'Surviving is not a crime!': the struggles of undocumented migrants in Barcelona

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Abstract:

For decades, Barcelona has been the scene of the political mobilisations of thousands of migrants and other displaced people, with and without legal status. Through hunger strikes, lock-ins, demonstrations and assemblies, migrants have demanded 'Papeles para todos y todas!' (residency documents for all), the freedom of movement, the right to stay, the right to decide one's place of residence, an end to police brutality and the closure of migrant detention centers. As such, migrants from the global south have organised themselves in collectives, associations, organisations and movements, asserting their right to a legal and political existence and with this their right to have rights. This paper explores the trajectories of migrant struggles in the Catalonian capital, and attempts to understand these from the standpoint of its participants. It asks in what ways they re-shape the very premises and conditions of doing politics and the political. I engage with the critical thinking of key migrant activists and movements. I draw on two strands of theory: postcolonial conceptualisations of subaltern politics and knowledge; and critical border studies' theories of citizenship. I argue that migrant struggles should not only be understood as political struggles, but, more broadly as epistemic struggles: struggles that challenge normative, political and epistemic frameworks and take issues related to 'rights', 'citizenship' and 'sovereignty' in new directions by proposing their reconfiguration.

Keywords: borders; global apartheid; migrant struggles; citizenship
Characters: 171 738

Introduction

More than 1 billion people in the world today are migrants. 740 million of these are migrant workers residing inside or outside their own country (IOM, 2016: 5). Around 66 million people people today are displaced from their homes as result of persecution, conflict, violence or human rights violations (UNHCR, 2017: 2). Extreme inequalities, economic precarity, land and water grabs, military interventions and environmental disasters were other significant factors (Elsheikh and Ayazi, 2017: 9). These displaced communities and people are subjected to endless conditions of social degradation, globally (De Genova, 2013: 1-2). Their plight tends to only become visible when they end up dead, detained or trapped in the Pacific ocean, in Calais, Lampedusa or Lesvos, or in the deserts stretching between Arizona and Sonora, and between Morocco, Algeria and Libya (Lloyd, 2011: 2; Akkerman, 2018: 2). To be certain, the deaths and forms of violence that displaced communities and people encounter as they move across the earth's surface are not accidental but the direct result of a vast and expanding array of laws, policies and forms of violence designed to intercept, deter and control their movement (Lowry and Nyers, 2009: 2). The countries of the North have contributed significantly to the construction of this reality: through the militarization of borders (Brown, 2010), the criminalisation of migrants (Di Giorgi, 2010; Walia, 2013), the development of ever more sophisticated surveillance technologies (Jones and Corey, 2016), the expansion of detention camps within and beyond their borders (Arbogast, 2016; Bambilla, 2014), deportations (Walters, 2002), as well the export of weapons and border control infraestructures to authoritarian regimes in places like Libya, Sudan, Mauritania, Niger and Egypt (Lemberg-Pedersen, 2017; Akkerman, 2018).

As a result, migrants and other displaced people have been pushed to ever more dangerous routes as they navigate through the spaces between the relatively wealthy and powerful regions of the North and the less politically powerful places of the South (Lloyd, 2011: 2-3). The human cost has been significant: around 33.305 migrants and other displaced peoples lost their lives in the borderlands of the EU as a result of border militarisation, asylum laws, detention policies and deportations[1]. In *Borderlands/La Frontera* (1987: 3), Gloria Anzaldúa captures this reality by theorizing the border as 'una herida abierta', an open wound "where the Third World grates against the first and bleeds", a wound that divides the North from the South[2], a wound that is not incidental but constitutive of the

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[1] UNITED for Intercultural Action, 'List of 33.305 documented deaths of refugees and migrants due to the restrictive policies of Fortress Europe (European Network against Nationalism, Racism, Fascism and in Support of Migrants and Refugees 2017). Retrieved from: http://unitedagainstrefugeedeaths.eu/about-the-campaign/about-the-united-list-of-deaths/

[2] Throughout the study, I use 'global south' to refer to the regions of Latin America, the Middle East, Asia and Africa, regions that are outside Europe, North America and Oceania (ie. the 'global north', or 'the West'). 'Third World', 'Periphery' or 'The Rest', are other metaphors that have been used to refer to the global south. However, while the former focuses on 'development' and 'cultural differences', global south emphasises geopolitical relations of power. That is, it names patterns of wealth and privilege in global terms. My usage follows that of social movements across the planet who use it to forge solidarities grounded on shared histories of colonialism, transatlantic racial slavery and imperialism. Global south also emphasises the global political-economic structures that are the product of these shared histories, and that continue to maintain large inequalities in living standards, life expectancy and access to resources globally (Dados

border's structure (Marquéz, 2012: 482). Confronted with this reality, Achille Mbembe has argued that at the core of the political struggles of the first half of the 21st century will be "the capacity to decide who can move and who can settle, where and under what conditions"[3]. I take Mbembe's reflections as an invitation to consider the ways in which our present moment is not only marked by the proliferation of borders (Mezzadra and Neilson, 2013) but also by the proliferation of struggles against them. These struggles are often enacted autonomously by migrants and other displaced people (Oliveri, 2015: 492) across countries in the global north and the global south. They involve resistance against border controls, detentions and deportations, as well as struggles for regularization and the freedom of movement (Ataç et. al., 2016; Wright, 2009; Sharma, 2005). They point to the ways in which "despite the considerable risks and dangers, new political subjects are being formed within securitized sites and border zones" (Nyers, 2012: 2).

This study is about contemporary migrant struggles against border regimes and for the freedom of movement. I explore how these have developed in Barcelona, Spain, since the end of the 1980's up until our present moment. For decades, the Catalonian capital has been the scene of the political mobilisations of thousands of migrants and other displaced people, with and without legal status (Barbero, 2013, 2015). Through hunger strikes, lock-ins, demonstrations and assemblies, migrants have demanded 'Papeles para todos y todas!' (residency documents for all), an end to police brutality, the closure of migrant detention centers, full access to political, economic and social rights, as well as the right to stay, the right to decide one's place of residence and the freedom of movement (Varela, 2007, 2009). As such, displaced people from India, Senegal, Ghana, Sierra Leone, Nigeria, Pakistan, Latin America, Morocco, Algeria and other places in the global south, have organised themselves in collectives, associations, political organisations and movements (Aierbe, 2011), asserting their right to a legal and political existence (Sayad, 2006) and, with this, their right to have rights (Arendt (1973[1951]).

While migrant struggles are certainly not new[4], a new cycle of resistance was initiated by the *sans-*

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and Connell, 2012: 12-3; Hage, 2016: 48; Bhambra, 2015). By emphasising the geopolitical, and not only the geographical, allow me to grasp what Santos (2014) calls the 'South in the North' and the 'North in the South'. The former is composed of migrant and refugee communities, native indigenous and aboriginal peoples, people of African-descendent and other racialized minorities living in the global north. The later refers to the local elites and ruling classes who, while living in the global south, largely maintain and perpetuate the political and economic interests of the global north. By using this conceptualisation, I intend to emphasize how people who are born in, or descend from communities from the global north or the global south are positioned within geopolitical relations of power. Thus, the point is to bring forth the significance of race as a colonial legacy and its relevance for understanding people's inherited access to, and control of, global and local institutions of power and resources (or lack of the same). While it is certain that there are differences across descendants of colonizing and colonized nations and peoples, there are also important similarities in terms of life-expectancy, and their access to power and privilege. For example, white South Africans are born in the geographical global south, but are positioned in global power relations in similar ways as white Europeans and white Americans who are born in the global north (see, among others, Walia, 2013; Khiari, 2006, 2009; Santos, 2014; Walsh, 2005; Gilmore, 2008; Suárez-Krabbe, 2015).

[3] Achille Mbembe, 'Scrap the borders that divide Africans', *Mail&Guardian*, 17 March 2017. Retrieved from: https://mg.co.za/article/2017-03-17-00-scrap-the-borders-that-divide-africans

[4] For political history of migrants struggles in Europe see Wendy Pojmann, 'Migration and Activism in Europe Since 1945', (2008), Palgrave Macmillan: New York.

papiers[5] movement in France in 1996, when 324 women, men and children without legal status occupied two churches in Paris demanding their regularisation (Giner-Monge, 2014; Hayter, 2004; McNevin, 2006). In Mali, the same year, deported migrants from Europe and North Africa would create the Malian Association of Expelled Migrants (AME) and struggle for the rights of the deported and against the signing of readmission agreements between the EU and African countries (Lecadet, 2017). The beginning of the new century would witness similar political mobilisations. 'Sin papeles'[6] movements in Spain will proliferate (Barbero, 2013, 2015; Suarez-Navas et. al., 2014; Aieirbe, 2011). Migrants would march massively in the U.S in 2006 under the slogan '¡Aquí Estamos, y No Nos Vamos!' [Here we are, and we're not leaving!] (De Genova, 2010), and, in the same year, around 60 churches would be occupied by undocumented migrants from l'Union de Défense des Sans-Papiers[7] in Belgium (Faux, 2009). The same year will also see the emergence of the Movimiento Migrante Mesoamericano[8], a movement created by deported mexican and central-american migrants from the U.S and rooted in el Salvador, Nicaragua, Honduras, Guatemala and Mexico. This movement will struggle for the rights of deported migrants and migrants in transit in Central America, and against the deportation of the undocumented from the U.S (Varela, 2015).

In 2011, 350 migrants would occupy the Athens Law School and the Labour Centre of Thessaloniki in Greece and carried out a hunger strike for 44 days demanding the freedom of movement and residency documents (Topak, 2017). In 2012, asylum seekers from different camps in Germany carried out march for 48 days until they reached Berlin, occupied Oranienplatz, a public square in Kreuzberg, demanding the end of 'Residenzpflicht'[9], the closure of camps, fair asylum process, the right to work and to study, and end to deportations and the Dublin regulation (Bhimji, 2016). In Manus Island, Australia's offshore detention camp, refugees have organised hunger strikes throughout 2014 and 2015[10] in protest the conditions in which they live. In February 2018, 100 women went on Hunger strike in Yarl's Wood detention centre similarly protesting their discriminatory and violent treatment[11]. These are some of struggles that are configuring the geographies of resistance (Pile and Keith et. al., 1997) against border regimes.

My study explores the trajectories of migrant struggles in Barcelona and attempts to understand

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[5] The concept 'sans-papiers' was popularised by this movement. Literally, it means 'without papers'. While the concept is used today to refer more broadly to undocumented migrants, the sans-papiers movement used it as a political identity and to counter other notions that were used at the moment, such as 'illegal' and 'clandestine' (see, for instance, Hayter, 2004: 142-5).

[6] As in the French context, it refers to undocumented migrants and 'people without papers'. Unless otherwise stated, all translations in the paper are mine.

[7] The Union for the Defence of People Without Papers.

[8] Central American Migrant Movement

[9] Mandatory residence. A legal requirement that makes compulsory for asylum seekers and deportable migrants to live within the territorial boundaries defined by the 'Ausländerbehörde' (the local foreigners office) (Bhimji, 2016: 229).

[10] BBC, "Manus Island: Australia Asylum Seekers 'on hunger strike'." *BBC*, 15 January 2015. Retrieved from: http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-30825514.

[11] May Bulman, "More than 100 women in Yarl's Wood detention centre go on hunger strike over 'inhumane' conditions". *Independent*, 22 February 2018. Retrieved from: https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/yarls-wood-women-immigration-detention-centre-hunger-strike-home-office-a8223886.html

these from the standpoint of its participants (Sayad, 2006; Collins, 2008). It provides an analysis of the context and circumstances of their emergence, their theorizations, critical thinking and analyses, their political practices, as well as the different visions and demands they have articulated throughout the years. While the focus of the study is on the concrete struggles that have taken place in the last decades in Barcelona, I understand these struggles in a similar vein as Mezzadra and Neilson (2013: 18) think of the border: "an epistemological viewpoint that allows an acute critical analysis" of "how relations of domination, dispossession, and exploitation are being redefined presently". That is, beyond my analysis of the *local* trajectories of these struggles, I use these as a vantage point from where to reflect upon, and interrogate some of the wider, *global*, socio-political, economic and spatial recompositions that are taking place at our present conjuncture (De Genova and Tazzioli et. al., 2016: 12). As such, I conceptualise the migrant struggles I study as not only political and social, but also as *epistemic* (Icaza and Vásquez, 2013). To put it differently, migrant political movements are incubators of not only emerging forms of politics (Gündogdu, 2014), but also of new knowledge (Kelley, 2002: 9): they raise new questions and produce alternative conceptualisations of the problems they face, as well as broader analyses of the power structures that shape their lives (Casas-Cortés et. al., 2008).

Thus, rather than studying organizational processes, resource mobilization, claim making and internal political structures - as it is common in scholarly approaches to social movements (e.g. Tilly and Tarrow 2015; McAdam, Tarrow, and Tilly 2001) - my study focuses on what postcolonial and decolonial scholars call *subaltern knowledges* (Guha and Spivak et. al., 1988; Bogues, 2003; Walsh, 2005; Suárez-Krabbe, 2015; Nelson Maldonado-Torres, 2007). Subaltern knowledges are ways of knowing that emerge from the lives and perspectives of marginalized populations (Berger, 2016: 215). As I conceptualise further in **Chapter 1**, these are "the readings and knowings of the dominant" (Mohanty, 1996: 69), that is, the ways in which the subaltern reads and analyses power and the powerful. They include experiences, stories, conceptualizations and claims to various spheres of social and political life that defines how people come to know and inhabit the world (Casas-Cortés, Osterweil and Powell, 2008: 27). Subaltern knowledges are trivialized by hegemonic forms of knowledge. They are analyses and conceptualisations developed by social groups in subaltern locations as part of their political struggle against dehumanization, systemic injustices and domination (Santos, 2014: x). Jennifer Hyndman (2000) implicitly points towards the relevance of migrant subaltern knowledges when she argues that theorizing mobility begins with people's stories and histories of migration. She speaks of the imperative to give theoretical primacy to displaced peoples' practices, experiences, desires, aspirations, expectations and *ideas*. My study follows a similar perspective by centering the narratives and voices of displaced people, as well as the knowledge produced through their political struggles. More specifically, my study interrogates how these subaltern knowledges and practices contest the very premises of doing politics (Olivery, 2015) and being political (Isin, 2002) in our contemporary world. As such, I pose the following research question:

How, and to what extent, do the subaltern knowledges and political practices that emerge from migrant struggles in Barcelona re-shape and reconfigure the contemporary conditions and premises of doing politics and the boundaries of the political?

Throughout the study, I approach these question in terms that analytically privilege the perspectives and subaltern knowledges of migrants and other displaced peoples (see Nyers, 2003). This does not mean that I downplay the intensity and violence of security practices and border regimes (see Squire, 2015). Thus, in **Chapter 1,** I use the analytics of 'global apartheid' to conceptualise the contemporary politics of borders, migration and asylum. These notion allows me to grasp a series of processes and practices that structure this politics and the ways in which it has configured a regime of unequal mobility. This regime celebrates and facilitates the movement across borders of capital and *some* bodies; and, simultaneously, controls, deters, imprisons and criminalises the bodies of others (Sharma, 2005, 2006; Nevins, 2003; Walia, 2013). Global apartheid also produces particular understandings of what is 'legitimate' politics, who counts or not as a political subject, as well as delineating the boundaries of the political. Thus, **Chapter 1** also explores the implications of this for migrant political activism. I draw on the work of Liisa Malkki and her notion 'the national order of things' to examine some of the challenges that migrants and other displaced people face when positioning themselves as political subjects, engaging in politics and re-shaping the premises and conditions of the political. I argue that the national order of things, as a territorialist epistemology which positions the citizen as the norm, the archetypical political subject who has the capacity to act and engage in politics, and positions the migrant as the exception, a speechless emissary (Malkki, 1996) that lacks political agency (Nyers, 2006; Johnson, 2012; Nail, 2015).

The remaining of **Chapter 1** lays down my theoretical and methodological framework. I draw on postcolonial and decolonial theories of subalternity and epistemic justice. Through this, I develop a methodology oriented towards what Sandro Mezzadra (2013) calls a 'double opening': on the one hand, towards struggles and what we can learn from them, and, on the other hand, towards the production and theoretical innovation that can emerge from engagement with those struggles. My approach thus takes seriously the analyses of reality that migrant political movements make. Hence, through the notion of subaltern knowledges, I conceptualise these analyses as forms of theorizing and critical thinking that have the potential to re-shape the conditions and premises of doing politics and the boundaries of the political (Kelley, 2002). The following chapters explore the trajectories, practices and subaltern knowledges of migrant struggles in Barcelona from the end of the 1980's up until now. **Chapter 2** traces the emergence of migrant political movements in the Catalonian capital, as a response to the national and local expressions of global apartheid. I focus particularly on the work the *Asamblea Papers Per a Tothom*[12] in the 1990's and early 2000's. This multiracial coalition of migrant communities, organisations and initiatives shaped both the content, analyses and demands that different migrant struggles would articulate throughout the years. It will lead a wave of occupations and lock-ins by undocumented migrants demanding 'papers for all' throughout 2001. I

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[12] The Papers for All Coalition

argue that this coalition articulated 'alternative scripts of citizenship' (Isin, 2008): non-citizens were able to position themselves as political subjects and re-appropriate 'citizenship' and 'rights' which they did not have, and take these in new directions by proposing their reconfiguration beyond whether a person had papers or not (Gündogdu, 2014: 165).

In **Chapter 3**, I explore the afterlives of the *Asamblea Papers Per a Tothom*. I focus on smaller migrant struggles that emerged after the 2001 wave of occupations and lock-ins and on the work of *Asamblea Por la Regularización sin Condiciones* [13]*(ARSC)*. This was another multiracial coalition that entered the political landscape in 2005. The ARSC articulated more complex, radical demands and analyses than simply the regularization of people without papers. For them, without full access to political, economic and social rights, as well as permanent membership, obtaining residency documents would not mean social inclusion and political belonging. This also allowed them to expand their critical analyses beyond the single issue of 'papers' or 'illegality', and connect their experiences of undocumented migrants to broader global political-economic dynamics. Thus, in a sense they rejected the binaries of 'legal'/'illegal', 'good migrant'/'bad migrant' and 'political refugee'/'economic migrant' and advocated a politics that spoke both to the root causes of migration globally, and to the right of people to move across borders and reside where they chose to with full access to labour, social, political and citizenship rights (see Wright, 2009: 9).

Chapter 3 also explores what came to be known as the struggle for Cál Africa, an abandoned factory in the outskirts of Barcelona that was occupied by migrants in 2011. Also known as Mount Zion, this space gave shelter, community and some work to hundreds of migrants who found themselves in the streets, with little opportunities for surviving after the 2008 economic crisis. In that sense, it was not only a physical space but also a community. In this context, migrants struggles emerged when authorities will undertake measures for their eviction. Alongside the demand for papers for all, would be broader demands for keeping the community space. Thus, their struggle would also become one in which the premises and conditions of being political would be intertwine with concerns over spatiality and autonomy - that is, not only struggling for 'papers', but for the capacity of creating self-organised spaces and communities that would provide migrants with tools for carrying out self-sustaining economic activities and political projects.

Chapter 4 explores the struggles that emerged in the aftermath of the eviction of Mount Zion. I focus particularly on the political work of *The Espacio del Immigrante*[14], a self-organised space created in 2015 by migrants of diverse origins in el Raval, central Barcelona. The legacies of Cál Africa would find reverberations in the constitution of an autonomous space that will provide undocumented people both practical solidarity (legal assistance and healthcare) and political spaces for self-organisation. Notions of autonomy and self-organisation will influence *The Espacio del Immigrante* ways of being political and overall politics. It will provide the physical and political grounds for the emergence the *Sindicato Popular de Vendedores Ambulantes*, a union of migrant street

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[13] The Assembly for Unconditional Regularization
[14] The Migrant Space

vendors, street artists or metal scrap collectors of different nationalities. Besides from struggles around police violence and the criminalisation of migrant street vendors, the *Sindicato* will engage in the construction of concrete alternatives, through political, economic and legal projects, based on notions of cooperation, equality, solidarity, internationalism and autonomy. The Sindicato will build from previous struggles, but depart from them in significant ways. They will position themselves as political subjects who are not only migrants but *also* workers, and thus articulate a double critique of capitalism in its intersections with institutional racism. In contrast to previous migrant political movements, the Sindicato will frame their struggle as not only about migrant rights, but, more broadly, as an anti-racist struggle. In **Chapter 5** I assess how and to what extend the trajectories of migrant struggles in Barcelona have reshaped, or re-configured, the contemporary conditions and premises of doing politics and the boundaries of the political and give some reflections on the relevance of migrant struggles for deepening our understandings of borders, citizenship and migration.

CHAPTER 1
Theorizing Migrant Struggles: Borders, global apartheid and Subaltern Politics

Introduction

Approximately 2000 people have lost their lives in the Americas, most of them in the the deserts that stretch from Sonora to Arizona, in U.S-Mexico borderlands since 2014[15]. In the seas surrounding Australia, and in its offshore detention centers, 2009 migrants and other displaced people have lost their lives since 2000[16]. Since 2014, around 14.500 people have died trying to reach Europe through the mediterranean, and approximately 2500 have died while migrating through North Africa (Akkerman, 2018: 30). The deaths and forms violence that people encounter as they migrate through the world's borderlands are the expression of the life and death stakes of what I conceptualise as global apartheid (Lloyd, 2011). Global apartheid refers to the regime of unequal and uneven mobilities structured by race and class (Hage, 2016) that, on the one hand, celebrates and facilitates the movement across borders of *some* bodies, and, on the other hand, controls, deters, imprisons and criminalises the bodies of others (Sharma, 2005, 2006; Walia, 2013). In order to understand how migrant struggles re-shape some of the contemporary premises and conditions of doing politics and the boundaries of the political, I consider it relevant to examine some of the processes and practices at stake in the contemporary politics of borders, migration and asylum - which I conceptualise here in terms of global apartheid. In what follows, I begin by conceptualising

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[15] International Organization for Migration (IOM), 'Fatal Journeys: Improving Data on Missing Migrants', Vol. 3 Part 1, pp. 15. Retrieved from: https://publications.iom.int/system/files/pdf/fatal_journeys_volume_3_part_1.pdf

[16] See Border Crossing Observatory, 'Annual report on border-related deaths, Border Crossing Research Brief No. 12', March, 2018. Retrieved from:
http://artsonline.monash.edu.au/thebordercrossingobservatory/researchoutputs/australian-border-deaths-database/

race, racialisation and racism are central to my conceptualisation of global apartheid. I then examine empirically how global apartheid is instituted. The chapter then discusses some of the consequences of the former for thinking about politics and the political. I do this through the thought of Liisa Malkki and her conceptualisation of the 'national order of things'. Subsequently, I discuss my theoretical framework in terms of postcolonial and decolonial theories of 'subalternity', and critical border studies conceptualisations of 'alternative scripts of citizenship'. The chapter ends with a discussion on research methods.

Race and Racism

In conceptualising the contemporary politics of borders, migration and asylum in terms of global apartheid, I draw on the work of critical race theorists[17]. As such, my understanding of borders and displacement centers race and racism, and their articulations with class, as central. It is thus relevant to make some conceptual clarifications before exploring empirically how global apartheid operates. Race, according to Wolfe (2016: 10), refers to a set of classificatory regimes that seek to order and discipline populations differentially in the pursuit of certain historical agendas, as well as particular political and economic interests. Ordering and disciplining differentially groups of people is achieved through the valuation and hierarchisation of their differences for the purpose of maintaining the wealth, power and privilege of those racialized as white and justifying discriminatory treatment, hostility (social, political and/or physical), and violence to those racialised as non-white (Memmi, 1999: 100). Historically, somatic differences ('colour') have acted as one classificatory regime through which race operates (see Grosfoguel et. al., 2014). However, race also operates through the valuation and hierarchisation of other markers of difference such as religion, culture, ethnicity and nationality (see Balibar, 1991).

By racialisation I understand "race in action" (Wolfe, 2016: 10), that is, the legal-juridical, political and symbolic marking of bodies as superior and inferior, worthy and unworthy (see Cacho, 2012). The effect of racialisation is the disciplining of humanity into full humans, not-quite-humans and nonhumans (Weheliye, 2014: 3). That is, race and racialisation mark bodies and regulate who can make claim to human status (and, hence, be granted the rights and entitlements that come with that status, including the freedom to move, to stay and to return) and which humans cannot (2014: 3-4; see also Cacho, 2012). Finally, by racism I refer to the state-sanctioned and/or extra legal production and exploitation of group-differentiated vulnerabilities to violence and premature death (Gilmore, 2007: 6). Race, racism and racialisation are the product of interconnected histories of colonialism,

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[17] Within this body of scholarship, the central argument is that race is not an 'essence', something fixed, concrete and objective, that has biological or natural foundation. Instead, race is socially constructed and functions as means to maintain the interests and privileges of the populations that constructed it (see Michael Omi and Howard Winant [1986], Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1980s. New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul). It is out of the scope of this paper to give justice to the complex and diverse body of scholarship that falls under the rubric 'critical race theory'. For the purpose of this paper, I draw on some insights from different scholars for conceptualising my understanding of global apartheid, which also serve as tools for exploring empirically the different processes and practices that institute it. For an insightful overview see Chapter 5 in Lewis Gordon's seminal *Her Majesty's Other Children Sketches of Racism from a Neocolonial Age* (1996), Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

imperialism and trans-atlantic racial slavery (see Suarez-Krabbe, 2015). In what follows, I will anchor the more or less abstract terms of this conceptual discussion through an empirical examination of global apartheid.

Global Apartheid: militarization, non-entrée and carcerality

Global apartheid is structured through migration regulations, practices of 'external' border enforcement, militarization, and interdiction (Lloyd, 2011: 2) aimed at controlling, filtering, disciplining and preventing migrants, including refugees and asylum seekers, from reaching the legal jurisdictions or territories of countries in the global north and thereby triggering those states international obligations (Frelick et. al., 2016: 192)[18]. Scholars have conceptualised the former in terms of non-entrée (Chimni, 1998) or non-arrival (Gibney, 2006) policies. These includes measures and policies such as strict visa regimes, readmission agreements and carrier sanctions (Lemberg-Pedersen, 2017: 35), under which airlines and other transportation companies are subject to heavy fines for transporting people without valid visas[19] (Gammeltoft-Hansen and Hathaway, 2015: 244-5). Readmission agreements refer to the policies and practices designed to expel undocumented migrants, including rejected asylum seekers and stateless persons, from the country in which they find themselves 'illegally' into their country of origin and/or transit (Casarino, 2010: 1). Examples of these are many. In relation to the focus of the present paper, there is, for instance, the readmission agreements signed between Spain and Morocco (1992)[20] that allows for the return of not only Moroccan citizens but also all migrants that travelled through that country. Significant in this sort of bilateral cooperation between northern and southern countries is the use of the concept of 'safe third country' (Gil-Bazo, 2006). This refers to legal measures that target specific categories of migrants based on their nationality, claim, manner of entry or point of arrival, and retroactively cut short or exclude them from accessing asylum procedures once they have arrive to the territory (Gammeltoft-Hansen and Tan, 2017: 34).

For example, under the 'Smart Border' initiative between Canada and the US, a 'Safe Third Country Agreement' was signed that stipulates that, with few exceptions, migrants seeking asylum at the US-Canada border will be denied the right to make a claim in Canada, and, instead, sent back to US, considered a 'safe country', to pursue that claim (Nyers, 2003: 1082)[21]. The EU uses Article 28 of the

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[18] For example, their international obligations under the 1951 Refugee Convention that grants migrants a right to apply for asylum when they are on the territorial borders of a state (Lemberg-Pedersen, 2017: 36).

[19] Given that visas are not granted for the purpose of seeking asylum, this has the effect of denying migrants in need of international protection the right to travel legally with airline or other transportation companies and hence advance their claims to protection (see Gammeltoft-Hansen and Hathaway, 2015: 245).

[20] For more on readmission agreements between Spain and countries in North and West Africa see: University of Granada, 'Los acuerdos bilaterales suscritos por España en materia migratoria con países del continente africano: especial consideración de la readmission de inmigrantes en situación irregular', Retrieved from: www.ugr.es/~redce/REDCE10/articulos/04MAsuncionAsinCabrera.htm

[21] The claim that the US is a 'safe country' for migrants seeking international protection can be debated. The Canadian Council of Refugees (CCR) has for years provided evidence of mistreatment. For example, migrants returned from

Asylum procedure to declare an application for asylum 'inadmissible' and reject it without examining its substance if the applicant has travelled through a 'safe-third country' that, in theory, can guarantee effective access to protection[22]. An example on how this works in practice is the agreement concluded in 2015 between the European Union and Turkey. This facilitates the return of *all* migrants arriving irregularly to Greece to be returned without the examination of their protection claims to Turkey, which, according to the EU, is a 'safe country'[23]. Another example of this kind of 'creative legal thinking', whereby states exploit competing legal regimes and interpretive uncertainties to shift or circumvent their international legal obligations (Gammeltoft-Hansen and Tan, 2017: 32), is the notion of 'international zones'. In this zones, 'normal' procedures and legal obligations do not apply. For example, in 2001 Australia declared 3500 of its islands an international zone, and affirmed that it had no protection obligations for migrants seeking asylum in these part of its national territory (Gammeltoft-Hansen and Hathway, 2015: 245).

Thus, extraterritorial border enforcement is another central processes in the maintenance of global apartheid (Lloyd, 2011). This includes deterrence in the high-seas and so-called 'push-backs' in the territorial and maritime borders of a state. Push-backs refer to those instances where migrants are literally pushed back, often through the use of violence, to the country they are trying to leave shortly after crossing the border (Amnesty International, 2014: 20). An example of this is the infamous *Hirsi Jamaa and Others v Italy* case, in which Somali and Eritrean migrants travelling from Libya were intercepted at sea by the Italian authorities and sent back to Libya[24]. Australia's 'Pacific solution' in 2001 followed a similar logic, and involved the deployment of the Australian navy to interdict migrants on the high seas, who were imprisoned in Australian-funded offshore detention centers in Nauru and Papua New Guinea (Mezzadra and Neilson, 2013: 11; Gammeltoft-Hansen and Tan, 2017: 36). Similarly, throughout 2006 and 2007, the EU, through Frontex, its border enforcement agency, launched HERA II and III. These operations involved the deployment of

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Canada will be subjected to the US practice of detaining asylum claimants, sometimes among the general prison population, and expediting their expulsion (see Nyers, 2003: 1081).

[22] Directive 2013/32/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council of 26 June 2013 on common procedures for granting and withdrawing international protection, retrieved from: http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/en/ALL/?uri=celex%3A32013L0032

[23] In exchange, the EU as agreed to speed up accession talks, visa liberalisation, the disbursement of €3 billion for assisting Turkey with the protection of Syrian refugees, and the resettlement of 1 Syrian, for every other Syrian returned to Turkey from Greece. See European Commission, 'EU-Turkey Statement: Questions and Answers', 19 March 2016. Retrieved from: http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_MEMO-16-963_en.htm.
That Turkey is a 'safe-country' in general, and safe for migrants and other displaced people, in particular, is also highly debatable. Amnesty international has reported that the ongoing state of emergency, imposed following an attempted coup in 2016, has set a backdrop for human rights violation and state violence, targeting particularly journalist, political activists and human rights defenders. This includes controversial and violent military operations against Kurdish communities. See Amnesty International, Country Profile: Turkey 2017/2018, retrieved from: https://www.amnesty.org/en/countries/europe-and-central-asia/turkey/report-turkey/ Moreover, Turkish border guards have been involved in numerous beatings, abuses, shootings and other incidents of violence against migrants and other displaced people. Migrants are also systematically denied the right to apply for asylum, imprisoned in detention camps and work 'illegally' under exploitative conditions. Displaced women often face gender-based violence, sexual assault and harassment by police and military, employers, as well as in refugee and detention camps (see Akkerman, 2018: 41-2).

[24] Hirsi Jamaa and Others v. Italy, No. 27765/09 (ECtHR, February 23, 2012).

helicopters, naval vessels, and aircrafts in the territorial waters of Senegal, Cape Verde and Mauritania to intercept migrants trying to reach by boat the Canary Islands (Lemberg-Pedersen, 2017: 37). In the Aegean sea, the Greek coastguard, with assistance from Frontex, regularly carries push-back operations of boats with migrants into Turkish waters, often with the use of violence (Arbogast, 2016: 2). Similar operations are carried out by Spanish and Moroccan police. A case in point is tragic events at Tarajal beach in Ceuta, the Spanish enclave bordering northern Morocco in 2014. The context was one in which 200 migrants, including refugees and asylum seekers from sub-Saharan Africa, attempted to enter Spain by swimming to Ceuta. Already chased by the Moroccan police, they encounter members of the Spanish Civil Guard who opened fire with large rubber bullets, tear gas and blanks to prevent them from reaching Spanish territory. Around 14 of them drown and a group of 29 that was able to reach the beach were detained and expelled to Morocco[25].

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[25] See Amnesty International, 'Spain: Ceuta migrant tragedy – deplorable disregard for human life', 6 February 2015. Retrieved from: https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2015/02/spain-ceuta-migrant-tragedy-deplorable-disregard-human-life/
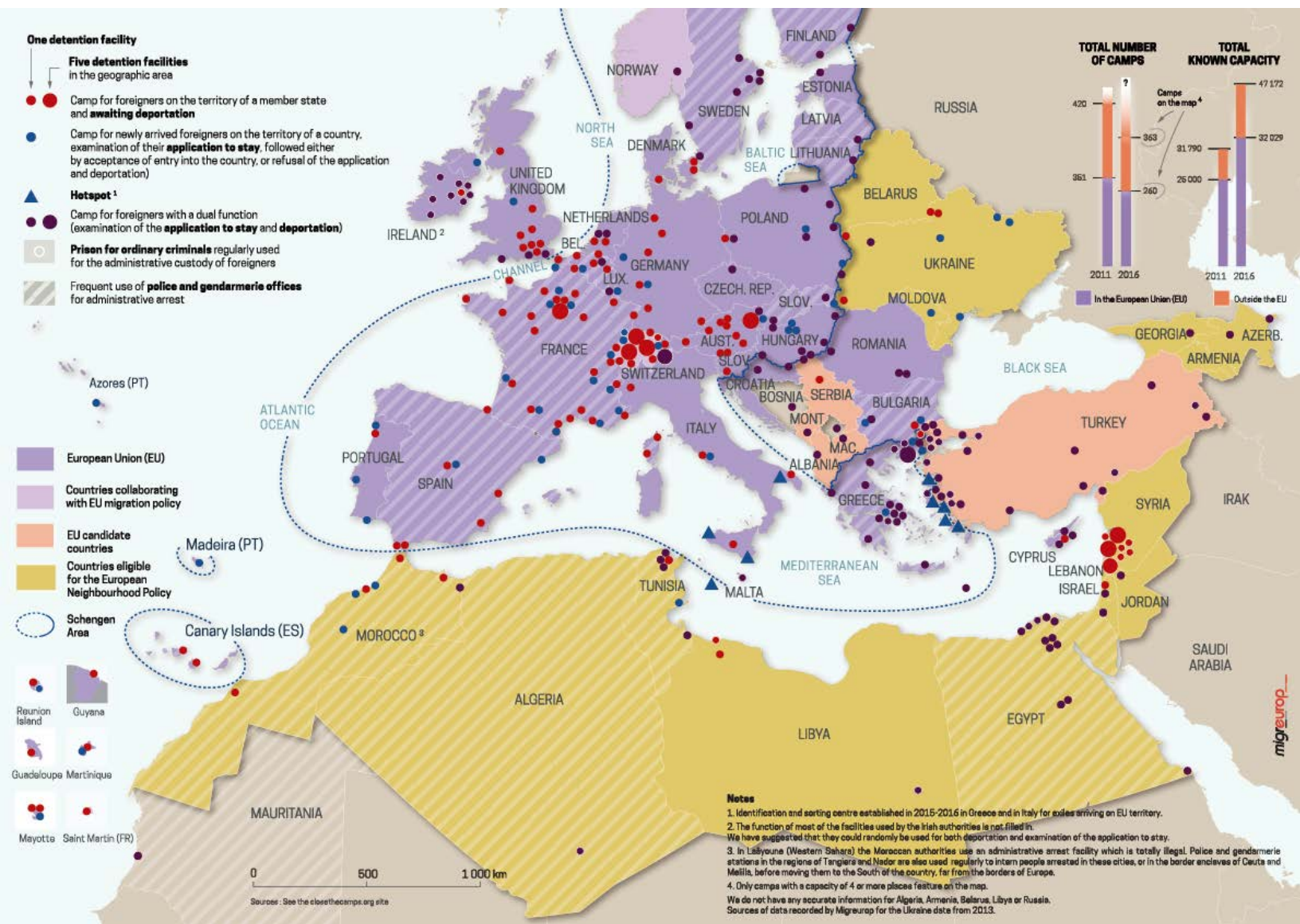
Map. 1 Source: Migreurop, 'Map of Camps 2016 - sixth edition: Scenes of desolation at the EU borders' Retrieved from:
http://www.migreurop.org/article2747.html?lang=fr

Alongside push-backs and interdictions, global apartheid is perpetuated through the construction of a carceral infrastructure composed of detention camps within and beyond the territorial borders of countries in the global north (see Arbogast, 2016). Map. 1 depicts how this is configured in the context of EU border politics. The activist-research network Migreurop has reported that the EU's migration carceral infrastructure went from 32.000 to 47.000 detention places between 2011 and 2016. Many of these are located within the EU, but include camps in Libya, Mauritania, Morocco, Tunisia, Turkey and Ukraine, among other places[26]. The kind of physical infraestructures used is not

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[26] See Migreurop, 'Map of Camps 2016 - sixth edition: Scenes of desolation at the EU borders' Retrieved from:
http://www.migreurop.org/article2747.html?lang=fr

homogenous, but rather complex and multifaceted. It includes, ad hoc buildings, or pre-existing structures, such as army barracks, schools and prisons, national and local police stations, which are mostly surrounded by wall, fences and barbed wire. While some of the places depicted in Map. 1 might be called 'open' centres, they are premised on logics of confinement and carcerality: migrants are administratively and socially controlled (Arbogast, 2016: 12). A similar infrastructure exists in the context of Australia's border politics and its offshore detention camps in Nauru, Manus Island and Papua New Guinea (Frelick et. al., 2016: 205).

In fact, it was the 'Australian model' established by the Pacific Solution that arguably inspired the UK's 'A New Vision for Refugees' in 2003, which proposed the establishment of EU run extraterritorial camps in North Africa (Nolls, 2003: 303-4, 313). Under the name 'Regional Protection Areas (RPAs) these camps would serve a double-purpose: on the one hand, containing migrants in countries of transit and, on the other hand, serve as places to which migrants seeking asylum that had already arrived in Europe could be deported for processing asylum claims (Frelick et. al, 2016: 206). While the UK did not get enough support to carry out its New Visions, the idea persisted and re-emerge in a document entitled 'Effective Protection for Refugees, Effective Combat against Illegal Migration' in 2005 formulated by the German minister of the interior, Otto Schily (Lemberg-Pedersen, 2017: 47). Echoing the UK's new vision, he propose idea of establishing "reception facilities" and "transit processing centers" in northern Africa. The same year the European Commission proposed Regional Protection Programmes (RPPs) (Mezzadra and Neilson, 2013: 171)[27]. While these visions emerged more than a decade ago, they have persisted and echo strongly with current policies and initiatives in the context of the 'Khartoum process'[28], which include the opening and management of EU-funded camps for migrants in countries of origin and transit in the Horn of Africa (Arbogast, 2016: 12).

Besides from the logics of capture and carcerality alluded through the examples above, the construction of global apartheid is tied up with military logics (Lloyd, 2011: 2). This includes the actual deployment of military actors with the specific objective of governing, controlling and disciplining the cross-border mobility of migrants from the global south. It also includes practices of border enforcement that while not being carried out by military actors involve military tactics and technologies, drones, sophisticated surveillance systems, high tech sensors, along with military hardware, such as attack helicopters and armoured vehicles (Jones and Corey, 2016: 187; Garelli and Tazzioli, 2017: 1). In the context of EU border politics, an expression of the military logics of global apartheid is the use of Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) missions in the Maghreb and the Sahel for the control of migration. For instance, the Sahel Regional Action Plan 2015-2010 expresses the need to reinforce migration and border management through the ongoing CSDP capacity-building missions EUCAP Sahel Mali and EUCAP Sahel Niger (which provides military

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[27] This is, of course, a rather short version of the more complex and multifaceted genealogy of extraterritorial camps in the context of EU border politics. For a more detailed analysis see Lemberg-Pedersen (2017)

[28] The 'Khartoum process' refers to a round of dialogues and negotiations for enhanced cooperation on migration, border enforcement between countries of origin, transit and destination regarding the migration routes between the Horn of Africa and the European Union (EU). See: https://www.khartoumprocess.net/

training and assistance to security forces in the region) (Akkerman, 2016: 20). While this mission were not always strictly about border enforcement, in 2016 this was made a priority. As stated in the annual report of that year: "the three CSDP missions in the Sahel have been adapted to the political priorities of the EU, notably following the EU mobilisation against irregular migration"[29]. Moreover, the use of these mission is seen as necessary to ensure "European security and limit risks of uncontrolled migration flows". Other examples include: the launching of EU Naval Force Operation Sophia in the central mediterranean, a military mission for controlling and disciplining people migrating from the coast of Libya into Malta and Italy; and NATO's Standing Maritime Group 2 (SNMG2) in the Aegean sea, which started in 2016, and operates in Greek, Turkish and international waters (Blockmans, 2016: 3-7). Global apartheid's military logics are also expressed through the fortified border walls and militarised fences in places such as the lower Rio Grande Valley in the US Mexico borderlands (Mohanty, 2011: 79) and in Ceuta and Melilla (Pallister-Wilkins, 2015).

The effect of the practices and processes described above is the closure of legal escape routes from areas of war and conflict and the closure of legal channels of mobility for the vast majority of migrants (Lemberg-Pedersen, 2017: 31, 36). As result, migrants are forced to take ever-more dangerous routes as they move through the borderlands that separate the South from the North (Anderson, 2016: 13). Significantly, through practices such as militarization, push-backs, interdictions and imprisonment in extraterritorial detention camps what is at stake is the re-entrenchment of global structures of race and class: That is, the state-sanctioned or extralegal production and exploitation of group-differentiated vulnerabilities to violence and premature death (Gilmore, 2007: 6). Through these practices, differences (especially of nationality, but also somatic) are valued and hierarchized for the purpose of justifying discriminatory treatment, hostility (social, political and/or physical), and violence, and thus rendering the bodies of migrants as punishable, confinable and unworthy of protection (Lloyd, 2011: 12, Memmi, 1990). Thus, at the receiving end of these practices are poor, working-class and underclass black and brown displaced communities from the global south (King, 2016: 34; Hage, 2016).

Citizens and Migrants: the Differential Inclusions of Global Apartheid

However, the construction of global apartheid does not rely solely on the fortification and policing of national sovereignty and state power and on the delegation of this work to countries in the global south (Lloyd, 2011: 2). It also relies on the organisation of different legal and political regimes *within* national or 'domestic' spaces: one to govern 'citizens' and other regimes to govern different categories of migrants (Sharma, 2005: 69). In the context of the EU, this is established at the moment when migrants living in the territory are placed through migration and asylum laws within different categories of 'exteriority' ('guest/temporary worker', 'asylum seeker', 'refugee', 'non-EU

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[29] European Commission and the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, 'Annual Report on the Sahel Regional Action Plan', Joint Staff working document, SWD(2016) 482, 23 December 2016, pp. 3-4. Retrieved from: https://sahelresearch.africa.ufl.edu/files/planactionsahelbilan40e161223.pdf

student', and 'illegal') vis-vis both the EU and the nation-state where they find themselves (Gutiérrez-Rodríguez, 2013: 124). Mezzadra and Neilson (2013: 159) defines this process as 'differential inclusion' to highlight the ways in which migrants are not only excluded in violent ways (e.g. push-backs at the borders, deportations, detentions) but also included, in no less violent ways, in spheres of society with varying degrees of subordination, rule, discrimination and segmentation. Through this process, differential access to things such as healthcare, education, housing and political participation is established *within* EU territory (See Walia, 2013: 14). Another example of how global apartheid organises two or more separate legal-juridical and political regimes and practices for different people within nationalized space is the 1985 Ley Organica introduced by the Spanish state in the 1980's. As I examine in **Chapter 2**, this law distinguishes between a 'Regimen Comunitario' (EC citizens legal regime) and the 'Regimen General' (non-EC legal regime), and thus creates a sharp distinctions between citizens and foreigners, as well as between different types of foreigners (i.e 'legal' and 'illegal') (Calavita, 1998, 2003).

Similarly, the 2000 immigration law excluded migrant form the right to assembly, the right to strike and the right to join labour unions (Varela, 2009: 125) - a regime of rights that are available to citizens. Likewise, the Royal Decree 16/2012 introduced in 2015 excludes undocumented migrants from access to healthcare (Solanes-Cornella, 2015: 24). These are examples of legal-juridical processes of differentiating between citizens and their non-citizen Others (Sharma, 2006: 121). Although not using explicitly racial categories, these and similar legal-political architectures follow structures of race and racism, in their articulations with class: by establishing a hierarchical system of classification and differentiation, people are marked with different degrees of inclusion and exclusion, rights and rightlessness. Through this process, group-differentiated vulnerabilities to particular forms of institutional violence (i.e. deportations, detentions, criminalisation) are produced and exploited by states (Gutiérrez-Rodríguez, 2013: 126; Lloyd, 2011: 3-4).

Anthony Richmond (1994) was arguably one of the first migration scholars to think of borders and displacement in terms of global apartheid. According to him, border regimes followed apartheid-like logics and their organisation is one where 'rich' countries keep people from poor countries out of their territorial borders. While this is certainly part of the story, Richmond's conceptualisation fails to grasp the ways in which global apartheid function in similar ways as historical forms of apartheid: that is, not entirely by keeping differentiated people completely *apart*, but rather by institutionalising two (or, sometimes, more) legal and political regimes and practices for differentiated collectivities *within* the same global space and nationalized spaces (Sharma, 2006: 125; Lloyd, 2011, Nevins, 2013). As a result, the experience of cross-border movement of differentiated collectivities is radically different across the *same* global space: the movement of some bodies is facilitated, while that of others is disciplined and controlled. Lamine Bathily, a community leader in the Sindicato Popular de Vendedores Ambulantes (see **Chapter 4**), captures as follows the logics of global apartheid: "If they [Europeans] go to Africa, in Senegal, they are legal. And us that live here we are illegal. Why? They go to Africa to enjoy legally. But us... We cannot enjoy here, we are illegals. In fact they deport us.

And they, in Africa, nobody deports them. A white person deported? Never seen that [in Africa]"[30]. Thus, following the kind of manichean logics that Frantz Fanon (2004[1963]) identifies as the foundation of the colonial world, global apartheid delineates two separate realities or worlds that coexist within the same global space (Hage, 2016: 43-4; Nevins, 2003). Ghassan Hage (2016: 44) puts it as follows:

> In apartheid fashion… we have a world where a 'third-world-looking' transnational working class and underclass live and are made to feel that national borers are exceptionally important and difficult to cross. In this world, visas, checkpoints, searches, investigations, interviews, immigration bureaucracies, refusal of permission to cross, language problems, embassy queues, cost of travel, and the like all combine to make national borders appear salient and important realities. On the other hand, we have a world experienced as open, in which people move smoothly across national borders, experiencing the world as almost borderless. This is the experience enjoyed by the largely White upper classes, who are made to feel truly at home in the world… Some are the subjects of the global order, others are its objects, often circulating strictly according to the needs of capital.

As Hage (2016) argues, in contemporary global apartheid, borders and controls are designed to facilitate the movement *within* and *across* borders of some bodies and discipline that of others, based on the articulation of race and class (Nevins, 2013: 22). That contemporary border regimes do not make explicit use of 'race' categories (in its biological definition through scientific racism [see Grosfoguel et. al., 2014) does not mean that structures of race are not present in national state categories of 'entry', 'work', 'residence', 'membership' and 'citizenship'. After all what these categories achieve is the hierarchical ranking of people, of 'insiders' and 'outsiders', citizens and non-citizens Others, within global and nationalized spaces (Sharma, 2006: 134-7)

Politics, the Political and the National Order of Things

The different practices and processes that institute global apartheid is the broader context within which contemporary migrant struggles navigate. However, in order to understand how migrant struggles re-shape the premises and conditions of doing politics and the political is it crucial to consider the ways in which global apartheid configure politics and the political. That is, global apartheid not only institutes processes and practices of radical exclusion and differential inclusion, but also particular understandings of what 'legitimate' politics is, who counts or not as political subject, as well as delineating the boundaries of the political. Before examining this, it is important to conceptualise what I mean by politics and the political. By politics I understand those practices that take place in the political spheres of social life (e.g. elections, political parties the doings of governments and politicians, treaties, international agreements and institutions, as well as war). In contrast, the political refers to the *frame of reference*, within which actions and other events acquire

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[30] MedicosdelMundo. 'Lamine Bathily, Portavoz de Sindicato de Manteros de Barcelona', *YouTube*, 27 March 2017, Retrieved from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=J4TeaW5vteo

political status. Thus, what gets counted as politics is not in any sense given, but the result of confrontation over the meaning of the political (Edkins, 1999: 2-4). In this sense, the political is a wider field of antagonisms, contingency, conflictuality and struggle that exceed 'politics' (Mouffe, 2005: 9). As Edkins (1999: 2) argues, "[t]he political has to do with the establishment of that very social order which set out a particular, historically specific, account of what counts as politics and defines other areas of social life as not politics". In the context of global apartheid, some critical scholars (Johnson, 2014; Gündogdu, 2014; Nyers, 2006) have argued that notions of the political are rooted in what Liisa Malkki (1992) has called the 'national order of things'.

The national order of things refers to the territorialist epistemology (Lapid, 2011) that posit the citizen as the archetypical political agent who has the capacity to act and engage in politics (Johnson, 2012: 110; Nyers, 2006: 17-8; see also Gündogdu, 2014) and the nation-state as the necessary and 'natural unit' of political organisation for the governing of human affairs (Wimmer and Shiller, 2002: 302). This epistemology makes displacement and displaced peoples appear as "an anomaly in the life of an otherwise 'whole', stable and sedentary society" (Malkki, 1995: 508), exceptions to otherwise 'normal' state of affairs. Migration is conceived as always-already a problem, an aberrant form of behaviour that needs to be fixed (Anderson, Sharma and Wright, 2009: 9). An expression of this, in relation to refugees, is the so-called three 'durable solutions' - repatriation, integration into the first-asylum countries, or resettlement in a third country - which require the restoration of "statists identities so as to restore the conditions under which they may once again enjoy a properly human life as citizens" (Nyers, 2006: 125) and the re-entrentchment of the nation-state as the necessary structure of political organisation. As a people out of place, the displaced represent an anomaly whose status needs to be brought back into place within the national order of things (Espiritu, 2014: 11-2). The need to control the movement of people 'out of place' becomes a logical course of action in a world predicated on rootedness and belonging to a nation-state (Malkki, 1995: 512), on being *in* place. When efforts to bring 'out-of-place people' back into place do not materialize, the national order of things makes unproblematic a host of controversial and violent methods for managing displacement and sanctions states to deploy "exceptional practices of border control in order to correct such tendencies and re-insert [them] into the national order of bounded states" (Lemberg-Pedersen, 2017: 32) such as detention camps, deportations, push-backs and other technologies of power. In a context in which their legal standing and dominant notions of the political cast them as illegitimate political actors, how do non-citizens engaged in political struggles position themselves as political subjects and re-shape and reconfigure the conditions and premises of doing politics and the boundaries of the political? More specifically, how do they challenge and transform foundational concepts of modern politics such as citizenship and rights? In the following section, I delineate the theoretical and methodological framework through which I approach this issues.

On Theory and Methodology

Subaltern politics, Subaltern knowledges

My approach to the question of politics and the political as it relates to migrant struggles in Barcelona is informed by postcolonial and decolonial conceptualisations 'subalternity', and critical border studies conceptualisations of 'alternative scripts of citizenship'. I think through these notion as they pertains to questions of 'knowledge' and 'politics'. The 'subaltern' was a notion that originated in the thought of Antonio Gramsci (2000[1988]). By using it to conceptualise the subordinated and dominated working classes within a particular social formation, Gramsci use the notion to interrogate the possibilities of the emergence of political and revolutionary critique in the lived consciousness of the oppressed - the possibility of critically renovating one's consciousness of everyday relations of oppression (Chari, 2012: 503, 507). Gramsci (2000[1988]) was concerned with challenging the elitism of philosophy and thus overcoming the separation between philosophy, particularly Marxism, and subaltern people's actual consciousness. He was, in other words, raising the question of the potentialities of constructing a philosophy that would have at its very core what he called the 'spontaneous philosophies' of the subaltern classes. This philosophies, he argued, were the expressions of a "specific conception of the world" and could be grasped "in the entire system of beliefs, superstitions, opinions, ways of seeing things and of acting, which are collectively bundled together under the name of 'folklore'" ([1988]: 324-5).

The notion that 'conceptions of the world' were proper to everyone and that these could informed the elaboration of critical theory resonated with a group of thinkers from India (Guha and Spivak et. al., 1988). As Gramsci's concept travelled to South Asia and was taken up by Ranajit Guha and other people within the Subaltern Studies Collective, the concept gain a new life, yet retain its sensibilities to consciousness, culture and meaning as key sites of social struggle (Shilliam, 2016: 5). The idea of the subaltern was used to challenge the elitism of colonial and nationalist historiography and to think through the ways in which the 'small voices of history', those of peasants and other colonized subjects, had been silenced and excluded from the dominant narratives and the telling of history (see Guha, 1983, 1996). In his seminal work on peasant insurgencies, Guha (1988) argued that there existed a split in the domain of the political between an organized elite domain and an unorganized subaltern domain. The idea of the split in the domain of the political was intended as a challenge to liberal and Marxist historiographies that posited the peasantry as living in a 'pre-political' stage of collective action. Guha (1988) argued that through their collective actions, peasants were being political, except that they were political in ways *otherwise* than the nationalist elites (Chatterjee, 2014: 39). In other words, while colonial elites had dominated the hinterlands of India, they had not managed to establish hegemony, as the colonized peasantry had resisted and engaged with colonial rule through their own forms of critical and political consciousness (Shilliam, 2016: 4-7). In this sense, as Spivak (2005: 476) has argued more recently, the term 'subaltern' was closely linked to the idea of the popular and the 'politics of the people' (Guha, 1988: 40), politics enacted by oppressed communities, politics otherwise. In relation to the present study, I use this conceptualisation of 'subalternity' to think through the ways in which migrant struggles engage in politics and the political in ways otherwise than the boundaries established by the national order of things.

As 'subalternity' was articulated by decolonial scholars, it acquired additional meanings. Besides from

its emphasis on politics otherwise, these scholars emphasized the notion of *knowing otherwise* (Suarez-Krabbe, 2015; Walsh, 2005, 2007). That is, from a decolonial perspective, subaltern groups did not only engage in alternative forms of politics but also produce their own forms of knowledge, their own analysis and theorizations of reality, which informed the kind of politics they engaged in (see Maldonado-Torres, 2008; Dussel, 2000; Bogues, 2003; Al-Hardan, 2014). Mohanty (1996: 68) call these the "the readings and knowings of the dominant": the ways in which the subaltern reads and analyses power and the powerful. These are analyses and theorizations that emerge from the lives and perspectives of marginalized populations (Berger, 2016: 215; Shilliam, 2015, 2016; Santos, 2014). That marginalised groups produce their own forms of knowing otherwise, has resonated with some feminists scholars. Haraway (1998) speaks of 'situated knowledges' and MacKinnon (1991) of 'socially lived theorizing'. These notions, like subaltern knowledges, posit that the knowledge people produce is embedded and embodied through socially lived and place-based experiences, the implications of which entail that they offer *different* kinds of answers than more 'abstract', 'academic', forms of knowledge. Thus, point is not that academic knowledge is not relevant, but rather that subaltern knowledges can be thought of as alternative, equally relevant analyses of reality, that come from different positionalities, address other priorities and concerns, and depart from other realities, subjectivities and histories (Walsh, 2007: 224, 231; Quijano, 2000). I use this reading of subalternity for approaching the kind of analyses that migrant political movements make, not simply as 'empirical' material, but also as forms of critical theorizing.

Citizenship and its transformation

I incorporate methodologically the notion of doing politics otherwise through insights in critical border studies. The idea of a split of in the political between an 'elite' and a 'subaltern' domain is, at first sight, rather ambiguous. The political, as argued above, is crisscrossed by a multiplicity of actors, antagonisms, conflictualities, struggles and contingencies, which make the notion of such a split rather simplistic. However, I find it useful to think through the ways in which subaltern groups, such as migrants, engage with politics and the political in 'ways otherwise' than regimes of established politics, even if they use concepts and practices derived from those very regimes (see Gündogdu, 2014). In this regard, important work is being done in critical border studies as regards to the appropriation and re-definition of foundational concepts of modern politics such as 'citizenship' and 'rights' (Isin, 2008). Nyers and Rygiel (2012), for instance, have called for exploring "how, through various strategies of claims-making, non-citizen migrant groups are involved in practices and ways of engaging in citizenship even when lacking formal citizenship status". Thus, scholars have questioned dominant approaches to citizenship in political theory and the social sciences. These posit citizenship a static concept, associated with legal status and membership to the territorial bounds of 'the nation' and its political community (Ataç, Rygiel and Stierl, 2016: 531). As I argued above, this is very much in line with the national order of things.

In this sense, Mezzadra (2004) has argues that it is crucial to question this territorialized understanding of citizenship and drawn attention to the importance of migrant struggles which,

through their political praxis, 'decompose citizenship' and transform it. Similarly, Turner (2016: 143) argues that our critical engagements with migrant struggles should be oriented with a focus on resistance and a re-politicizing "analysis of citizenship by bringing into focus those acts which 'protest' [exclusionary] regimes but, in doing so, also help delineate the contingency of citizenship itself." This can, according to Nyers and Rygiel (2012: 9), draw attention to "new spaces of citizenship that potentially enable both new ways of being political and new visions for the type of politics we wish to imagine in the world". In this regard, Isin (2008: 39) proposes the notion of acts of citizenship:

> … those acts through which citizens, strangers, outsiders and aliens emerge not as beings already defined but as beings acting and reacting with others… [they are] in so far as these acts constitute constituents (beings with claims)… We define acts of citizenship as those acts that transform forms (orientations, strategies, technologies) and modes (citizens, strangers, outsiders, aliens) of being political by bringing into being new actors as activist citizens (claimants of rights and responsibilities) through creating new sites and scales of struggle.

Through the framework of acts of citizenship, migrant struggles become visible as forms of politics that claim citizenship and rights without legally possessing the status to do so. That is, without the need to be authorized to legally belong (Ataç, Rygiel and Stierl, 2016: 532). Overall, this approach brings to the fore the question of political agency and thus the Marxian premise of the capacity of human beings to make history and transform the world, though in circumstances not of their own choosing (See Gilmore, 2007). That is, it invites to think how populations "who are disenfranchised by the states in which they reside, and are 'outside of politics' in any normative sense" constitute a political praxis that allows "them to (temporarily) constitute themselves as political subjects under sometimes extreme conditions of subjugation (Tyler and Marciniak, 2013: 7).

Research Methodology and Methods

My focus on how migrants do politics *otherwise* through acts of citizenship means that I pay close attention to the kind of political practices through which migrant struggles position themselves as political subjects, as well as the ways in which they appropriate citizenship and rights by, for instance, demanding papers for all and access to political, social and economic rights that they do not have. These practices include occupations of public spaces and abandoned buildings, civil disobedience to immigration legislation, demonstrations, hunger strikes and other acts of protests. Through the qualitative methodological inquiry I examine what these practices mean in the context in which they emerge and how they re-shape the conditions of doing politics and the boundaries of the political. I complement this with a focus on subaltern knowledges. Particularly, I examine the kind of analyses, produced by key activists, that inform these acts of protest and the broader migrant struggles that I study. As such, the material analysed was collected from the political movements' archives. It includes manifestos, texts, audiovisual material such as documentaries and radio podcasts. I also examine interviews with key activists that appear in general magazines. As my

methodological approach privileges the perspective of migrants, it is crucial to include their critical analyses and intellectual and cultural production. I complemented this with observations made in the Spring of 2018 in Barcelona of acts of protests carried out by one of the movements, the Sindicato Popular de Vendedores Ambulantes. Additionally, I collected academic writings on the subject (e.g. Aierbe, 2011; Varela, 2009; Barbero, 2013, 2015). However, most of the literature that I came across focused on the migrant struggles that took place in 2001, which I explore in **Chapter 2**. Thus, in order to understand the context and circumstances of struggles that took place after I looked critically into a wide range of newspapers.

In order to make sense of my materials, I conducted content analysis to identify major themes: practices (ie. where, how, when), knowledge (ie. what is being advocated, proposed), structures (ie. what were the conditions for the struggle) and actions (ie. what has been done and what has not been done). Further, my analysis is partly historical. The intention with this was to create a historically continuous understanding of these practices as they are shaped through time. This allows for systematizing how the structures and resistances of the migrant struggles have been developing. Methodologically I am inspired by recent social movement scholarship that has argued to work *alongside* social movements. By this is not necessarily meant to work *with,* but rather following the people in the movements themselves, what they think, the question they raise, by listening, tracing, and mapping the work they do and knowledge they produce (Bevington and Dixon, 2005: 194). This required that I grounded my methodology in *receptivity* and *listening:* to the conceptualizations and analyses that movements are making, their knowledge, their political perspectives and putting these into dialogue with other forms of critical thought. These are not only relevant for understandings movements themselves, but potentially provide political knowledge for the re-thinking of that which we study within universities (Casas-Cortés, Osterweil and Powell, 2008: 20-1). In this sense, I followed Sandro Mezzadra (2013) call for methodologies that are oriented through a 'double opening': on the one hand, towards migrant struggles and what we can learn from them, and, on the other hand, towards the production and theoretical innovation that can emerge from engagement with those struggles.

Chapter 2
'Papeles Para Todos y Todas!': The political irruption of undocumented migrants (1990s-2000s).

Introduction

This chapter traces the emergence of migrant political struggles in Barcelona in the 1990s and throughout the 2000s. I focus on two multiracial coalitions whose work was significant for making visible the experiences of undocumented migrants: the *Federation of Immigrant Collectives in Catalonia*

(FICC) and *the Papers Per Tothom Assembly*[31]. These two coalitions played an important role in the irruption of undocumented migrants in the public sphere as political subjects (see Khiari, 2006, 2009; Sayad, 2006; Gündogdu, 2014). The chapter begins by exploring the context and circumstances under which these coalitions were formed. I pay particular attention to the trajectories of legislative changes in the politics of migration and border control from 1985 into the early 2000s. This created the conditions that would pushed entire migrant communities into 'illegality' (see Barbero, 2013, 2015; Calavita, 2003). The overview of this broader legal context can explain some of the reasons why these coalitions emerged and the circumstances that led to the more or less generalised irruption of undocumented migrants in the political landscape in 2001 (Aierbe, 2011): The year when thousands of undocumented migrants became the protagonist of a wave of lock-ins and occupations across Catalunya under the slogan 'Papeles Para Todos y Todas!' (Residency documents for all) (Varela, 2007, 2009; Suárez-Navaz et. al., 2007).

In order to explain the *theoretical* and *political* significance of this irruption (Icaza and Vázquez, 2013) I devote one section to a discussion of the sans-papiers' struggle[32] in France in the 1990s and the issues it brought to the forefront. Theirs is a struggle that has shaped significantly the mobilisations that took place in Barcelona and elsewhere in the same decade (Airbe, 2011: 3). Subsequently, I analyse the wave of occupations and lock-ins of churches and other public spaces that developed throughout 2001. I pay particular attention to the kind of internal organisational structures and political practices that migrants used in this context. The 2001 lock-ins were crucial in positioning migrants as political subjects. Their legacy would shaped migrant struggles that emerged in the following years. Thus, the final section examines some the issues they raised and reflects on how they re-shaped the premises of doing politics and the boundaries of the political.

'Sin papeles': the production of migrant illegality

The emergence of migrant political struggles in Barcelona occurs as restrictive immigration controls are introduced in Spain and across the EU from the 1980's onwards (Suárez-Navaz et. al., 2007: 185). As nation-states signed the Schengen agreement on free movement, the 'external' borders of the EU became a political priority (Papadopoulos et. al., 2008: 162-6). Northern European states put pressure on southern states to bolster their border regimes and irregular migration was framed as a 'border security' issue (Anderson, 2016: 1057). In 1985, joining the European Community (EC), Spain also declared its commitment to combat 'illegal migration' (Amnesty International, 2015: 13). Before this, Spain had no coherent legislation regarding the rights of migrants from the global south. While the 1978 Spanish

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[31] The *Papers Per Tothom Assembly* and the Papers Per a Tothom association are not the same. The former refers to the coalition, while the later refer to one of the migrant association that, along with other organisations, was part of that coalition. As I refer to both throughout the paper, it is important that the reader keeps this distinction in mind.

[32] Literally, the 'paperless'. In France, it denotes undocumented migrants.

Constitution did make a rather vague mention of the status of foreigners in Spain, it did not distinguish explicitly between types of foreigners (Calavita, 1998: 542). The absence of legal specificity meant that most migrants in Spain carried out their lives without a consciousness of being legal or 'illegal', in a kind of state of legal uncertainty (Izquierdo, 1996: 142). However, the situation began to change after 1985. Few days after the Spanish government had signed the treaty for entry into the EC, the parliament passed the Organic Law on the Rights and Liberties of Foreigners in Spain (Calavita, 1998, 534; 2003: 403).

According to Jabardo, this new law generated irregularity among the vast majority of the migrant community (1995: 86-7). That is, the implementation of this law was significant for the production of sin papeles precariousness and vulnerability (González-Cámara, 2012: 567). The Organic Law created sharp distinctions between types of foreigners and their corresponding rights (or rightlessness), between legal and illegal aliens. These distinctions were based on a dichotomy that was drawn between the 'Regimen Comunitario' (EC members) and the 'Regimen General' (which applied to all non-EC members). The former were granted all rights of free circulation, residence and work in Spain. For the later a series of restrictions were introduced. For the first time most of the non-EC migrants needed a residence and work permit to be in Spain. Just in one move, a large number of people, who were residing already in Spanish territory but could not obtain permits were turned into 'illegals' (Calavita, 1998, 533-5; 2003: 403-5). The 1985 Ley Organica also created the first Centres for the Internment of Foreigners (CIE) where 'illegals' would be imprisoned awaiting for their expulsion.[33] Moreover, legal status for migrant workers became tied to the ability of securing a formal work contract. For some this meant that losing their job would also mean losing their legal status (González-Cámara, 2012: 567-8). Others were not able to secure a work contract, particularly those migrant workers whose undocumented status - and the rightlessness and vulnerability that status ensures - was preferred by employers (Calavita, 2003: 403-4). As a result, a large number of migrants were pushed into illegality, along with their families whose legal status was dependent on theirs (González-Cámara, 2012: 567-8, Calavita 1998: 544-5; 2003: 403-405; Jabardo, 1995: 86-7).

To exist is to exist politically

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[33] See, for instance, MIGREUROP. "Spain" *MIGREUROP: Observatoire Des Frontières.* July 5, 2011. http://www.migreurop.org/article1994.html?lang=fr.

It is in this broader context of legislative, juridical and political changes that migrant struggles emerge with particular intensity in Spain. In particular, migrants from Gambia, Equatorial Guinea, Senegal and other sub-Saharan African nations formed collectives and associations to struggle for migrants' rights and recognition during this decade (Varela, 2009: 125). These efforts would materialise in West African migrant collectives, associations and initiatives such as *Riepaua* in Barcelona, *Jama Kafo* in Mataró, *EASU* in Premia de Mar and *Musa Molo* in Calella de Mar, in the outskirts of the Catalonian capital. North African migrants, from Algeria and particularly from Morocco, formed- similar organisations such as the *Association of Moroccan Immigrants in Spain* (AIME). Latin American and Filipino migrant organisations emerged during these decades as well (Sepi, 2002: 358). Although different in composition, politics and ideologies, these organisations shared a commitment towards positioning migrants as political subjects in relation to the state, civil society and organised politics (see Khiari, 2006, 2009) and for creating spaces for migrants to speak for themselves. The efforts to exist politically coalesced in the constitution of the FICC, a multiracial organisation that would struggle for the rights of migrants. Throughout the 1990's, the FICC was supported by thousands of migrants. Its actions included practical support to recently arrived migrants, local demonstrations in Barcelona and state-level political mobilisations in coalition with migrant organisations across the country (Varela, 2007: 225; 2009: 124).

The aim of the FICC was to construct a united front among migrant political organisations to contest the introduction of restrictive immigration legislation throughout the 1990's[34]. During this decade, yet new laws and policies were put in place that made migrant lives even more precarious and vulnerable (Gonz¡lez- C¡mara, 2012: 567). For instance, in 1991 more requirements were introduced to obtain visa, particularly for entrants from the Maghreb countries and Latin America (Calavita, 1998: 545). In 1992 the Spanish government signed a readmission agreements with Morocco that allowed Spain to deport not only Moroccan nationals, but also other migrants who have travelled through Morocco (Amnesty International, 2015: 13). In 1993, the Spanish government started the construction of barbed wire fences around Ceuta and Melilla (Pallister- Wilkins, 2017: 70) and in 1998 it launched its Plan Sur (Southern Plan) to combat 'illegal migration' and human trafficking, particularly in Andalucia, Ceuta, Melilla and Murcia[35]. In this context, the *Papers Per a Tothom* association was created by migrants with and without documents, partly as a response and in solidarity to the plight of displaced people in Ceuta and Melilla. *Papers Per a Tothom* will play a decisive role in migrant struggles in the following years.[36]

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[34] Revista Mugak and Norma Falconi. "Entrevista a Norma Falconi: Los Inmigrantes Sin Papeles Organizados Han De Tener Su Propia Identidad, Su Propio Protagonismo." *Revista Mugak* Vol. 14 (2011). Retrieved from: http://www.mugak.eu/revista-mugak/no-14/los-inmigrantes-sin-papelesorganizados-han-de-tener-su-propia-identidad-su-propio-protagonismo.

[35] Global Detention Project. "Spain: Immigration Detention Profile". *Global Detention Project: Mapping Immigration Detention around the World*, 2016. Retrieved from: https://www.globaldetentionproject.org/countries/europe/spain.

[36] Mugak and Falconi, *Entrevista a Norma Falconi*

As immigration control began to be bolstered by the state against 'illegal' migration, the resistance of undocumented migrants also scaled up. In December 2000, the political process initiated by the FICC in the 1990's consolidated in *the Asamblea Papers Per a Tothom*[37], a multiracial coalition of migrants and citizens that organised meeting places for organizations, communities and people to meet and discuss resistance strategies against the implementation of the 'Ley Organica 8/2000' (the 2000 immigration law) (Barbero, 2013: 38). This coalition included the association with the same name, Papers Per a Tothom, the FICC, The Federation of Neighbors of Barcelona and the NGOs Federation, among others (Airbe, 2001: 2-3). It was an alliance between people with and without legal status. The initiative for political mobilisation as well as the terms and demands to be articulated were laid down by migrants and their communities. Norma Falconi, an Ecuadorian migrant who was involved in these political efforts, puts it as follows:

> We were a conglomerate of initiatives and we created a coordinating committee that could represent us in direct negotiations with the Government delegation. For migrants it was very important the fact the they could put their own needs and strategies on the table. Each representative spoke their own language and brought a translator. Nobody manipulated them…[38]

For Falconi, as for other migrant activists, a migrant-led coalition was seen necessary for consolidating a movement that could subvert more 'traditional' social movement internal structures, particularly in relation to struggles for migrant rights. These structures positioned citizens as the main interlocutors, representatives and political subjects, relegating migrants to a secondary role, often to the status of the 'victim', incapable of speaking for herself and articulating her own priorities, visions and demands (Gündogdu, 2014: 193-5; Hayter, 2004: 142; Johnson, 2012: 118).

Scaling-up the struggle: resistance against the 2000 immigration law

The 2000 immigration law ('Ley Organica 8/2000') brought with it a number of restrictions and practices that were relatively new for migrants living in Spain . It changed their social worlds in radicals ways (Suárez-Navaz et. al., 2007: 187-9). This law, implemented in January 2001 and approved by the two largest political parties, the right-wing Partido Popular and the left-wing Partido Socialista Obrero Español, re-established 'illegal' status as a sufficient ground for detention and deportation (Calavita, 2003: 406-7; Varela, 2009: 125). The law expanded the requirements for legal residency by, for instance, linking residence permits to the possession of a *long-term* employment contract (in an economy where temporary contracts are the rule, not the exception) or having worked in the same company with which the previous permit was granted in order to be able to

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[37] The Papers for All Assembly

[38] Meritxell M. Pauné "Entrevista. Norma Falconi: 'Sabíamos Que Si Salíamos De Las Iglesias, Se Acababa La Negociación'. *La Vanguardia*. March 16, 2011. Retrieved from: http://www.lavanguardia.com/vida/20110316/54126823222/norma-falconi-sabiamos-que-si-saliamos-de-las-iglesias-se-acababa-la-negociacion.html.

renew it (Barbero, 2015: 250). Not being able to fulfil new requirements, a great portion of 'legal' migrant workers joined the ranks of undocumented. This legislative change was significant for the production of group-differentiated vulnerabilities to violence, detention, imprisonment and expulsion (Barbero, 2013: 38-9; Gilmore, 2007). In parallel to the implementation of the 2000 immigration law, a mass regularization process was launched (Suárez-Navaz et. al., 2007: 188). However, in Barcelona around 92% of applications were rejected (Aierbe, 2011: 6). Moreover, the new law undertook the systematic elimination of political rights, by denying migrants living in Spanish territory the right of assembly, the right to strike and the right to join labour unions (Varela, 2009: 125). In short, the right to participate in politics. The law thus countered migrant's efforts towards political existence (Sayad, 2006: 13). It closed the 'formal' mechanisms through which they could have emerged as 'legitimate' political subjects (see Gündogdu, 2014: 189).

The attack on the political rights of migrant communities came in the context where migrant struggles, in Barcelona, but also elsewhere in Spain, were increasing both in intensity and visibility (Suárez-Navaz et. al., 2007: 189). In El Ejido (Almeria), in the Andalusian region, south of Spain, migrant agricultural workers would found their efforts towards politically organising against racist violence considered 'illegitimate' by the state and some factions of organised politics (Airbe, 2011: 1-2). In February 2000, a young Spanish women was assassinated by a mentally unstable person, of Maghrebian nationality. This led to a wave of racist violence. Hundreds of Spaniards participated in the organised persecution and attacks against migrant agricultural workers, particularly North Africans, vandalizing of their property, businesses and houses (Calavita, 2007: 97). As a response, and in direct disobedience of the 2000 immigration law, these workers called for assemblies in which a general strike was agreed upon, condemning the racist attacks, the complicity of local government officials. They demanded a reparation for the destruction of their homes and business and for the authorities to take measures to guarantee their security and well-being (Aierbe, 2011: 2; Suárez-Navaz et. al., 2007: 189).

While the central government condemn the attacks, it did not take into consideration migrants accounts of the events. Contrary, the government explained the events as the product of 'uncontrolled' irregular migration that has put at risk the internal social cohesion of the Spanish nation-state (Giró and Jarque 2007: 34). Thus, Juan Enciso, the then mayor of El Ejido, ask the government for more police to "control people who can instill suspicion" given that these place was the "the door to Africa and it is impossible to control all these people who enter illegally"[39]. The events in El Ejido in Andalucia influenced migrant political mobilisation in Barcelona, and the work of *Papers Per a Tothom Assembly*[40]. For one thing, in their and their allies eyes it made their own struggle even more 'legitimate'. After all, these events exposed the anti-migrant racism present in Spanish society, whether expressed through acts of generalised violence, as was the case in El Ejido,

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[39] Tereixa Constenla and Ana Torregrosa 'Vecinos de El Ejido armados con barras de hierro atacan a los inmigrantes y destrozan sus locales', El Pais, 7 February 2000. Retrieved from:
https://elpais.com/diario/2000/02/07/espana/949878022_850215.html
[40] Mugak and Falconi, *Entrevista a Norma Falconi*

or through the stigmatization of migrants through official and political scapegoat-like discourses that positioned them as the source of all the problems in society (see Calavita, 2007: 105; Barbero, 2015: 251). Moreover, the events also served as a source of inspiration for other migrants in struggle. It served as an example showing the possibilities for striving for social change through more radical actions, such as the disobedience of the 2000 immigration law (Suárez-Navaz et. al., 2007: 186). In order to gain support and put pressure on authorities to negotiate and address the situation and demands of migrant communities, resistance was posited as not only possible but necessary (Aierbe, 2011: 2).

The struggle of the 'sans-papiers' and its legacies

The idea of demanding papers for all, expressed in the name of the coalition, had a lot to do with the political struggle heralded by the *sans-papiers* (paperless migrants) in France (Aierbe, 2011: 3). There, the mobilisation of the sans-papiers had a high level of political organisation and without a doubt influenced other migrant organisations and initiatives in Spain and other places in Europe (see Anderson, Sharma, and Wright, 2009: 11), including the Papers Per a Tothom Assembly. While it is out of the scope of this thesis to engage with an analysis of the history and politics of the sans-papiers movement in France[41], the coalition carries several characteristics that are useful for understanding what the demand for papers for all and the political irruption of undocumented migrants in Barcelona meant in the context in which it developed. What follows is a rather short history of the events that led to the emergence of the sans-papiers in France in the 1990s, in order to contextualise the arguments I make further in this chapter.

The sans-papiers struggle in France gained enormous visibility in the spring of 1996 when 324 Africans, including 80 women and 100 children, occupied the church of Saint Ambroise demanding residency documents (Mezzadra and Neilson, 2013: 142). Many of them were rejected asylum seekers, others people who had lost legal status as result of the restrictive Debré laws, which created precariousness among migrant communities and pushed many migrants into illegality (Giner-Monge, 2014: 78). For instance, these laws cancelled the automatic renewal of ten-year residence permits, put in place instead a temporary one-year permit (Hayter, 2004: 145). While the group was diverse, they all shared the threat of deportation and undocumented status. Soon, they were evicted from this church and moved from place to place across Paris, until they arrived to the Saint Bernard church. There, the hunger strikes began and proliferated across entire France (Morice, 2007: 61-5). During this year, Sans-papiers collectives also proliferated across the national territory. A 'Coordination Nationale des Sans-Papiers' (Sans-Papiers National Coordinating Committee) was set up (Giner-Monge, 2014: 83). The Sans-papiers of Saint-Bernard, as they came to be known, soon were violently evicted. On August 1996, after months of occupation, 1500 police violently broke into the

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[41] The literature on the history and politics of the sans-papiers movement is extensive. See, particularly, the books written by the leading figures of the movement: Diop, Abdabacar (1997), *Dans la peau d'un sans-papiers*, Seuil: Paris; SANÉ, Mamady (1997), *Sorti de l'ombre. Journal d'un sans-papiers*, Le temps de Cerises: París; and Cissé, Madjiguène (1999), *Parole de sans-papiers*, Broché: Paris. See also Abdalah, Mogniss (1999), *The Sans Papiers movement. A climax in the history of French immigration*. Available at: http://www.noborder.org/without/france.html#nine

church with axes and tear gas, evicted the migrants in struggle, many were arrested and deported (McNevin, 2006: 146). However, the Sans-papiers of Saint-Bernard continued their struggle, occupying other churches and organising other acts of protest (Freedman, 2008). Their political struggle was supported massively, their demonstrations often reaching the thousands. Their manifesto was published in the French newspaper *Libération* in February 1997:

> We the Sans-Papiers of France… have decided to come out of the shadows. From now on, in spite of the dangers, it is not only our faces but also our names which will be known… Like all others without papers, we are people like everyone else. Most of us have been living among you for years. We came to France with the intention of working here and because we had been told that France was the 'homeland of the Rights of Man': we could no longer bear the poverty and the oppression which was rife in our countries, we wanted our children to have full stomachs, and we dreamed of freedom. Most of us entered France legally. We have been arbitrarily thrown into illegality both by the hardening of successive laws which enabled the authorities to stop renewing our permit to stay, and by restrictions introduced on the right to asylum which is now given only sparingly… We demand papers so that we are no longer victims of arbitrary treatment by the authorities, employers and landlords… We demand papers so that we no longer suffer the humiliation of controls based on our skin, detentions, deportations, the break-up of our families, the constant fear... We are not in hiding. We have come out into the daylight (in Hayter, 2004: 143).

This manifesto is a theorization of what it means to be person whose life is deemed to be 'illegal', and the material consequences of such categorization. Significantly, it is also a theorization of what it means for a person in such a situation to do politics and engage in struggles against political forces that produce one's non-existence (Gordon, 2000, 2007). The manifesto has provided with some theoretical and conceptual elements that are useful to understand migrant struggles in Barcelona. First, it articulates the notion of asserting oneself as a political subject, no longer a mere object of politics and border regimes (see Khiari, 2009: 9; Sayad, 2006: 13), in a world were dominant definitions of the political militate against this possibility (see Johnson, 2012: 118; Nyers, 2006). Second, there is a movement towards politicizing one's legal status and identity, one's positioning within the social structure and power relations, as someone belonging to a collectivity of people who share a common condition (see Khiari, 2006: 101-2). Third, the sans-papiers raised the question of *autonomy*, in the sense of constituting a self-organised migrant movement, a movement that reclaims the possibility of migrants speaking for themselves, defining their own priorities and objectives vis á vis both the state, civil society and organised politics (Gündogdu, 2014: 188-9). These characteristics can clarify both the meaning and the significance of the irruption of undocumented migrants in the political landscape in Barcelona, an irruption that became highly visible in the year 2001.

'Papeles, vivienda digna y trabajo': Intercultural solidarities and the construction of a united front

The political process initiated in the 1990's by the FICC, the consolidation of the Papers Per a Tothom Assembly and the struggle of migrant agricultural workers in El Ejido contributed to the more or less generalised irruption of undocumented migrants as political subjects in the public sphere in 2001, not only in Barcelona but across the country (Airbe, 2011: 2). Migrants interpellated the state and society at large on their situation, and demanded papers for all. In Lorca, southeastern Spain, 1500 undocumented migrants led the 'Marcha por la Vida' (March for Life), in response to the death of 12 Ecuadorian agricultural workers in a traffic accident, while they were going to work. It brought to light the exploitation suffered by field workers, not as an isolated event in Murcia, but as a structural feature of this economic sector (Barbero, 2013: 39). As a response, about 100 African migrants occupied Plaça Catalunya, Barcelona's main square, demanding their regularization, many of them transported from the Canary Island into the mainland, after a dangerous journey from West Africa and after having spent months in a detention center (Suárez-Navaz et.al., 2007: 191).

Other mobilisations took place elsewhere in Spain, and, in this sense, 2001 will beared witness to the collective action of people who, as result of their vulnerable and precarious status, had overcome endless barriers and obstacles in their efforts towards existing politically. In this process they gained enormous support and achieved historic levels of mobilisation: 45 thousand people in Barcelona, with and without papers, took the streets in support of the migrant struggle. In Valencia 10 000 thousand, 6000 in Madrid, and tens of thousands throughout Spain (Airbe, 2011: 5-6). Thus, to their exclusion from politics and the political, migrants responded with struggles that re-asserted their will to exist politically, to do politics on their own terms and forwarding their own demands. In Barcelona, this mobilisations were the product of less visible but nonetheless effective forms of grassroot organising carried out by different migrant collectives, particularly by the *Papers Per a Tothom* association[42]. For example, throughout 2000, this association organised general assemblies in public squares and other spaces in the city (Barbero, 2013: 38). The idea was to give opportunities to migrants to voice their concerns, particularly those who found themselves stuck in an irregular situation with the new law, and create spaces to discuss political strategies. The presence of people of diverse cultural and national origins in this process spoke of the strength and potentialities of building a movement premised on intercultural solidarities[43]. For example, throughout 2000, this association organised general assemblies in public squares and other spaces in the city (Barbero, 2013: 38). The idea was to give opportunities to migrants to voice their concerns, particularly those who found themselves stuck in an irregular situation with the new law, and create spaces to discuss political strategies. The presence of people of diverse cultural and national origins in this process spoke of the strength and potentialities of building a movement premised on intercultural solidarities. Thus, the Papers Per a Tothom Assembly united under a common struggle Colombian and Ecuadorian migrants, communities from the Maghreb, workers from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh, as well as different communities of sub-saharan Africans. They all shared one thing in common: that of being considered under immigration law as 'illegal' people[44].The historic numbers

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[42] Mugak and Falconi, *Entrevista a Norma Falconi*

[43] Mugak and Falconi, *Entrevista a Norma Falconi*

[44] *ibid*

of people that supported protests and demonstrations, some of which reached over 50 000 people, were partly explained by the cultural diversity and the existence of more or less established communities grouped by national and/or ethnic origins (Aierbe, 2011: 21). These communities marched together in different mobilisations under the slogan 'Papers, decent housing and work' (Barbero, 2013: 41-2). Through this political efforts, migrants were in fact engaging in acts of citizenship. By disobeying immigration law, they were re-appropriating rights which they did formally not have, such as the right to assembly. Significantly, by demanding papers for all they were demanding the right to define the terms and conditions of a regularization process. These efforts intensified in the mass wave of lock-ins, occupations of churches and public spaces that come to be known as 'the 2001 lock-ins' (Varela, 2009: 126-7).

The Pi Church and the 2001 lock-ins

The 2001 lock-ins were the product of dialogues and assemblies between migrant communities and organisations organised through the *Papers Per a Tothom Assembly*. Initially, it was agreed that a lock-in of Barcelona's cathedra should take place, lasting only a weekend. However, the church authorities declined. Migrants decided to approach a nearby church, the 'Iglesia del Pi'[45], where the parish priest agreed to welcome the migrants in struggle[46]. Around 350 migrants[47], representatives from the Papers Per a Tothom coalition, were allowed in the church. There it was decided that the lock-in should not be temporary but indefinite and that a hunger strike will begin and continue until residency documents were granted to all undocumented migrants[48]. Soon, the Iglesia del Pi became the political epicenter of Barcelona's undocumented migrant political movement (Barbero, 2013: 49). As more migrants joined the struggle and where willing to join the lock-in and hunger strike, the Papers Per a Tothom Assembly decided to look for more spaces to expand the reach of the movement. Subsequently, around 700 Bengali, Indian, Pakistani, Moroccan, Latin American and West African undocumented migrants occupied around 11 religious centers in Barcelona and its outskirts (Barbero, 2013: 49). Migrants demanded the guarantee for no reprisals for those participating in the political actions[49]. They demanded the abolition of 2000 immigration law, an end to the police brutality, the unconditional regularisation of migrants' residency situation, their right to stay and to move, and their recognition as political subjects and interlocutors for negotiations with state authorities (Varela, 2009: 125). Each of the churches were organized by using methods of direct democracy and constituted an assembly that represented the migrants. Each assembly participated in the 'Asamblea General' (general assembly), also called the 'Asamblea de los Encerrados' (The assembly of the locked-in), which became the forum for dialogue and decision-making of the broader movement, not only for migrants, but also for church representatives, and

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[45] 'Iglesia del Pi', or the Pi Church, as it would be known during the 2011 lock-ins and for years to come, is the shorthand for the Santa María del Pi parish in Barcelona.

[46] Mugak and Falconi, *Entrevista a Norma Falconi*

[47] Torrens, Claudia. "350 Inmigrantes Inician Una Huelga De Hambre Encerrados En La Iglesia Del Pi De Barcelona." *El País*. January 20, 2001. Retrieved from: https://elpais.com/diario/2001/01/21/catalunya/980042839_850215.html.

[48] Mugak and Falconi, *Entrevista a Norma Falconi*

[49] Mugak and Falconi, *Entrevista a Norma Falconi*

allies. Moreover, the Asamblea General provided with a space for all migrants in struggle to have an opportunity to express their view and reach common understandings[50]. This meant that the methodology privileged by the movement was one of democratic debate and intercultural dialogue, given the heterogeneity of peoples and communities that composed the movement. For instance, all of the interventions in the assemblies as well as the manifestos and press statements had to be translated to the languages spoken, such as Arabic, Urdu, Bengali, Wolof, Amazigh, Spanish, French and English.[51]. The Asamblea General also chose a Comisión that was democratically elected by the migrants in struggle who negotiated with the governmental authorities, trade unions and governmental organizations[52].

After twelve days of political mobilisation, hunger strikes ceased as there was indication that the government was willing to negotiate a favorable solution (Varela, 2009: 126). Yet, the occupations and demonstrations continued. The political pressure brought by migrant's determination to exist politically, as well as the solidarity movements that emerged across Barcelona lead by students, some factions of the Catalan left and public figures, forced the then governing right-wing Partido Popular (Popular Party) to recognised the migrants in struggle as 'legal subjects' (Barbero, 2013: 41-2). Migrants were granted residence and work permit on humanitarian grounds or for 'exceptional' reasons. The criteria for regularization was largely established by the migrants themselves in negotiation with the state who, although reluctant to accept their criteria, end up giving in, largely as a result of migrants' willingness to continue the lock-ins and their resistance. Thus, while their struggle did not succeed in repealing the 2000 immigration law, it did succeed in opening up a process of regularisation of their legal status (Varela, 2009: 127; Aierbe, 2011: 6; Suarez-Navas et. al., 2007: 208-9). Norma Falconi, an Ecuadorian women and spokesperson of this struggle, describes as follows the significance of the political processes that were constituted through the 2011 lock-ins:

> The lock-ins demonstrated that undocumented migrants united could wage a struggle without precedents… The communities that participated had never had permanent links among them, nor did they know each other: India, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Morocco, Eastern Europe, and [some] Latin Americans; they were all united by a common fact, not having papers. Our coexistence [and] the decisions we took in the assemblies… demonstrated that migrants knew the fundamental objective: their legalization, having papers for work and a dignified life… The perspective articulated after the lock-ins was that of accepting or rejecting a new challenge: that of the self-organization of the communities in struggle under a single referent 'Papers for all'. It is because of this that it becomes necessary that undocumented migrants in struggle have their own identity, their own protagonism… The lesson we learn from the lock-ins is that we can struggle even when the conditions are adverse, that we can create spaces for debates, that even though migrants speak different

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[50] *ibid*

[51] *ibid*

[52] *ibid*

languages they can negotiate, decide, solve problems by themselves, take up responsibilities and that if their wrong this is part of the development process of every human being[53].

For Falconi, the 'success', then, was not only obtaining papers. The political processes of the lock-ins allowed for the construction of intercultural and political solidarities between diverse and heterogeneous migrant collectivities united in a common struggle (Suarez-Navas et. al., 2007: 198). Above all, the lock-ins enabled the constitution of the 'sin-papeles' (the undocumented) as a political subject through a politics of empowerment, autonomy and self-determination (see Collins, 2008: 241-4), in a context in which dominant notions of the political, and who the 'legitimate' political subject could be, went against this possibility (Johnson, 2012: 118; Nyers, 2006). Migrants positioned themselves as both individuals and a collective that could speak for themselves, defined their own interest, visions and priorities (see Gündogdu, 2014: 187-9; Khiari, 2007: 102, 2009: 9). Moreover, by making themselves visible, they provided an alternative analysis of 'illegality', its production through immigration law, and the role of the state in the production of group-differentiated vulnerabilities to structural violence (Airbe, 2011: 7). The demand for papers for all, and the political struggles around it, posited a veritable challenge to state power by rightless people who refused the right of the Spanish state to control their lives through rendering them 'paperless' (Anderson, Sharma and Wright, 2009: 11). This challenge came from communities deprived of political rights, resources and mechanisms through which they could influence in some way decisions and policies that affected their lives. The government, whose discourse has promised to be tough on the 'illegals', was taken by surprise when these 'illegals' refused to obey its immigration law and forced it to come into the negotiating table (see Suarez-Navas et. al., 2007: 197). In this sense, they asserted themselves as full political actors and members of the political community, event if not formally nor legally authorised to do so. Through acts of citizenship they re-appropriated rights which they did not have - to assembly, to strike, to participate in politics. Thus, the migrant struggles that produced the 2001 lock-ins re-shaped the premises of doing politics and the boundaries of the political by positioning rightless migrants as rights-bearing subjects (Olivery, 2015: 500). However, while the demand for papers for all was significant in the context in which it was articulated, it proved to a certain extent limited. This was because most of the residence permits that were obtained were temporary. Thus, once these lapsed, migrants were pushed into illegality again (Varela, 2009: 129). Moreover, to get papers did not mean full access to political, social and economic rights. This is something that the migrant struggles that emerged in the aftermath of the 2001-lock ins took up in the articulation of their struggle.

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[53] Mugak and Falconi, *Entrevista a Norma Falconi*

Chapter 3
'Regularización Sin Condiciones!': The Assembly for Unconditional Regularization and the Struggle for Cál Africa

Introduction

This chapter explores the afterlives of the 2001 lock-ins. I analyse different migrant struggles that emerged from 2003 up to 2006. The context was one in which the Spanish state began to scale up its politics of criminalisation, detention, and deportation. Self-organised migrant struggles emerged and differed from those of 2001 by going beyond the demand for 'papers for all'. Their analysis incorporated broader questions of global political economy and the root causes of migration, and visibilized the material consequences of the 2000 immigration law: homelessness, unemployment, lack of access to social services. As such, the 'demand for papers for all' was accompanied with broader demands for housing and full access to political, social and economic rights. I pay particular attention to the work of *The Assembly for Unconditional Regularization* (ARSC), a coalition that established connections between different migrant struggles in the city. The ARSC also established relations between different migrant communities who while not being actively in struggle found the platform's goals resonate with their aspirations. The ARSC struggled for its recognition as a political institution and lead a new wave lock-ins throughout 2005. It also expanded the struggle from the local arena into the national and established alliances with other migrant political movements across Spain.

The chapter then moves on to analyzing what came to be known as the struggle for Cal África. Also known as Mount Zion, Cál Africa was an abandoned factory in Puigcerdà, a working class suburb in the outskirts of Barcelona. The space has been occupied since 2012 by migrants of different nationalities who have turned it into living and working spaces. They had also set up several stores, a community restaurant, bars, a cinema, tailors, artistic workshops, religious spaces and some small clothing and shoe shops. It gave shelter, community and some work to hundreds of migrants who found themselves in the streets, with little opportunities for surviving after the 2008 economic crisis. It was a community space that was rooted in autonomy. However, in 2013 the Barcelona municipality started a process of eviction. Migrants, in alliance with local neighbors and associations organized collective effort towards preventing their eviction and putting pressure on authorities to allow them to keep the communal space. Their resistance was not only opposing the municipalities intentions but also was focused on the creation of alternatives, such as economic cooperatives that provided migrants with the opportunity to regularise their status and gave them work. As the ARSC, migrants from Cal África went beyond the demand for papers, incorporated concerns over political, economic and social rights, and related this to questions of autonomy and spatiality.

The afterlives of the 2001 lock-ins

The struggle of the 2001 lock-ins allowed for the regularization, even if temporary, of many of the migrants that had participated in the occupation. The *Papers Per Tothom Assembly*, was, however, dissolved[54]. Part of the explanation is that Regularisation meant that many migrant activists ceased their political activities (Varela, 2009: 127). Once documents were obtained, migrants were forced to maintain 'stable' working lives, pay taxes or else lose their residency documents - which had consequences for the amount of political activity they could engage in (Morice, 2007: 64). Despite some leaving the movement, migrant struggles did not cease. In July 2001, around 200 migrants from Morocco and sub-Saharan Africa, many whom had participated in the lock-ins, occupied and camped Plaza Catalunya demanding regularisation of their legal status. After a month of occupation, they were violently evicted by the police. Violence did not stop migrants' determination to live a life in dignity. They continued their struggle, moving across different city's square, occupying them and camping. On August 2001, however, around 30 police vans full of law enforcement officers, surrounded the André Malraux square, occupied by the migrants in struggle, violently evicted them. They arrestted about 115 migrants in struggle, imprisoned them and eventually deported them[55].

According to David Bonet, a government representative, the violence that was unleashed towards migrants was 'justified' as the situation which had become 'unsustainable'. It was imperative, he argued, to avoid the situation would become one similar to that of the previous lock-ins, were the government had 'given in' to the migrants demands.[56] The imprisonment of migrants in detention centers, and their subsequent deportation, was not framed as a response to their political mobilisation, but rather as 'neutral' enforcement of the 2000 immigration legislation, which allowed authorities to detain and deport people without documents.[57] As a result of state repression, deportations and disillusionment, migrant struggles decreased in both visibility and intensity for some years. Some ceased their political work, and others continued working through different organisations, such as the *Cornella Without Borders Association*, formed by Amazigh migrants who occupied the Del Pilar Parish in the migrant working-class suburb of Cornella de Llobregat, west from central Barcelona, during the 2001 lock-ins[58]. Although *the Papers per Tothom Assembly* was dissolved, the association with the same name, one of the central actors of the Assembly, continued their work for migrant rights. Through these and other organisations, migrants were able to continue their struggle but in less visible ways, privileging grassroot organising and mobilising among migrant communities in Barcelona, rather than more visible acts of protest (Varela, 2009: 125).

However, soon migrant struggles became more visible. On 31st January 2004, around 8000 people

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[54] Mugak and Falconi, *Entrevista a Norma Falconi*

[55] Noguer, M. "Captura Masiva De Inmigrantes Africanos En Barcelona." *El País*. August 16, 2001. Retrieved from: http://web2.edicioneselpais.net/diario/2001/08/17/espana/997999216_850215.html.
Noguer, Miquel. "La Policía Acorrala Y Detiene a 115 De Los Inmigrantes Que Protestaban En Barcelona." *El País*. August 16, 2001. Retrieved from: https://elpais.com/diario/2001/08/17/catalunya/998010440_850215.html.
"La Policía Desaloja Por La Fuerza a 200 Inmigrantes En Barcelona." *El País*. August 15, 2001. Retrieved from: https://elpais.com/elpais/2001/08/16/actualidad/997949823_850215.html.

[56] Noguer, M. "Captura Masiva De Inmigrantes Africanos En Barcelona."

[57] *ibid*

[58] See their website: http://www.cornellasensefronteres.cat/

led by migrant political organizations took the streets demanding a 'Regularización sin condiciones!' (Unconditional regularization!) for all migrants living in Europe (Varela, 2009: 128). This political mobilization resulted in the creation of the *The Assembly for Unconditional Regularization (ARSC)*, a coalition of migrant political organisations[59]. The ARSC emerged in a moment where the Spanish state's politics of deterrence, detention and deportation began to be further scale up against 'illegal' migration. The Sistema Integrado de Vigilancia Exterior (SIVE)(Integrated System of External Surveillance), began to operate in the Strait of Gibraltar[60] and later expanded to include the Canary Islands, the Spanish eastern coast (Valencia and Alicante) and the Balearic Islands.[61] Spain reinforced the enclaves in Ceuta and Melilla, increasing their height and introducing razor wires.[62]

During these years, cooperation with countries in North and West Africa in the 'fight against illegal migration' was prioritized. The already existing readmission agreement with Morocco (signed in 1992) was reinforced, and additional agreements were signed: Algeria (2002), Guinea-Bissau and Mauritania (2003). These allowed for deporting not only nationals from those countries but also migrants that passed through them[63]. Other agreements on migration cooperation were signed with Mali, Gambia, Ghana and Senegal[64]. This was the broader context in which the *ARSC* emerged. This coalition established connections between different migrant struggles in the city and created alliances with organisations and networks working for migrant rights, as well as migrant communities who, while not being actively in struggle, found that the platform's goals were resonating with their aspirations: the *unconditional* regularization of undocumented migrants, the repeal of the 2000 immigration law and "full access to civil, economic, social and political rights… for immigrants in the Spanish state" (in Varela, 2009: 127), as the *ARSC* puts it in their political manifesto. The demand for unconditional regularization was articulated in the context of a regularization process that the government had initiated.

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[59] Hidalgo, Max. "La Asamblea Por La Regularización Decide Seguir Con Las Movilizaciones." *El País*. June 07, 2004. Retrieved from: https://elpais.com/diario/2004/06/07/catalunya/1086570439_850215.html.

[60] Presentation by the Director of the Security Systems Division of Indra Company, J. M. Pérez Pujazón, "SIVE a Pioneer Maritime Border Surveillance System: What is Beyond?", March 2009, retrieved from: ec.europa.eu/enterprise/newsroom/cf/_getdocument.cfm?doc_id=5127

[61] ABC.es. "El Gobierno amplía finalmente el SIVE a Alicante y Valencia para prevenir la inmigración ilegal", 7 july 2007, Retrieved from: www.abc.es/hemeroteca/historico-07-07-2007/abc/valencia/el-gobiernoamplia-finalmente-el-sive-a-alicante-y-valencia-para-prevenir-la-inmigracionilegal_1634121831624.html
El Mundo. "Los radares sive "blindarán" el sudeste del archipiélago a finales de octubre", 25 September 2009, Retrieved from: www.elmundo.es/elmundo/2009/09/25/baleares/1253888411.html (accessed 14 September 2015)

[62] European Commission. "Visit to Ceuta and Melilla – Mission Report Technical Mission to Morocco on Illegal Immigration", 7th October-11th October 2005, 19 October 2005, retrieved from: europa.eu/rapid/press-release_MEMO-05-380_en.htm?locale=en
RTBF.be. "Melilla: la construction d'une barrière "anti-immigrés" confirmée", 10 May 2014, retrieved from: http://www.rtbf.be/info/monde/detail_maroc-immigration-une-barriere-en-cours-de-construction-pres-demelilla?id=8266165

[63] Amnesty International's letter and questions sent to the Interministerial Delegation for Human Rights on 19 May 2015 (TG MDE 29/2015.037).
University of Granada, Los acuerdos bilaterales suscritos por España en materia migratoria con países del continente africano: especial consideración de la readmission de inmigrantes en situación irregular, Retrieved from: www.ugr.es/~redce/REDCE10/articulos/04MAsuncionAsinCabrera.htm

[64] *ibid.*

In order to be eligible for regularization, undocumented migrants needed to have a permanent job (in an economical structure in which most job contracts are of a temporary nature), be in the city registered (which migrants in an irregular situation were reluctant to do, as the government had just granted authority to access this register to the national police) and be able to demonstrate a clean criminal record (an impossibility for migrants coming from countries at war and conflict). Thus, while the regularization process did enable some migrants to regularize their legal status, it left the vast majority without that possibility (Varela, 2007: 230; 2009: 128). In fact, many of the migrants who joined the lock-ins of 2001 participated once again in this struggle. While a victory was made in previous years in terms of obtaining residency documents, this victory, like the documents obtained, was only temporary and many of these migrants found themselves being in an irregular situation again, for not being able to fulfil the criteria for regularisation[65].

The *ARSC* demanded to be recognized as a *political institution* "with the same status granted to unions and NGOs"[66] and led a new wave lock-ins throughout 2005. 1500 undocumented migrants occupied Barcelona's central cathedral, and 200 the 'Iglesia del Pi' - the church that had become the political epicenter of the migrant struggle in the 2001 lock-ins.[67] These lock-ins were not as spontaneous as the ones in previous years but rather the product of grassroot organising and political mobilization that migrant organisations had been engaged in since 2001. In contrast to the 2001 lock-ins, however, police repression was immediate. Some hours after the migrants had entered the churches they were violently evicted, some were arrested and others were identified and given a deportation order[68]. Moreover, in contrast to previous struggles that counted with the support of many organisations and some unions, these publicly rejected the lock-ins and posited them as not only as illegitimate but useless. Two days after the eviction from the cathedral, various NGOs and unions held a press conference where they argued that the lock-ins did not achieve anything, that the migrants' demands were unrealistic and that it was time to use the 'proper' political channels to negotiate with the government for a good reform of immigration law[69]. Moreover, they argued that the organisations and communities leading the lock-ins were taking advantage of and manipulating vulnerable migrants for personal gain (see Aierbe, 2011: 19).

Whether the actions of the *ARSC* where useful or not, their delegitimization was underpinned by a conception of migrants as incapable of formulating their own ideas and political strategies, incapable of taking decisions for themselves. In short, migrants as objects of politics not political subjects.

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[65] Noguer, Miquel. "El 65% De Inmigrantes Del Encierro De La Iglesia Del Pi No Podrán Renovar Papeles." El País. August 31, 2003. Retrieved from: https://elpais.com/diario/2003/09/01/catalunya/1062378438_850215.html.

[66] Asamblea Por Una Regularizacion Sin Condiciones. *Comunicado De La Asamblea Por La Regularización De Los Inmigrantes De Barcelona*

[67] Blanca Cia. "1.700 Inmigrantes Se Encierran En Barcelona En Demanda De "papeles"." El País. June 06, 2004. Retrieved from: https://elpais.com/diario/2004/06/06/espana/1086472814_850215.html.

[68] Noguer, Miquel. "El Gobierno Ordena Expulsar De España a 15 Inmigrantes Que Ocuparon La Catedral." El País. June 07, 2004. Retrieved from: https://elpais.com/diario/2004/06/08/catalunya/1086656838_850215.html.

[69] Asamblea Por Una Regularizacion Sin Condiciones. *Comunicado De La Asamblea Por La Regularización De Los Inmigrantes De Barcelona*

Migrants, however, kept taking the streets, protesting. Days after the eviction around 400 migrants initiated a hunger strike outside the Barcelona Cathedral both in solidarity with their comrades who had been arrested and to re-state their initial demands: regularization without conditions, an end to police brutality, the cancellation of their deportations and the overall abolition of this practice; the closing of migrant detention centers, the abolition of immigration law and equal rights[70]. Later in the year, the *ARSC, Papers per Tothom* and other migrant political organisations also coordinated a new wave of lock-ins that lasted about two months, and where about 500 undocumented migrants participated, occupying trade union offices, universities, churches and community centers in different localities across Barcelona and its suburbs, in many cases initiating hunger strikes[71].
In this context, the visions of migrant struggles in Barcelona, as embodied in the work of the *ARSC*, would become more complex, incorporating elements from previous mobilizations, and articulating new ones that went beyond only demanding papers for all, and beyond an analysis that would be limited to a national framing of the experience of migrant communities. The ARSC puts it as follows in a Manifesto calling for nation-wide protests under the slogan 'No more victims of borders and immigration laws!':

> As long as the enormous inequality between the North and the South, the East and the West is maintained… people will continue to migrate, fleeing from misery, wars, diseases ... We struggle for a different politics: Respect for natural resources and their legitimate owners. An end to the external debt and end to the support for corrupt regimes in the world. An end to the externalisation of border regimes. An end to police violence, arrests and deportations of migrants. Closure of all detention centers ... Regularization without conditions. Respect and quality of labor, social and political rights for all migrants and all those who live on the territory of the Spanish state. A Respect that makes the abolition of Immigration Law absolutely necessary.[72]

The ARSC thus began to articulate more complex, radical demands and analyses than simply the regularization of people without papers. Their situation was seen as shaped by, and the product of, both global and local forces. The struggle could not, in this sense, privilege the later at the expense

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[70] EFE. "Inmigrantes En España Iniciaron Huelga De Hambre". *El Universo.* July 4, 2004. Retrieved from: https://www.eluniverso.com/2004/07/04/0001/626/272EEEBA0F554A79A616DCB7E96B87A3.html.

[71] Hernandez, Virginia, and Helena Hernandez. "Cerca De 500 Inmigrantes 'toman' La Catedral De Barcelona Para Reclamar Su Regularización." *El Mundo.* June 6, 2004. Retrieved from: http://www.elmundo.es/elmundo/2004/06/05/sociedad/1086462627.html.
"Alrededor De 600 Inmigrantes Indocumentados De Barcelona Y Alrededores Reclaman Una Mayor Flexibilidad En El Proceso De Regularización Y Se Encierran En Seis Locales De La Capital Catalana". *El Confidencial.* April 3, 2005. Retrieved from: https://www.elconfidencial.com/sociedad/2005-04-03/alrededor-de-600-inmigrantes-indocumentados-de-barcelona-y-alrededores-reclaman-una-mayor-flesibilidad-en-el-proceso-de-regularizacion-y-se-encierran-en-seis-locales-de-la-capital-catalana_477818/.
"Los Inmigrantes Continúan Sus Encierros En Barcelona Pese a La Flexibilización Del Gobierno". *El Mundo.* April 12, 2005 (Retrieved from: http://www.elmundo.es/elmundo/2005/04/12/sociedad/1113303142.html).

[72] Asamble Por Una Regularizacion Sin Condiciones. "Concentración No Más Victimas De Las Fronteras Y Las Leyes De Extranjería" *Independent Media Center Barcelona,* July 12, 2006. http://barcelona.indymedia.org/newswire/display/265981.

of the former. It was seen as incomplete without considerations of history and global political economy, and thus an analyses of the patterns of power and privilege dividing North and South, East and West, which underpin contemporary migrations. By demanding "Respect for natural resources and their legitimate owners", the ARSC articulated a critique of contemporary extractivism, land- and water-grabs as root causes of migration, dispossessing communities of their land and natural resources and forcing them to migrate in search for a life in dignity (Walia, 2013; Peluso, 1993; Delgado-Ramos, et. al., . 2010; Harvey, 2005). Reference is also made to 'external debt', that is, the imposition of debt repayment priorities, 'structural adjustment programmes', and thus the opening of markets to transnational corporations throughout the global south since the 1970's, that ultimately undermines local manufacturing, has led to the shrinkage in state funding for education, health and infrastructure, and forcibly sets communities into motion in the global south (Elsheikh and Ayazi: 2017: 20-3) . Moreover, border control is analysed in terms of both its 'external' and 'internal' dimensions (Rajaram and Grundy-Warr 2007: x; Anderson, Sharma and Wright, 2012: 74): That is, the externalisation of border control to countries in the global south is articulated in a continuum with 'local' forms of violence shaping migrant lives in Barcelona, such as police brutality, deportations, migrant detention and the exclusion from labor, social and political rights. There is an attempt to articulate an analysis that can inform migrant struggles in which all these issues, and the struggle against them, are seen as part of a whole. While their analyses broaden, the forms of politics they enacted were similar to those of the 2011 lock-ins: positioning migrants as rights-bearing subjects. In that sense, the ARSC did not re-shaped the premises of doings politics and boundaries of the political in any significant way.

Migrant struggles in times of crisis

For some years, migrant struggles in Barcelona decreased in both intensity and visibility. However, they re-emerged in 2013 with the struggle of migrants against their eviction from an abandoned factory in Puigcerdà, a working class suburb in the outskirts of Barcelona. This struggle will later be known as the struggle for Cal África[73]. This abandoned factory, renamed Mount Zion by some and Cál Africa by others, was both the work space and home of a community of migrant workers, mainly West African but also from other nationalities, who worked collecting scrap collecting scrap metal all over Barcelona. Many of them were also mechanics, artisans, musicians and artists. These migrants had been forced into the streets as a result of the economic crisis, unemployment and the loss of residency documents[74]. As argued above, the loss of employment, or the failure to secure a 'legal' work contract in Spain, meant that migrants would also lose their legal status (Calavita, 1998, 533-5; 2003: 403-5). From 2008 onwards, as the economic crisis became acute, migrant workers, being employed often in the most precarious and less secure sectors of the economy, lost their jobs,

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[73] Declós, Carlos. "Mount Zion: The City within." *OpenDemocracy*. August 2, 2013. Retrieved from: https://www.opendemocracy.net/opensecurity/carlos-delclós/mount-zion-city-within#comments.

[74] Delclós, Carlos. "Autonomy in Barcelona: The Mount Zion Community." *ROAR Magazine*. June 26, 2013. Retrieved from: https://roarmag.org/essays/autonomy-in-barcelona-the-mount-zion-community/.
Geddis, Paul, and Myriam Meloni. "Los últimos Días De Cal África." *Vice*. December 04, 2013. https://www.vice.com/es/article/bn4zbw/los-ultimos-dias-de-cal-africa.

and with that, their residency documents (Porras-Bulla, 2016: 214-5). Without a stable income, many were unable to meet rent or, for many families, unable to meet mortgage payments (Barbero, 2015: 244-5). The 2008 economic crisis signaled a triple loss for many migrants and their communities: of jobs, of homes and of papers. Sociologist Walter Actis puts it as follows:

> The main negative impact of the crisis on the migrant population is related to their modalities of insertion into the labor structure. As it is well known, their presence has been comparatively higher in precarious forms of work (submerged, temporary, intermittent, part-time, etc.), with the poorest conditions of employment (remuneration, working hours, workload, etc.) and in economic sectors that are based on the intensive use of cheap and low skilled labor… As a result, the unemployment rates, the loss of social welfare, the income and poverty rates are higher among the migrant population today.[75]

Indeed, while the 2008 crisis hit everyone in Spain, particularly students, the elderly, the disabled and the working class in general, migrant workers and their communities were affected the most, given their already vulnerable and precarious condition. For instance, there was a huge difference between citizens and migrants in terms of unemployment rates: among citizens it was at 12.25%, while among migrants the rate was at 21.26%. By the middle of 2009 this reached 28% (López-Sala and Ferrero-Turrión, 2009: 5-6). In January 2013 it reached 36.53%. The Spanish government responded in different ways to the socio-economic and existential situation in which migrants found themselves during the early years of the crisis, but privilege the idea of voluntary 'return', police raids to 'catch' the undocumented, mass detentions and deportations (Barbero, 2015: 245, 251-2). Thus, during the early years of the crisis, the then governing labour government launched 'voluntary' return programmes, which were sponsored by organisations such as the IOM and the Red Cross. These programmes consisted of advance unemployment payments in exchange for returning to their country of origin. Parallel to this programmes, massive police operations were launched, such as the national Ludeco Operation or the European-wide Hermes Operation, targeting undocumented migrants and other racialized minorities through identity checks in train stations, religious spaces such as mosques, schools and other places (*ibid*). As stated in the 1/2010[76] circular issued to police at the national and local level, the preventive detention of undocumented migrants and their expulsion should be prioritized. This circular lays the grounds for detention and expulsion as follows: not having an address at all; not having documents or showing expired ones; having been previously sanctioned, for example, with a fine because of his/her irregular status; and not having complied to an 'exit' order[77]. Governmental authorities set different quotas of foreign nationals to be detained in

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[75] Walter Actis. "Hablar de retorno masivo de inmigrantes sirve para facilitar su olvido masivo". *Diagonal*. November, 2012. Retrieved from: https://www.diagonalperiodico.net/global/hablar-retorno-masivo-inmigrantes-sirve-para-facilitar-su-olvido-masivo.html-0.

[76] See Circular 1/2010, Instrucciones sobre determinadas actuaciones policiales derivadas de la nueva ley 2/2009, de 11 de Diciembre, que Modifica la LO 4/2000, de 11 de Enero, de Extranjería y Recordatorio de Otras Actuaciones. *Dirección General de la Policía y de La Guardia Civil*. Retrieved from: http://www.asesoriayempresas.es/doctrinaadministrativa/JURIDICO/34362/circular-1-2010-de-25-de-enero-de-la-direccion-general-de-la-policia-y-de-la-guardia-civil-instru

[77] *Ibid*

police stations across the country. This was confirmed by declarations made by the then Minister of the Interior, Alfredo Pérez Rubalcaba, who while saying that the police 'strictly applied the law', admitted that they were instructed to fulfill quantitative objectives. While the goal was to capture undocumented migrants, these operations resulted in discriminatory treatment of racialized people more generally, as id's were asked based on physical appearance, and thus followed racial and ethnic criteria (Amnesty International, 2011: 21).

Undocumented people who were arrested would be imprisoned in CIEs. The human cost of this politics of detention and expulsion soon became visible. In May 2010, Mohamed Abagui, from Morocco died, after being severly beaten by police officers in a CIE in Barcelona. Sama Martine, a congolese women, died in a CIE in Madrid in 2011, after having been denied medical assistance.[78] Idrissa Diallo, a Guinean migrant, also was similarly left to die despite his request for medical care in 2012, his body buried in a location unknown to his family until 2017[79]. Adnan el Hadj would die in a CIE in Madrid after having been tortured, harassed and ill-treated[80]. While all migrants were targeted in one way or another, it was particularly the poorest, the homeless, and the most vulnerable who became the object of police action. Migrant communities, particularly undocumented people, received another blow as the government implemented legislation that would excluded them from access to healthcare, except in the case of emergencies (i.e the Royal Decree 16/2012). The government argued that this was necessary in order to ensure the sustainability of the National Health System and improve the quality and safety of its services in times of economic crisis (Solanes-Cornella, 2015: 24). This piece of legislation followed the logics of the 2000 immigration law: the institutionalized elimination of the rights of migrants and their communities (Barbero, 2015: 252-3).

Cál Africa: Shelter, community and struggle

This was the broader context in which the migrant struggle for Cál Africa emerged. Cál Africa, also known as Mount Zion, was not only an abandoned factory but also a community space, with living spaces, several stores, a community restaurant, bars, a cinema, tailors, artistic workshops, religious spaces and some small clothing and shoe shops[81]. Together, these constituted a kind of micro-economy that allowed for the little money that residents make to circulate within the community[82]. Around 300 people lived there, most of them West African migrant workers, but also other Maghrebians and Latin American migrants, and about 600 to 800 hundred people circulated through

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[78] Rada, Javier. "Los Centros De Internamiento Para Extranjeros: Archipiélagos De Dolor Para Inmigrantes." *20minutos,* April 25, 2014. Retrieved from: https://www.20minutos.es/noticia/2118035/0/cies/inmigrantes/centros-de-internamientos-extranjeros/.

[79] Calvó, Sonià. "Encuentran En Un Nicho Anónimo El Cuerpo De Idrissa Diallo, Muerto En El CIE De Barcelona Hace 5 Años". *El Diario.* January, 2017. Retrieved from: https://www.eldiario.es/catalunya/barcelona/Encuentran-Idrissa-Diallo-muerto-CIE_0_598440574.html.

[80] "La Comisión Europea Analizará El Centro De Internamiento De Extranjeros De Aluche." *El Mundo*, January 03, 2013. Retrieved from: http://www.elmundo.es/elmundo/2013/01/03/madrid/1357223920.html.

[81] Delclós, Carlos. *Autonomy in Barcelona: The Mount Zion Community*

[82] Declós, Carlos. *Mount Zion: The City within*; Delclós

the space on a daily basis[83]. Most of them worked collecting scrap metal all over Barcelona, some were musicians and artists. At times some of them took temporal work in agriculture and construction (Porras-Bulla, 2016: 223-6). Just two years ago, many of these people had more or less formal (though precarious) employment, rented homes or flats and had their documents more or less in order. However, after the economic crisis hit in 2008, many lost their jobs, their papers and their homes. Before coming to Cál Africa, many of these migrants had been occupying other abandoned spaces, and were eventually evicted from them (*ibid*, 2016: 221-2). Cál Africa was just one of around 62 similar abandoned factories and informal settlements in which homeless migrants lived in Barcelona. Most of them were located in Poblenou, a previous industrial area with numerous abandoned factories. People living there similarly collected scrap metal around the city[84]. Cál Africa gave a shelter, community and some work to hundreds of migrants who found themselves in the streets, with little opportunities for surviving, after the crisis. It was a community space that was rooted in autonomy. That is, it was a space that was constituted and organised by the migrants who lived there, through assemblies and other spaces for discussion, and gave a space for migrants to carry out their own projects and initiatives[85].

However, it was not an utopian space, free of problems. People lived there lived under precarious and unhealthy conditions. The Endesa power company, in cooperation with the Catalan police, had cut off all electricity and water to the space, in an effort to put pressure on the residents to abandoned the space. Also, living surrounded by the scrap metal collected during the day exposed people to lead[86]. Mutuma Ruteere, the then United Nations Special Rapporteur on contemporary forms of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, described the situation of migrants living there as "abominable… inhumane and degrading". For him the "hundreds of migrants living there have no access to the most basic services, such as heating, clean water or health care facilities"[87]. Until 2012, when the first eviction attempts began, Cál Africa existed with relative tolerance from both the owners of the property and also the municipality of Barcelona. The latter, while having allowed migrants to occupy the space, did not take any measures to ensure that the place would be healthy and suitable as a living space[88].

Weaving solidarity: In defence of Cál Africa

The living conditions of the people living there - along with the demands for papers for all - soon

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[83] Geddis, Paul, and Myriam Meloni. *Los últimos Días De Cal África*

[84] Rodríguez, Pau. "Puigcerdà, 127: A La Espera De Agua Corriente Y De Una Vida Digna." Eldiario.es. March 04, 2013. https://www.eldiario.es/catalunya/agua-calle_puigcerda-asentamientos_en_el_poblenou_0_107089515.html.

[85] Declós, Carlos. *Mount Zion: The City within;* Declós, Carlos. *Autonomy in Barcelona: The Mount Zion Community*

[86] Declós, Carlos. *Mount Zion: The City within;*

[87] Baquero, Camilo S. "Entrevista | "La Situación De Los Inmigrantes En Las Naves Del Poblenou Es Abominable"." El Pais. February 13, 2013. https://elpais.com/ccaa/2013/02/12/catalunya/1360702576_843642.html.

[88] Seydi, Ibrahima. *Ibrahima Seydi: Artista Y Activista De La Nave*
Contrastperiodistes. "#Son300." YouTube. August 01, 2013. Retrieved from:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FxghgLTY3Q8#at=37.

became the focal point of what came to be known as the struggle for Cál Africa. Migrants, in alliance with local neighbors and associations who solidarized themselves with their plight, began the construction of a movement in a collective effort towards preventing their eviction and putting pressure on authorities to find a solution to the situation of migrants in full respect of their dignity[89]. However, it was precisely when migrants and allies started to make vindications about papers, housing, water and healthcare rights, that the municipality began to intensify its efforts for their eviction[90]. The first eviction attempts started in 2012, as the municipality of Barcelona implemented the second phase its 'Plan for Irregular Settlements'[91]. The first phase was a about evaluating and making a diagnosis of informal settlements. The second phase consisted in mobilizing the Red Cross which, during six months, at least in theory, would carry out 'social re-insertion' and humanitarian work[92]. The idea of this programmes, well-intentioned as it might have been, completely disregarded that migrants were already working and making a living as they could (Porras-Bulla, 2016: 228). Some would take up what was being offered, but most of the migrants of Cál Africa rejected this offering, considered it paternalistic, disrespectful of their own demands, and believed that it did not provide any real solutions[93].

On May 2009, the community of Cál Africa organised massive demonstration, in cooperation with both *The Assembly for Support Against The Evictions in Poblenou* (ASAEP), the *Pan-African Federation of Barcelona* (PAFB) and other migrant organisations[94]. The march would mobilized black communities across Barcelona, people with and without papers, demanding an immediate stop to the evictions of the informal settlements and abandoned spaces where migrants lived as "a direct consequence of the accelerated growth of poverty, exclusion and marginalization"[95], as the (PAFB) puts it in a press release. This organisation argued that the struggle of Cál Africa is the expression of the aspirations of people whose situation has "worsened in recent years due to the severe and perverse effects of the economic crisis and increased unemployment among migrant populations, especially among people of African descent[96]". Thus, instead of accepting what was being offered by the municipality and the Red Cross, migrants decided to take their case to court in June 2013[97]. The verdict was that in fact they could not be evicted without measures and alternatives being put in place for the people who would find themselves in the streets[98]. However, it was also reiterated that the eviction would take place in on way or another, because, as the judge argued, despite "the humanitarian crisis that

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[89] Seydi, Ibrahima. *Ibrahima Seydi: Artista Y Activista De La Nave*
Contrastperiodistes. *#Son300*.

[90] Contrastperiodistes. *#Son300*

[91] Rodríguez, Pau. *Puigcerdà, 127: A La Espera De Agua Corriente Y De Una Vida Digna.*

[92] *ibid.*

[93] Contrastperiodistes. *#Son300*

[94] Amaro Alex. "Cientos De Africanos Se Movilizan Contra Los Desalojos En Barcelona." *Panafricanistas De Catalunya.* 2013. Retrieved from: http://panafricanosdecatalunya.blogspot.dk/2013/07/cientos-de-africanos-se-movilizan.html.

[95] *Ibid.*

[96] Amaro Alex. *Cientos De Africanos Se Movilizan Contra Los Desalojos En Barcelona.*

[97] Delclós, Carlos. *Autonomy in Barcelona: The Mount Zion Community.*

[98] Seydi, Ibrahima. *Ibrahima Seydi: Artista Y Activista De La Nave*

an eviction would create"[99], she must rule in favor property rights of the Baciana Church, who owned the space[100]. As a result of the political pressure that the Cál Africa struggle was creating, Xavier Trias, the then mayor of Barcelona, and other city officials agreed to meet with a delegation of migrants, activists and neighbors from the *ASAEP*[101]. Trias promised them a 'dignified eviction', a roof for people who would find themselves in the streets, a one-year labour re-insertion programme and the regularisation of their legal status. The meeting yielded several promises, yet nothing in writing.[102] As the events that followed eventually demonstrated, most of these promises were breached.

The Eviction, failed promises and new beginnings

With no other viable alternative, migrants decided to take the municipalities promises and agreed to leave from Cál Africa voluntarily. On 24th July, a police deployment of 55 vans and about 400 Spanish, Catalan and municipal police officers, evicted the remaining hundred or so residents of Mount Zion, or Cál Africa.[103] Upon eviction, many of the migrants staged a lock-in in the local Bernal Calbó church, mobilising another strategy used in previous migrant struggles, where they were received by their solidarity network and the local priest.[104] The occupation ended after a few days, though the migrants expressed their willingness to continue their struggles. In the words of one them during the final assembly in the church:

> Until now, we have been suffering and resisting. Catalans, city officials, please—do not toy with us for political purposes. Do something. As brothers, fathers, mothers, sisters. This is what we want. To share with you. To respect things with you. To feel, with you, what life really is. To be critical of things, together. Because, really, truly, we need your help. The struggle cannot end here.[105]

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[99] *ibid.*

[100] Rodríguez, Pau. "'Trias Se Compromete a Garantizar Techo a Las Más De 200 Personas Que Viven En El Asentamiento De La Calle Puigcerdà." Eldiario.es. July 10, 2013. https://www.eldiario.es/catalunya/Trias-comprometegarantizar-asentamiento-Puigcerda_0_152234812.html.

[101] Declós, Carlos. *Mount Zion: The City within;* Rodríguez, Pau. "Termina El Desalojo De La Nave Del Poblenou, Continúa El Drama Humanitario." Eldiario.es. July 24, 2013. https://www.eldiario.es/catalunya/Mossos-desalojanocupada-personas-Poblenou_0_157134334.html.

[102] *Ibid.*

[103] Rodríguez, Pau. "Termina El Desalojo De La Nave Del Poblenou, Continúa El Drama Humanitario." Eldiario.es. July 24, 2013. https://www.eldiario.es/catalunya/Mossos-desalojan-ocupada-personas-Poblenou_0_157134334.html.

[104] El Mundo. "Unos 60 Inmigrantes Expulsados De La Nave De Puigcerd." El Mundo. July 24, 2013. http://www.elmundo.es/elmundo/2013/07/24/barcelona/1374675569.html.
Baquero, Camilo S. "Los Subsaharianos Del Poblenou Se Refugian En La Iglesia De Sant Bernat." El País. July 24, 2013. https://elpais.com/ccaa/2013/07/24/catalunya/1374646791_694482.html.
Rodríguez, Pau. "Los Desalojados De La Nave Del Poblenou Se Encierran En Una Iglesia Para Pedir Un Techo." Eldiario.es. July 24, 2013. https://www.eldiario.es/catalunya/desalojados-Poblenou-encierran-iglesiatecho_0_157134928.html.

[105] Declós, Carlos. *Mount Zion: The City within*

By the end of 2013, 4 months after the eviction, the Barcelona municipality had not delivered on all promises it had made during the negotiations[106]. That this could have happened was already known by many of the migrants who lived in Cál Africa: only about a hundred opted for putting the work to actually see whether the promises for papers, housing and work where true[107]. Most distrusted authorities after the eviction, and others simply solidarized themselves with some of their comrades who were in a more precarious situation[108]. While some applications for regularisation had been positive, most had been rejected. The Barcelona Municipality, while it has promise to ensure the regularisation of all the migrants involved in the struggle for Cál Africa, later said that it did not had the authority to do so, only the central government[109]. Labour re-insertion programmes where, in this sense, useless: formal employment could not be secured without working permits. As regards to the promises for housing, the offered given was of 3 to 8 days in Barcelona's already crowded shelters, after which migrants were put in the streets.[110] However, the eviction of Cál Africa and the attitude of authorities did not mean that migrant struggles ceased. They incorporated new elements, and connected their demands and visions to questions of economic autonomy and spatiality. The quest for autonomy materialised in the creation of the Cál Africa cooperative, an economic initiative that would provide the framework for regularization by giving migrants job contracts. The cooperative's activities involves food projects, catering, recycling and textile arrangement and would be guided by the notion of 'recycling' and 'reusing' - elements that structure the forms of labour that the community of Cál Africa engaged in[111]. Space, its re-appropriation and its relation to questions of social justice (all elements that the struggle for Mount Zion embodied in one way or another) also acquired new meanings, particularly with the emergence of the *Espacio del Inmigrante* (the Migrant Space) and *the Sindicato Popular de Vendedores Ambulantes* (The Popular Union of Street Vendors). These are the subjects of the following chapter.

Chapter 4
'Surviving is not a crime!': The Espacio del Inmigrante and the Sindicato Popular de Vendedores Ambulantes

Introduction

This chapter focuses on some of the migrant struggles that emerge after the eviction of Cal África.

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[106] Negro, Merche. "Los 300 De Poblenou: Manual Político Para Hacer Invisibles a Los Inmigrantes Desalojados." Eldiario.es. December 12, 2013. Retrieved from: https://www.eldiario.es/desalambre/Poblenou-300-sin_papeles_0_206479356.html.

[107] Pablo Jiménez Arandia. *Una Cooperativa Tras Meses De Promesas Incumplidas.*

[108] Negro, Merche. *Los 300 De Poblenou: Manual Político Para Hacer Invisibles a Los Inmigrantes Desalojados*

[109] *ibid.*

[110] *Ibid.*

[111] Europa Press. "La Cooperativa Cal Àfrica Contratará a Inmigrantes Africanos Para Regular Su Situación." Europapress.es. May 04, 2014. Retrieved from: http://www.europapress.es/sociedad/noticia-cooperativa-cal-africa-contratara-inmigrantes-africanos-regular-situacion-20140504124640.html.

Particularly, I focus on the *Espacio del Inmigrante* and the *Sindicato Popular de Vendedores Ambulantes* (Popular Union of Street Vendors). Both of these collectives built from the legacies of the *ARSC* and Cál Africa. They similarly incorporated demands for regularization along with demands for full access to political, economic and social rights. This were articulated in conjunction with concerns over spatiality, autonomy and self-determination. The Espacio created spaces in central Barcelona that offered what Cál Africa did: community, housing, recognition of their labour (even if deemed 'informal' by society), and the possibility of developing their own projects. The objective with forming these spaces would be to provide practical solidarity to undocumented people (health care, psychological support and legal assistance), educational opportunities (language classes and political workshops), as well as the grounds from where to confront, struggle against and provide alternatives to what they called the 'juridical and social apartheid'. This notion named the institutionalised violence and discriminatory treatment of communities on the basis of nationality and 'papers'.

The Espacio's ideas and practices found echoes among migrant *manteros*[112] (street vendors), street artists or informal recyclers, whose experiences of discrimination and police violence lead to the creation of the *Sindicato Popular de Vendedores Ambulantes*. From 2013 up to now, migrant street vendors began to be criminalised and controlled through a series of legislations that, in their intersection with immigration law, consolidated a structure of spatial and racial control composed of prisons, detention camps, precarious forms of labour and deportations. As a response, this heterogenous migrant collectivity united under the slogan 'Sobrevivir no es un delito!' (Surviving is not a crime). The Sindicato will, along with the demands from previous migrant struggles, engage in activities of spatial re-appropriation of the Barcelona's urban spaces, construct platforms for political education, and articulate an *anti-colonial* analysis of the lived experiences of migrants living in the Catalonian capital. Their struggles not only opposed state power, but also engage in the construction of economic alternatives and political and legal projects with the objective of promoting their empowerment, self-determination and dignified opportunities for other migrants who similarly find themselves in the streets.

Parallel to the struggle of Cál Africa, another one was in the process of emerging. Ibrahima's aspirations for autonomy and a self-organised space for migrants similar to Cál Africa would find echoes in central Barcelona. The contours were similar to the work carried about by the ARSC and the struggle that had developed in Mount Zion: full access to political, economic and social rights, and the construction of space that migrants could call their own and that could offer what Cál Africa has previously offered: community, housing, recognition of their labour (even if deemed 'informal' by society), and the possibility of developing their own projects. This space would provide the grounds for assemblies, workshops and political work. Thus, in January 2013, the 'Espacio del

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[112] 'Mantero' and 'Top Manta' are the two words commonly used in Barcelona to refer to migran street vendors who bootlegged goods and art in Barcelona's touristic areas, such as Las Ramblas and Passeig de Gràcia. 'Mantero' makes reference to the 'manta', the blanket were they place the merchandise they sell. Each of the four corners of the blanket has strings which the mantero can pull if the police comes. The blanket becomes a bag, and, if lucky, the mantero can escape the police and avoid the confiscation of his/her goods.

Immigrante'[113] (The Migrant Space) was born in the Raval neighborhood, in the heart of the Catalonian capital. It is here where people such as Ibrahima Seydi and other migrant activists would find refuge after their eviction[114]. This space would be created by migrants of diverse origins, in collaboration with neighborhood associations and socially minded practitioners (lawyers, teachers and doctors). The objective would be to construct a space that could confront, struggle against, and provide alternative to what they called the 'juridical and social apartheid' that was governing migrant communities across the country[115].

In order to understand the notion of the 'juridical and social apartheid', it is useful to think of the practical and material effects of the different laws that were introduced from 2000 onwards. As argued above, since the 2000 immigration law, a series of juridical measures had been taken for systematic elimination of the rights of migrants (Barbero, 2015: 252-3). The elimination of political rights was partly reversed as a result of the struggles around the 2001 lock-ins (Aierbe, 2011: 9). However, with the implementation of the Royal Decree 16/2012, thousands of migrants will be excluded from access to medical attention (Solanes-Cornella, 2015: 24). The Espacio del Immigrante, along with other organisations across the country, began to conceptualise this and previous legislation in terms of a politics of apartheid that targeted racialized communities and, particularly, the undocumented[116]. It was seen as a politics that justified institutional racism, violence and discriminatory treatment against some communities on the basis of nationality and 'papers'. One of its founders define the organisation as follows:

> We reached the conclusion that the cornerstone of the administration's efforts to strip immigrants of their rights is institutional racism. They've made municipal registration procedures much more complex; there is a bureaucratic maze that impedes an everyday person from another country from accessing his or her fundamental rights… We also make it a point to educate people about who is responsible for their current situation, and that is where our solidarity goes beyond the concept of 'solidarity' so favoured by religious institutions. For us solidarity is based on social justice. To build it, we must understand human beings from the standpoint of their living conditions. We consider that the people affected must understand who is responsible for their current situation, not just depend on charity groups or handouts[117].

The Espacio thus became a broader project, that combined both practical solidarity work (health care, psychological support and legal assistance) with educational elements (language classes and political workshops). Along with their clinic, and the Companion Group formed by solidary citizens,

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[113] See their website: https://espaciodelinmigrante.wordpress.com/

[114] Pablo Jiménez Arandia. *Una Cooperativa Tras Meses De Promesas Incumplidas.*

[115] Delclós, Carlos. "The New Abolitionists: Migrant Space in Barcelona." ROAR Magazine. December 7, 2013. Retrieved from: https://roarmag.org/essays/espacio-inmigrante-barcelona/.

[116] Tulbure, Corina. "'Debemos Conseguir Los Papeles, Para Nosotros No Hay Marcha Atrás'." Público. December 14, 2013. http://www.publico.es/actualidad/debemos-papeles-no-hay-marcha.html.

[117] *ibid.*

they created the Migrants Rights Office and the Street Brigade to inform migrant communities of how their situation would be affected by the new legislation[118]. Resisting the juridical and social apartheid, as they conceptualised the legal, political and economic regime that governed migrant lives, would require the mobilisation of political strategies that would weave relations of mutual support and solidarity, grounded in a politics of empowerment. Building on the legacy of previous migrant struggles, they would follow a methodology of horizontal assemblies and direct democracy that would provide migrant communities with the power to influence the self-organisation of the Espacio. Additionally, and also building from this legacy, they will posit the question of autonomy as central both for the strength of migrant struggles and the building of alternatives that would be grounded on the experiences of migrant communities.

Criminalising the poor: on 'manteros', street vendors and Other jobs

The Espacio's ideas grounded in solidarity and autonomy would soon found echoes among migrant *manteros*[119] (street vendors), street artists or informal recyclers. This collectivity, composed of migrants of diverse origins, would establish in 2015 'the Sindicato Popular de Vendedores Ambulantes' (The Popular Union of Street Vendors)[120]. The Espacio would provide both practical solidarity and political support, as well as an infrastructure and a space that the Sindicato could use to articulate their struggles as migrants *and* as workers for labor, political, social and economic rights. The Sindicato would, along with the demands from previous migrant struggles, engage in activities of spatial re-appropriation of the Barcelona's urban spaces, construct platforms for political education, and articulate a *anti-colonial* analysis of the lived experiences of migrants living in Barcelona. The Sindicato soon became the leading migrant organisation in the struggle against the criminalization and persecution of migrant street vendors.

In 2006, the Ordenanza de Convivencia y Civismo[121] (the Co-existance and Civic Virtue Ordinance) was introduced, a law that criminalised a number of activities in public spaces, among them, the economic practices of manteros, artists and street vendors (see Porras-Bulla, 2016: 221). The objective of the Ordinance was to 'regulate the use of public space' and create and "instrument for effectively confronting the situations and circumstances that can affect or alter coexistence, which,

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[118] Delclós, Carlos. *The New Abolitionists: Migrant Space in Barcelona*

[119] 'Mantero' and 'Top Manta' are the two words commonly used in Barcelona to refer to migran street vendors who bootlegged goods and art in Barcelona's touristic areas, such as Las Ramblas and Passeig de Gràcia. 'Mantero' makes reference to the 'manta', the blanket were they place the merchandise they sell. Each of the four corners of the blanket has strings which the mantero can pull if the police comes. The blanket becomes a bag, and, if lucky, the mantero can escape the police and avoid the confiscation of his/her goods. This is based own my own observations.

[120] Molina, Jordi. "Nace El Sindicato De La Manta: Vendedores Ambulantes Contra El Estigma." Eldiario.es. October 08, 2015. Retrieved from: https://www.eldiario.es/catalunya/barcelona/estigma-lucha-manta-sindicato_0_439207031.html.

[121] Ordenança de mesures per fomentar i garantir la convivència ciudadana a l'espai públic de Barcelona, Butlletí Oficial de la Província de Barcelona, 24 de gener de 2006). Retrieved from: http://www.nativa.cat/wp/wp-content/uploads/Ordenanza-Civisme-2005.pdf

like in other big European cities, has been happening lately in Barcelona"[122]. It enumerates a number of activities such as sex work, begging, 'camping' in public space, as well as well different forms of 'venta ambulante' (peddling, street vending). Additionally, it gives special powers to the police to confiscate goods being sold in the street, musical instruments and imposes fines on people engaging in street vending and similar activities. The law has targeted disproportionally racialized communities, particularly manteros and other street vendors: ten years after implementation, in 2015, 54% of the infractions reported by the police would be related to street vending. This number would rise to 59% in 2016 (Fernanández and Di Masso, 2017: 24).

The criminalisation of manteros and street vendors would intensify in 2015. In this context, the central government the Ley de Seguridad Ciudadana[123] (the Citizen Security Law), also known as the Ley Mordaza[124] (Gag Law). The law drew considerable attention by human rights organisations and international media due to its assault on the right to protest.[125] However, less focus was given to its assault on migrant street vendors: article 37 punishes with fines of up to €600 "the occupation of public space for non-authorized street vending"[126]. Parallel to this, Spain's Penal Code was reformed. Street vending became a criminal offence punishable with up to two years in prison[127]. To use Wacquant's (2009) conceptualisation, the implementation these legal architecture, coupled with the already existing exclusionary mechanisms that immigration legislation had put in place, consolidated a structure of spatial and racial control composed of criminalisation, prisons, detention camps, precarious forms of labour and deportations. This is premised through logics of disciplining migrant bodies, subjecting them to perpetual surveillance and monitoring their movement (Mohanty, 2011: 82). This structure of spatial and racial control has been further entrenched by the construction of what black feminist Patricia Hill Collins (2009: 76-8) calls controlling images. These produce deviant figures, images about social groups that more than representing reality, cover it and deguise it, and makes forms of violence and discriminatory treatment seem normal, natural and inevitable. Above all, controlling images justify the domination and exploitation of subaltern groups. Media and political discourses are central to the construction of these. In Barcelona, the controlling images of manteros that appear in different media platform, construct them as dangerous individuals, prone to delinquency and to violence, and as threat to order and other 'legitimate' workers of the formal economy (2016: 221). In his media analysis of the most read newspapers in Catalonia, Porras-Bulla (2016: 221-2) argues that most articles that are written about manteros between 2015 and 2016 are portray them as violent people, living a life in irregularity and criminality, constantly attacking the police and disrupting the peaceful coexistence of public space. Very few articles he identifies deal

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[122] *Ibid.*

[123] Boletín del Estado. Ley Orgánica 4/2015, de 30 de marzo, de protección de la seguridad ciudadana. 31 de marzo 2015, Retrieved from : https://www.boe.es/boe/dias/2015/03/31/pdfs/BOE-A-2015-3442.pdf

[124] Boletín del Estado. Ley Orgánica 1/2015, de 30 de marzo, por la que se modifica la Ley Orgánica 10/1995, de 23 de noviembre, del Código Penal. 31 March 2015. Retrieved from: https://www.boe.es/buscar/pdf/2015/BOE-A-2015-3439-consolidado.pdf

[125] Delclós, Carlos. *The Street Syndicate: Re-organizing Informal Work*

[126] Boletín del Estado. *Ley Orgánica 1/2015*

[127] Delclós, Carlos. *The Street Syndicate: Re-organizing Informal Work*

with the living situation of manteros, the reason why they engage in street vending, the effect of urban policies on their lives, or their processes of political organisation.

The Lived experiences of migrant manteros: Issa Seye

Consider the following story about Issa Seye, a Senegalese migrant, which may anchor some of the abstract elements of my discussion so far. "The municipal police", reads an article published in the newspaper *La Vanguardia*, the most read in Catalonia, "has arrested in his house a violent mantero… a Senegalese citizen, known to the police by the alias of 'El Mandíbula'". A humble migrant street vendor was turned into "the most wanted mantero". Issa Seye has already a criminal record, the article argues, 50 or so infractions for selling goods illegally. He is accused of attacking a police officer in a recent dispute between manteros and the forces of order. The article continues: "it has been decided that, for the arrest of 'El Mandíbula', known for his leadership and his height, agents of the USP unit will be deployed, a unit also known… as the anti-riot unit of the municipal police". The author also notes the "insolence of this vendors that no longer react to the presence of police" and that even dare to try to "prevent by force the confiscation of their goods".[128] Days later, another article tries to clarify the mysterious identity of this violent mantero. Apparently, he is the leader of a "dominant brotherhood", a group of four brothers whose "disposition towards violence" has ensured their leadership of all street vending in Barcelona[129]. Another article reads that they are also the brothers that "usually lead the attacks to the police" and concludes: "Day by day, the tension is greater. The problems that street vending is generating in Barcelona is reaching historic levels[130]". Another, more sympathetic article, laments the situation of manteros, but affirms that their economic activities are the last "link of an illegal business of difficult solution that supposes the destruction of employment, favors illegal exploitation and organized crime"[131].

However, this is only part of the Issa Seye's story. The other part begins in 2012. Issa was working and selling his merchandise by the end of Las Ramblas, close to the beach and Barcelona's Cristobal Columbus monument. He is a leader, not of a 'dominant brotherhood', but of the struggle of manteros against criminalization and police brutality[132]. As it happens most work days, police arrives and conducts a raid, confiscating the manteros goods. Documents are asked, arrests are made. This would be the 36th time that the police arrests him and confiscate his goods, his only source of

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[128] Enrique Figueredo. "La Urbana detiene en su casa a un mantero violento". *La Vanguardia*. 02/09/2015.Retrieved from:http://www.lavanguardia.com/sucesos/20150902/54435081844/la-urbana-detiene-en-su-casa-a-un-mantero-violento.html

[129] Enrique Figueredo. "La hermandad dominante". *La Vanguardia*. 03/09/2015. Retrieved from: http://hemeroteca.lavanguardia.com/preview/2015/09/03/pagina-5/95712353/pdf.html

[130] Enrique Figueredo. "Los manteros hieren a una mujer y a cuatro urbanos". *La Vanguardia*. 04/09/2015. Retrieved from:http://www.lavanguardia.com/20150904/54436241615/los-manteros-hieren-a-una-mujer-y-a-cuatro-urbanos-enrique-figueredo.html

[131] Mayka Navarro. "La trastienda del 'top manta'". *El Periodico*. 16/08/2015. Retrieved from: https://www.elperiodico.com/es/sociedad/20150815/la-trastienda-del-top-manta-4433577

[132] Jesús Rodríguez. "La historia que La Vanguardia ocultó sobre el 'Mandíbula'". *Directa*. 26/09/2016, Retrieved from: https://directa.cat/actualitat/historia-que-vanguardia-va-amagar-sobre-mandibula

income. He decides to run. A police officer chases him in a motorbike, and runs him over, breaking one of his ankles[133]. Some days later, with the support of SOS racism, he presents a lawsuit against the Catalan police[134]. Soon he receives a notification from the court, not about his lawsuit, but to let him know that he is accused of throwing stones to the police during a raid[135]. After a long legal process, he is finally absolved[136]. However, as a result of the numerous fines and court proceedings that are opened up as a result of the police accusations, an expulsion proceeding is initiated, Issa is imprisoned in a CIE[137] and eventually deported to Senegal after having lived in Spain for over 10 years.

Issa's story captures the kind of structure of spatial and racial control that migrant street vendors have to face in their everyday life. Sadly, this kind of story is not unique but rather common among manteros. Between 2010 and 2016, SOS Racism received around 77 cases of violence and abuse perpetrated by the police: physical assaults, racial profiling, racist insults and irregular arrests. Around 44 of these involved migrants street vendors[138]. The organisation concludes that "unfortunately, we have found that racist policing practices in Barcelona are not isolated cases and that the sanctioning of racist attitudes and actions within the body of the the municipal police" has not been a priority for the City Council of Barcelona[139]". Indeed, the cases identified by SOS racism might be arguably more given that speaking up, as was the case of Issa, could bring serious and often violent reprisals. Without legal status, which means they cannot secure a job in the 'formal' economy, nor regularize their situation, they are pushed into precarious forms of labour. This also means they have no access to health care. The economic activities they use to secure a livelihood, while certainly not optimal and without access to social security and labour rights, are criminalized. In fact, their whole existence is criminalized, which justifies the violence deployed against them by the police and the state. To speak with Gilmore (2008), the lived experience of manteros exemplifies the ways in which urban policies intersect with immigration law, and produce group-differentiated vulnerabilities to institutional violence and premature death.

Disobedience, autonomy and self-organisation

These are some of the material conditions that led to emergence of the Sindicato, which was in the

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[133] *Ibid.*

[134] SOS Racisme. "Lamentamos que el Ayuntamiento no asuma su responsabilidad en el atropello de un vendedor ambulante". 16/04/2016. Retrieved from: http://www.sosracisme.org/posicionaments/comunicats/lamentem-que-lajuntament-noassumeixi-la-seva-responsabilitat-en-latropellament-dun-venedor-ambulant

[135] Jesús Rodríguez. *La historia que La Vanguardia ocultó sobre el 'Mandíbula'*

[136] SOS Racisme. *Lamentamos que el Ayuntamiento no asuma su responsabilidad en el atropello de un vendedor ambulante*

[137] Jesús Rodríguez y Eloi Latorre. "Un mantero detenido por la Guardia Urbana acaba en el CIE de la Zona Franca". *Directa.* 27/06/2016. Retrieved from: https://directa.cat/un-manter-detingut-guardia-urbana-acaba-al-cie-de-zona-franca

[138] SOS Racisme. "Reflexió sobre les actuacions policials i els drets humans a Barcelona". *SOS Racisme.* 23/04/2017. Retrieved from: http://www.sosracisme.org/old/portada/reflexio-sobre-les-actuacions-policials-i-els-drets-humansa-barcelona

[139] *Ibid.*

making already since 2013, partly influenced by the struggle for Cál Africa. However, it was not until 2015 that it will consolidate itself fully. The defining factor: the death of Mor Sylla[140], a Senegalese mantero, who died under dubious circumstances at the hands of the Catalan police in the touristic area of Salou (Tarragona) in August 2015 (Espinosa-Zepeda, 2017: 67-8). This was the broader context in which manteros would organised themselves politically in the Sindicato under the slogan 'Sobrevivir no es un delito!' (Surviving is not a crime)[141]:

> We are manteros; migrant workers and activists who, as a result of the racism and institutional violence we suffer on a daily basis, have decided to organize ourselves to struggle for our rights… Every moment you go to the street, the first police patrol you cross looks at you from head to toe, believing that you are simple poor migrant that comes from afar. When you go down the street to shop, they ask you for your papers, when you are go for a stroll they ask you for your papers, when you walk with a backpack, they check it. Some end their adventure at a CIE, by just catching some air outside their door. Living this way on this earth is like being imprisoned and we do not want that. Because surviving is not a crime[142].

For the Sindicato, racism and institutional violence are the central forces that structure the lived experiences of migrant workers. These create the conditions for a life in perpetual control and surveillance, vulnerable to both material and symbolic violence, and the constant threat of being arrested and incarcerated (see Mohanty, 2011: 78). Being vulnerable to constant identity checks produces what Kelly (2006) calls documented lives - subjectivities marked by fear, uncertainty, and anxiety. It is a life lived under constant dispossession and with a lack of basic civil rights (see Mohanty, 2011: 78). Significantly, like with previous struggles, self-definition and autonomy is key in the process of emerging as a political organisation. It is the process through which individual and collective agency is articulated (Roberts, 2016: 11). Choosing 'Sindicato' (Union) makes reference to a willingness to exist politically *not* only as migrants but also as workers. It is also about defining the contours of a heterogenous collectivity that suffer similar forms of violence, not by virtue of what they have done, but by virtue of who they are (poor, working class, black and brown migrants). Significantly, as with previous struggles, self-definition is above all about asserting one's capacity for self-representation, speaking for oneself, without needing others to do so. Moreover, by choosing to represent themselves as a union of workers they reiterate that even if their labour is not-recognized, or criminalized and categorised as 'informal', it is still work, economic activities, which are the product of human labour and that allows people to survive.

One of the first activities of the Sindicato, would be the organisation of 'Mercadillos Rebeldes' (Rebel Flea Markets) across Las Ramblas, central Barcelona, in alliance with the Espacio del

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[140] Arturo Puente. Cuatro preguntas aún sin respuesta sobre la muerte de Mor en Salou. *elDiario.es*. 12/08/2015. Retrieved from: https://www.eldiario.es/catalunya/preguntas-respuesta-muerte-Mor-Salou_0_419258499.html
[141] Jordi Molina. "Nace el sindicato de la manta: vendedores ambulantes contra el estigma". *elDiario.es,* 08/10/2015. Retrieved from: https://www.eldiario.es/catalunya/barcelona/estigma-lucha-manta-sindicato_0_439207031.html
[142] From their website: http://manteros.org/

Inmigrante and Tras La Manta[143], another network of solidarity with street vendors. The logic behind this would be to mobilise manteros to collectively re-appropriate urban space to work and sell their goods. The Rebel Flea Markets would constitute acts of organised and coordinated non-violent civil disobedience (Espinosa-Zepeda, 2017: 69). Blankets will be set up sometimes throughout the kilometer-long walking street, and migrants would sell their products. Each mantero would be accompanied by a solidary citizen, holding a sign or banner with the slogan 'to survive is not a crime'[144]. Like in previous struggles, disobedience (of the law, of the position imposed by the social structure and power relations) and questions of social justice and equality would be central to their political praxis. In the words of Lamine Sarr, a Senegalese mantero and community leader in the Sindicato:

> They say our work is illegal. We consider it disobedience. We are disobeying hunger. We are disobeying unemployment. We are disobeying borders. The very idea that some people can go and work wherever they want while others can't. The very idea that some people have human rights while others don't."[145]

Disobedience to the material conditions that the social structure imposes, meant also breaking with the images that society constructs of them, providing an alternative interpretation of who they are and what they do, both individually and collectively. Thus, parallel to the The Rebel Flea Market, the Sindicato would begin an educational and political campaign to address some of the controlling images that are constructed of them and provide an alternative analysis to their economic practices and their relation to broader political-economic processes. Through workshops and audiovisual material, manteros would argue that they engage in forms of labor that are based on self-organisation, cooperation, solidarity and mutual support. For instance, in order to address the confiscation of their goods in police raids, they developed a system whereby all manteros contributed to a common fund that would compensate those who lost their merchandise, or those who did not have money to buy new one. They would also argue that they usually move in big groups to take care of each of other, and created a space that both allows newly arrived people to 'learn' the hazards of being a mantero, and also to be more secure against possible actions from the police. They would also question the double standard of the narrative that, on the one hand, criminalises manteros for selling forfeited goods of expensive brands, while, on the other hand, remains silent about these brands' use of child labour, and other forms of exploitation in the global south, sometimes in their own countries of origin[146].

Colonial legacies: Police violence and cultures of impunity

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[143] See their website: https://traslamanta.wordpress.com/

[144] Delclós, Carlos. *The Street Syndicate: Re-organizing Informal Work*

[145] *Ibid.*

[146] Sindicato Popular de Vendedores Ambulantes. "5 mentiras sobre los manteros". *Youtube*, Retrieved from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JceoQ-J-4Hw.

In addition to these activities, the Sindicato would begin to articulate an alternative analysis of police violence and border regimes, following similar materialist lines as the Espacio's perspective, and linking this violence (and its impunity) to structural racism and capitalism:

> ... we want denounce the impunity and violence of the police that for many years has taken the lives of many brothers and sisters, [a violence] that is never convicted, they never go to prison, because the racist system in Europe, in Spain, and in Catalonia, justifies them… the media will say that we died of a heart attack, or a respiratory arrest, or that we simply fell down, or that we jumped, or that we committed suicide. They will lie… above all to give the impression that [those of us] who died are responsible of our own death. The worst of it all is that no politician, no judge will prosecute a police officers, because they are accomplices of this racist and criminal system, that kills poor people, kills migrants and, above all, kills blacks, because they believe our lives are worth nothing… The police know that they can do anything they want with us, as they usually do, because they know that nothing will happen to them… that they are backed up by the whole racist system that gives them orders[147].

There are several layers in this analysis. The Sindicato situates police violence against manteros within the context of what Rita Arditti (1999) calls a culture of impunity. Impunity is itself an act of violence: it denies people who have been victimised reparations for the harms committed against them. It promotes silence and forgetting. It gives legitimacy to acts of violence. A culture of impunity emerges when state institutions, such as the police, operate without fear of being punished, following logics of non-accountability ("the police knows that they can do anything they want with us"). It fosters an environment where violence against certain groups become normalised: a routine procedure for their management of these groups across different domains of their everyday life (1999: 160-3; see also Mohanty, 2011: 79). Their deaths are displaced from the context of policing and institutional violence, and become "a kind of capital punishment", whereby migrants are "effectively blamed for their own deaths" (Brady, 2008: 19).

This culture of impunity, according to the Sindicato, is sustained *through* institutions that follow racist logics: the lives of manteros are constructed as less than human, disposable ("worth nothing") and casted into the zone nonbeing (Fanon, 2008[1952]). Or, to put it differently, cultures of impunity create people who are what Lisa Marie Cacho (2012: 5-6) calls "ineligible for personhood": populations who are "subjected to laws but refused the legal means to contest those laws", people who "are excluded from law's protection" but not from "law's discipline, punishment, and regulation". In their analysis, the Sindicato contextualises this culture of impunity, and the dehumanizing processes that sustains it, within the long-durée histories of trans-atlantic racial slavery, colonialism and empire. Consider the following quote, taken from a press release written by

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[147] Sindicato Popular de Vendedores Ambulantes. "Los muertos que no valen nada, se quedan sin vida y sin justicia". *Tras La Manta.* 17/03/2018. Retrieved from: https://traslamanta.wordpress.com/2018/03/17/comunicado-muerte-mame-mbaye/

the Sindicato after Sidil Mortar, a Senegalese migrant, community leader and spokesperson, was sentenced to five years in prison in the Spring of 2016 after responding to an aggression from a police officer:

> We want to publicly condemn the juridical racism that we live in this country, in this city… [that] has unjustly sentenced our brother Sidil Mortar to 5 years in prison… today [he] is unjustly in jail. In this trial, his skin colour and his poverty wished more, just like in the old colonial legal system where the executioner exploited you, killed you and publicly humiliated you. Justice for us has not changed, it remains as unjust and violent as it was centuries ago. We live it, we know it, that is why we do not believe in them, that's why we do not trust them, because we know that their judicial machinery is made to lock-up blacks, migrants, women and poor people. Their justice has a colour and a price[148]…

Sidil Mortar has become a symbol of the mantero's resistance and struggle. He was prosecuted on the basis of a seven seconds video where he attacks two armed police officers[149]. His prosecution has produced rage among manteros and people who are solidary with them. Above all, because the video that formed the basis for the prosecution was edited by the police, and the events that unfolded before and after were removed from the video[150]. His imprisonment by the Sindicato, other migrant organisations and allies throughout the year. The sentenced was seen as intimidation "to discipline us… produce fear among us so that we do not organise, so that we do not question economic, legal and social differences, so that we do no question poverty and racism"[151]. Under the banners 'Sidil is our Kunta Kinte, our Luther King'!, 'The street is for those who work in it!' and "Freedom to Sidil", hundreds of manteros have walked the streets of Barcelona in multiple occasions to protest their comrade's imprisonment and demand his freedom[152].

By highlighting the ways in which "Justice for us… remains as unjust and violent as it was centuries ago", the Sindicato contextualises the kind of legal, socio-political and economic treatment they face at the hand of the police and the state in terms of longer trajectories of policing, disciplining and controlling the mobility of colonized people. Their analysis thus speaks to the recomposition, reproduction and transformation of colonial forms of power inherited from the long-durée of trans-atlantic racial slavery, colonialism and empire, which are deployed against people from the former

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[148] Sindicato Popular de Vendedores Ambulantes. "Comunicado por la libertad de Sidil Moctar y Chiket Sarr." *Tras La Manta*, 20/03/2017, Retrieved from: https://traslamanta.wordpress.com/2017/03/20/comunicado-por-la-libertad-de-sidil-moctar-y-chiket-sarr/

[149] Yeray S. Iborra. "Cinco años de prisión para un mantero por golpear con una rama a un policía en Barcelona. *elDiario.es*. 07/03/2017. Retrieved from: https://www.eldiario.es/catalunya/barcelona/prision-mantero-golpeo-policia-Barcelona_0_619788303.html

[150] Yeray S. Iborra. "El Ayuntamiento de Barcelona se personará contra manteros por una agresión a tres policías". elDiario.es, 19/05/2016. Retrieved from: https://www.eldiario.es/catalunya/barcelona/Ayuntamiento-Barcelona-personara-agresion-policias_0_517598779.html

[151] Sindicato Popular de Vendedores Ambulantes. *Comunicado por la libertad de Sidil Moctar y Chiket Sarr.*

[152] Yeray S. Iborra. "Manifestación en apoyo a Sidil Moctar, el "Kunta Kinte" de los vendedores ambulantes". *elDiario.es*, 25/05/2016. Retrieved from: https://www.eldiario.es/catalunya/barcelona/Manifestacion-Sidil-Moctar-Kunta-Kinte_0_519349168.html

colonies (see Khiari, 2006: 20-1). This analysis also enables them to also contextualize their own struggles within what Walter Benjamin has called the tradition of the oppressed, that is, the longer trajectories of freedom practices and liberation struggles heralded by colonized peoples: The Sindicato relates their own struggle to pasts struggles against transatlantic racial slavery, Jim Crow and the civil rights movement (Sidil is our Kunta Kinte, our Luther King'!), as well as the struggles of peasants and indigenous peoples during the Mexican revolution (they creatively adapt Emiliano Zapata's "The land is from those who work it" to their own context).

Lessons from the struggle: autonomy and the building of alternatives

With these analysis, the Sindicato will begin to articulate an anti-colonial perspective and position itself in relation to different economic and socio-political issues. They will be central the formation of the nation-wide campaign 'Tanquem Els CIE'[153] (Close the detention camps) and begin expanding the mantero struggle nationally. They will travel across Spain to give political and educational workshops to manteros in other places. Soon, street vendors Sindicatos will emerge in Valencia, Mallorca, Malaga, Zaragoza and Madrid[154]. Together the different Sindicatos will register a proposition in the national parliament for the decriminalization of street vending, the modification of police protocols in ways that are respectful of human rights, and a reform of the current Criminal Code[155]. This will be the beginning of a broader legislative process aimed at the reform of immigration law, on the basis of the universalisation of rights and the creation of mechanisms that ensure access to this. In their *Manifesto for the Decriminalization of Informal Street Vending[156]*, they put it as follows:

> To say it concretely, what we intend to do with the demands we make in this corner of the land where we live, is to dismantle, piece by piece, the high wall of shame that criminalizes poverty today in the Spanish State. One of its toughest pieces is called the Immigration Law and among its perverse effects is the sentencing of thousands of people to a life without rights... the [current] situation of generalised unemployment adds, in the case of the migrant population, the status of administrative irregularity, or 'no papers'... [thus] many migrants have to look for life, as we know, selling in the streets... the alternatives are few: either they are exploited as day laborers or in domestic employment, or they sell on the street. No more options fit. And remember, when a street vendor is prosecuted for selling in the streets, this closes the possibilities of future regularization... This is what we call criminalization of

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[153] See http://www.tanquemelscie.cat/p/english.html

[154] Sato Díaz. La otra cara de la manta: la lucha del Sindicato de Manteros por la dignidad. CuartoPoder, 05/01/2017. Retrieved from:
https://www.cuartopoder.es/espana/2016/11/20/la-otra-cara-de-la-manta-la-lucha-del-sindicato-de-manteros-por-la-dignidad/

[155] Diagonal. "Los manteros llegan al Congreso". Diagonal, 16/12/16. Retrieved from:
https://www.diagonalperiodico.net/solo-multimedia/32570-manteros-editar.html

[156] Retrieved from: https://despenalizamanta.wordpress.com/

poverty.

The Sindicato, in alliance with other manteros across the country, brought to public consciousness how poverty was legally criminalised and legally maintained. In conjunction with this political and legal campaign, the Sindicato launched economic initiatives aimed at providing alternatives and opportunities to migrants in Barcelona. Among these, they launched 'Top Manta', a brand of "legal clothing made by illegal people"[157], as they put it. At the time of writing, the Sindicato has allied itself with a local bookstore where they will sell their products. The objective is to create a the means for all the manteros living in Barcelona to be able to regularize themselves and be able to work legally and in a dignified manner. At the time of writing, it is difficult to assess what are the positive contributions that the economic project will make. However, the Sindicato describes as follows what the theorization behind the brand is:

> It is a brand that transforms the pejorative… and dignifies it. It is a human brand, solidary and popular. It is subversive… in front of big companies… [it] denounces the racism, persecution and punishment that the group lives… [it] benefits hundreds of people and not just some… [it] breaks with the internal borders of barcelona… [it] gives values to other works and other workers… [it] defends the human rights of migrants [and] denounces the forgetfulness and contempt of governments, municipalities and states[158].

The brand is based on notions of cooperative economics and the project is currently expanding to include an editorial dimension that will publish the writings of different manteros and a project with food and catering services. The brand's logo is a 'cayuco' (canoe that West African migrants use in their migrations to Spain) a 'manta' (blanket) and the waves of the sea, three elements that shape the lives of manteros[159]. As I write, the Sindicato takes up some of the legacies of radical opposition and resistance to border regimes, as heralded by previous migrant struggles. However, it begins the process of not only resisting but also constructing alternatives, through economic, educational and legal projects, that encourage self-determination and self-empowerment. Their brand is an expression of these efforts. Aziz Faye, Senegalese migrant and spokesperson for the Sindicato, explains the choice of logo as follows:

> The cayuco is points to the fact that Africans lack the freedom of movement, a right that all Europeans have but from which we are excluded. The manta reflects the only means of

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[157] Clara Gil. "La marca Top Manta quiere sacar de la calle a todos los colectivos marginados". Playground, 18/07/2017. Retrieved from: https://www.playgroundmag.net/now/Top-Manta-colectivos-marginados-legalidad_22584260.html

[158] Sindicato Popular de Vendedores Ambulantes. *Top Manta: Nace una nueva marca colectiva*. Retrieved from: http://manteros.org/top-manta-nace-una-una-nueva-marca-colectiva/

[159] Mauricio Bernal. "Primera colección Top Manta". *elPeriodico*, 16/08/2017. Retrieved from: https://www.elperiodico.com/es/barcelona/20170816/primeras-coleccion-productos-marca-top-manta-fiestas-gracia-6227345

subsistence that immigration law imposes on us. And the wave reflect all the difficulties that we encounter, all the racism, the discrimination[160].

Chapter 5: Conclusion

This papers has asked how and to what extent do migrant struggles in Barcelona re-shape the contemporary premises and conditions of doing politics and the boundaries of the political. I began first by outlining some the processes and practices of the politics of borders, migration of asylum. I conceptualised this in terms of global apartheid: a regime of unequal and uneven mobilities structured by race and class (Hage, 2016) that, on the one hand, celebrates and facilitates the movement across borders of *some* bodies, and, on the other hand, controls, deters, imprisons and criminalises the bodies of others (Sharma, 2005, 2006; Walia, 2013). I then moved into an examination of the struggles that emerged in the 1990's and early 2000's and focused on the work of the *Asamblea Papers Per a Tothom* in **Chapter 2**. What was significant about this context was positioning of the 'sin-papeles' (the undocumented) as a political subject through a politics of empowerment, autonomy and self-determination. It was a moment were dominant dominant notions of the political were challenged: migrants positioned themselves as both individuals and a collective that could speak for themselves, defined their own interest, visions and priorities. The demand for papers for all, and the political struggles around it, was also a challenge to state power by rightless people who asserted themselves as full political actors and members of the political community. Through acts of citizenship they re-appropriated rights which they did not have - to assembly, to strike, to participate in politics. The ARSC achieved something similar, as I examined in **Chapter 3**. However, this coalition articulated more complex, radical demands and analyses than simply the regularization of people without papers. For them, without full access to political, economic and social rights, as well as permanent membership, obtaining residency documents would not mean social inclusion and political belonging. This also allowed them to expand their critical analyses beyond the single issue of 'papers' or 'illegality', and connect their experiences of undocumented migrants to broader global political-economic dynamics. Through different practices they advocated a politics that spoke both to the root causes of migration globally, and to the right of people to move across borders and reside where they chose to with full access to labour, social, political and citizenship rights (see Wright, 2009: 9). What both of these struggles achieved was positioning rightless migrants as rights-bearing subjects (Olivery, 2015: 500). Thus, one way to conceptualise the significance of these struggles is by thinking of them in terms of political practices of founding, as they bring forward new subjects, propose new rights, and push already existing ones beyond their established definitions (Gündogdum, 2014: 169).

However, rights claims can end up reinforcing the national order of things: these can re-entrench the role of the nation-state as the sole benefactor of and ultimate provider of rights (King, 2016: 40) and under-acknowledging the inherently exclusionary dimensions of citizenship (Ataça, Rygiel and and

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[160] Mauricio Bernal. *Primera colección Top Manta*

Stierl, 2016: 533). By using rights claim as "the ultimate horizon of political practice and social analysis (Papadopoulos and Tsianos, 2013: 179)" there is a danger of under-acknowledging the inherently exclusionary dimensions (Ataça, Rygiel and and Stierl, 2016: 533). Rights continue to be in many ways a sovereign and exclusionary state instrument that regulates borders, belonging and 'illegality' (Papadopoulos and Tsianos, 2013, 183-5). This, in fact, connects to one of the limitations of my approach to migrant struggles in terms of 'acts of citizenship'. There is a danger in stretching and opening up 'citizenship' without considering "the burden of its historical past" (Mezzadra, 2015: 133). O'Connell Davidson (2015: 82) argues that as a product of the long history of racial slavery "citizenship, which implied enjoyment of the 'rights of man' including mastery over self and others, was coded as white, and therefore impossible for those racialized as black, whether or not they were enslaved". However, while it is important to be suspicious about the politics of citizenship and rights-claiming, a radical stand against it is not useful and can be dismissive of migrants that use such strategies. Sometimes, appeals to rights and citizenship in situations of 'illegality' and vulnerability might be one of very few options, if not the only one, available to people in that position (King, 2016: 41). Thus, following McNevin (2013), it might more useful to examine rights-claims through an emphasis on *ambivalence*. Asking whether the political claims of migrants reinforce the national order things is not the only pertinent question. It is more productive to explore how such claims transform what it means to be political, even if they use instruments and concepts derived from that very order of things (*ibid: 197*). That is, rights-claim can both reinforce the national order of things, and be used as a strategy for becoming political and for making speech audible and intelligible in order to go beyond it (Gündogdum, 2014: 194).

To counter some of these limitations, later struggles, both that of Cál Africa and the Sindicato, mobilize two elements: space and the politics of naming. The role of space was significant for the former as their struggle emphasised how right-claims went hand-in-hand with spatial claims: the idea of having a self-organised spaces and community grounded in that space that would provide migrants with tools for carrying out self-sustaining economic activities and political projects. Thus, their struggle was one in which the premises and conditions of being political would be intertwine with concerns over spatiality and autonomy - that is, not only struggling for 'papers', but also for place, or more precisely for the defense of autonomous and self-managed constructions of place (Escobar, 2001). The Sindicato also used space, or rather re-appropriated it through The Rebel Flea Markets. Aside from the dimensions of civil disobedience, space was about the creation of a kind of public stage within which migrant street vendors can appear as subjects with the capacity of make claims to rights and provide an alternative account of who they are beyond the controlling images produced about them (Gündogdum, 2014: 194). This was complemented by a politics of self-representation and self-naming, which the process through which individual and collective agency is articulated (Roberts, 2016: 11). This was particularly salient in the political struggles of the Sindicato: by choosing to name themselves collectively as a union they positioned themselves as not only migrants but also workers. It was an imaginative political strategy through which they could challenge their criminalisation.

One way of assessing the difference and evolution of migrant struggles in Barcelona is by thinking of their anti-political and alter-political movements. The former refers to politics that articulate oppositional concerns. The later to politics that search for alternatives (see Hage, 2015). Most of the struggles that took place in the 1990's and 2000's, heralded by *Asamblea Papers Per a Tothom* and the **ARSC** privileged anti-political concerns: opposing deportations, detentions and illegalisation. Civil disobedience of immigration laws and mass-mobilisations that opposed the Spanish state. In contrast, the struggles that developed afterwords weaves some of these oppositional concerns but paid closer attention to alter-politics, the construction of alternatives. Cál Africa was perhaps the first expression of this. It was virtually a self-managed and self-governed space, with restaurants, shops, workshops and so on. The struggle in this context was not only one about keeping the physical infrastructure that migrants had constructed. But also, and perhaps more importantly, about having the right to construct their own alternatives, their own places, their own self-organised structures. Alter-politics were also reflected in the creation of an economic cooperative. Similarly, the *Espacio del Immigrante* took up this legacy by establishing a self-managed migrant space in the middle of Barcelona, that provides both practical support (healthcare and legal assistance), as well as physical grounds for migrants to meet and dialogue, decide what to do with the space and so on. Likewise, the Sindicato launched their own brand as both a strategy against the criminalisation of their work and as an alternative economic initiative that creates a means for all migrant street vendors living in Barcelona to be able to regularize themselves and be able to work legally and in a dignified manner. This is perhaps the beginning a new cycle in the context of migrant struggles in Barcelona that aim to not only to oppose global apartheid but also construct concrete alternative structures that can give migrants a chance to survive, grow and flourish.

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