

Building the “city of rights”: the human rights policy of Barcelona

Name of the policy: human rights policy, *Regidoria de Drets Civils* (Civil Rights Department)

Start date: 1995

Completion date: ongoing

CONTEXT

City context

Barcelona is an *Ajuntament* (the Catalan for municipality) of approximately 1.5 million people. It is the second city of Spain and the capital of *Catalunya* (Catalonia), one of the 17 Spanish Autonomous Communities. If we consider respectively its metropolitan area and region, the overall population increases to about 2.8 and 4.2 million people, respectively (Garcia 2003). The legislative body of the city is the *Consell Municipal* (Municipal Council). The executive body of the city is the *Comissió de Govern* (Executive Council), which is composed of different *Regidories* (city departments) led by *Regidors* (“Councilors” or “Heads of departments”) appointed by the mayor. Both the legislative and executive bodies are chaired by the mayor. Since 1978, when the first post-Franco, democratic elections were held the city has been governed by a left-wing coalition led by the Socialists in alliance with smaller nationalist and/or left-wing parties such as *Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya* (Republican Left of Catalonia; ERS) and *Iniciativa per Catalunya Verds* (Initiative for Catalonia-Greens; ICV).

Government decentralization context

Spanish local authorities are part of a highly decentralized system of government in which the state shares a number of powers and competences with the Autonomous Communities. Somehow at the margin of this preferential relationship, municipalities mainly exercise regulatory powers and have to fight constantly with fluctuant tax revenues and eventually heavy budget constraints (UCLG 2008 and 2011). Within this broad picture, Barcelona (together with Madrid) nevertheless enjoys a special municipal status. The city’s general status is defined in the Municipal Charter approved in 2000 and renewed in 2006 following long political negotiations with the *Generalitat* (the Catalan Government) and the Spanish state (T. Font 2000, Spain 2006). The Charter provides the city government with special competences on traffic management, telecommunication and public safety.

Decentralization is also an “internal” distinguishing trait of the local administration. Both elements are related to the presence of strong urban movements in the city and their political

activism in the post-Franco regime. In 1984, the city was divided into ten *districtes*¹ (districts) which incorporate different *barris* (neighborhoods) and to which specific competences have been delegated. Venues of participation have been created at these different levels of government, which focus on a variety of issues and involve different sectors of the local population (Castells 1983; Tomàs 2001; Borja 1988)

Institutional level of policy development: Municipal

Social context

Barcelona has been regarded as a successful model of government and administration (Borja 1995; Newsweek International 2004). This model combines the promotion of local growth through joint private-public partnerships with a traditional attention for redistribution through local social policy, decentralization and participation. The city has also been known for its liberal attitude on life-style matters. Relying on this model, Barcelona has transited from its old industrial economy towards one driven by tourism. Massive urban projects like the 1992 Olympic Games and the 2004 Forum of Cultures led to the renewal of certain areas of the city and, more generally, of its urban landscape (Luzón Benedicto and Carrasco 2007).

However, some limits of this model have emerged over the years. First, the democracy- as opposed to the economic-oriented objectives of participation have not been matched and participation has rarely gone beyond consultation. Second, strategic planning and tourism have made residents' life in the city increasingly hard. On the one hand, some urban renewal interventions covered social exclusion and marginalization instead of promoting inclusion in the wider sense. On the other, tourism has reduced quality of life in the city (Gomà and Brugé 1994; Amorós 1995; Tomàs 2001, Luzón Benedicto and Carrasco 2007). Intended as a remedy to the perceived urban disorder generated by excessive tourism, in 2005 the so called *Ordenança de Civisme* (Ordinance on Good Citizenship) was passed by the municipality.²

Old and new questions of economic development, social exclusion and quality of life in the city have gone parallel with the diversification of the city population, creating new expectations and demands related to the provision of services. Starting also from the 1980s, a new wave of migration reached the city and a variety of communities defined by nationality, race/ethnicity and religion have spread in the city centre and concentrated, at least initially, in the central and more decadent districts of *Ciutat Vella*. Some figures are impressive: between 1996 and 2009

¹ The districts are: Ciutat Vella, Eixample, Gràcia, Horta-Guinardó, Les Corts, Nou Barris, Sant Andreu, Sant Martí, Sants-Montjuïc and Sarrià-Sant Gervasi.

² There is an entire section of the city's website devoted to the question of *civisme*, where the text of this and other ordinances related to the same issue can be found. See http://w3.bcn.es/V28/Home/V28HomeLinkPI/0,3047,10062992_10222299_1,00.html. Accessed March 11, 2011.

the overall foreign population (part of this is European) of the city jumped from 30.000 to 295.000 (approx.). Communities of people of African and Asian nationalities have expanded together with traditional and dominant migration from Latin American countries (Grigolo 2010b, p. 900).³

COMPREHENSIVE NARRATIVE

Description of the policy

This policy relies on human rights, which have usually been defined and used by states and international organizations. As such, it is an innovative policy. The main motor of the policy and focus of this study is the *Regidoria de Drets Civils* (Civil Rights Department; RDC) and its internal bodies and initiatives. The RDC's bodies include municipal services that have mandate to fight discrimination and promote civil rights and equality. The RDC is also involved in the realization of municipal plans dealing with issues like migration and culture (City of Barcelona 2008 and 2010 respectively). At the operational level, RDC bodies routinely interact with other local institutions and services. The human rights policy of Barcelona has been under the attention of both academics and practitioners. It has contributed to the realization of anti-racist policies as defined in the UNESCO Ten-Point-Plan of Action of the European Coalition of Cities against Racism (UNESCO 2011).⁴ It has also been regarded as contributing to the implementation of EU anti-discrimination policy (City of Barcelona 2010; Grigolo 2011).

Background / origins

The human rights policy of Barcelona was originally conceived as a response to the waves of "new" immigration. In the early the 1990s, Mayor Maragall established the position of Civil Rights Commissioner tasked to investigate and address the increasing racial, ethnic and religious diversity of the city's population (Morén-Alegret 2001, pp. 94-95). In 1995, the RDC took over the Commissioner's mandate turning it into a compartmentalized area of local government's intervention, while at the same time beginning to develop a more articulated action and delivery of service in the field of human rights (Grigolo 2009, p. 310-312).

Policy objectives

The preamble of the city's Municipal Charter affirms that Barcelona "wants to be an example of defense of human rights and peoples". In line with this statement, the overall objective of the city's human rights policy⁵ is the creation of a "city of rights" where human rights meet local

³ For updated information on statistics related to the city, including its population, see the Statistics Department website at <http://www.bcn.cat/estadistica/catala/index.htm>. Accessed March 14, 2011.

⁴ See the coalition's website at <http://www.citiesagainstracism.org/>, accessed March 4, 2011.

⁵ The following quotations in the paragraph are taken from the statement that introduces the civil rights section of the local government's webpage and the RDC. See

needs and competences and they are accordingly implemented. The “city of rights” concept concerns both the “citizenry” and “other cities and institutions”. In particular, then, the *ajuntament* works “to develop the principles and values of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in the city, from the perspective and the reality of everyday life and from the specific jurisdiction of a city council”. Human rights are norms and values that “provide quality public services and promote social cohesion. The protection of fundamental rights must be understood in its entirety because this protection is a key investment for the development of all societies. To invest in human rights is to invest in the city”. Finally, implementation is pursued according to “The values of equality and solidarity, justice, democracy at local level, participation, transparency and good governance”.

Chronological development and implementation of the practice

Since the establishment of the RDC, the human rights policy of Barcelona has developed along different and sometimes parallel trajectories, depending also on the priorities of the *Regidor(a)*. These trajectories, which partly overlap with chronological phases, are traced below:

Line 1 – Setting up human rights services

Immediately after its establishment, the process that led to the creation of the *Oficina per la No Discriminació* (Office for Non-Discrimination; OND) and the *Oficina d’Afers Religiosos* (Office for Religious Affairs; OAR) started. The two services have different scopes. The OND treats complaints of discrimination through methods of alternative dispute resolution (including mediation) or legal counseling, or by “accompanying” them through other city services. The OAR, which was originally intended as a centre of inter-religious dialogue and is currently managed by UNESCOCAT, promotes the religious freedom of the old and new religious communities of the city. It does so mainly by mediating between the communities on the one hand and, on the other, the local administration and the city’s *veïns* (neighbors).⁶

Line 2 – Defining the human rights framework of Barcelona

Parallel to the establishment of services, in the late 1990s the RDC became involved also in the promotion of local human rights charters. In particular, as part of the coalition of Cities for Human Rights, the RDC (on behalf of Barcelona and with the support of the *Institut de Drets Humans de Catalunya* - Human Rights Institute of Catalonia, IDHC) participated in the process which started in 1998 with the “Barcelona Compromise” and culminated in 2000 with the approval in Saint-Denis of the European Charter for the Safeguarding of Human Rights in the

http://w3.bcn.cat/dretscivils/0,4022,259064949_760112595_3,00.html, accessed February 15, 2011.

⁶ More information on the work of the OND and the OAR as well as on the RDC and its other internal bodies reported in this study can be found at http://w3.bcn.es/XMLServeis/XMLHomeLinkPI/0,4022,259064949_271177360_1,00.html, accessed March 8, 2011.

City (ECHRC). In the same year, the Mayor of Barcelona signed the ECHRC and the Municipal Council “ratified” it. Since then, the RDC has represented Barcelona in the conferences held once every two years which focus on the implementation of the Charter.⁷

Line 3 – Supporting the rights of women and lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) people

Women and LGBT rights are core areas of intervention of the RDC. In the case of women, attention largely coincided with the leadership of Pilar Villaugera i Balaña (2004-2007) and translated into the organization of municipal services targeting women’s needs. With respect to LGBT rights, in 2004 the *Consell Municipal de Gais, Lesbianes, Homes i Dones transsexuals* (hereinafter: LGBT Council) was put in place in collaboration with the city’s LGBT associations, collectives and informal groups. In 2010, the *Pla Municipal pel Col·lectiu Lesbià, Gai, Transsexual i Bisexual* (hereinafter: LGBT Plan) was approved by the local government, which aims to mainstream LGBT rights and issues across city departments.⁸

Phase 5 – Implementing the ECHRC

Following the approval of the ECHRC, the question of its implementation beyond the RDC has regularly emerged. Studies have been made on the juridical value of the Charter (Bondia Garcia 2004) and how to incorporate it into city ordinances (Province of Barcelona 2008). Attempts made by former Head of the RDC Roser Veciana to establish a Defender of the Charter in the early 2000s were ultimately not supported by the mayor. In 2005, the position of the *Síndic(a) de Greuges de Barcelona* (Ombudsperson of Barcelona) was established, which is obviously related to the implementation of the ECHRC. In 2008, the *Observatori de Drets Humans de la ciutat de Barcelona* (Human Rights Observatory of the City of Barcelona) was launched. The Observatory is composed of local NGOs and groups of the city and its task is to monitor and deliver *informes* (reports) on the state of human rights in the city.⁹

Agents involved

The human rights policy of Barcelona is supported by a number of local actors, the RDC being an important but not the only one. Particular initiatives that aim to integrate rights into different local actions and policies, such as the ECHRC and the LGBT plan, clearly call into question the

⁷ This and other information on the ECHRC (including its text and studies done on the Charter) can be found on the IDHC’s website at http://www.idhc.org/eng/131_ceuropea.asp, accessed March 8, 2011.

⁸ The LGBT Council has its own webpage. See http://w3.bcn.es/XMLServeis/XMLHomeLinkPI/0,4022,1224745232_1226059460_1,00.html, accessed March 8, 2011. The LGBT Plan and related information can be accessed through both the RDC and the LGBT Council web pages.

⁹ The Observatory’s webpage is http://w3.bcn.cat/dretscivils/0,4022,259064949_760152251_1,00.html, accessed March 9, 2011.

collaboration of other city departments and institutions. The Barcelona's ombudsperson has been concerned with the human rights implications of complaints filed by residents against the local administration. Outside the local government, the IDHC has proved to be a crucial partner of the human rights policy, providing expertise on the matter. A variety civil society entities have collaborated with RDC's institutions and initiatives.

Beneficiaries

All citizens and, eventually, minorities and groups covered by the policy, i.e., women, discriminated sectors of the population, religious communities and LGBT people.

Participation processes implemented

There are several venues of participation in Barcelona's human rights policy, which mainly involve the city's NGOs and organized groups at large. In many cases, participation takes place within the routine operations of the RDC's bodies. In the case of the OND, these entities channel complaints of discrimination and support human rights education.¹⁰ In the case of the OAR, religious communities both use the office and collaborate in the promotion of events relevant for the communities.

Participation is of course more visible in those venues where these entities' position and role has been formally institutionalized: the LGBT Council, where entities have to agree on and deliver opinions and statements on matters of their concern; and the Human Rights Observatory, where groups coming from a variety of backgrounds and with different mandates have to contribute in the production of reports.

Some occasional initiatives of consultation around the ECHRC were organized under the leadership at the RDC of Roser Veciana (1999-2003) which raised some controversies. A wide consultation with entities and individuals was organized in 2001 (City of Barcelona 2001) to draft Barcelona's proposal for the ECHRC in view of the Saint-Denis conference of 2000. After the approval of the Charter, Veciana launched a referendum to select candidates for the position of Defender of the Charter. The referendum, however, was stopped by the mayor for reasons that seem to point to ideological divergences with Veciana and the organization and formalization of the process and the new position (Grigolo 2009, pp. 334-335).

This does not mean that the other initiatives mentioned above have never raised any controversies. Eventually, they have done so at a more informal level. This seems to be the case of the Observatory, where a diverging vision between the administration and the NGOs on

¹⁰ Interview with Guadalupe Pulido (OND Director) and Gustavo Czech-Bergtholt Tejeria (OND technician), Barcelona, 17 November 2004.

what the incoming reports on the state of human rights in the city should look like has emerged.¹¹

Institutionalization process

Notwithstanding some changes associated to the renewal of political leadership and priorities, the human rights policy seems to have reached a fair degree of institutionalization and stability. The RDC services and initiatives are fairly established and part of the routine operations and planning of the *Regidoria* and the entire local government.¹²

Financing

Funding for the RDC and its services comes from the municipal budget. At least in the last years, the RDC has counted on overall increasing funding. Between 2007 and 2010, final budget allocations to the RDC increased from almost € 1.6 million to a bit more than € 1.8 million. The highest budget in the same time span was reached in 2009 with more than € 1.95 million. Arguably because of the economic crisis, the budget was reduced by a relatively small percentage in 2010.¹³

Key results and achievement

In many respects, it is fair to say that Barcelona is a “city of (human) rights”. Not just because of the RDC but because of a wider city effort to provide services and promote initiatives for all the inhabitants of the city. What follows is an overview of at least some important achievements, which focuses on the RDC and the synergies created between the latter and other city services and initiatives. Special attention is devoted to the impact of the policy on migrants, which has been the object of specific investigation.

Introducing human rights to the city

One basic achievement of Barcelona’s human rights policy has been the introduction of the language of human rights at the city level. The policy, including the ECHRC, has informed people both inside and outside the RDC and the local government at large on what human rights are (Grigolo 2009, pp. 339-348). Some initiatives, such as the celebration of the 20th anniversary of the 1989 UN convention on the rights of the child, arguably provided the opportunity for informing and educating residents on these specific set of rights and related issues.¹⁴

¹¹ Interview with Rosa Bada, Barcelona, 10 November 2010.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Information on the RDC budget was provided to me by Rosa Bada via email on 25 November 2010.

¹⁴ For a list of the initiatives and publications related to this event, see http://w3.bcn.es/dretscivils/0,4022,259064949_1011330107_1,00.html. Accessed 16 March, 2011.

Monitoring human rights in the city

All the RDC bodies (but also the *Síndica de Greuges de Barcelona*) perform a fundamental monitoring function over the state of human rights in the city. In this respect, the Human Rights Observatory's 2011 first report does an interesting right-by-right overview and provides recommendations on action needed (City of Barcelona 2011a).¹⁵ By providing statistics and narratives related to its complaints, the OND gives important hints on the state of discrimination in the city. Eventually the ONDs complainants prompted a study on housing discrimination in the city (City of Barcelona 2003).

Supporting the rights of minorities and vulnerable groups

Through its institutions and actions, the human rights policy has supported the rights of different minorities and groups of the local population. By adopting an open definition of non-discrimination and establishing a fruitful collaboration with the Catalan *Fiscal* (Prosecutor) on Hate and Discrimination Crimes, the OND has given an important contribution to this endeavor (Grigolo 2010b). Within this broad picture, it is worth highlighting the following results in relation to the following groups:

- Migrants: The OND performs fairly well in migration-related cases concerning, for example, family reunion and “admission” to places of public accommodation (bars and clubs) (Grigolo 2010b). In this respect, collaboration with other local and state institutions emerges as a positive factor.
- Religious communities: The OAR supports religious freedom by providing technical support (e.g., to open places of worship and/or to comply with city safety regulations) and fostering the integration of religious communities by seeking the active collaboration of the city's *barris*.¹⁶
- Women: Many women's needs are arguably addressed in many city-wide interventions that either target or do not target women directly. The same is valid for the RDC and its bodies. At least when the issue was high in the RDC's agenda, the RDC undertook some ad hoc action. Sexual workers have been under the attention of the RDC for some time (see also the “Plan for the integral approach to sexual work”, City of Barcelona 2006)
- LGBT people: The LGBT council has provided an arena for increasing the visibility of LGBT issues in the city. With the LGBT plan, LGBT issues are expected to become a concern for the entire local government (it is still too early, however, to assess the outcome of this initiative).

¹⁵ A second report on people with disabilities was recently announced (City of Barcelona 2011b).

¹⁶ Interview with Cristina Monteys, 23 November 2010.

Human rights education and training

The OND provides theoretical and practical courses and workshops on what human rights and discrimination are, and how to deal with situations that are susceptible of generating human rights violations and discrimination. The settings in which education and training are provided are schools and working environments. For example, the OND has targeted workers and security guards of the metro and transportation company of the city in relation to racist incidents and behaviors that (may) characterize the exercise of their duties (Grigolo 2010b).

Main obstacles and challenges

Notwithstanding its achievements, Barcelona's human rights policy has also faced some crucial and intertwined challenges:

Limited knowledge and use of human rights in the city

The human rights policy is visible mainly among its main stakeholders but is relatively invisible among the larger population. As part of that, human rights have not become a truly common and shared ground for the discussion of values, rights and policy-making between people, NGOs and politicians in the city.

Mainstreaming human rights across city departments

One objective of the ECHRC is that human rights norms and principles are explicitly and punctually raised and mentioned in local ordinances, decisions and policies. However, this has only limitedly happened and, although this in turn does not mean that human rights are substantially neglected, a systematic and comprehensive “push” of human rights across city departments is missing. This is a task for the mayor and not for the RDC, as showed by cases of implementation of the ECHRC in other cities (Guillén 2005).

Opening up new forms of participation

Participation in RDC's institutions and initiatives has been mainly at the level of advocacy and consultation via NGOs. Some have found this type of participation in Barcelona a limited one, i.e. with respect to the capacity of the process to give real voice to the city residents and constituencies that NGOs are supposed to represent (J. Font 2003). New initiatives and their implementation (e.g., the Human Rights Observatory and the LGBT Plan) should be tailored as to expand participation and overcome, as far as possible, the intrinsic limits of “mediated” representation by giving voice to a wide spectrum of subjects and individuals. Within this process, conflicts should be assumed as a potential for the policy and co-optation (similar to what has already been found in other local policy areas – see Però 2007) should be avoided.

The politics of local human rights

Local agendas and policies alternative to human rights may hinder the latter's implementation. The Ordinance on Good Citizenship, for example, criminalized activities usually performed by migrants (including sexual work). In some cases, urban renewal has raised the cost of housing in the city and provoked the expulsion of residents. The recent ban on the "burka" is also in prima facie tension with human rights (El País 2010). In some cases, the RDC and local NGOs mobilized against these measures but had limited success (Grigolo 2009, pp. 332-339). The impact of politics is also visible or to be expected in the case, for example, of complaints of discrimination involving the local government (Grigolo 2009, pp. 352-353; 2010 and 2011).

Human rights and markets

The local employment, housing and leisure markets limit the successful implementation of human rights, especially anti-discrimination measures. Housing and employment are especially hard fields. In the housing market, for example, one sees a general sense of impunity on the part of landlords and real estate actors, whose concerted action to exploit or marginalize certain segments of the local population (migrants) generates systemic discrimination (City of Barcelona 2003; Grigolo 2010b).

The challenges of religious diversity

Research shows that there is still wide resistance inside the local government and at the neighborhood level to a fair treatment of religious communities and practices other than the Catholic ones. In the case of Muslim communities, resistance goes together with discrimination (Grigolo 2010a) and religious issues have become heavily politicized to the extent that Barcelona, despite being home to a numerous Muslim population, has not (yet?) a mosque.

Supra-local constraints on the local implementation of human rights

Last but not least, the implementation of human rights may be hindered by supra-local laws and policies. In the case of migrant rights, for example, support to human rights is stronger in relation to documented migrants and in accordance with immigration law. It becomes weaker in those instances where citizenship matters, such as access to social rights. More broadly, then, the implementation of anti-discrimination measures by the OND is constrained by the still limited knowledge and implementation of the relevant legal measures by the competent Spanish authorities (Grigolo 2010b). In this respect, training of all the actors involved in law enforcement is most needed.

Replicability or adaptation of the policy elsewhere

Local governments that want to implement Barcelona's human rights policy should:

- Get familiar with human rights framework, eventually through the collaboration of experts, human rights institutions and NGOs.
- Make an overview and analysis of the state of human rights in their city, eventually focusing on certain priorities and issues/communities.
- Adopt a human rights framework which is truly participated and shared by local population, NGOs, social movements and different areas of the local government.
- Make public and engage residents in any local human rights statements and frameworks.
- Enact plans and mechanisms which are openly supported by the mayor and which aim to mainstream human rights across city departments, raising awareness of the human rights implications of each area of intervention of the local government. Benchmarks and indicators to guide and assess implementation could be devised (see, for example, UNESCO's International Coalition of Cities against Racism 2010).
- Establish ad hoc and adequately funded, staffed and trained human rights bodies and "services" (anti-discrimination agency, service for specific communities, ombudsperson...), which implement the human rights mandate of the city.
- Ensure that all the actors inside and outside the local government, who can mobilize valuable resources and attract support for the policy, participate in decision-making and implementation of the policy.
- Consider the contextual pros and cons of placing any body responsible for implementation inside/outside the local government and, in any case, give it an independent status.
- Enhance local human rights services by connecting them to any supportive supra-local bodies (regional, state) with similar mandates, in order to create more powerful synergies functional to the redress of human rights violations.

Summary

The policy implements human rights locally and aims to turn Barcelona into a "city of rights". Both international human rights and the European Charter for the Safeguarding of Human Rights in the City (ECHRC) provide the human rights language and framework of the policy. Funding for the policy comes from the municipal budget. Although the objective of becoming a city of rights arguably concerns the entire local government, the main institution concerned with implementation is the Civil Rights Department (RDC) of the municipality, within which different bodies operate: the Office for Non-Discrimination (OND), which mainly processes complaints of discrimination through mediation; the Office for Religious Affairs (OAR), which promotes the

religious freedom of the city religious communities in their relationship with the local administration and population; 3) the Council for lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT Council), which is an advisory body composed of NGOs, collectives and other informal groups concerned with LGBT issues (recently, a plan for the mainstreaming of LGBT rights has also been promoted by the RDC); 4) the Human Rights Observatory, which has to check the status of human rights in the city.

The human rights policy of Barcelona has succeeded in many respects. The RDC has spread the word of human rights both inside and outside the local administration. Intervention in the area of LGBT rights has been particularly visible and strong. Services like the OND and the OAR have provided two important operative arms for the human rights policy: these bodies, in collaboration with other city and regional bodies, have contributed to the fights against discrimination, supporting the rights of women and other minorities and vulnerable groups, and the integration of religious communities in the city. In many cases, mainly relying through mediation, they have reached practical and useful results (including in the “hard” case of migrant rights). Participation of local NGOs, groups and individuals in the different policies has been crucial for the successful outcome of the human rights policy, including the entire area of LGBT rights, the collaboration between the OND and OAR and local NGOs and groups and in other specific instances (i.e., the consultation process related to the Barcelona’s draft of the ECHRC).

However, there is room for improvement. Human rights are still largely an issue for the RDC and not for the city population and the local government in a broad sense. The human rights approach envisaged in statements like the ECHRC has not been fully formalized and, to some extent, realized. There is also evidence that competing agendas oriented more to security and local growth may hinder the implementation of human rights. Efforts to safeguard human rights are also limited by market-driven dynamics of systemic discrimination in the city, and by the legal constraints imposed by state citizenship and legislation (including the immigration law). Any adaptation of the policy in another city should consider both its achievements and limits in Barcelona. The policy should aim at diffusing human rights across city departments while, at the same time, providing for ad hoc services. As a start, a local human rights framework and a set of institutions tasked with implementation should be defined, both connected to the local reality of human rights and any relevant issues. The open participation of civil society actors should characterize the policy. The entire local government and the mayor should openly support the policy. At the implementation level, obvious constraints and challenges imposed by (systemic) discrimination in the city markets and state legislation should be taken into account and, as far as possible, minimized by defining relationships with local and supra-local actors which increase the local government’s capacity of dealing with human rights.

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