of hotel workers), Prostitutas
	Sevilla (sexual workers), Oxfam, Women's Link Worldwide, Abogadas, Mundo en Movimiento, La Carma, Laboratoria, Asisti, Mujeres de la Otra Orilla. They have also been in touch with the Plataforma Fruita amb Jusítica Social, which has similar aims in the province of Lleida, Catalonia.
Reach (area of activity, geographically)	They are based in Huelva, but are connected to groups across Spain.
Communications (channels, media, genres, degree of	Website and Social Media (Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, WhatsApp). Their communications are oriented

professionalism) including activities/events/campaigns (comm. with institutions/politicians as well as outreach to public)	towards the civil society and institutions, trying to influence the political and social debate around the situation of agricultural workers. The communications started with a Facebook page, even before having the association formally registered. This page served as a platform to denounce the violation of rights and situations of labour abuse that they and other colleagues had experienced in the fields. In a Conference at the University of Granada, Ana Pinto even affirms that these public complaints have even been more effective to achieve an improvement of working conditions than legal actions taken to labour inspection bodies. The website has a blog in which they communicate different types of news related to their work (e.g. fires in slums, presentations of related documentaries, actions they undertake, reports). They use WhatsApp to communicate with agricultural workers in need for assistance, by making public a mobile number that they can contact at any time.
Narratives they produce (especially successes) – brief summaries	
-Narrative 1	Migrants as essential workers : "Stop abuses, we are essentials; rights for agricultural workers". These rights include the correct implementation of the collective bargaining agreement and the recruitment in origin programmes' norms, access to health, the granting of their register in the municipal <i>padrón</i> (which gives access to public services), the right to no discrimination and labour abuse, protection against sexual harassment, access to decent housing, etc.
-Narrative 2	Neither exploitation nor racism: "It is not that we don't want to work, we don't want to be exploited" – Jornaleras de Huelva en Lucha tries to debunk the false narrative of employers' associations that "people in Huelva – meaning autochthonous- do not want to work in the fields" and this is why they need to go outside Spain and look for workers through recruitment in origin programmes or employ (irregular) migrant workers in Spain. According to the NGO, this narrative is used as a strategy to employ migrant workers and sustain highly precarious working conditions, and confront autochthonous and migrant workers' interests. Against this, Jornaleras de Huelva en Lucha adopts an antiracist discourse to point out that all agricultural workers are an object of exploitation.
-Narrative 3	Regularisation of all undocumented migrants: Regularization of undocumented agricultural workers — this measure would allow to dignify their labour conditions and oblige the productive model to introduce structural changes in employment practices.
-Narrative 4	Labour rights: "Less charity and more labour rights" - message to denounce public funds to promote

	intercultural mediation led by the largest employers' association (Interfresa). These strategies are seen as a way to "calm/deter" workers' complaints, but they not address the root of the problem. "If rights were granted, this mediation would not be necessary".
Documents/ information used	https://jornalerasenlucha.org/
for this mapping (including	https://www.facebook.com/jornalerasenlucha/
website URLs)	https://twitter.com/JornalerasL
	http://revista.lamardeonuba.es/que-no-queremos-
	trabajar-en-el-campo-dicen/
	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ebdZmfn3x10 - Talk
	at the University of Granada in which they explain the
	origins of the association and the situation in the fields
	(17.11.21)

Country code and number	SP SG2 I4
Name or title	Sindillar
Form of organization (legal form, self-labelling etc.)	Trade union to represent domestic workers' interests
Date of founding	2011
Founding reason/event to which the founding was a response (if applicable)	First trade union that represents domestic and care workers in Barcelona. The founding reason was the inexistence of an independent union with a gender, class and race perspective. In this context, several female workers (the majority of migrant origin) decided to organise themselves to defend fundamental rights and claim for a decent legal framework in the sector. In particular, they claim for: Ratification of art. 189 of the ILO Convention (2011) that requires equal labour and social security rights of domestic and care workers to the rest of workers (finally achieved in April 2022) Total inclusion of domestic work within the General Regime of Social Security (more protective than the Special Regime) Right to unemployment benefits Contribution for real wages Obligation of employers to make contracts in writing Elimination of payment in kind Salary table with revision according to the consumer price index Compliance with payments of extraordinary hours Right to annual leave and daily and weekly breaks Abolition of dismissal due to withdrawal of the employer Elimination of temping agencies Abolition of the Foreigners' Law Visibility of the precarious situation of caregivers, hourly workers and resident caregivers (internas, those who live in the same household where they work) Sensitization and awareness-raising of the social importance of housework and care

People and entities involved at founding People and entities involved at	Group of migrant women dedicated to domestic and care work
today	
Primary target audience(s)	Policymakers and employers
Primary aims, topics or issues	To advocate for an improvement of working conditions of domestic and care workers, following the previous points, and dignify the job.
Secondary audience(s)	Migrant women and civil society
Secondary aims, topics or issues	 To provide networks of support among migrant women who work in the domestic and care sectors To raise awareness about the difficulties and challenges faced by domestic and care workers among the civil society
Strategies, practices and means (e.g. press releases, social media campaigns, art installations, protests)	 "Ecofeminist Kafeta": self-managed catering session as a place of organisation, socialisation and fundraising "Antiracist route of care": route of the struggles promoted by women 'who sustain life' (domestic and care workers) from the 18th century to the present in the city centre of Barcelona, from a gender perspective. It was collectively created in 2018, together with "Papeles Para Todas y Todos" and the historian Isabel Segura, and it is currently being developed by Sindillar. The project is based on the political conviction to connect memories and recognise the voices of women as transmitters of knowledge through an oral archive. This project has received the support of Feminist Review Trust. "Textile activism": collective production of textile products which they use as a form of protest, fundraising and awareness-raising through the organisation of exhibitions (e.g. "delantales subversivos") Other activities of political arts: performances using theatre of the oppressed (e.g. "Resistances against patriarchal and racist violence", "Women and care"), workshops of political mime Protests and activism Participation in European projects (e.g. BRIDGES about knowledge diversification and the participation

Size and resources (budget, people and networks involved, etc.) Reach (area of activity, geographically) Communications (channels, media, genres, degree of professionalism) including activities/events/campaigns (comm. with institutions/politicians as well as outreach to public)	of civil society in universities against discrimination, MEMEX about digital narratives and cultural heritage) • "Catering Saberes y Sabores" founded in 2013: project to generate jobs and financially sustain the organisation, create a space of autonomy, empowerment and exchange, and 'make politics' through the cooking. It also offers training of cooking to the wider public. • Several conferences and talks across the territory to bring the topic into the social and political agenda Self-financed organisation through different activities and actions (Kafetas, textile activism, catering,). They use the premises and some resources of the Women Culture Centre Francesca Bonnemaison (La Bonne), a space dedicated to the gathering, exchange and creation of cultural and feminist projects from different perspectives, including diverse groups of women. They collaborate with other organisations, such as the Kellys (representing the interests of hotel workers), Colectivo Prostitutas (sexual workers), etc. Mostly Barcelona, but they are connected to other groups across Spain. Website and Social Media (Facebook, Instagram, Twitter). Their communications are oriented towards the civil society and institutions, trying to influence the political and social debate around the situation of domestic and care workers. They received the 13 th Award CMIB, the Award of the audience Maria Aurelia Capmany in 2019 and the Award Micaela Chalmeta for the Catering Saberes y Sabores last 2019.
Narratives they produce (especially successes) – brief summaries	
-Narrative 1	Care at the centre: "it is time to take care of caregivers!"; "we are key actors in the social transformation of care"
-Narrative 2	Political art : "Cooking is politics" ("cocinar es politico"); "we knit precarity with threads of demands and struggle"
-Narrative 3	Essential workers : we have been essential workers in agriculture, health, residences and hotels, taking care of people. Migration is not a crime, regularisation now to all undocumented workers.
-Narrative 4	Labour rights + migration policies: "No subcontracting of caregivers"; "the Foreigners" Law must be abolished"
-Narrative 5	Institutional and structural sexism and gender violence: against sexual harassment at work (especially suffered by resident care workers); "We are oppressed by a sexist, patriarchal, capitalist and racist system"; "The Foreigners' Law fosters violence against

	women"; "Women in Struggle, for a decent life"; "No
	woman is illegal" (adaptation of "no one is illegal")
Documents/ information used	https://sindillar.org/
for this mapping (including	https://twitter.com/SINDILLAR
website URLs)	https://www.facebook.com/sindihogar.sindillar
,	https://sindillar.org/2021/09/28/1681/: "Antiracist route
	of care"

Country code and	SP SG2 I5
number	3F_3GZ_13
Name or title	Votar es un derecho (Voting is a right)
Form of organization (legal form, self-labelling etc.)	Campaign
Date of founding	2019 with the national elections
Founding reason/event to which the founding was a response (if applicable)	Safia El Aaddam, with the support of migrant groups, decided to organise an initiative so that migrants with no Spanish citizenship could vote using the vote of Spanish citizens who did not want to participate or were happy to transfer their vote to someone else as a strategy of activism. The first time it was used was in the national elections in April 2019 and since then it has been used in other regional and national elections. After the success of this initiative, she organised another campaign called #tecedounacita (I transfer an appointment) to help people get an appointment in immigration legal proceedings. This is organised through a group of volunteers in Telegram.
People and entities involved at founding	Safia El Aaddam, a communicator and activist known in the social media as @hijadeinmigrantes, which means 'child of migrant'. She was born in Spain but has no Spanish citizenship (in process). She is supported by other youth (some also of migrant origin), Marguixe as an illustrator and Nat_Lia for the web and graphic design.
People and entities involved at today	Safia el Aaddam continues to be the main reference.
Primary target audience(s)	People without Spanish citizenship, including first and second- generation migrants
Primary aims , topics or issues	To facilitate the right to vote for people without Spanish citizenship
Secondary audience(s)	Policymakers and civil society
Secondary aims, topics or issues	To denounce institutional and structural racism and claim for a constitutional change so that they can vote
Strategies, practices and means (e.g. press releases, social media campaigns, art installations, protests)	Organisation of the campaign "voting is a right" through the hashtag #tecedomivoto ("I transfer my vote"): first through Instagram and then through the web she puts in touch Spanish citizens who want to transfer their vote to migrants and people who cannot vote. In the elections of April 2019 2,000 people managed to vote. The campaign went viral across all Spain and beyond.

Size and resources (budget, people and networks involved, etc.)	 Organisation of the campaign #tecedounacita ("I transfer an appointment") Organisation of the campaign #compraantirracista ("Antiracist purchase") just after the start of the Covid-19 pandemic. Thanks to private donations and more than 1,700 volunteers, she managed purchases for more than 3,000 undocumented migrants. After getting a big volume of commands, she decided to stop the campaign and think of a better and safer mechanism to provide this service. Individual counselling (of payment) through the website Self-organised initiative with the support of volunteers.
Reach (area of activity, geographically)	Whole Spain
Communications (channels, media, genres, degree of professionalism) including activities/events/campaig ns (comm. with institutions/politicians as well as outreach to public) Narratives they produce (especially successes) –	Website and Social Media (Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, Telegram). Social media have been essential in the campaigns that Safia has organised to mobilise people who wanted to transfer their vote to those who cannot, or in her own words "have been denied to vote". These communication channels have also allowed to complain against institutional and structural racism. She also participated in the Migrants' Day by giving a speech in the City Council of Barcelona (20th of December 2020).
-Narrative 1	Citizenship and migrants' right to vote: "our right to vote has been taken away, as well as our citizenship rights, but out right to demonstration will not be". This is connected to the criticism about the bureaucratic obstacles to get the citizenship (e.g. long waiting processes, incomprehensive rules, economic cost), especially for children of migrants who have been educated here and still have to do the same exams and proceedings as migrant adults. This is also a criticism to the ius sanguinis criterion, which in Spain prevails over ius soli, and to the fact of having to prove that they are "integrated" through "discriminatory exams". According to the National Institute of Statistics, in 2017 66,498 people obtained the nationality, of which 14,192 were born in Spain, and among those born in Spain 9 out of 10 were minors.
-Narrative 2	Institutional and structural racism: "we fight against institutional racism by fostering citizenship solidarity and activism"; "assimilation of children of migrants is a consequence of racism"; "I claim for the disembeddedness of racism and classism from public institutions"
Documents/ information used for this mapping (including website URLs)	https://hijadeinmigrantes.com/ https://www.facebook.com/safiaelaaddam7 https://twitter.com/SafiaElaaddam https://www.instagram.com/accounts/login/?next=/hijadeinmigrantes/

https://www.facebook.com/safiaelaaddam7/videos/se%C3%B1 ores-pol%C3%ADticos-por-qu%C3%A9-hay-m%C3%A1s-de- 5-millones-de-personas-que-residimos-o-
incl/579727846128453 : video of the campaign #tecedomivoto

Country code and	SP_SG2_I6	
number		
Name or title	Poder Migrante ('Migrant Power')	
Form of organization (legal form, self-labelling etc.)	NGO comprising a network of activists and groups for the defence of migrants' rights.	
Date of founding	December 2013 (Twitter account) but more active since 2019.	
Founding reason/event to which the founding was a response (if applicable) People and entities	'We seek to create awareness and mobilization against structural racism, xenophobic discourse and policies that criminalize us'.	
involved at founding	Network of activists and groups	
People and entities involved at today	Network of activists and groups	
Primary target audience(s)	Policymakers, civil society, other migrants	
Primary aims, topics or issues	 Fostering the collective self-organisation and the leadership of migrant/racialised people and groups as a political subject with an own voice to reply to racist policies and discourses Deconstruction of racist viewpoints built around 'us' (migrants) through hate speech and rupture with paternalistic discourses (e.g., 'welcome refugees', 'we are all the same') or utilitarian discourses (e.g., 'we are useful and we serve as long as we sustain the economy, demography, the state of well-being and consumption'). Collective construction of a political agenda against racism, originating from migrant/racialised individuals and groups and placing the anti-racist struggle in the political debate. Taking over of spaces of power through mobilisation and political representation that legitimise migrants' rights to create and promote specific laws and structures against racism. To mainstream the anti-racist fight by working on the internal heterogeneity within the anti-racist movement. 	
Secondary audience(s)		
Secondary aims, topics or issues		
Strategies, practices and means (e.g. press releases, social media campaigns, art installations, protests)	Co-participation in and support to several campaigns: Law against racism: Poder Migrante encouraged the participation of migrants by sending proposals during the period of public consultation of the bill against racism and racial discrimination.	

#ILPRegularizaciónYa: support to the initiative by
 #ILT regularization as support to the littrative by gathering signatures, organisation of events, etc. #VotoMigrante4M: campaign to mobilise the vote from individuals with a migratory background for the regional elections of Madrid in May 2021 (estimated to be one million out of nearly seven million people) #SOSColombia: campaign against the political repression by the Colombian government with the death of several people and to ensure a trustful and independent coverage of news #120: campaign against the day of colonisation ('Columbus day') to raise awareness of the ongoing colonial power against the Global South Unknown Madrid, with connections across Spain and migrant communities in the diaspora Website and Social Media (Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, Telegram), blog with regular posts. They network with other migrants' organisations and participate in key events like the Award of the Municipal Council of Immigration of Barcelona last December 2022.
Institutional and structural racism: 'The Foreigners' Law is racist; 'The genocide/colonisation must not be celebrated'; 'nothing about us without us'.
Political participation of migrants: 'we want to participate in institutional and non-institutional politics on equal terms as native people'; 'we want our voice to be heard individually and collectively'; 'institutions should firmly commit to erase colonial and racist practices oriented to perpetuate the enslavement of people who come from former colonies'; 'migrants need to organise and create their own spaces of struggle and mutual support acknowledging our internal diversity'; 'the organisations willing to work with us should be open to new leaderships and to revise their methods and practices in order not to echo the racist, capitalist and patriarchal colonialism'.
https://podermigrante.es/; https://twitter.com/PoderMigrante_N; https://www.facebook.com/PoderMigranteNoticias/; https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCNCbtnOcQ1IJLyx_jRVU_2cQ; https://www.instagram.com/podermigrante_noticias/; https://t.me/podermigrante

Country code and	SP SG2 I7
number	01_002_1/
Name or title	Baynana ("Among us")
Form of organization (legal form, self-labelling etc.)	Digital media platform run by journalists with a migratory background in Spanish and Arabic
Date of founding	2017
Founding reason/event to which the founding was a response (if applicable)	To create a media platform that is more sensitive to migration issues and to the stories experienced by migrants and told by migrants. The creation of Baynana was born thanks to the collaboration with the foundation porCausa.
People and entities involved at founding	Group of 4 journalists and photographers with a migratory background and from Arab speaking countries. This team counts with the support of several collaborators from the media and journalism professional world.
People and entities involved at today	Same
Primary target audience(s)	Arabic-speaking community in Spain
Primary aims, topics or issues	 To offer useful and quality information to the Arabic-speaking community in Spain. To show different points of view on the reality of refugees, migrants and members of the Arab community (although not exclusively Arab) in Spain. To combat existing stereotypes about the Arab world in the Spanish society. To build bridges between the Arab community and Spain and bring the different sectors of the society closer, emphasizing our common culture and history.
Secondary audience(s) Secondary aims, topics	Migrant communities and the wider society
Strategies, practices and means (e.g. press releases, social media campaigns, art installations, protests)	 Posting of regular news in their website and social media channels related to politics, society, rights, history and culture of current affairs Podcast series created with the support of the Pulitzer Center Contribution to photography exhibitions and other art installations (e.g., Barzakh, focused on the youth in Maghreb) to make the role of Arabs in the Spanish culture visible Creation of videos with stories, interviews and documentaries (e.g., 'The Spanish Dream' together with Django Stories) Regular collaboration with the foundation porCausa dedicated to research and journalism on migration issues, including the participation in their regular International Conference of Journalism on Migration in Mérida

Size and resources (budget, people and networks involved, etc.)	Baynana uses the premises of porCausa to develop their work.
Reach (area of activity, geographically)	Spain
Communications (channels, media, genres, degree of professionalism) including activities/events/campaig ns (comm. with institutions/politicians as well as outreach to public)	Website and Social Media (Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, Telegram).
Narratives they produce (especially successes) – brief summaries	
-Narrative 1	Islamophobia: Islamophobia is part of the othering process, which strengthens the "Us versus Them" rhetoric and contributes to polarise society. In this process, other forms of intolerance and discrimination intervene (anti-migrant component, anti-Arab component, etc.). The name of Baynana ('among us') already contains a narrative around the non-existence of 'us' and 'them', but only an 'us' or 'everybody'. This narrative is also aimed at breaking the boundaries between majority and minority social groups.
Documents/ information used for this mapping (including website URLs)	https://baynana.es/es/; https://www.facebook.com/baynanaes; https://twitter.com/baynanaes; https://www.linkedin.com/in/baynana-%D8%A8%D9%8A%D9%86%D9%86%D8%A7-887599211/; https://www.youtube.com/channel/UC3019bsq5wOpi61SOufKxPA; https://www.instagram.com/baynanaes/

Country code and number	SP_SG2_I8
Name or title	Salam Plan, journalism against hate speech
Form of organization (legal form, self-labelling etc.)	Media platform
Date of founding	2017
Founding reason/event to which the founding was a response (if applicable)	Salam Plan is a pilot project that pretends to promote journalism against hate, and in favour of mutual understanding and peaceful coexistence between people of different religions and backgrounds. It particularly focuses on pieces of information which aim is to break with stereotypes against Muslims (Islamophobia), Jews (anti-Semitism), anti-migrant and anti-refugees hate speech and other forms of hate speech. To do so, it shares stories, testimonies, facts and
	other sorts of data that help to better capture the

	ethnic, cultural and religious diversity of European societies.
People and entities involved at	Maria Torrens (journalist, founder of Salam Plan)
founding People and entities involved at	Maria Torrens (journalist)
today	,
Primary target audience(s)	General population
Primary aims, topics or issues	To fight against anti-Muslim, anti-Jewish and anti- migrants stereotypes.
Secondary audience(s)	Community of journalists, activists and researchers focusing on the aforementioned issues
Secondary aims, topics or issues	Providing alternative narratives around Muslims, Jews and migrants in Europe
Strategies, practices and means	Press releases
(e.g. press releases, social media	Articles
campaigns, art installations, protests)	Interviews with role models, researchers, political leaders
protests)	Acting as an echo chamber of several campaigns
	(e.g., #IslamEsDiversidad)
	Providing references (books, movies,
	documentaries) on a series of relevant issues
Size and resources (budget, people	Maria Torrens is the main person involved into this
and networks involved, etc.)	initiative. No information is publicly available with regards to funding and networks.
	regards to furiding and fletworks.
Reach (area of activity,	Spain (primarily)
geographically)	Latin America (online presence)
Communications (channels, media,	Website and Social Media (Facebook, Instagram,
genres, degree of professionalism)	Twitter, Telegram). Report on intolerance and
including activities/events/campaigns (comm.	discrimination against Muslims published by Spanish the Ministry of Inclusion, Social Security
with institutions/politicians as well as	and Migrations:
outreach to public)	https://www.inclusion.gob.es/oberaxe/ficheros/docu
, ,	mentos/InfDiscrMusul_20201210.pdf
Narratives they produce (especially	The following two meta narratives are based on two
successes) – brief summaries	underlying assumptions:
	Fighting against hate speech targeting Muslims, laws and migrants is not about defending the
	Jews and migrants is not about defending the rights of one community but rather about
	promoting peaceful societies based on mutual
	respect and understanding.
	Migrants/Muslims are not stealing jobs or living
	on state subsides. They are also active citizens,
	contributing to civic, social and political life in
	many ways.
-Narrative 1	Muslims are a diverse and mostly peaceful
	community that strongly condemns the use of

	violence in the name of their religions. They are also amongst the main victims of terrorism, be it jihadist in Muslim majority countries or far-right in Western countries.
-Narrative 2	Migrants are human beings, with their stories, trajectories, added values. They flee from difficult living conditions (economically, politically, etc.).
Documents/ information used for this mapping (including website URLs)	Website: https://salamplan.com/ Facebook: https://www.facebook.com/SalamPlanCommunity Twitter: https://twitter.com/SalamPlan

Country and and number	CD CC2 IO
Country code and number	SP_SG2_I9
Name or title	Observatorio Islamofobia
Form of organization (legal	Project founded by three institutions and funded
form, self-labelling etc.)	through different funding schemes (EU mostly)
Date of founding	2017
Founding reason/event to which the founding was a response (if applicable)	The rise of Islamophobia in the media was perceived by the founding institutions. They decided to create an evidence-based methodology to measure Islamophobia in the media in order to raise awareness about the existence of this phenomenon in the media and contribute to reduce it in every day life.
People and entities involved at founding	 Al Fanar Foundation for Knowledge - Fundación Al Fanar Para el Conocimiento Árabe (non profit organisation: translators, press review in the Arab world) European Institute of the Mediterranean (IEMed, think tank) Spanish Observatory of Racism and Xenophobia (OBERAXE), affiliated to the State Secretary of Migration.
People and entities involved at today	Pedro Rojo (founder of Al Fanar Foundation) Lurdes Vidal (European Institute of the Mediterranean)
Primary target audience(s)	Journalists working on issues related to Islam
Primary aims, topics or issues	Raising awareness about the Islamophobic dimension of certain news pieces: Islamophobia in the media can be unconscious or latent. Topics relate to Islam, Muslims, the rights of the Muslim community (wearing the veil, halal food, mosques,
	etc.), the situation of Muslim women (strong gender dimension) and anything related to Muslim majority countries.

Secondary audience(s)	Civil society organisations working in the field of countering hate speech in general and Islamophobia in particular
Secondary aims, topics or issues	Training CSOs to deal with Islamophobia in the media: detecting Islamophobia, putting pressure on journalists and/or media and raise awareness about this phenomenon
Strategies, practices and means (e.g. press releases, social media campaigns, art installations, protests)	 Direct contact with journalist who authored news items considered Islamophobic Contact with news organisations where Islamophobic content was spotted Training journalists and future journalists (students) to avoid adopting an Islamophobic discourse Regular meetings with journalists to discuss issues
Size and resources (budget, people and networks involved, etc.)	related to Islamophobia in the media 3 people from Al Fanar foundation are currently working on the project, including Pedro Rojo. At IEMed, two people (a researcher and a news specialist) are involved Budget: approximately EUR 30.000 per year
Reach (area of activity, geographically)	Spain
Communications (channels, media, genres, degree of professionalism) including activities/events/campaigns (comm. with institutions/politicians as well as outreach to public) Narratives they produce	Website: https://www.observatorioislamofobia.org/ Facebook: https://www.facebook.com/ObsIslamofobia/ Twitter: https://twitter.com/ObsIslamofobia
(especially successes) – brief summaries	
-Narrative 1	Islam is not a monolithic bloc: it is made of very diverse populations, cultures and current. In other words "Mister Islam does not exist" and "the Muslim community" does not exist either.
-Narrative 2	Islamophobia is part of the othering process, which strengthens the "Us versus Them" rhetoric and contributes to polarise society. In this process, other forms of intolerance and discrimination intervene (antimigrant component, anti-Arab component, etc.)
Documents/ information used for this mapping (including website URLs)	Official website: https://www.observatorioislamofobia.org/ Interview with the founder and current Director of the Observatory, Pedro Rojo (July 2022)

Country code and number	SP_SG3_I1
Name or title	"Not in my name"
Form of organization (legal form, self- labelling etc.)	Mobilisations after the terrorist attacks by Muslim communities
Date of founding	19 and 21 August 2017
Founding reason/event to which the founding was a response (if applicable)	After the terrorist attacks, the Catalan Islamic Cultural Centre called the Muslim community to show their rejection to terrorism in a large mobilisation in the city centre the 19th of August, under the motto "not in our name", "stop terrorism", "Islam is not terrorism". Local people, neighbours and other migrants also joined the demonstration and expressed their support (e.g. Sikh community of Catalonia). The 21st of August there was another mobilisation that counted with about 40 Muslim organisations of Catalonia under the motto "The Muslim community against terrorism". All these organisations also joined the big demonstration convened by the City Council and the Generalitat de Catalunya (regional government) the 26th of August under the motto "I am not afraid" and "stop islamophobia". These demonstrations are also linked to several xenophobic and islamophobic actions that took place several days after the attacks (e.g. graffiti against Muslims in Montblanc and Sevilla, and online in social media).
People and entities	Catalan Islamic Cultural Centre (first one) and about 40 Muslim
involved at founding	organisation of all around Catalonia (second and third one)
People and entities	
involved at today	
Primary target audience(s)	Terrorist groups and families of victims
Primary aims , topics or issues	To show a wide rejection against terrorism and violent extremism, and support families and friends of victims.
Secondary audience(s)	Civil society, institutional actors
Secondary aims, topics or issues	To prevent the rise of islamophobia after the terrorist attacks, by wrongly assuming that Muslims are equal to terrorists or violent communities.
Strategies, practices and means (e.g. press releases, social media campaigns, art installations, protests)	Demonstration, public rejection in social media
Size and resources (budget, people and networks involved, etc.)	Several dozens of people from Muslim communities participated in the first mobilisation. The other two mobilisations were much bigger (that of 26 August hosted about half a million of people), with the involvement of more Muslims too.
Reach (area of activity, geographically)	Demonstrations hosted in Barcelona, receiving people from all over Catalonia and Spain.
Communications (channels, media, genres, degree of professionalism) including	Website and Social Media (Facebook, Twitter). Several Muslims' organisations and communities (e.g. Mezquita Reus TV) used Facebook to express their rejection against the terrorist attacks in public statements, their condolences to the families of the victims, and organise mobilisations.

activities/events/camp aigns (comm. with institutions/politicians as well as outreach to public)	
Narratives they produce (especially successes) – brief summaries	
-Narrative 1	Stop islamophobia: "not in our name", "stop terrorism", "Islam is not terrorism", "we all [meaning Muslims too] are victims of terrorism, I don't want to be looked differently", "Islam is a religion of mercy and peace". A piece of news in El Diario reminds that almost 9 every 10 Islamist terrorist attacks between 2000 and 2014 took place in countries with a majority of Muslim population.
Documents/ information used for this mapping (including website URLs)	https://www.eldiario.es/catalunya/barcelona/comunidad-musulmana-manifiesta-barcelona-atentado_1_3231456.html https://www.lavanguardia.com/politica/20170820/43704646617/c omunidades-musulmanas-manifestacion-barcelona.html https://www.lavanguardia.com/politica/20170819/43670385760/c omunidad-musulmana-manifestacion-contra-terrorismo-barcelona.html

Appendix B: List of interviewees

Code	Gender	Case Study	Role
SP_I_SMM1	Woman	Stop Mare Mortum	Participation in several committees
SP_I_SMM2	Man	Stop Mare Mortum	Participation in several committees
SP_I_SMM3	Woman	Stop Mare Mortum	Participation mostly in committee of communication
SP_I_SMM4	Man	Stop Mare Mortum	Participation mostly in committee of political advocacy
SP_I_SMM5	Woman	Stop Mare Mortum	Participation mostly in commission of legal advocacy
SP_I_SMM6	Woman	Stop Mare Mortum	Participation mostly in committee of communication
SP_I_SMM7	Woman	Stop Mare Mortum	Participation mostly in committee of secretary
SP_I_SMM8	Woman	Stop Mare Mortum	Journalist in Newspaper Ara covering news related to Stop Mare Mortum
SP_I_SMM9	Woman	Stop Mare Mortum and RegularizaciónYa	Expert in communication and spokesperson of Casa Nostra, Casa Vostra
SP_I_RY1	Woman	RegularizaciónYa	National coordination from Barcelona
SP_I_RY2	Woman	RegularizaciónYa	National coordination from Madrid
SP_I_RY3	Woman	RegularizaciónYa	Spokesperson of Galicia
SP_I_RY4	Woman	RegularizaciónYa	Member of the territorial committee of Madrid
SP_I_RY5	Man	RegularizaciónYa	Spokesperson of Barcelona
SP_I_RY6	Woman	Stop Mare Mortum and RegularizaciónYa	Member of the national parliament and activist in several social movements, including Stop Mare Mortum and RegularizaciónYa



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The BRIDGES Working Papers are a series of academic publications presenting the research results of the project in a structured and rigorous way. They can either focus on particular case studies covered by the project or adopt a comparative perspective.

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